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Convention of delegates opposed to executive usurpation and  
abuse Harrisburg.

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**PROCEEDINGS**

OF A

**CONVENTION**

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OF

**Delegates from the Citizens of**

**PENNSYLVANIA,**

*Opposed to Executive Usurpation and Abuse,*

WHICH ASSEMBLED AT HARRISBURG,

MAY 27, 1834.



*HARRISBURG:*

PRINTED BY HENRY K. STRONG.

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1834.

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# PROCEEDINGS.

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The Convention of Delegates from the Citizens of Pennsylvania, opposed to Executive usurpation and abuse, assembled in the court-house in Harrisburg, on Tuesday, May 27, 1834.

The convention was temporarily organised by calling HENRY FRICK of Northumberland, to the chair, and appointing NEVILLE B. CRAIG of Allegheny and GEORGE HARRISON of Bucks, Secretaries.

The following Delegates appeared and answered to their names:

*Adams.*

Jacob Cassatt, James Wilson, James McSherry, Thadeus Stevens, R. G. Harper, James Renshaw.

*Allegheny.*

Thomas Bakewell, Joseph Patterson, George Darsie, Thos. Williams, Neville B. Craig, Samuel Church.

*Bedford.*

George Denig, James M. Russell, Alexander King, John A. M'Coy, Daniel Washabaugh.

*Berks.*

Peter Addams, John Beitenman, John Kaucher, John Heiner.

*Beaver.*

Smith Cunningham, William B. Clark.

*Bradford.*

James P. Bull, Isaac Myer.

*Bucks.*

Joseph Hough, James Worth, Joshua Barker, Wm. Green, Samuel Carey, Mathias Morris, George Harrison, Anthony Taylor, James Kelly, C. N. Taylor.

*Butler.*

Robert Cunningham, Alfred Gilmore.

*Chester.*

William Darlington, John D. Steele, C. A. Buckley, Charles Brooke, John H. Bradley, Joseph Whitaker, Mordecai Lee, Samuel Irwin, M. Stanley, Benjamin Griffith.

*Columbia.*

George A. Frick, L. G. Bancroft, Joseph Paxton, William G. Hurley.

*Centre & Clearfield.*

John Foster, William Houston, James Irwin, John Blanchard, Jas. Potter, S. M'Cormick.

*Crawford.*

John B. Wallace, Henry C. Bosler, John Dick.

*Cumberland.*

John Reed, Samuel M'Keehan, G. W. Woodburn, Gabriel Heister, Jacob Ritner, James H. Devor.

*Dauphin.*

Henry K. Strong, David Krause, John Cameron, George Fisher, Henry Shubart, Martin Kendig, Wm. H. Doll, Benjamin Jordan, Richard T. Leech, Joseph Moody, James Simonton, J. Porter.

*Delaware.*

Thomas Smith, Wm. Eyre, jr.

*Erie.*

Thomas H. Sill, George A. Elliot, John Vincent.

*Franklin.*

Thos. G. McCulloh, Thos. Chambers, John F. Denny, Andrew Thomson, Frederick Boyer, John M'Farland.

*Huntingdon.*

John Stewart, J. M. Bell, J. Geo. Miles, D. McMurtrie, Jr. John Williamson, Henry L. M'Connell.

*Juniata.*

Alex. Patterson, James Mathers.

*Indiana.*

James Taylor.

*Lancaster.*

George Louis Mayer, Wm. Wright, Samuel Grosh, Joseph Konigmacher, James Porter, John F. Long, James Hopkins, Samuel O. Jacobs, Edward Parker, Jacob Kirk, Gabriel Davis, Jacob Huber, Thomas G. Henderson, Benj. Mellinger.

*Luzerne.*

Sharp D. Lewis, Charles Dorrance, Hezekiah Parsons, Auning O. Chahoon,

*Lycoming, Potter & M'Kean.*

A. Davidson, John P. Schuyler, Wm. Wilson, Rob. C. Hall.

*Lehigh.*

Matthew Selindge, S. Balliot.

*Mercer.*

S. C. Tait, Robert M'Cormick.

*Mifflin.*

Richard Miles, Wm. Patton, Wm. Cummins, John J. M'Coy.

*Montgomery.*

Richard B. Jones, Thomas M. Jolly, John Freedley, George Richards, George W. Roberts, Joseph Hunsicker,

*Northampton, Pike & Wayne.*

George Weber, Peter S. Michler, James W. Chapman, John Jordon, jr. Evan Rees, J. Jenkins Ross.

*Northumberland.*

Henry Frick, John B. Boyd, Andrew M'Reynolds, John Vincent, James Pollock, William A. Lloyd.

*Philadelphia City.*

John Sergeant, Joseph R. Ingersoll, John M. Scott, John S. Riddle, Joseph M'Ilvaine, Josiah Randall, J. Price Wetherill, James Crissy, Frederick Fraley, Elihu Chauncey, Charles W. Churchman, Edward Olmsted, Alexander Ferguson, J. Scholefield, James Hutchinson, Nathan Sargent, W. M. Meredith.

*Philadelphia County.*

Bernard M'Creedy, William Wagner, Nath'l C. Foster, Geo. P. Little, William Fitler, Thomas Rotch, William Wister, George K. Budd, David Woelpper, Bela Badger, Andrew Young, John Lentz, Henry C. Corbit, John Britton, Alexander Quinton, Michael Day, J. Simon Cohen, Richard Coe.

*Perry.*

John Rice, A. C. Harding, R. R. Guthrie, P. Ritner.

*Schuylkill,*

Christopher Loeser, Geo. N. Eckert, Michael Graeff, Andrew Russell.

*Susquehanna.*

Henry Drinker, William Jessup.

*Union.*

Simon Shaffer, William Cameron, Ner Middleswarth, George Weirick, William L. Harris, Robert P. Maclay.

*Venango & Warren.*

William Raymond, Andrew Bowman.

*Washington.*

Joseph Lawrence, John H. Ewing.

*York.*

Calvin Mason, Adam Glosbrenner, Frederick Eichelberger, Wm. M'Ilvaine, Philip Smyser, Charles Bishop, Robert Nebinger, Wm. Diven, A. J. Glosbrenner.

The following committee was then chosen to nominate the officers of the Convention.

Nathaniel C. Forster, Jos. M'Ilvaine, John S. Riddle, David

Woelpper, Geo. Louis Mayer, Thomas Smith, John D. Steel, Richard B. Jones, Joseph Hough, P. S. Michler, Christopher Leoser, Peter Addams, Geo. Fisher, Calvin Mason, Jacob Casat, Samuel McKeehan, James Potter, Hezekiah Parsons, Asber Davidson, Henry Drinker, Geo. Denig, James Taylor, John H. Ewing, Joseph Patterson, Robert Cunningham, Wm .B. Clark, Geo. A. Elliott.

Adjourned to 3. o'clock, P. M.

Tuesday, May 27, 1834.

The Convention met at three o'clock according to adjournment.

Mr. Fisher, from the committee for that purpose, reported the following officers, which were unanimously elected.

*President,*

JOSEPH LAWRENCE of Washington county.

*Vice Presidents,*

NER MIDDLESWARTH of Union;  
 HENRY FRICK, Northumberland ;  
 JOHN VINCENT, Erie ;  
 JAMES M'SHERRY, Adams ;  
 GEORGE HARRISON, Bucks ;  
 FRED'K EICHELBERGER, York ,  
 NEVILLE B. CRAIG, Allegheny ;  
 SAMUEL M'KEEHAN, Cumberland ;  
 J. M. RUSSELL, Bedford ;  
 SAMUEL GROSS, Lancaster ;  
 PETER ADDAMS, Berks ;  
 DAVID WOELPPER, Philadelphia.

*Secretaries.*

*John Williamson* of Huntingdon;  
*David Krause*, Dauphin ;  
*Thomas M. Jolly*, Montgomery ;  
*William Jessup*, Susquehanna ;  
*Edward Olmsted*, Philadelphia ;  
*Samuel C. Tait*, Mercer.

On motion of Mr. Morris of Bucks, the following resolution was agreed to :

*Resolved*, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of this State be adopted for the government of this Convention.

On motion of Mr. Reed of Cumberland, it was

*Resolved*, That a committee of seven persons be appointed to prepare an Address to the People of Pennsylvania. The chair appointed the following Committee, viz: John Reed, Joseph Mellvaine, Henry L. M'Connell, T. G. M'Culloh, Thomas H. Sill, John H. Ewing and Mathias Morris.

*Resolved*, That a committee of eight be appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of this Convention in relation to public affairs. The chair appointed the following, viz: John Sergeant, Thadeus Stevens, James P. Bull, James Hopkins, Wm. M'Ilvaine, James Taylor, George Weber, and John F. Denny.

*Resolved*, That a committee of seven be appointed to prepare a Memorial to Congress for redress of grievances. The chair appointed the following viz: Joseph Patterson, William Darlington, Joseph R. Ingersoll, John B. Wallace, James Wilson, A. C. Harding, and Alexander King.

Mr. J. Sergeant submitted the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the refusal of the President of the United States to receive Committees of our fellow citizens, who respectfully waited upon him from various quarters, to offer to him information upon the effect of his measures, and to request that his policy might be changed, so as to relieve the country from the severe distress he had brought upon it, was as contrary to true wisdom, as it was to the regard that is due to the rights of the citizens, and equally betrays a weak mind and a despotic temper, already surrendered to the dominion of flatterers, and unable to bear the plain language of Republican simplicity and truth.

The resolution was ably advocated by Mr. Sergeant, after which it was on motion of Mr. Reed of Cumberland, referred to the committee of Resolutions.

Adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock to-morrow.

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May 28.

Convention met at 9 a'clock A. M.

Mr. Ingersoll, from the committee for that purpose, reported a memorial to Congress which was read, and on motion was ordered to be printed and a copy furnished to each member.

The names of members were then called, after which the Convention adjourned.

3 o'clock P. M. Convention met and on motion adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock, A. M. to-morrow.

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May 29.

Convention met at 10 o'clock A. M.

Mr. Sergeant from the committee on resolutions reported the following:

*Resolved*, That it is the duty and the right of the citizens freely, to express their opinions, upon the conduct of those entrusted with power, and in times of distress and suffering and danger, brought on by the acts of any department of the government, it is their right and their duty, by all constitutional means, to endeavor to correct the abuses that exist, and to prevent the mischiefs that are threatened; and for that purpose to unite their efforts, so that when the day of appealing to the ballot box shall come, the appeal may not be made in vain.

*Resolved,* That the numbers, zeal and harmony of the members of this Convention, and the patriotic spirit which has pervaded its deliberations and its acts, have afforded us the most sincere satisfaction; and together with the fact, that so many of those who compose it, were but recently of the party which supports the Executive, furnish the most convincing evidence that a change has taken place in Pennsylvania; that the love of country and attachment to the Constitution has prevailed over party attachment and devotion to a man; and that at the next elections, this patriotic State will be found on the side of the Constitution and the laws, associated with her sisters, Virginia and New York, and with them contributing to the success of the great cause of constitutional freedom.

*Resolved,* That in the next elections for Congress and the Legislature, it be deemed an indispensable qualification of candidates, that they are heartily opposed to Executive usurpation, truly attached to the representative system as established by the Constitution, and ready to support the rightful authority of both Houses of Congress, against the encroachments, menaces and assaults of the Executive.

*Resolved,* That it be earnestly recommended to our fellow citizens, throughout the commonwealth, along with zeal and energy in the great and good cause, to cultivate a spirit of conciliation and mutual respect; and that it be further earnestly recommended to them, to distinguish with their high approbation and confidence, every member of Congress or of the Legislature, by whatever name he may have been chosen, who in his station has faithfully resisted Executive usurpation and abuse, and firmly maintained the rights of the people.

*Resolved,* That it be also earnestly recommended to our fellow citizens in their respective districts and counties, to adopt all such measures as may be calculated to ensure success—to establish committees of correspondence, and to maintain a communication with each other, for mutual encouragement, information and support, throughout the State.

*Resolved,* That in removing from office William J. Duane, Esq. late Secretary of the Treasury, because in the exercise of a power committed to him by law, he would not violate his judgment and his conscience, and thereby conform his conduct to the will of the President; in appointing another to succeed him, for no other reason but because he would conform to his will; and in assuming the responsibility of doing himself, what was entrusted by law to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury alone, the President was guilty of an usurpation and abuse of power, and a violation of the Constitution and the laws.

*Resolved,* That in taking these steps a few weeks before the meeting of a new Congress, recently elected by the people, and clothed with the authority of the people, so that he might thereby be enabled to interpose his veto power, and frustrate the intentions of the representatives of the people, unless two thirds of both houses should concur—he was guilty of a violent encroachment upon the rights of the people, as they were intended to be secured by the Constitution.

*Resolved,* That in assigning as a reason for this encroachment, that a majority in Congress might be, and probably would be, bribed or corrupted, he was guilty of an unwarrantable assault upon the character of the representatives of the people, an unjust and fatal disparagement of the representative system, and a destructive outrage upon the whole scheme of our government; amounting in fact, to an assertion, that there was no virtue but in the government of a single man, or what is properly denominated an absolute despotism.

*Resolved,* That by these means, he has unlawfully seized upon, and still holds in his own custody and power, the whole treasure of the U. States, having thus removed it from the place where it was deposited by law, and where it was declared by Congress, and known by the people, to be secure, and where, too, it was subject to the power of the representatives of the people, into places of his own selection, of whose sufficiency there is no evidence, and where it is as much beyond the proper control of Congress as the treasury of the General Post Office,

and may, for aught we know, be equally mismanaged, wasted, or bestowed, for corrupt purposes, upon favorites and partisans.

*Resolved*, That the refusal of the Secretary of the Treasury to restore the public monies to the place of their lawful deposite, after one House of Congress has declared the reasons for removal to be insufficient, is contrary to the plain spirit and meaning of an Act of Congress, is a manifest disregard of law, and justly awakens a suspicion that the public monies have been squandered or lost, and therefore cannot be restored—a suspicion strongly supported by the notorious fact, that secret and contingent drafts were drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury, to the amount of millions, not for any service of the Government, but for the service of selected Banks (in one of which he was himself a stockholder) and to supply *their* wants, and which suspicion cannot and ought not to slumber, until the people's money is again publicly counted down in the sight of Congress and the people, at the place where they declared it to be secure.

*Resolved*, That in withholding from the Senate for now almost six months of their session, the nomination of the Secretary of the Treasury, who was the instrument of his unlawful will, so that the Senate might have no opportunity of acting upon his appointment, the President has been guilty of a gross disregard of the constitutional rights of that body, a violation of the true meaning of the Constitution, and a dangerous indulgence of an arbitrary spirit which respects neither law nor right, and has no deference whatever for the co-ordinate branches of the Government.

*Resolved*, That in these acts of the Executive Government of the United States, which have disordered the currency, destroyed confidence, and produced universal and increasing distrust and distress, are to be found the plain and adequate cause of that unhappy change, by which a nation prosperous, and happy, and blessed by a gracious Providence with the means of continued prosperity & happiness, has been plunged into embarrassment and suffering, for no discernable reason, but because such is the will of a single man, who ought to be their servant, but acts as if he was their master.

*Resolved*, That the acts of usurpation and abuse, already noticed, bad as they are in themselves, are far transcended by the alarming and unconstitutional doctrines deliberately put forth by the President in the paper styled a Protest, in which there is a declared assumption of Executive power, in direct opposition to the theory of our Government, and the literal provisions of the Constitution.

*Resolved*, That ours is a Government of the people, and that all public officers are mere organs of the people, responsible to them, and to the laws which they enact, and not to the President, who is himself an agent, and not a ruler.

*Resolved*, That the claim of the President, which denies to Congress the power to place the people's money in the hands of officers whose appointment would not devolve upon him, is adverse to the 2d section of the 2d article of the Constitution, which provides that Congress *may* vest the appointment of certain Officers in other hands than the President's.

*Resolved*, That the 8th section of the 1st article of the Constitution renders all the officers and departments of the Government subordinate to the people by their representatives in Congress, thereby denying the power claimed by the President in his Protest, which would render him superior to all the Departments of the Government, and to the people themselves.

*Resolved*, That if these assumptions, thus boldly put forth by the President, under the influence of evil passions, and evil counsellors, should be unhappily sanctioned by the people, an entire and radical revolution will have been affected in the form of our government, the whole of its powers being thereby deposited in the hands of the President alone.

*Resolved*, That such a sanction of the powers claimed by the President will lead directly to the destruction of our liberties and the establishment of a despotism.

*Resolved*, That we cannot sufficiently express our gratitude to the majority in the Senate of the United States for the patriotic energy and unsurpassed talents with which they have maintained the cause of the Constitution, and withstood the assaults upon their Constitutional rights and privileges, and especially for the noble firmness with which they exposed the usurpation and abuse of power committed by the Executive in seizing upon the public purse; hurled back the disrespectful and unconstitutional attack upon their character and privileges in the unprecedented paper called a protest, without suffering it to remain to defile their proceedings; rejected the Executive commentary upon that unwarranted paper, without attempting to solve the perplexing question, whether it was an explanation, or whether it was a retraction, which has so much puzzled the supporters of Executive pretensions; and for the dignified rebuke conveyed in their answer to the insulting message which accompanied the re-nomination of the so styled Government Directors of the Bank of the United States, as well as for the second and more decided rejection of the nomination thus attempted to be forced upon them, in contemptuous violation of their clearest rights.

*Resolved*, That our gratitude is also due to the majority in the Senate of the United States, for giving a ready ear and the most prompt attention to the memorials of our fellow citizens, and to those entrusted with their conveyance and care, listening to their complaints, discussing their reasons, and doing what they could to redress the grievances complained of, & this too, when the doors of the Executive mansion were peremptorily closed against the delegates of the memorialists, and those delegates sternly refused admission to the presence of the President, to lay before him the representations of the people suffering under his rash, ill advised and unconstitutional interference with the currency, and, if possible, by means of correct information, to turn him from the destructive policy he was pursuing.

*Resolved*, That one of the principal means employed to accumulate power in the hands of the Executive, whereby he has been emboldened thus to seize upon the public purse, tamper with the currency, to introduce disorder and distress into all the operations of business, to insult and menace the Senate, and to attempt to assume to himself all the powers of government, is to be found in the possession of the appointing power, so exercised that the whole body of officers, high and low, throughout the U. States, should be made to feel their dependence upon him, and upon him alone, and all who sought for office, to look to him alone, and that both should be instructed, that their tenure and their hopes were to be maintained only by active subserviency to his will, as paramount to every other consideration, even that of duty, and the public welfare, and thus a body be established, entirely devoted to his purposes, whatever they might be.

*Resolved*, That the only corrective of this abuse of the appointing power of the President, is to be found in the full use of the Constitutional control of the Senate over appointments, and that in our opinion, under the extraordinary circumstances in which we are placed, this control ought to be exerted and applied to the whole extent of its Constitutional limits; and particularly to every case where an appointment is made of a member of Congress, which may be suspected to be, or even have the appearance of being, the reward of conforming his representative conduct to the will of the Executive rather than to the will and interests of his constituents, or may have the effect of rescuing him from accountability to his constituents; and that in such exertion of their Constitutional control, by some signal example to check a growing and alarming abuse, dangerous to our liberties, and destructive of the principle of Representative Government, the Senate will be supported and upheld by the people, and be acting according to the true spirit of the Constitution.

*Resolved*, That the Senate is now the refuge of Constitutional freedom, where it must be preserved and protected until the people shall have the opportunity of extending to it their own protection by the ballot box, (as the recent elections in

Virginia and New York and the demonstrations in Pennsylvania, assure us that they will do,) and while we view with admiration the constancy and ability which have so strikingly distinguished the conduct of the majority of that body, we earnestly conjure them to continue to watch and to resist the efforts of unjust power, in every shape it may assume, and to advise and approve of nothing which may have a tendency to advance its schemes or consolidate its strength.

*Resolved*, That we appreciate, with heartfelt gratitude, the patriotic firmness of the minority in the House of Representatives of the United States, and the distinguished ability with which, under every discouragement, they have exerted all their powers to maintain the Constitution and the true policy of the country; they have been voted down by determined majorities, and sometimes cut off from discussion by the previous question, but the light they shed upon the great topics of debate, has spread through the Union, and is now rapidly making its way to the minds of their countrymen, whence it will return to the Representative Chamber, and finally triumph over the blindness of party attachment.

*Resolved*, That with the expression of our gratitude to the patriotic minority in the House of Representatives, we would encourage them to persevere, assured, that whatever may be the strength of the majority in the House, the great majority of the nation is already with them, and *that* is a majority that will make itself heard.

*Resolved*, That instead of retrenchment, economy and reform, there has been an extravagant and unaccountable increase of expenditure, until the sum expended by the government has amounted to no less a sum than twenty-two millions of dollars within the last year, independently of what was applied to the payment of the public debt—at the same time offices have been multiplied to increase the number of Executive favorites, and the money of the people has been lavishly bestowed in salaries and rewards and extra allowances.

*Resolved*, That the refusal of the President to receive committees of our fellow citizens, who respectfully waited upon him from various parts of the United States, to offer to him information upon the effect of his measures, and to request that his policy might be changed, so as to relieve the Country from the severe distress he had brought upon it, was as contrary to true wisdom, as it was to the regard that is due to the rights of the citizens, and equally betrays a weak mind and a despotic temper, already surrendered to the dominion of flatterers, and unable to bear the plain language of republican simplicity and truth.

Which resolutions, except the third, were unanimously adopted. The third resolution was adopted, Mr. Bull of Bradford, Mr. Drinker of Susquehanna, and Mr. Frick of Northumberland, alone voting against its passage, giving as their reason that they deemed it inexpedient, but stating also that they had no objection to the principles it contains.

Mr. Reed from the committee to prepare an address to the People of Pennsylvania, reported the following, which was read by Mr. J. M'Ilvaine, and unanimously adopted.

#### ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A CONVENTION of delegates from the several counties of Pennsylvania, representing those of their fellow-citizens who disapprove the recent measures of the National Executive, and who attribute to those measures the excitement, alarm and pecuniary distress, now pervading the country, have assembled and

deliberated upon the interesting questions submitted to their consideration. From the commencement of their session to its close, the idea has been constantly present to their minds, that the occasion and the objects which called them together, are of unspeakable importance to the freedom and happiness of their common country. They believe, that at no former crisis, since the Whigs of the Revolution uttered their defiance of arbitrary power, and staked life and fortune and sacred honor upon the issue, has the call been so peremptory upon all those who love their country, whatever may be the modification of their republican creed, or whatever their party name, to rise up in defence of the first principles of the government, and, by united force and hearty co-operation, to restore the constitution and the law to their just supremacy over the rulers of the land.

The more we have compared sentiments with each other, the more intense and deep-seated has this feeling become. Under its guidance we have adopted a series of resolutions, to which we respectfully invite the candid attention of the citizens of Pennsylvania, and of the whole American people. To its paramount influence we attribute the uninterrupted harmony which has marked the proceedings of a Convention, belonging to no party in the politics of the state, but composed of individuals from almost every party, who, without yielding their own distinctive opinions, are yet prompt at the call of common danger, and ready to contend at the ballot box, side by side, for the injured principles of the constitution, and for their common rights as citizens of a free republic. To extend this feeling more widely through the state, and to produce a corresponding harmony of action upon the great national questions now at issue, is the sole object of this brief Address. If our efforts be successful, the struggle for power between the people on the one hand, and their elected servant on the other, can no longer be doubtful: and a lesson will be taught, so useful to the cause of rational freedom, as to entitle this generation to the gratitude of all succeeding ages.

Have the Convention overrated the importance of the present crisis? Is it not true that our community is at this moment excited and alarmed beyond all former example—that the permanency of the Union, and the stability of republican institutions, have become subjects of fear and reasonable doubt, and that for such doubts and fears, abundant cause is furnished by the ruinous career of the national executive? Let the people judge for themselves, by reference to facts, with which all are familiar, and which no one will deny. Let them examine the doctrines asserted by the President in reference to his own powers, and say whether he does not claim the whole sovereignty of the nation and disregard all the checks which the constitution has provided against arbitrary authority. Let them observe among the fearful omens of the times, how these doctrines are propagated by every

means which an extended influence over the public press, and an unlimited command of the public treasure, have placed within his reach—how principles inconsistent with all rational liberty are openly proclaimed by his blinded and corrupt adherents, in the name of freedom, and under the guise of democracy. Let them mark how the power of the national government has been brought to bear upon the independence of the state sovereignties; and referring to their own commonwealth for an example, at once recent and impressive, account for the vacillations of its executive and its legislature, under the attractive influence existing at Washington. Let them study the history and investigate the accounts of the general post-office, and they cannot fail to perceive that the good of the people and the law of the land have been contemptuously set aside by this administration—that a department created for general convenience, has become a mere engine of party operations, its revenues squandered among hungry partisans, and its value as a vehicle of sound information utterly destroyed. Let them number, if they can, the armies of office holders and office seekers who swarm through the country, and whose only rule of action and opinion is the command of their chief; and let them observe, how the number and compensation of officers has been increased, and these officers arrayed like a standing army, at all our elections, with the approbation of him who, while the oath of office was yet warm upon his lips, declared, that to reduce the expenses of government, and prevent the interference of public officers with the freedom of elections, should be cordial objects of his administration. Let them remember that a large portion of the house of representatives, influenced by the fear of punishment or the hope of reward, and surrendering their freedom of thought and action, have tamely passed under the yoke of the executive; and that, but for the patriotic stand which the Senate has made in the citadel of the constitution, this famed republic, the beacon light by which all other nations have steered in pursuit of freedom, would now be a monarchy in every thing but name.

That the pretensions of President Jackson, if admitted by the Senate and the People, as they have already been by the House of Representatives, would render this government a monarchy and not a republic, is evident from the paper which he presented to the Senate as an exposition of the authority claimed by the President. In that singular document, he adopts as a basis the powers exercised by the king of Great Britain, when the royal prerogative was most widely extended; and, so far from recognizing the principle of our constitution, that all powers not granted by that instrument are to be regarded as withholden, he claims every attribute of sovereignty not expressly prohibited by the letter of the constitution. Let this claim be admitted, and it will be useless for Congress to enact laws, or for the judiciary to decide upon their construction. The president will understand

them as he pleases : he will set them aside if they interfere with his plans—and, when some excuse for the disregard of his official oath is required by an insulted people, those immaculate advisers, who surround the throne, will find it in his zeal for the maintenance of public morality, by precept at least, if not by example.

The monarchial feelings of Gen. Jackson will be found to govern his practice in its most minute details. Like the weak kings, of whom history furnishes too many examples, we find him surrounded by a few interested favorites, who, by flattering his vanity, and stimulating his passions, maintain exclusive possession of the royal ear. 'Thro' the barriers thus created, the language of truth cannot pass, nor can his constitutional advisers expect to enter, unless upon condition of entire subserviency. Nay, the very delegates of the people of the United States, instructed to bear to the president a statement of their grievances, have either been refused admission into the palace of their Cæsar, or, when admitted, have been denied the opportunity of making known their views.

Surely the facts to which we have thus briefly adverted, and which our limits forbid us to present in detail, would afford a sufficient and satisfactory explanation of all the alarm which exists in the country. Instead of being surprised at the universal agitation of the public mind, while tyranny and corruption thus walk naked in the light of day, we should wonder rather at the patience and forbearance of the American people. And yet their causes of complaint go far beyond a mere mal-administration of the general government. For the first time in the history of this country, the power of the executive has been so exerted as to interfere with the business and ruin the prospects of private individuals. The currency has been deranged, produce depreciated, labor deprived of its wonted employment, commerce and manufactures paralyzed—and this not by the regular legislation of the representatives of the people, but by the act of one man, who, in his rage for conquest, has set himself above the people and the law. Not satisfied with warfare upon co-ordinate departments of the government, he has commenced hostilities against the credit and currency of the country, by the sudden and unwarranted removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States. To this outrage upon rights secured by law—to the spirit in which it originated and the manner of its execution, and more especially to the total insecurity in which it has left the public treasure, and the schemes for flooding the country with worthless paper which sprung up simultaneously with the removal of the deposits, are to be attributed the unexampled pressure which all classes feel in their pecuniary affairs. By this act of the President, a wound was given to public confidence, which years will probably be insufficient to heal. In a country like ours, where capital is small, and enterprise unlimited, industry must be crippled whenever credit is shaken. The credit of our country, has not only been shaken, but

almost destroyed by the conduct of the administration; and the consequences are what the most ordinary understanding might easily have foreseen, that a people who one year ago were prosperous in a pre-eminent degree, are now plunged in distress, with the gloomy prospect of almost universal insolvency. As this cause concurs, with a probable necessity of winding up the affairs of the national bank, by which forty millions of dollars must be withdrawn from active employment in the business of individuals, it fully explains all the embarrassments of which the people have complained in their memorials to Congress, and of which no human foresight can perceive their termination.

If we look first at the effects of this measure upon the commerce, industry and happiness of the country, and then refer to the reasons by which the president professes to be governed, we shall be struck with surprise at the total insignificance of the one in comparison with the other. And we cannot but wonder at the reckless audacity which could hazard so many interests, and destroy so much property, in order to accomplish so little of public or private good. It is true, he puts in the foreground his extreme tenderness for the morals of the people, and mourns over the alleged corruptions of the bank, as striking at the foundations of civil liberty. But why limit the operation of these feelings to the single example of the Bank of the United States? Why not restrain his own immediate officers, the friends of his bosom, and the constant associates of his councils, from influencing elections by bribery and force, and from the wanton expenditure of public money, in order to secure the succession to a candidate of their own. Why such long suffering with the abuses, and corruption, and total insolvency of the post office department; and why his patronage of men and presses, whose daily practice sets truth and morality equally at defiance? The answer is obvious from the facts of the case. His new-born zeal for public morals and civil liberty is a single edged sword, harmless to his friends, and formidable only to those whom he considers his enemies;—and the probability is that if the Bank of the United States had accepted his offer to become an ally in his war against the constitution and the people, the President would have discovered far stronger reasons for prolonging its existence, than he has been able to give for its condemnation and destruction.

In the preparation of this address, many topics have occurred to us, which might profitably be discussed, as calculated to throw light upon the condition of the government, and the prospects of the country: but anxious to be brief, we have contented ourselves with a reference to such prominent facts as may show the danger of our position, and the absolute necessity of some vigorous effort on the part of the people. The question next arises, what shall the People of Pennsylvania do to restore the integrity of the constitution, and regain the lost happiness and repose of the com-

munity? Let them denounce the ruinous policy of the present administration, by their votes at the next elections for Congress and the Legislature. Let them take their stand, once more, on the side of justice, liberty and reason; and supported, as they will certainly be, by Virginia and New York, they will present a force which no possible combination among the partisans of the oppressor can successfully oppose. To prepare for that election and to bring about an effective co-operation on the part of all who disapprove the acts of Executive usurpation, has been the great object of this Convention. Thus far we have succeeded beyond our most sanguine hopes, and we part with the assurance that the good work of conciliation here auspiciously begun, must go on and produce a rich harvest of good to our beloved country. We entertain no doubt, upon the evidence which surrounds us, that a large majority of the people of Pennsylvania agree with us in opinion upon the great national questions to which we have referred, and we believe that when our adversaries shall find all efforts to divide and distract us unavailing, they will retire from a contest which holds out to them no prospect but defeat.

The following proceedings were presented by the chair, which were ordered to be inserted in the minutes of the Convention.

At a meeting of the citizens of Westmoreland county, opposed to the usurpations of the national Executive, held at the house of Abraham Horbach in the borough of Greensburgh, on Thursday, the 22d day of May, A. D. 1834, James Nichols, Esq. was called to the chair, and Col. James B. Oliver appointed Secretary.

On motion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That William H. King and James Nichols, Esquires, of the Borough of Greensburg—Jesse Leppincot and Christopher Painter of Mountpleasant, William T. Niccolls of Pleasant Unity, John Snodgrass of New Alexandria and Col. Noah Mendal of Ligonier, be a Committee to represent the views of this meeting to the Convention to convene at Harrisburg on the 27th instant, and that they be a standing Committee of correspondence for the county of Westmoreland.

JAMES NICHOLS, Chairman.

ATTEST, J. B. OLIVER, Secretary.

The Convention then adjourned, to meet at 3 o'clock, P. M.

The Convention met at 3 o'clock P. M.

Mr. Ingersoll, from the committee to prepare a Memorial to Congress, reported the following, which was unanimously adopted:

### MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

A numerous body of the citizens of Pennsylvania assembled at the seat of their State government, ask leave respectfully to offer their Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. In assembling together and adopting the present measure, they are obeying the instructions and uttering the voice of their suffering fellow citizens of every section of this wide spread commonwealth. Out of twenty-six Congressional districts, twenty-five are represented in the convention. The fulness of the representation may be judged of by the numbers of your memorialists, who have left their occupations and their homes at a moment when, in consequence of the distress which pervades every part of the State, a departure from either is attended with peculiar inconvenience and embarrassment. They have yielded however to the commands of their friends and neighbours without regret for any personal sacrifices, and they have met together to confer upon the grievances which are endured, and to devise if possible the means of alleviating them. Your honorable bodies are not now to learn the distressed condition of any portion of the country. It is long since we have seen recorded in your journals the receipt of petitions from more than a hundred thousand citizens, all uniting in one mournful but unquestionable story of suspended wages, lost credit, increasing wants and diminished means to supply them—which have left their deep and perhaps indelible impression in every portion of a heretofore prosperous and smiling land. These communications springing, as they have done from various quarters, and dictated by no concert or co-operation except that which flows spontaneously from a common state of calamity, your memorialists have now the painful opportunity fully to confirm. They have brought together the disastrous tidings which have been collected in each distinct section of the commonwealth. They have opened to each other freely their swelling hearts, and they have sought in vain for one mitigating circumstance in possession or in prospect, for one exaggerated representation or distorted fact in the numerous exhibitions of deep felt suffering which have been made to Congress, and they have found only aggravation in the conviction that the suffering has been altogether unnecessary and unmerited.

As Pennsylvanians, your memorialists contemplate with anguish the neglect or destruction of unlimited resources, which are now

worse than thrown away. The cherished policy of the state, consisting of an encouragement of her manufactures, has become impracticable and delusive—for there is no longer a market for the sale of them, or a reasonable probability of being paid for them if they could be sold. The consequence is, that numerous establishments of that description are actually closed, and others remain in partial operation with crippled strength, performing but a fraction of their accustomed labor; and struggling even in that feeble and imperfect condition, not in the belief that any return of profit can be realized, but clinging to the possibly delusive hope that infatuation itself must one day or other be brought to perceive and to abandon the error of its ways.

Your memorialists do not mean to dwell for a moment upon the loss sustained by the proprietors, severe and afflicting as it is—unjustly and tyrannically as it has been decreed. They are able in many instances to stand up against the shock beyond the reach of utter ruin, and they are awaiting in such cases with becoming fortitude the return of better times. Pennsylvania happily rests upon resources which the rudest storm cannot in a moment sweep away. But your memorialists anxiously desire to communicate to your honorable bodies some portion of the feeling with which they are animated for a large class of laboring *poor*, whose daily bread depends upon the constancy of their employments and the certainty of their reward. In the city of Pittsburg and its immediate vicinity, two-thirds of a population of thirty thousand inhabitants owe their livelihood to manufactures. The suspension of the forge and the loom, which has now occurred, debars a large portion of this vast mass of human activity and strength from occupation and consequently from support; and many of them must be cast out to starve, unless a Providence juster and more benignant than their rulers, protects them in their day of need.

The staples of the commonwealth are without a market. Many of its once flourishing mines are in a great degree abandoned, and their miners are generally dispersed. Iron and cotton are no longer manufactured to the extent of more than two-thirds of their former produce. Lumber, if it sells at all, sells at greatly diminished prices. Four out of five of the furnaces of an extensive glass house at Kensington, are extinguished, and the fifth is kept in blast chiefly that the numerous apprentices may continue to enjoy the means of instruction and beneficial exercise. If flour retains its price, it is owing to the additional calamity of its scarcity, in consequence of which the supply has been reduced in proportion to the demand. Turn where we will, your memorialists perceive one universal sense of present or impending ruin depressing the energies and darkening the prospects of the citizen.

It is scarcely necessary at this time, to trace these deeply seated and wide-spread mischiefs to their source. Under a solemn sense however of the responsibility which we owe to our constituents, and to your honorable bodies, we do not hesitate to confirm the imputation which has been so often communicated to Congress. Until a series of measures, on the part of the executive of the Union, hostile to the best interests of Pennsylvania, were consummated by the last fatal blow aimed at the Bank of the United States, in the removal of the deposits to the custody of other institutions, all was prosperous and marked with plenty. The energies of our commonwealth and, as we believe, of the whole nation, became palsied from that hour. Your memorialists must therefore ascribe the sufferings to which they have adverted to that ill-advised measure consequent as it was upon, or connected with a system of hostility pursued towards the national bank.— The measure would probably have been sufficiently disastrous of itself; but when it bore every appearance of being united with a stern and unrelenting disposition to break down the barriers of the constitution, it was fraught with ruin to the brightest hopes of the nation.

As other memorialists have been denied access to the executive, we cannot hope for succor from the quarter where we should otherwise most naturally have looked for it; to which we have undoubtingly ascribed the sufferings of our constituents. We therefore make our appeal directly to the Legislature. We approach your honorable bodies with the deference and respect that are due from citizens to the representatives of the sovereignty of the American people, but with the firmness and independence of freemen, suffering under the weight of accumulated wrongs; conscious of the purity of our motives and the righteousness of our cause. We are no less representatives of the people than yourselves; selected indeed at the moment of suffering; without the reproach of having in any degree contributed to it; and unhappily without the means of extending relief. We approach you under the deepest conviction that it is fully within your power to redress the evils of our common country, and that it is your most sacred duty to put forth your arm and exercise that power. We rest upon the right which is guaranteed to us by the constitution to remonstrate against grievances, where complaint must lawfully be heard: to demand relief where alone it may be found.

We believe, and so communicate to you, that the measure especially complained of was in direct violation of the Constitution. That, that Constitution gives to the Executive no sort of control over the treasure of the nation. That in assuming such unauthorised control, an act has been committed of lawless usurpation, and high handed tyranny; and that the co-ordinate branch of the government whose peculiar rights have been invaded, owes it to the nation and itself, effectually to vindicate them. We believe,

moreover, and we assert with the confidence which the constitution and the cause inspire, that should the Legislature deny the redress we call for, and refuse to rescue the bleeding country from the effect of wounds thus wantonly inflicted, it will participate in the exercise of arbitrary power.

Could your memorialists discover for the act complained of, one feeble pretence in reason or in law, they would summon to their assistance the best consolations of patriotism, and patiently abide by the redress which the elective power may afford. But when they are referred to no authority, and are informed of no danger to justify or excuse the act; when they are told that their constituents are to be involved in ruin—that the constitution of their country is to be invaded—that the best hopes of a happy people are to be blasted for the sake of AN EXPERIMENT: and when that experiment has done its office and has proved itself to be altogether disastrous, they cannot, because they feel they ought not to, delay to throw themselves upon Congress for ample and immediate relief. Should it be delayed one single hour, distress will be greatly aggravated. Should Congress rise without specific measures to carry the balm of consolation to the hearts of your desponding countrymen, the extent of the calamity it would be impossible to foretell.

The representatives of Pennsylvania are especially called on to listen to the mournful voice of their suffering fellow citizens. They will not surely turn a deaf ear to the cry of supplication, speaking from so many thousand tongues. If they can, let them listen to the voice of warning. This convention is composed of two hundred and fifty members—of whom two hundred and eight have been in attendance. Of the whole number no less than seventy-five have heretofore been friends and supporters of the chief magistrate, whose acts have plunged the nation into deep calamity. They have deemed it due to their love of country to hold fast by the constitution through evil and through good report; and when a President, to whom they have been ardently attached, forgets the tie—ininitely stronger than the strongest tie of personal devotion—that ought to bind him to his country and her laws, they deem it equally their duty to cast him off forever.

Your memorialists are well assured that a single act of Congress, calculated to give renewed confidence in our institutions and to ensure to them respect and obedience hereafter, would at once arrest the progress of distress, and restore happiness to the people. The violation of the constitution, like the sudden blast of death, filled the whole nation with dismay. The application by Congress of the remedy, which is completely within their power, will dispel with magic influence the shades which now envelop the country. Your memorialists confidently believe, that the restoration of the deposits to their only proper depository—or an unequivocal act disapproving of their removal—or an act re-

chartering the Bank of the United States—or *any act* which shall effectually restrain the Executive from carrying on hostilities against the policy of Congress and the peace and welfare of the country, would afford relief;—the want of which is so sorely felt and the possession of which is so anxiously required. And they respectfully pray that one or all of such acts may be passed.

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On motion of Mr. Randall the following resolutions were adopted.

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to repair to Washington, to present the Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

*Resolved*, That the committee be authorised, to present to each Senator and Member of the House of Representatives of the U. S. a copy of the proceedings of this Convention. The following committee was accordingly appointed.

*Committee to carry the Memorial to Congress :*

|                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| John Sergeant,          | James Wilson,         |
| John Reed,              | John Britton,         |
| Josiah Randall,         | John G. Miles,        |
| John P. Wetherill,      | Joseph Paxton,        |
| David Woelpper,         | Robert C. Hall,       |
| William Darlington,     | Henry Drinker,        |
| William Eyre,           | James M. Russell,     |
| William Wright,         | James Taylor,         |
| Thomas M. Jolly,        | John S. Riddle,       |
| Samuel Carey,           | Charles W. Churchman, |
| George Weber,           | George Darsic,        |
| Christopher Loeser,     | Robert Cunningham,    |
| John Beitenman,         | Thomas Williams,      |
| David Krause,           | John B. Wallace,      |
| Frederick Eichelberger, | David M'Murtrie, Jr.  |

On motion of Nathan Sargeant, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Hon. John Sergeant be respectfully requested to furnish, for publication, a copy of the remarks made by him on Tuesday last, on presenting a resolution condemnatory of the conduct of the President of the United States.

On motion of Mr. M'Connell:

*Resolved*, That this Convention be styled a Convention of Delegates from the Citizens of Pennsylvania opposed to Executive usurpation and abuse.

On motion of Mr. Randall:

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this Convention be signed by the President, Vice Presidents and Secretaries, and the several members of the Convention; and

be published in all the newspapers of Pennsylvania opposed to Executive usurpation and misrule.

On motion of Mr. Randall,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Hon. JOSEPH LAWRENCE, President, and his associates, Vice Presidents of this Convention, for the dignity and impartiality with which they have presided over this body.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Convention be also presented to the Secretaries, for the manner in which they have performed the duties of their office.

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

JOSEPH LAWRENCE, President.

Vice Presidents.

NER MIDDLESWARTH,  
HENRY FRICK,  
JOHN VINCENT,  
JAMES M'SHERRY,  
GEORGE HARRISON,  
FREDERICK EICHELBERGER,  
NEVILLE B. CRAIG,  
SAMUEL M'KEEHAN,  
J. M. RUSSELL,  
SAMUEL GROSH,  
PETER ADDAMS,  
DAVID WOELPPER,

Secretaries.

*John Williamson,*  
*David Krause,*  
*Thomas M. Jolly,*  
*William Jessup,*  
*Edward Olmsted,*  
*Samuel C. Tait.*



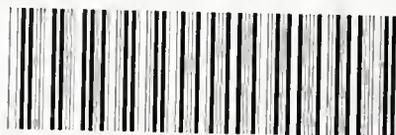








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