the inhabitance, on the west side, was so who had not intermeddled before. The Delegates of Delegates, and of course retreased, that I can venture to say, that Secretary read the proclamation, and delimoved, in all cases, at least three, if not

to take much pains to show this distinctions, or oppressions I hold it impossible to form a scheme more just and con-titu ional weight in the Pretion, for my opinion is, our officers' spleen of any officer or officers in the county; perfectly calculated to annihilate the considential election, and through that, in did, in the purer and better days of the against the authors of former papers was provided they would disperse and go trol of the people over the Presidential the executive department and the gov- party. I was in favor of it then, as I am most discordant materials. for that very reson, that they were pur- home. the day, and punished none but them ty to make our grievances known. who were actually guilty.

I have said thus much on this head, the more as I observe by the news-papers. that men in higher etations than our offieers attempted the same thing on the town

4 h of April, 1768, after the articles were ted me for the Presidency in this State, nothing in saying, that there is not an inaltered, and both parties joined on the subject to a convention fairly constituted. stance in our political history, from the form, to preserve the original equality of Presidential election whether designed or the power of the people will cease, and

agreed to send P \_\_ U \_\_ and J \_\_ to woures the two late sheriffs that we shall choose on the Tuesday, after the next Court, to produce to them a measures in relation to it, as you may minority into its service, and counting head of which there is but a single officer, responsible to them respectively, and humble and obedient dependants shall be insolvents returned each year, with an account how the money was applied, to sarily delayed. whom peid, and to what user, both terrepresentatives to confer with them in Hon. Jacob Bond l'On our behalf, and show us law for the curtomary free that has been taken for deeds, indensuise, administratione, &c. If the time appointed den't suit them, let them appoint an other more suitable."

Before these two men had time to perform this wessage, the officers, either to try or exasperate the now entaged popu lare, took, by way of distress, a mare.

they were capable of doing, by reason, as pelled speedily to decide. The near ap- Mr. Madison's report on the proceedings framers of the constitution, was hinted before, he was allowed to have proach of the time for meeting of the pro- of the Convention.

most every man, woman and ch ld., that plans with sor, you is every particular. So by daylight extracturences, some hundred point that was a five and the source of doubt withing as a source by the bosser. On the source of the

The Governor's Secretary met this fundamental article company in sight of the town: but I have of the latter, to be any ways calpable—to observe, first, that both the prisoners tion, that where a few bad people of a nation companied of their being on the blameshis. However hard this desine-tion might have been to our officers would, we suppose, have been naturalest of all things to be fall by the naturalest of all things to be fall by the parties.

The Governor's Secretary met this fundamental article of this orquestionable and important constitutional right. Instead of that, its advocates perent torily and institutions important constitutional right. Instead of that, its advocates perent torily and institutions and in the surrender of this orquestionable and important constitutional right. Instead of that, its advocates perent torily and institutions and in the surrender of this orquestionable and important constitutional right. Instead of that, its advocates perent torily and institutions in ple which the smendment proposed, was to it will be appointed from some of the States, not by the people in Districts, but, as has been stated, by State Conventions has been stated, by State Conventions and in all cases, as I am informed, by the proposed of Delegates appointed in all cases, as I am informed, by the proposed of the same time to make the surrender of this orquestionable and important constitutional right. Instead of that, its advocates perent torily and institutions in ple which the smendment proposed, was to it will be appointed from some of the States, not by the people in Districts, but, as has been stated, by State Conventions and in the two highest candidates. The principle of that, its advocates perent torily and institutions in ple which the smendment proposed, was the state for the surrender of their means or their heart must constitution to it will be appointed of that, its advocates perent torily and institutions in ple which the smendment proposed, was to it will be appointed of that, its advocat And turther, because they stiled themselves Inhabitants of the west side of the town, who were alselves Inhabitants of the general support of the
on the cast side of the Union, to control the noninatransported in perceived the general support of the
one under consideration would be insu
by still smaller divisions, or a few interestit.

If there was no other objection, the
one under consideration would be insu
by still smaller divisions, or a few interestit.

If there was no other objection, the
one under consideration would be insu
by still smaller divisions, or a few interestit.

They received the general support of the
one under consideration would be insu
by still smaller divisions, or a few interestit.

They received the general support of the
one in the consideration would be though not one third man on the west vered a verbal message, which he said he side had you concerned themselves, yet had from the Governor. That if they successive remove, the voice the people to by some, who then took so prominent to be some less full and distinct, until the House, but because I believe it to be a part in its favor. If you have not sucthem if they would petit on the Governor, at fast it will be so faint and imperfect, an indispensable means, in the hands of creded, there is at least some consolation maxim, where power is concerned, then On the whole, I do not think it needful he would protect and redress them against as not to be audible. To drop metaphor, the smaller States, of preserving that if others have since to "Divide and conquer." Nothing to

be redressed; as also, when it come to be whole multisude, as with one voice, cried live on the Government. in the law, the distinction was as clear so out, Agreed; that is all we want, liber-

To be Continued.

## Mr. Calhoun's Letter.

Fourt Hill, Dec. 21, 1843. So to proceed in order, On the said as the organ of those who have nomina-"At a general meeting of the Regula- proposed Convention to be held in Ral- and and

> With great respect, I am, &c. &c. and other members of the Committee.

The Address of Mr. Calhoun to his

supporters, through whose favorable esti- the consent of each State is required. In to the larger states nearly the same pre b cause we believed it to be liable to be State among themselves and their partimate of my qualifications, my name has the absence of compact, the invariable ponderance in the electoral college, as arted on and influenced by the patronage same, and joined in recommending to the been presented to the people of the Uni- mode of v. ting in such States is, in all ca- they have in the House, and to the government—an objection for more candidate whom they had just nominated saddle and bridle, for one levy, -and they ted states for the office of Chief Magis- ses, by the majority, their vote counting er, in the event of a choice by the House, applicable to a convention constituted as to appoint them to the offices to which immediately rose to the number of sixty trate, to conduct the canvass on such one. The course which Virginia has reor seventy, and rescued the mare, and principles, and in such manner, as you solved to take is in violation of this plain Senat; thus tollowing closely the analogy caucus. Far, however, was it from my such be the case in the infancy of the might think best. But, in so doing, I and fundamental rule, and if it should be of the Legislative department. To make intention, in aiding to put that down, to system, it must end, if such conventions ing's house, to signify they biam'd him for did not wave my right to determine, on come a settled practice, would be destruct it as close as possible, it was at first promy individual responsibility, what course tive of the foundation on which the whole posed to give the eventual choice to the hundred times more objectionable in eve the President's nominating his successor. The paper No 6 was then delivered to my duty might compel me to pursue ul- structure of the State Right doctrine is Senate, instead of the House, but it was ry point of view. Indeed, if there must When it comes to that, it will not be long the established minister of the county, timately, nor have I been an inattentive reared.

been the author of the former papers, No. posed Convention will not admit of much Having stated what I mean by the e-

h Think not to frighten me (with rebellian) to this case, for of the anadotration was innocent, the ship provides here not an good a right to inquire me the astarts of our funds, as the ship provides a sound of the provides and debursarents of our funds, as the ship provides country, we then the second of the provides and the second of the

election, and vest it in those who make ernment steel, which I believe to be es- now, not because I consider the resolu- But the tendency to centralization will polities a trade, and who live, or expect to sential in the preservation of our sublime tions as perfect, theoretically, as the ex not stop there. The appointment of de-

In this connection, I object not less of the relative weight of the states in the because I believe it would, in practice, would tend, at the same time and even strongly to the mode in which Virginia government to be the fundamental commore certainly accomplish what the fra- with greater force, to centralize this conhas resolved her Delegates shall vote. promise of the constitution, and that on mers of the constitution intended. But trol in the hands of the few, who make With all due respect, I must say, I can which our whole political system de- while the provision stands as it does, I politics a trade. The farther the Conimagine nothing more directly in conflict pends. Its adjustment constituted the would regard myself as little short of a vention is removed from the people, the with our federal system of government, great difficulty in forming the constitu-or to use a broader expression, the princi-tion. The principle on which it was fi-give my assent, directly, to placed in the hands of the interested few, GENTLEMEN:-I herewith enclose you, ples on which all confederated communities have ever been united. I hazard sion should be made to population, a pro- of divesting the smaller states of the due as has been shown it will be, where the former plan, they drew up the following an Address to my political friends and meeting of the first Revolutionary Con- the sales in every department of the go- not. And here let me add, that as objective favor will besupporters, assigning my reasons for not gress to the present day, of the Delegates permitting my name to go before the of any State goting voting by majority, carried out in constituting the legislative for nominating a President, it is in my or trained and combined crops will be forminated and combined crops where the crops will be forminated and combined crops will be forminated and combined crops where the crops will be forminated and combined crops where the crops will be forminated and combined crops where the crops will be forminated and combined crops where the crops will be forminated and combined crops where the crops wh mit it to you, an instance of the kind can be found in the states in one branch (the Senate.) and stituted as is proposed. The former had attention will be directed to politics. It because I deem it respectful and proper the history of any confederated commu- and conceding to population its full pre- indeed many things to recommend it. Its will be their sole because to make it known to those to whom it is nity. There is, indeed, something mon-ponderance in the other. But the great members, consisting of Senators and Rep- the appointments and our verifymen, to meet twelve men addressed, through you, and in order to strous in the id a of giving the majority and deficult task of reducing it to p active resent tives, were the immediate organs of stages will full, and supp of the list of taxables for each year, deem proper, if indeed, you should deem them as its own. The plain rule—that So great was it, that it occupied the asien- were for the most part, of high character, appointed. The central and state conand a list of the number and names of the any necessary. All I have to request is, which has ever prevailed, and which conthat its publication should not be unneces- forms to the ditates of common sense, is during the whole session, and was very capits, and what is very important, they perienced and cunning, and, after nomithat where a State votes as a State, by a near causing a failure at last. It would represented tairly the relative strength of nating the President, they will take good majority of its Delegates, the votes count have been an easy tosk to constitute that their respective states. In all these im- care to divide the patronage and the offione, be they few or many, or the state large department, either on the principle of the portant particulars, it was all that could ces, both of the General and the State or small. On the contrary, where the votes equality of the states in the government, be desired for a nominating body, and Governments, among themselves and of all the Delegate are counted, they vote or that of population. To combine the formed a striking contrast to the proposed their dependants. But why say will! individually and independently, each for two, in the election of a single officer, consention; and yet, it could not be borne Is it not ALREADY THE CASE? Have there himself counting one. And it is to be no- was qui'e a different affair, but however by the people in the then purer days of not been many instances of state conven-Political Priends and Support- ted, that wherever this latt-r mode of vot- difficult, it had to be performed at the Republic. I, acting with Gen. Jick- tions being filled by office-holders and ing exists among confederated States, it is hazard flosing the constitution. I have left it to you, my friends and in all cases founded on compact, to which It was finally accomplished by giving at the time, contributed to put it down, mination, have divided the offices in the

who undertook to try to second modate the observer of the canvass and the course matter; who, accordingly, returned with you have taken.

I hold it, in the next place, to be an indicate the ple and the election, unknown to the continuous dispensable principle, that the Convention, it may be well questioned.

Such are my ob an anexer from the officers, and that they It affords me pleasure to be enabled to tion should be so constituted, as to give had appointed the 11th day of May for a say, that on all leading questions, growing out of the canvass, I heartily concurred with you, in the grounds you took,
The Regulators hereopen called a meetThe Regula ing on the 2nn of April, chose twelve and especially in those relating to the tion of the President, making due allowmen to west error dingly; and sent the of- mode in which the Delegates to the pro- ance for its relative party strength. By ficers an account thereof but the poper posed Convention to be held at Baltimore the election, I mean the whole-the enever was defivered by reason (as it was should be appointed, and how they should rentual choice when it goes into the President. To give it that operation in opinion. If the case was reversed, and my public life. on Saturday) the Governor's Secretary vote. You have, in my opinion, conclusion, as it originally the rights of the larger, instead of the In coming to this conclusion, I have seried the same day in the town, and sively shown, that they should be ap- primary vote in the electoral college. The stand in the constitution, was that each smaller were in-aded, I would, with equal oot passed over, without careful examibrangent a percel seasons from the Gaver- pointed by Districts and vote per capita; one is as much a part of the e'ection as elector should vote for two individuals. read ness and firmness, stand up in their nation, the reasons assigned by its advonor, destrong all officere to sid and avaist but your reasons, as conclusive as they the other. The two make the whole. 50 disperse them. And what I think is are, have proved in vain. Already New The adoption of the one, in the Conven- President, and if no one, nor the other, but simply a supporter they propose. They have not diminishthe oddest thing & core beard of, this pro- York and some other states have appoint tion which framed the Constitution, de- one had a majority of the whole voice, of the constitution, and what I believe to ed the force of my objections. I propose clamation was set up on Saurday, the right led delegates on masse by State Convention of the other. Nei- then out of the five highest the House vo- be just and fair. I regard the constitution, to notice the most prominent. ersever since the since th yet the officers assembled them gives on ved that the votes of her Delegates should The two were the result of compromise Sanday to the number of about thirty, be settled by the majority, and be counted between the larger and smaller States, afwith a tavern-keeper or two, and a man per capita. Their course would necessari- ter a long and doubtful struggle, which sident. It has been since shered, so that gre ter as well as the smaller—the states pleases. I meet it, by utterly denying jury of inquest bad adjudged with mur- supported, should you go into Convention, itself. The object of giving to the smallder, all armed with gune, pietels and and would leave you no alternative, but to er States an equality with the larger, in swords, and rode all the Sabbath night, yield yours and adopt theirs, however much the eventual choice by the House, was the distance of 40 miles, and trok one of you may be opposed to it on principle, or to coan erpoise the preponderance of the that if t' is provision of the consultation, that the relative weight of the doctrine, that any State has such a right, the rioters prisoner by viriue of a warrant: To meet them on the most unequal terms, larger in the electoral college. Without states should be maintained, making due when she comes to act in concert with and also snother innocent pers n without with divided, against united and concen- this, the smaller would have voted at line the intervention of caucuses, or party allowance for the relative party arrength. Others in reference to what concerns the the whole provision, and its rejection conventions between the people and the The propriety of the limitation is so ap- whole. In such cases it is the plainest could be obtained, because no charge was. The question then is, what course, un- would have been the consequence. Ev- election, that the practical operation parent, that the practical operation parent, that but a few words, in illustra- dictate of common sense, that whatever afnor could be proven against hun, though der such circumstances, should be adop- en as it s ands, Delaware voted against it. they had made all the search and inquiry ted? And the question, you will be com- In confirmation of wha I state, I refer to and such as was clearly intended by the is a party convention, and professedly in-

longer delay. But as your course may lection, it will require but a few words states, as established by the constitution an equality with those which have much trust I have conclusively shown. I have, But the case was so among the inhabi- depend in some degree on that which I to exp ato my reasons for the principles in all the departments, is necessary to the If that were done, the result might be. I also trust, shown more; that the supposthin s, that every man knew who was and have decided to take, I deem it due to the I have laid down. They are few and success and duration of our system of that a small portion of the party from ed right is perfectly deceptive, for, while who was not juined into the Regulation, relation subsisting betteen us, to make simple, and rest on the government but it may be doubted, state the least sound, politically, and it claims for each State the right to appear to the least sound. by re-son it was all the topic of converse mine known to you without further de-

altered and the present provision, adopt- he an intermediate body between the peo- before the sword will take the place of

voting by stares, where their equality is stitution, I am actuated by no partiesn in public and private, and which have preserved, would elect who should be the feeling or desire to conciliate their good guided me through the whole course of person not elected, having the highest lieve that in defending it. I detend the in- greatest confidence, is, that each State the electors should designate which should invading the rights of others, as well as that there is any such right. That each be President, and which V ce President, the states whose rights are tovaled. State has the right to act as it pleases, in and the selection of the House was limit. I have said down the principle on which whatever relates to itself exclusively, no ed to the three highest. It is manifest, I rest the objection in question, with the one will deny; but it is a perfectly novel would have been such as I have stated, tion, will be required. The convention feets the whole should be regulated by

The object intended is important. The which cannot be done fairly, if states ment of Delegates to the proposed Conpreservation of the relative weight of the having but little party strength are put on vention is a case of this description, I

constitution, and would be followed by a how it can be done, or by what standent the by arbitrary proceeding that we are the large immediately so engaged all the principles, on deburred of thou elge. This alarm immediately so engaged all which, in my oppinion, such a convenient to all the principles, on deburred of thou elge. This alarm immediately so engaged all which, in my oppinion, such a convenient of the relative pasty attempts of the respective department, but in the executive department itself.

federal system. I regard the adjustment isting provisions of the constitution, but legates en-masse by State Conventions, son and most of the leaders of the party office seekers, who, after making the no-

sutution, it may be well questioned Such are my objections to the mode in It was believed by the framers, the whether a better than the old plan of a which the proposed Convention is to be

without discriminating which should be delence. I an the partisan of neither cates for constituting the Convention as

sended to take the sense of the party, discretion of each. That the appoint-This new name, instead of mob. was no.

In the executive department, is not too gress, might select the candidate, and ty gives the larger States the right make the President, against a great manual liberate survey the whole ground, have leading reason assigned for making it is, currupt passions, which the Presidential justity of the sounders, and on which the example, the Empire State, as it is called,