

Indiana Palladium.

EQUALITY OF RIGHTS IS NATURE'S PLAN—AND FOLLOWING NATURE IS THE MARCH OF MAN.—BARLOW.

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ADDRESS.

The following Address accompanied the proceedings of the Administration Convention, held at Indianapolis, published last week.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF INDIANA—

A Convention of Delegates, assembled at Indianapolis, from several counties in this State, associated with other friends of Internal Improvements and Domestic Manufactures, beg leave to address your cool and dispassionate judgment on the subject of the ensuing Presidential election. Identified with the great body of their fellow-citizens, in the enjoyment of all the blessings resulting from our free institutions, the interest of the State is *our interest*, and the interest of Indians we believe to be that of the Union at large. So far as the Presidential election is concerned, our wishes are limited to this cardinal object, the *prosperity of the STATE and NATION*.

Disavowing mere personal predilections, disclaiming all party views and sectional feelings, abstaining from acrimony or intemperance in relation to our opponents, our only inquiries shall be, what are the measures which have promoted, and which are calculated to promote this *grand object*? and who are the men, on whom we can most confidently rely, to carry these measures into effect!

On one of the most efficient means or class of measures, calculated to advance our prosperity, the opinion of Indiana, since her existence as a State, has been uniform and unequivocal. We allude to the power of Congress to appropriate money for the purpose of making Internal Improvements in the several States. That construction of the constitution which secures this power, and, as a matter of course, elicits its exercise, she has ever deemed of vital importance to her interest. It is believed that our fellow citizens would never advance to political power, any man or set of men, who were directly at issue with them on this important principle; and it is within the recollection of us all, that the explicit avowal of opinions, coincident with our own, on this subject, by our present Chief Magistrate, in his first Message to Congress, gave general satisfaction to the citizens of Indiana.

As little doubt is entertained that in favor of the other great branch of the *American System*, the protection of Domestic Industry, the sentiments of our citizens are equally unanimous. The stagnation of trade and the depression of our Agricultural interest for want of a certain and convenient *home market*, have been too long and too severely felt by Indiana, not to cause her to embrace with eagerness the only policy, that promises relief. That a firm and persevering encouragement of American Industry, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial, to the exclusion of foreign, wherever our countrymen are competent to supply the demands of the nation, will have this tendency, and ultimately produce this result, is the prevailing sentiment in our State; and we believe that Indiana will never knowingly invest with the Executive authority of the Nation, any individual, however illustrious, whose sentiments on this subject, are either *hostile*, *lukewarm* or *equivocal*.

We will here take occasion to remark, that the Presidency of the United States, was never intended to be conferred on any man, merely as a *reward*, or *compensation* for services, civil or military. We cannot consent that a *national trust*, the highest and noblest a free people can bestow, should ever be converted into an affair of personal aggrandizement, or even ranked among the premiums of national gratitude. It is not for any personal benefit or emolument to the incumbent, that the people invest him with the functions of their Chief Magistrate. He is the depositary of certain constitutional powers, for the benefit of his constituents. He is the Trustee of the Nation; and although arduous and important public services, are calculated to elicit the gratitude of the people, as well as to test the fitness of the candidate, still we repeat it, it is not as a *reward*, that our votes should be given to any man, but from a conviction that he is the best qualified to administer the government.

If the above remarks be correct, fellow-citizens, we are authorized dispassionately to appeal to an enlightened view of your own interest, in making a selection between the distinguished candidates for the Presidency.

In Mr. Adams, we have an able and accomplished statesman, of five-and-thirty years experience in the civil and diplomatic relations of our country, whose *capacity*, neither personal nor political

hostility has ever questioned—whose moral character the licentious daring of calumny, has not ventured to assail; who, at an early period of life, won the confidence and enjoyed the esteem of the Father of his country, and who has honorably and successfully filled the most important stations under every succeeding Administration; who is the declared friend, the avowed supporter of the *American System*.

In Gen. Jackson, we have a successful military commander, who, for his military achievements in the field, merits and receives a copious tribute of the Nation's gratitude; a gentleman, however who is *not* a Statesman, and if he be a friend to Internal Improvements and Domestic Manufactures, is either unwilling to *avow*, or desirous to *conceal* his opinions.

From the past three years of Mr. Adams' Administration we derive evidence, sufficient to convince all, who are not wilfully blind, that the policy we advocate and support in Indiana, has uniformly characterized his course. During this short period, from *three to four millions* of dollars have been appropriated to permanent objects of Internal Improvement, "without intraching upon the necessities of the Treasury, without adding a dollar to the taxes or debts of the Nation, without suspending the regular and steady discharge of the public debt, which, in the same three years, has been diminished by the amount of nearly *SIXTEEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS*!"

What Administration, fellow-citizens, have we ever had, that exercised more paternal care over our interests? Mr. Adams has, it is believed, the honor of being the first President who has officially recommended the *remission* of all forfeitures of partial payments, made for the public lands, so as to enable that class of unfortunate persons to apply their forfeited money to other payments due the government, or in new purchases of lands. But hear his own language on this subject in his last Message:

"It can never be the interest or the policy of the Nation, to wring from its own citizens the reasonable profits of their industry and enterprise, by holding them to the rigorous import of disastrous engagements. I recommend to Congress the *REVIVAL and continuance* for a further term, of the beneficial accommodations to the public debtors, of the *Acts of Congress of 1821 and 1826*, for the *Relief of Purchasers of Public Lands*, and submit to their consideration in the same spirit of equity, the *REMISSION, under proper discriminations, of the forfeitures of partial payments, on account of the purchases of public lands, so far as to allow of their application to other payments*."

A compliance with the very letter of our Petitions, Memorials and Joint Resolutions, on this subject, so far as the Executive authority is concerned, ought, we should suppose, to satisfy reasonable men.

If our estimate of facts, be not wholly fallacious, we have been well treated by the Administration. So far as concerns us, the Government has been well administered. We would suppose, that the cry of denunciation come from what quarter it might, *Indiana* at least, would not join the chorus. During these same three years, all the Internal Improvements, that have ever been made or projected in Indiana by the General Government, have taken place. The Cumberland Road has been located through our State, embracing the Capital and such other towns, as we have petitioned to have in its route. Two Corps of Engineers have been employed for successive years, to ascertain the facilities and locate the channels of future Canals. Extensive grants of Land have been donated to the State, one for a Canal connecting the waters of the Wabash and Maumee, the other to construct a thoroughfare from Lake Michigan to the Ohio River.

Fellow-citizen; we invite your attention to the facts above set forth, and seriously ask you, whether you can expect from any Administration of the Government, more devoted attention to your interests? Will you then, can you, for the sake of signalizing your gratitude, or testifying your admiration of one, among the many benefactors of your country, let go your hold on its permanent glory, prosperity and happiness?—Were the present contest, which enlists every individual, which engages every heart and sharpens the faculties of every mind, a mere matter of individual preference, we should deem ourselves unworthy engaged in bestowing on it so much attention, or treating it with so much gravity?—Were it a question simply, whether

should administer the same principles and dispense the same blessings, we should regard the decision as of little moment either to our interest or our happiness. But the truth is, the contest is for *principles and measures*, and the issue involves a radical change in the hitherto salutary and prosperous administration of our public affairs.—Shall the principles and measures which have been appropriately denominated the *American System*, be any longer recognized as the leading policy of the Administration? Shall the next Administration encourage and protect American Manufactures in preference to *foreign*, facilitate and improve the means of our internal commercial intercourse, by a liberal expenditure of a portion of the public revenue in the construction of Roads and Canals? Or, shall these powers be denied; their exercise suspended—our manufactures proscribed—the progress of Internal Improvement arrested, and the whole of the immense revenues of the country expended among the cities and towns on the sea coast?

It will be our endeavor, fellow-citizens, to prove by facts that will not be controverted, and by inferences that cannot be resisted, that these are in truth and in fact, the questions now awaiting the solemn decision of the people of the United States, and that no portion of this people have a deeper interest in the result than the citizens of Indiana.

A cursory glance at the state of the parties in this controversy, exhibits the singular spectacle of seven States in the Union supporting a man for the Presidency on the declared ground of his *anti-tariff*, and *anti-improvement* opinions, and his partisans in five other States supporting the same man, as the known and "reputed friend" of Internal Improvements and Domestic Manufactures. Does the candidate blow hot and blow cold? or which of these clusters of States is mistaken? Why, we would ask, do the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, so zealously urge his pretensions, and affect to consider their political salvation almost at stake on his election? All these States are claimed as decided opponents of the present Administration, who will support no man who is not pledged to the same opposition. Why do his friends in the States of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, zealously urge the pretensions of the same man? Because, as they affect to "believe" and would have the people "believe" their candidate is the decided friend of the *American System*. And is it possible, fellow-citizens, that you are willing to give your suffrages to a man who, where your best interests are concerned, is thus *neutral*? Would you elect him even as your Representatives, unless he would on these subjects, honestly and fearlessly avow his opinions? Can you for a moment think of supporting for the first office in your gift, a man, who if not decidedly hostile, is yet mysteriously silent? The truth is, as has been elsewhere said, Southern friendship is the "*breath of his nostrils*," and the moment that ceases to animate his political existence, *it is gone*?—Well does he know it, and his friends in Indiana aware of the fact, endeavor to steer clear of it by attempting to palm upon their "*belief*," in lieu of the General's own declaration.—But are you willing to accept of this third rate evidence, this partisan "*belief*," in lieu of the very best evidence, the *General's own declaration*? We challenge him, who has often asserted that he practised no disguise, that his opinions were open to the inspection of his fellow-citizens, to come out openly and fully on this subject.

But it is not alone from the silence of Gen. Jackson on this great question, that we draw the legitimate inference of his opposition to our interests. The conduct of men is the surest criterion by which we are to judge of their opinions. The conduct of a party is surely a fair criterion of the opinion of its chief. Let us then take a view of the friends and the enemies of the *American System* in the several States, and compare them with the supporters and opponents of Gen. Jackson. Let us take Tennessee, for instance, and observe how she voted on the Tariff Bills of 1818, 1824, and 1826. In these several years, every member from Tennessee, in the House of Representatives of the United States, voted against the several Tariff Bills.—On the Bill of 1818, the votes were in the House of Representatives as follows:

The 7 northern States, *for. against.*
including New York 44 14
The 8 southern States, *including Tennessee* 3 46

The 4 Middle States 29 8
The 5 western States
excluding Tenn. - 13 3
— 89 71

All the votes (6 in number) from Tennessee, against the Tariff of 1818.

On the Bill of 1824, the votes in the House of Representatives stood thus:

for. against.
Seven Northern States, 41 31
Eight Southern States, 1 64
Four Middle States - 34 7
Five Western States, (excluding Tenn.) - 31 0

106 102

All the seven votes of Tennessee, against the Tariff, and every vote from Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, in favor of it.

On the Tariff of the last session of Congress called the *Woollens Bill*, the votes stood thus:

for. against.
Seven Northern States, 61 9
Eight Southern States, 1 62
Four Middle States, 25 12
Five Western States, 13 11

106 94

All the votes of Tennessee, except one absent, against the Bill.

In the Senate, the votes stood thus:

for. against. absent.
Seven Northern States, - 11 0 3
Eight Southern States, 0 12 4
Four Middle do. 3 4 1
Five Western do. 6 4 0

20 20 3

The Bill was lost by the casting vote of Mr. Calhoun, the Vice-President—all the Jackson Senators voting against it, and most of the members of the House, who were friendly to his election, doing the same—among whom was one of the very individuals since nominated as a Jackson-Elector in our own State!

For the General, then, or his friends, to claim your votes on the score of friendliness to the Tariff, is not less an insult to your understandings, than it will be a mockery of your hopes.

We will exhibit to you the votes on one more Bill which was destroyed by the casting vote of Mr. Calhoun, our Vice-President, and the warm supporter of Gen. Jackson. We mean the Bill of the Session of 1825-6, to grant a certain quantity of land to the State of Illinois, for the purpose of opening a Canal to connect the waters of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan. The votes in favor of and against the Bill, being 17 and 17, Mr. Calhoun voted in the negative.

All those voting against the Bill, one excepted, were the friends of General Jackson.

The truth is, that Tennessee, notwithstanding her geographical position, is, and always has been, *politically*, a *Southern* and not a *Western* State. Her feelings, her habits, and her votes, have always gone with the South; and she is now, more than ever identified with Southern Policy. They, therefore, who advocate in General Jackson a *Western* President, are either duped themselves, or mean to deceive others.

The *Woollens Bill*, as it is called, of the last Session, did not, as has been artfully suggested, make the "*rich, richer, and the poor, poorer*." Its object was to increase the duties on foreign Wool and Woollens, for the purpose of aiding the production of American fabrics, coarse as well as fine.

From statistical tables published in Niles' Register, it appears that in the year 1825, for *ten millions six hundred and eightytwo thousand dollars* worth of *wool & woollens* imported from Great Britain, she received back in exchange, of the staple products of the Western States, the following:

Of Fl. ur. worth \$151
Of all kinds of Grain, 83
Of all kinds of animal food, such as Beef, Pork, &c. 34

Of all kinds of American Liquors, Whiskey, Gin, &c. 29

Making the total amount which she took of our products, for nearly \$11,000,000 of hers, \$302

The amount during 1826, did not exceed \$200; and probably was less in 1827! What, then, do the farmers of Indiana, pay for every yard of imported woollen cloth, whether *coarse* or *fine*? Nothing but *specie* will be received.—And for the enormous amount of their manufactures introduced among us, the whole value of your produce received in exchange, would not amount to *half a mill* for each farmer in the State. Yet it is in favor of this unequal, this ruinous

trade, that the principal friends of Gen. Jackson have uniformly voted—and the farmers of Indiana are called on, with these facts staring them in the face, to sanction and adopt that policy, which enables the South to ship their cotton and receive in *exchange*, the manufactures of Great Britain, but which lays a perpetual *embargo* on the exportation of every barrel of flour, beef, pork or corn, from the West.

The policy of the South, is to "*buy cheap*," no matter from what country the manufactures come. *Let National Industry sink or swim, we will take care of ourselves*, is the fair interpretation of their politics. And yet these very States are the most benefited, and enjoy the largest share of the protection of the General Government. Look at the single State of Louisiana, for example—We take the facts from Mr. Niles, the indefatigable and enlightened friend of the *American System*. The Sugar crop of Louisiana, is about 40,000 hogsheads, or 44,000,000 lbs. the duty on which imported in *exchange* for bread stuffs, would be \$1,320,000, and this sum, divided between all the people of Louisiana, amounts to more than \$16 per head for every man, woman and child in the State, as a *bounty*.

Every farmer in this State purchasing only two pounds per week of New Orleans sugar for his family, pays a tax of \$3.10 on this article alone to the people of Louisiana. Yet from these States, protected beyond all others, we meet a denial to us, of those rights and privileges so cheerfully and liberally accorded to them.

But this is only a part of the system.—Virginia has for a long time been the *arbiter* of the Nation. A system of policy has been dictated for years, from the political Junto at Richmond, with as much authority, as the decrees of the "*Holy Alliance*"—North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, have joined in the league, and the great object now, is, to paralyze the efforts of the Administration, to cripple its energies, and to *put it down*, so that every member composing it be "*to be as pure as the Angels in Heaven*!" The interests of these States, in the opinion of their political leaders, have ever militated against those of the Middle and West. Protected themselves, they deny protection to us; and the only hope they have of continuing a system so partial, baneful and unjust, is, by uniting their political influence with the personal popularity of General Jackson, by which means they expect to secure an *Administration congenial* to their wishes.

That we are not without authority for these declarations, let the following Resolutions of Governor Giles, and those of the South Carolina Legislature at its present Session, testify—Read them, fellow-citizens, and judge for yourselves:

"Resolved, That the Acts of Congress passed in 1816, 1820, and 1824, known by the name of *Tariff Laws*, by which Manufactures are encouraged under the power to lay imposts, is a violation of the Constitution in its spirit, and ought to be repealed."

"Resolved, That Congress has no power to construct Roads and Canals in the State, with or without the assent of the States, in whose limits those Internal Improvements are made."

"Resolved, That our Senators be instructed and our Representatives requested, to continue to oppose every increase of the Tariff with a view to protect Domestic Manufactures, and all appropriations to the purpose of Internal Improvements in the United States."

Such, fellow-citizens, are the views and feelings and policy of two-thirds of the supporters of Gen. Jackson. His partisans in the South, act consistently with the views of their own interests.—With that *manly frankness* which characterizes them and which is *honorable* in an enemy—they openly proclaim hostility to our wishes and interests, while their partisans in the West, with a *credulity* that knows no parallel, "*believe*" that the man elected by such friends and such politicians, will prove the patron of Internal Improvements—the friend of the *American System*!

Fellow-citizens, as we commenced our Address by inviting your attention to your *interest*, we now renew the appeal, and again ask, what is the *interest* of Indiana? Is it that of the States just mentioned? Do you wish to have your staple products rotting on your hands? To be excluded from a *foreign market*, and at the same time have no market at *home*? Can you consent to be dependent on a foreign power, to continue, as under the Southern policy, you must, to support the work-shops and paupers of England? Are you willing to depend on them, for the necessities and conveniences of life, when they will not take a far-