

Indiana Palladium.

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

Volume IV.]

LAWRENCEBURGH, INDIANA; SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1828.

[Number 29.

Governor Ray's Defence.

From the Indianapolis Gazette.

To the people of the State of Indiana.

It has at length become my unpleasant task to say something to my fellow citizens, with respect to a controversy of their own, and in which I had solemnly prayed, I might never be forced by any circumstance whatever, to engage. But learning that in the course of a few days past, that the state is filled with lies and misrepresentations, intended and calculated to destroy my election and myself forever, I feel it a duty I owe to my political friends, to the state of Indiana and myself, to step forth and meet the flood of calumny, which my base political enemies are now thundering in the ears of the people. Never has man suffered more than I have from slander, treachery and ungenerous persecution. I ask my fellow country men, in the name of immutable justice, to pause for a moment, and listen to the simple story of my wrongs. They are more than I can bear; and I must now call upon the magnanimity of all to arise and redress my injuries, committed upon me, by base combinations. The dogs of war are again let loose upon me. Look my fellow-citizens at the time when slanders are fulminated against me. All is kept as still as the grave, until a few days before the election, and then, all at once, a concerted attack is made upon me in every quarter of the state, when it is impossible for me to go every where to explain. I can now, with propriety exclaim, *On tempora, Oh mores.* Is it possible that the people, after they have been so many times deceived, will believe all that they hear floating through the land on the wings of the wind? Have they forgotten that assertion is not proof?

My political opposers have made the discovery, that the public mind is inflamed to that degree at this time, on the presidential question, as to enable them, by misrepresentation, to control my fate by it. Their business seems to be at this time to lay aside all else, and take advantage of the alarming flame which is spreading through the land, and which threatens destruction to the very temple of our freedom, and to crush me, because in common with others, I enjoy the freedom of opinion. Though I may be cut down for enjoying my political and religious liberty and rights, I shall never envy the immortality of those who effect it, by riding upon the whirlwind. I shall suffer a glorious martyrdom, at the shrine of those rights secured to me by the constitution of my country.

In the first place, censure has alighted upon me, because I would not come out and identify myself with the friends of Gen. Jackson or the friends of Mr. Adams in the contest about the presidency. I resolved at an early period, to occupy *neutral ground*, that I might be at liberty to do justice to both of the distinguished men before us, and to their friends.—Whatever individuals might think themselves authorised to do, not in office, I could take no other stand, as the Governor of the state. I was elected Governor of Indiana when no party question was made by the people in common; and when I saw an attempt making to throw the state into two parties, I determined that I would not become the executive of one party to the exclusion of the other. Being elected by *both* parties, I must continue the Executive of both, as long as my term lasts. The constitution, which I am sworn to support, compels me to execute the public will in all things. This means the will of the majority. Pending any question, then, it is my duty to stand still, until the question is settled, that I may be enabled to execute the will of the majority, without any bias which the prior expression of opinion might leave on the mind, and without suspicion. I now stand on neutral ground, with my hands untied, uncommitted to any party, and if I am to do the people justice in my office, so I must remain.

I have been censured by some who have no charity for the opinions of others, because I have said that I entertained a high opinion of both Gen. Jackson and Mr. Adams. I am justified in thinking much of them both, because they had good opinions of each other. Mr. Adams at one time was the eulogist and defender of Gen. Jackson; and Gen. Jackson in turn, has been the eulogist of Mr. Adams. I am justified in having a good opinion of Mr. Adams, because Geo. Washington entertained it, and said of him many flattering things, such as, that he was the ablest of our foreign ministers. Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and

James Monroe, severally appointed him to high & responsible offices. Gen. Jackson was also confided in, in like manner, by all of our ex-presidents. Yet I am censured because I say that I am friendly to both of these men, and to their friends.

Two great men have come in contact and we must choose between them. If I cannot be elected, because I will not come out and abuse one or the other of these men then I must fail. If the friends of Mr. Adams suppose that I must win their votes by coming out and crying huzza for Adams; this is what I shall not do. If the friends of General Jackson expect me to come and cry huzza for Jackson; this is what I will not do. When either of these men have been assailed, unjustly, I have spoken the truth of them. I presume that more than an hundred letters have been written to me at various times & by various individuals, in Indiana, requesting me to state what I thought of these two men. I have uniformly spoken well of them both in my replies, speaking of them as *men* and not as *candidates* for office.—But I do now boldly state that if any letters ever have made their appearance, or ever shall, which makes me say that I would vote for either for the Presidency, I pronounce them *base forgeries*. I have written favorably of them both, I have spoken as I ought of both, but I have always said, that in giving my *individual* vote at the polls, by ballot, a right secured to me by the laws and constitution of Indiana, I would be governed by *measures* and not *men*. It has been said, that I have written letters to Jackson men, declaring that I should vote for Jackson—and also to Adams men that I should vote for Adams. These charges are false.—The course I have taken in elections, gives the lie direct to such accusations. I have been in thirty odd counties, and addressed the people both Adams men and Jackson assembled together, at the same time, and my course has been uniform every where.

The Hon. Thomas H. Blake, the Representative in Congress in the first District has been with me in ten counties, and he will tell the world, that my course has been uniform. I have told the people every where, on the stump and by letter as I have always admitted *publicly and privately*, that I was in favor of the present Administration, and have reasoned to convince the people, that they ought to be so too. I am now in favor of it, and I am confident I ever shall be in favor of it, whilst the essential measures of the west, are so ably vindicated as they are. When I say I am in favor of the present Administration I mean the *cause* of the Administration—the *measures* of the Administration and not *men*. I will never bind myself to any man. Ours is a government of *laws* and *measures* and not of *men*. A man may be a good man to-day, and to-morrow he may be a villain.

If John Quincy Adams, is re-elected President of the United States, and continues to support good measures, I shall support him, otherwise not. If Andrew Jackson, shall be elected, and shall be in favor of good measures, I shall support him, not otherwise. If the man I vote for at the polls does wrong, I must admit it. To use the language of a great statesman, I care not so much, who governs our country, as that my country shall prosper.

At the last Presidential election, I voted neither for Mr. Adams or Gen. Jackson, I voted for Mr. Clay. I done so because I believed him to be a great man—the friend of South America and Grecian liberty—the friend of internal improvements and domestic manufactures—the man who has endeavored to give universal freedom, and to strike from the oppressed African his bonds—his fetters. These same motives will control me, when I shall give my vote at the polls next November for President. For me to say in these times of great excitement who I shall vote for, would be offering a direct bribe to the people. No officer who shall be elected next August, will have anything to do with the Presidential election. There is no reason for making a question of it. A man should be elected Governor of the state upon his own merits, and not upon the popularity of an other man. Whenever the names of two popular men, shall control all state elections, the people will have their liberty on paper, but not in reality.—Despotism soon follows.

I will now proceed to tell my fellow citizens, of the manner in which I have been treated by men sailing under Presidential flags, and who have stood prepared to sacrifice either Adams or Jackson, to destroy me. At my last election

I was opposed by certain lawyers and other official men. These same men instead of bowing to what the people had done, proclaimed opposition as soon as I was sworn into office. And as it happened they were and are still, generally Adams men. These men have again voluntarily placed themselves at the head of the Administration party in this state. Last winter they sat on foot plans to ruin me. The Presidential conventions told a tale which is recollected by many. Last winter when the two conventions sat, these Administration men, and enemies of mine, proposed to the Jacksonians and requested them to draw the line and bring out a candidate for Governor; and then assured them that they would do the same thing, and in that way they could defeat me, on neutral ground. And if they found they could not leave me out in that way, they would then join the Jacksonians and so defeat me by a concentration of two parties. And if I became an open friend for Mr. Adams, they were prepared to bring out another candidate on the same side. This was the kind of management attempted to be played off upon me. Things passed on until the month of May, when letters and information poured in upon me from every quarter, that the Administration men, were about to draw the line upon me, and bring out Harbin H. Moore, John H. Thompson or William Graham, on the question, all avowed Adams men. Well, I thought this course a strange one indeed; and I could scarcely believe it until further information came to hand. I received the following resolution which was enclosed to me by the chairman of the Jackson Central Committee, as having passed that body.—It reads as follows (viz):

SALEM, May 7, 1828.
“Resolved, That a committee be appointed by the chairman of this Central committee to write to Gov. Ray, to ask him if he will consent to be run as the Jackson candidate for Governor at the ensuing August election, *provided*, there should be an Adams man brought out as a candidate by the opposition; and if Gov. Ray shall so consent to be a Jackson candidate, *provided* he should have opposition as aforesaid—then we as members of the Central Committee, will consider ourselves as pledged for his support as Governor; and the Jackson party throughout the state so far as we can control.—This resolution or Gov. Ray's answer is not to be published or made known, unless there be an Adams candidate for Governor, then Governor Ray's name, is to be added to the Republican ticket as a candidate for Governor. By this you can see that we are disposed to elect you & suffer you to remain perfectly neutral unless an Adams man should oppose you for the office of Governor.”

HENRY S. HANDY, President.

Thus speaks the resolution. Whether this resolution was passed, and sent to me to entrap me or not, I cannot tell. But what answer should be made to it was the question. Could I say to the friends of General Jackson that I would not have their support when voluntarily tendered, then they would have turned their backs justly on me, and have said with just wrath, we shall have nothing to do with Gov. Ray. The friends of Gen. Jackson constitute a part of the people of Indiana, and are entitled to notice as much as any other people. I am not ashamed to acknowledge, that I was thankful for their friendship. I was elected before by Jackson men and Adams men jointly; and I never heard it urged before that it was a disgrace to me to consent to be supported by the friends of Jackson. I cannot prevent the support of any of my fellow men. I do not wish to make distinctions. Whatever has been said or written in a loose, careless, private and confidential way, and never intended for the public eye, (or explanation would have accompanied my remarks) I claim before a candid world the privilege of qualifying; and of laying before it the real sentiment of my mind. I have too often, it is true, written in a very loose and general manner; what I would always claim the right of explaining. Whatever has been said, has been with an eye single to the condition proposed to me by the Jackson committee, that if the opposition (that is the Adams party) drew the line upon me standing upon *neutral ground*, that they would step forward and save me upon the same ground. Whatever was said was to be considered as if it never had been said, as a perfect nullity, unless I was first forced from the ground on which I stood—unless I was compelled to throw myself upon the mercy of any, who might think proper to support me.—I have ever

been opposed to drawing the line; and was determined that I would not throw the first stone. But I have rights as well as others; and felt no disposition to be sacrificed, because I had occupied neutral ground. Because I would not become a *partizan*. Because I would not prostrate the office of Governor for party purposes. This was my sin. If I ever said, that I believed Jackson ought to have been elected, my reason was, that he had a plurality of the people's votes, and majorities should govern; yet, I believe that Mr. Adams was constitutionally elected. If I have said that I disbelieve the charge of bargain and corruption, I mean, because sufficient evidence has never met my eye to establish it.

If I have said that I discredit the charge upon Jackson, that he is hostile to internal improvements and the protection of home industry, since the receipt of his letter to me on those subjects, I wish not to be understood as meaning to say, that it was his answer to my letter, standing alone from any acts of his, that satisfied me, or that I am yet satisfied that he is in favor of either of those systems, to that extent which I would wish. His vote in the Senate of the U. S. and his letter have satisfied me, that he believes that the United States have a constitutional power to prosecute those systems; but the General has not in detail, as to matters of expediency made himself explicit. His answers to questions, were not direct as to particulars; but if he is in favor of any tariff at all, he thinks it constitutional—if he is in favor of internal improvement at all—he is in favor of the system; and this is all the opinion I have expressed. And when I say I had doubts before I addressed him, I mean as to the constitutionality of the systems; and they are removed. If I have said of the General, that as between him and Adams, my old feelings are renewed, I intended and meant to speak of them as *men*—as *individuals*; and not as *candidates* for the Presidency. If I have erred in saying to the friends of General Jackson, I am in your hands, dispose of me and my name as you in your wisdom think proper, it is an infirmity of my nature; for if the humblest man in society should express a wish to vote for me, I should tell him the same thing and thank him too; and let the first candidate for office that will not do it, speak. Have I erred in apprising the friends of General Jackson, that I should not become a *partizan*, and wished to be elected on my merits? Whilst I consent to receiving the votes of the General's friends on my merits, I tell them, that that shall not make me a *partizan*. I might well admit that I would not undo what they did in state elections, because I had not the power to do so. The people control me, not me, them. If I said that I would admit, the election to be a test of strength, I meant to fix that idea to the condition proposed in the resolution of the committee, that if the Administration men drew the line upon me, by which they all went against me; and I was without any act of mine unavoidably compelled to throw myself upon the mercy of the friends of General Jackson, for my election, standing on *neutral ground*, that I would not afterwards tell a lie about it. If true, that they did elect me I must say so; and so I would say, if elected by the friends of Mr. Adams in a party controversy. But I surely intended to speak of the election of myself and my competitor, and not Jackson's and Adams's, when speaking of a *test* of strength. If I objected to the publication of my letters, it was to support the position, which I took originally, that I would not meddle with the Presidential election; knowing that a publication of any thing I might write to the committee would be deemed an interference. If the friends of General Jackson proposed to take me up, knowing as I declared to them, that I was in favor of the measures of the present administration, and upon neutral ground, and neither *against* them nor *for* them, to save me from the cruelty of a party about to crush me because I would not abuse Jackson, what other acknowledgement could I make to them, than to say in truth, that I stand committed to admit, as strong as the Andes, that they elected me? This was all the committal means, and upon the conditions named. The Jackson committee made the proposition to me—not me to them. Examine dates of resolution and answer. But it now gives me great joy to discover and believe, that no party question will be made—that all men will be elected upon their merits. This was the way in which I have been desiring elections to take place. Faithful public servants will not

be thrown away, and giddy and untried ones placed in their stead. Harmony and good will, I hope will again be restored. And I now pledge myself to the public, that if the Administration men or Jackson men do not make a question, if they will prove by their acts, that they will not vote for my competitors, because they are Adams men or Jackson men, and I am elected, (as I believe I will by a large majority,) after the election is over I will come out and declare to the world the fact, that I was elected by no party whatever, but by both the friends of Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson. When the people come to the polls to vote for Governor, they ought not to enquire for a moment, whether the man they intend voting for is an Adams man or Jackson man, for the Governor has nothing to do in making a President, more than giving one vote with the people at the polls.

A charge has been going the rounds, that I called the Jackson party an outrageous and violent faction, at Brookville some time since. This is false—and the Editor from whom it was said to come, has since admitted in his own paper, that he never asked me any such question. It has also been said that the tavern registers over the mountains, show a contradiction in my recording my name—that I sometimes wrote Adams, and sometimes Jackson. This is also false.

My fellow-citizens, this is the last time I can have an opportunity of addressing you until the election. To-morrow I shall leave this, not to return until after August. My enemies may apply to me every kind of epithet, & I shall not know it. They may circulate the basest slanders and forgeries, and I cannot answer them. Whatever ought to have been said, should have come out in a Governor's election, three months ago, in justice to me.

Look out for certain wise lawyers, who will oppose me, because I have said I would revise the laws. Let not the maxim be verified in this election, “that party is the madness of many for the benefit of a few.” Examine what I have done for your state since I have been in office, and remember, that I have three years to serve if you elect me before my constitutional term expires, and I am certain you will award me justice. Whilst my enemies are writing my infirmities and errors in brass, I look to the people, the people in common, to place some of my good deeds on the same table.

JAMES B. RAY.

Indianapolis, July 14.

The following is Mr. Jocelyn's explanation of that part of his interrogatories to Governor Ray, heretofore copied into this paper, which made him say “the Jackson party are an outrageous faction, and ought to be put down.” We wish to give the public all the information on the subject.—*lb*

“We understand that the conversation which we published under date of the 14th ult., as having passed between us and Gov. Ray, has given umbrage to some of our fellow citizens, whom we most sincerely respect, and especially the third question, as it seems to be supposed that by “an outrageous and violent faction,” we intended to embrace all the friends of Gen. Jackson in the country; concerning which we say that we intended no such thing, and strove so to arrange our interrogations, as, if possible, to prevent any such impression, either among hearers or readers, for we have no more doubt and never have had of the sincerity, and intention to act from principle, of the body of the friends of the General, than we doubt our own motives in supporting the Administration which they denounce.

To explain our meaning, and to satisfy any candid man, that we intended no such general and unlimited application of the words “outrageous faction,” as it is pretended to be believed by some that we did, we need only refer to 2d and 3d questions in the series. In the first of which, we referred directly to the charge of corruption, bargain and sale, urged by their opponents, against Adams and Clay, in the case of the last Presidential election; and upon this, and the Governor's answer to it predicated the latter.”

Lightning.—On Friday evening, 4th inst. the house of Mr. Isaac Clark, in Strafford, N. H. was struck by lightning. It entered by the chimney, which it completely shattered, and passed into the cellar, where Mrs. Clark was employed in household business. She received the shock on her face and shoulders, and was almost instantaneously a corpse. Mr. C. was also stricken down, but shortly recovered.