

o'clock, A. M. and 2 1/2 o'clock, P. M. On the alternate days of the week, having suggested to the other gentlemen to accommodate their meeting to these hours. We then adjourned to meet the next day at 2 1/2 o'clock, P. M.

While the House was thus organizing, Mr. Hopkins moved that the names of the Van Buren men contained in the return furnished by Pray should be added to the list of members, and they be considered members.

The question was put; and forty-eight members elected and a large number of the "people" scattered through the House voted "aye"—and the Clerk said it was carried, and installed Pray and his associates at once as members! and immediately after in calling the names to elect a Speaker, called them, and not the members officially returned for the county.

The forty eight who did not vote for Mr. Cunningham, and the eight added as above proceeded to the election, and Mr. Hopkins was elected Speaker. He went to the platform amid the loud shouts and applause of the mob! I. J. McCahen and several of his associates, not members, mounted the platform with him—McCahen standing behind Speaker Cunningham and beckoning several of the mob to take possession of the steps leading to the Speaker's chair, which they obeyed.

When the Speaker declared the House adjourned, McCahen said "you shall never meet in this House again." This fellow was in no way connected with the Legislature but has been for years an officer in the Philadelphia Post Office, resigning occasionally on the morning of an election, so as to qualify himself to act as Clerk or judge in the Kensington district and being re-commissioned the next day!

This is what the mob call "protecting their rights," and the general government "the purity of the elective franchise." The House of Representatives had by its calm and conciliatory course given no pretext for actual violence, and became organized contrary to the determination of the leaders of the mob. They expected we should submit to taking votes upon the legality of returns before we were organized, when they should be able to intimidate the weak and dictate their course.

Mortified at being foiled, they held a meeting at which Gen. Miller presided and resolved to go to the Senate and "claim their rights." The Senate met at 3 o'clock and proceeded to organize upon the same principles that the House had adopted. When the Philadelphia County returns were read, Mr. Brown presented certified copies of returns similar to Pray's, and Mr. Rogers moved that they be read as the true returns. The Speaker decided that no returns could be read in the first instance but those furnished by the Secretary of the Commonwealth.—They having returned Messrs. Hanna and Wagner, they appeared and were sworn in. In the meantime, Mr. Coplan and others, members elect, but not sworn in, attempted to address the Senate; they were called to order by the Chair, not being yet qualified to act as members. Much confusion existed in the gallery. After Hanna and Wagner were sworn in, Brown attempted to address the Senate, but was called to order, not being a member. Persons in the gallery then cried out, "hear him!" "hear him!" "Brown, Brown!" "You shall hear Brown!" John Snyder called out "ride the Speaker on a rail!" When hundreds cried out "a rail!" "a rail!" jumped over the railing into the lobby, and in spite of all the efforts of the Sergeant at arms, Door Keepers and their assistants, rushed into the Senate chamber headed by McCahen, Pray, and others, continuing to yell "Give us our rights!" "We will have our rights!" "Re consider your vote!" "You must admit Brown and Stevenson!" "Hanna and Wagner shall resign! We will have our rights or blood!" "We will have Burrowes, Stevens, and Penrose's blood!" "Down with Stevens, and down with Burrowes!" "You shall hear Brown!" All was then confusion and alarm. Brown was permitted to proceed, sometimes addressing the Speaker, but generally his "fellow citizens," as he called the ruffians behind him, descending upon his and their rights, and they answering him with cries for "blood!" and for the "lives of Penrose, Burrowes, and Stevens." Their fury increased and was fomented by their leaders, Mr. Burrowes and myself were standing in front of them, near the fire. We were urged several times to withdraw as the only means of safety and of preventing the effusion of blood. Mr. Penrose, the Speaker, finding it impossible to restore order, left the Chair, putting Mr. Rogers in it; a man of their own party, who told the Speaker that if he did not leave he could not be protected. Private information was conveyed both to Mr. Penrose and myself, by persons from the crowd, that they heard the ruffians arranging it to "stab" or "knife" us. Mr. Burrowes, following the advice of a very cool and judicious gentleman from Philadelphia, had left the house by a back window; and as the tumult grew thicker and nearer, after dark Mr. Penrose and myself did the same, and were followed by a large number of gentlemen, Senators and members of the House, as well as others.—We had scarcely got behind the Treasury building, when twenty or thirty of the mob broke out of the Capitol, and run around to the window whence we escaped. On seeing it open, a person present testifies that they said "we are a minute too late!"—and inquired for Mr. Penrose.

We went to the Secretary's and from thence to the Governor's. Neither of us returned to our lodgings that night. I was informed by those not likely to be deceived, that my path was waylaid by at least three parties of assassins. One of the gang had been heard to say, "that I should be in the Susquehanna before morning." After the Senate was thus adjourned, the people as this mob is styled by their leaders, took undisturbed possession of the Senate Chamber, their chiefs mounting

the Senators' desks, and preaching sedition and bloodshed.

That night they re-assembled in the Court House, Gen. MILLER again in the chair, and resolved "that the Government was at an end, and appointed a Committee of Safety to carry on the government of the State." Their orators, Barton, Pennington and others, told them to call on the Secretary for other returns, and if he did not give them, "then" "then"—said they, slapping their fists together, and making significant signs of assassination! They urged them "to go to the Capitol the next day and demand their rights, and if they were not granted, THE CAPITOL SHOULD SMOKE WITH BLOOD!" They appointed several Committees to take care of the government." Among the Committee of Safety some of our own citizens, Gen. MILLER, Col. IRVINE, and others, found an honorable place.

The next day the Capitol was filled with the rioters. The Senate did not attempt except to adjourn through a deputed Speaker. Mr. Spackman went to the House, at the request of the Speaker, to adjourn it, but found it filled by the mob, even to the Speaker's chair: and, when he attempted with resolute firmness, to discharge his duty, he was seized and dragged out of the House, amidst violent tumults—many escaping through the windows.

The keeper of the Arsenal has garrisoned it with a few men, to protect the arms, when the mob surrounded and attempted to force it. I ought not, perhaps, to say "mob"; they were insurgents regularly officered. Gen. Diller had the command of them; and aided by Gen. Miller, and several other officers of less note and infamy, drilled them for about three hours on Capitol-hill. As nearly as could be ascertained, without seeing their muster roll, there were nearly four hundred men in ranks.

In the mean time, the "Provisional Government" was in session at Chas's tavern, receiving reports, appointing Committees, and despatching agents to the different counties, to raise funds and "minute men" to "protect the rights of the Philadelphia butchers!" Neither the Governor nor Secretary of the Commonwealth, dared to go to their Executive chambers, and the obnoxious members of the Legislature, were compelled to stay away from the Capitol, on pain of instant death! Nor could they, with safety, appear in the streets nor in the bar-rooms of the public houses, until the arrival of the troops under Gen. Patterson.

I have been thus minute, and I fear, tedious, in relating particulars, because the actors and leaders in these scenes, with the effrontery of practice felons, deny that there was any mob and outrage! They say "that none were assembled there but good peaceable citizens, anxious to protect their 'rights!' and that the small excitement was nothing more, than the virtuous indignation of an injured people, grieving over the wrongs they suffered!"

If there was no mob, no tumult—if the Legislature was not dissolved, and government broken up;—why appoint a Committee of Safety? Why have a "Provisional Government?" Why have a Commander of Arms, if the Governor was still Commander in Chief? Why raise "minute men" in Berks, York, Northumberland and elsewhere, if there was no Revolution?

But, who were these virtuous "People," who became so indignant at the infraction of their rights? They were not the merchants and householders, and mechanics of Philadelphia County. They were not the Farmers and honest labourers from the country. They are not wont to appear in deliberative assemblies, to "grieve" with pistols, and assert their rights with daggers! No! The People who were thus "excited" were a hired banditti from the corrupt purities of Philadelphia. They came in bands under regular leaders. Mr. Plennikin, a leading Van Buren member of the House from Fayette County wrote on the 4th and 5th December, to one of his Constituents "that LIEPPE was there at the head of one hundred men from the County of Philadelphia, and five hundred more would follow!" About two hundred actually arrived. The most respectable of them—the "Captains of Teas," were keepers of disorderly houses in Kensington. Then came journeyman butchers, who were too worthless to find regular employment—next, professional Borers, who practice their pugilistic powers for hire; low gamblers who infest the Oyster cellars of the suburbs.—A portion of them consisted of a class of men, whose business you will hardly understand, Dog Keepers who, in Springgarden and Southwark, breed and train a ferocious breed of dogs, whom they fight weekly for wages, and for the amusement of this "indignant people!" Their troop was planked by a few professional thieves and discharged convicts. These men, gathered up from the lanes and hovels, were re-fitted with such cast-off clothes, as their employers could command, and hired at fifteen dollars the head and freights, to come to Harrisburg and instruct the Legislature in its duties, and protect their "rights."

This is a faithful and not exaggerated description of what you are told was the "Democracy" that visited the Legislative Halls! This, to be sure, is the kind of Democracy that such verregade Federalists as commanded them, generally find communion with.

I have thus given you an honest, though imperfect account of the scenes of the first week of December. I have stated nothing but what I know personally, or have learned from unquestionable authority. All, and much more, is capable of proof. I believe the actors to be guilty of Treason; and so far as I am personally concerned, I shall always treat them as Traitors. To call their leaders more insurgents or assassins, would be doing injustice to the dignity of their crime. They went for empire "the Laws to them, are servile shackles;" They prefer "Provisional government," and

"Committee of Safety," next will come the "Revolutionary Tribunal and the guillotine; and these leaders of the "People" will shine forth, the Dantons and Robespierres of the age! Why do we forget the magnitude of the question, by stooping to inquire which of the Philadelphia returns was correct? Can that question be settled by a rebellious army expelling the Legislature from Halls which should ever be inviolate, and then, they be justified by pleading the correctness of their judgment on the legal points thus decided?

This paper is already too long. I shall defer the further history of the crimes of some and shame of others, until another number.

Very respectfully
your obedient servant,
THADDEUS STEVENS.

GETTYSBURG, JAN. 9, 1839.

Dear Sir,

The opposite party having industriously circulated a report that you are a Mason, and in favour of Secret oath bound Societies, I address you, on behalf of the County Committee, for the purpose of inquiring, whether such be the fact. An immediate answer will oblige me.

Yours respectfully
ROBERT SMITH,
Chairman of the Co. Committee.
To J. F. MACFARLANE, Esq.

GETTYSBURG, JAN. 9, 1839.

Dear Sir,

In answer to your letter of this morning, I say that I never was a member of any secret society bound together by extra judicial oaths. I am opposed to all societies leagued under such sanctions; and recent occurrences have increased my repugnance to them.

Very respectfully
Yours &c.
JOHN F. MACFARLANE.
To R. Smith, Esq.

Thomas C. Miller.

This man was once thought honest. He once was, we suppose, but how is it now? Mobste as he is, that is only one of his like qualities.—When he was elected Sheriff he was bankrupt—now he is worth fifty thousand dollars and more. Has he made it honestly? He has had no productive means (except his office) by which to acquire it. We will tell you how he acquired it, and let him seek his remedy if we slander him. He extorted it from the poor defendants against whom he had writs, over-charging them in almost every instance. We charge him, in the face of the public, with charging illegal fees to a vast amount. He knows our names, and if we slander him, knows his remedy.

Fellow Freemen:

We have a few grave questions to propose to you which we desire you to reflect upon and answer.

Are you prepared for a state of Anarchy, in which you no longer require the protection of the laws?

Do you believe that Courts of Justice should be broken up, and every man become the redresser of his own wrongs?

Do you think it conducive to the safety and happiness of the people, that the Legislature has been put in the power of the mob and obliged to act by its dictation?

Do you believe it a proper exercise of popular sovereignty, for some two or three hundred men, who assume to be the people, to compel either branch of the Legislature, to admit to seats, or deprive of seats, such members as they may think fit?

Upon these questions we desire you would reflect, as upon matters in which you have a personal stake—in which your posterity as well as yourselves are interested. If you answer them in the affirmative, then you declare for anarchy; you reject your old safe-guard the laws, and rely upon your own strength or your own address for the security of your persons and your property. But before you do so, ponder well upon the consequences of such a state of licence as must ensue, when the reign of the Laws end, and that of Anarchy begins. For our own part, before we would forego the protection of the law,

"We'd rather be the meanest craven
That crawls on Old Oppression's sod,
Than underneath our own bright heaven
Lose this fair heritage of God."

The issue is now made; THOMAS C. MILLER, the man who presided over the mob which drove the Legislature from the Capitol, has been nominated as a candidate for the State Senate!—In thus offering to the people the leader of the mob, the rebels have declared their approbation of the disgraceful outrages which took place at Harrisburg. We are glad to see it—we are glad that they have cast aside the veil of hypocrisy, and avowed themselves in favor of treason, by nominating a partaker in it. We repeat it, we are glad of it, because thus early, our suspense will be terminated, by the question being submitted to the people, whether they approve of the desecration of the State Capitol by a mob—violence to the Legislature, and Treason to the Commonwealth! If they vote for Thomas C. Miller, who led and presided over the mob, they ratify its doings and declare against the laws. If they should do so, we submit; we know our fate; we need struggle no longer for the supremacy of the laws—look no further for the protection which they have hitherto afforded us. We must then arm ourselves, each man to defend his own rights; for then will have commenced, the war of the strong upon the weak. The constituted tribunals for the vindication of our rights will have been cast down, and every man must take upon himself to redress his own injuries and avenge his own wrongs.

We pray heaven that these things may not be; for when they come to pass, "the beginning of the end" will have taken place, and there will be but a few steps more between Liberty and its grave.