

## To the People of the State of Indiana.

**FELLOW CITIZENS:**—As a candidate for the office of Governor, it is my desire to become acquainted with every man in the community, and it being beyond my personal exertions to visit the different sections of the State, I have determined, as the most convenient method of cultivating an understanding with you, to address myself to you through the medium of the press; and, in doing so, to spread before you, in the summary manner, my ideas and opinions on some subjects which will probably require the consideration of your Executive. The opinions of public men are public property, and the more tangibly they are indicated before an election, the more advisedly the voter bestows his suffrage, and the stronger obligations should bind the recipient of your confidence in fulfilling, in practice, the code of his profession.

Many of you will remember that my name was before the public, three years ago, for the same high office to which I now aspire, and to such as then aided my pretensions, I take this opportunity of tendering my sincere acknowledgments. The result of that contest is well known to all, and it is sufficient for me to say that I was unsuccessful, but not badly beaten. I was, however, disposed to remain comparatively retired, until the kindness and partiality of a highly dignified association of my fellow-citizens, and many others throughout the State, solicited me to become a candidate. I have yielded to the solicitations of my friends, and now throw myself upon their indulgence and support, pledging myself to use my utmost honorable exertions to succeed in the election, and hoping to hear of a corresponding effort, on the part of the people, to sustain me.

I am induced to think that it is but fair dealing with the public, for a candidate to record his opinions, for the reason that the record may appear in every section of the state, and that the people may not be imposed upon, by opinions advanced with the intention of suiting the particular latitude in which they are promulgated, for it must be obvious, that the Chief Magistrate of a state should hold himself in readiness to measure even handed justice to each and every portion of his jurisdiction.

In regard to measures, I will first say, that I still feel a continued and unceasing solicitude for the general improvement of the internal commerce of the State, and think it an object of primary importance that the energies of the State should tend to the speedy completion and extension of the avenues of commerce, in the shape of Canals, Railroads, and roads of more common and cheap construction, and the improvement of our numerous and valuable rivers. A reference to my votes while a member of the Legislature, and particularly those of 1829-30, when the Wabash and Erie Canal Bill was under consideration, will show that a Government is liberal and its people are free and independent.

A widely diffused system of common school education has, and will ever meet my support, and as the means of the State are extensive and increasing, I look forward with confidence to the day when every man in the State may have the means to educate his children without incurring the heavy expense which hitherto prevented many worthy persons from participating in this valuable blessing. Much depends upon the intelligence of a community in more than moral and social intercourse—the very political institutions of our country are reared upon that foundation, and as wisdom and virtue shall progress, or decline, so shall our happy and liberal institutions flourish or decay. When the foundations of knowledge are opened to all, then all alike may enter the arena of usefulness; and talent and industry, whether the attributes of the poor, or the rich will find their rewards in the pulpit or the forum, the field or the study, the profitable pursuits of business, or the high aspirations after fame and immortality.

A general and well founded complaint exists against our present Military system, and will continue to exist so long as its imperfect and burthen-some requirements remain. Experience has taught us that but little good is derived to the public from the manner of teaching in the art of war, at our common Military parades, and a large portion of our fellow-citizens regard them as a day lost, rather than a day of improvement. Although I have never had the honor of holding a Military commission, I should be pleased to aid any effort which would increase the dignity of the profession of arms, and which would satisfy the citizen that he is not playing a farce, in the name of the service of his country. Until the Congress of the Union shall present a uniform system for the regulation of the Militia of the several States, which it has the reserved right to do, would it not be advisable in the time of peace to dispense with as much of the present defective system as would leave us a perfect knowledge of the number and character of our citizen soldiers, without encumbering them with an observance of its absurdity; for it will not be denied that both Officers and Privates find it an almost utter impossibility to comply with its requisitions in regard to uniforms, arms and accoutrements, and that section which requires an individual to appear on parade, armed and equipped, can be dispensed with by producing a cornstalk or a club, why may not the Militia man consider all other provisions of the law equally useless, and observe them accordingly. A lame and deficient law is worse than no law, for the reason that some will observe and obey its obligations, while others will screen themselves under its latches and imperfections.

The inequality in our system of taxation has not escaped my attention and reflection, and I am fully convinced that it requires radical and important changes. From my situation as a member of the Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Representatives, for many years, I was led to notice the injustice done to many counties and districts of the State in the returns of the rates of land. Many counties would return large quantities of first rate land, while others possessing equally good soil and corresponding advantages would not return an acre as first rate, and consequently their assessments were reduced, and the burdens of State expenses were necessarily laid upon such counties as were in the habit of making different returns. The people will demand an improved and equitable system, and little doubt remains on my mind that their demands should be attended to.

The subject of the public lands which lie within our limits has engrossed much attention, and has frequently been the subject of discussion in our State Councils, and I must honestly confess to you, that a difference of opinion on this point exists, between my competitor and myself. He openly advocated the Distribution Bill, which was vetoed by the President, while I am of the belief that the graduation and reduction principle best comports with the interests of this State. His Message of 1832, requesting the Legislature to instruct our Representatives in Congress to vote for the Distribution Bill contains the following language: In speaking of the vote on Mr. Clay's Land Bill he

arraigns our members as follows: "Gov. Hendricks and Gen. Tipton giving it their support, but in the lower House the Bill met with opposition, and on a motion to postpone it was lost, our Members voting with its enemies, when their support would have saved the Bill." The fact of an Executive of a State arraigning a Member, or three Members of Congress for their votes, was not only novel and uncalled for course of conduct in reference to this measure, but it was coupled with the remarkable fact that the Governor was altogether at fault as to the vote of the Senators, for it is well known that General Tipton did not support the Bill, as stated by the Governor in his solemn official communication.

It will be recollected that this Bill provided for continuing the price of lands at \$1 25 per acre without reference to quality or situation, and that it provided that all the States (those which had received and used their public lands for their own purposes) were to be made equal partners in the division of the monies arising from the sales of the lands within the new States, after deducting 12 1/2 per cent. over and above the amount secured to these States by compact in proportion to their representation in Congress, whereby the old and populous States would have been permitted to have drawn some 2, some 3, some 5, and some nearly 7 dollars to our one, from this fund, which is paid almost exclusively by citizens of the new States. The slave population of the southern states being a part of the basis of their representation, would have come in for its share, and every five negroes draw as much as three free born citizens of Indiana. The State of New York with 42 Members of Congress would draw 7 dollars, (excepting the per cent.) while Indiana with nine Members would have drawn but little more than one dollar. To this iniquity I was surprised to see the Executive of Indiana ready to acquiesce; but I was more surprised to see him place the Eastern and Northern States as Landlords over the people of the west, with every inducement to keep up the price of the lands, with a view both to derive large dividends, and to prevent emigration to, and the settlement of the West. The settlement of our State is of great interest to us as a people—our population is our wealth—our defence and our support—from them we derive our political influence as a State, our support as a Government, and by their industry and enterprise, our living, our comforts, and our luxuries. To those who till the soil, is due every consideration of importance, for they are in fact and indeed, the main pillars of the Republic and foundation to society. Is it not then our interest as a people to increase their number, by enabling every man to possess himself a home and a freehold, to make him feel as a citizen, and to twine around him the abiding attachments of his country, which always are visible where a Government is liberal and its people are free and independent.

It is not better that the poor man should own and improve the even refuse lands in our districts, rather than they should remain forests, and be from necessity be debarred from cultivating them? Would it not be even more just and more righteous that where a man has an hundred dollars, that instead of giving it all to the common fund to be divided out among the States, he should be permitted to purchase 80 acres of land for \$40, and retain the other 60 with which to clear and fence a farm, whereon to feed and cloth his family? But there are some who argue that to reduce the price of wild lands, would cause a consequent reduction of the price of improved lands. To this I would reply that so soon as the wild lands around their plantations are entered, then their improved lands will rise in price above the value of the improvements thereon, but seldom will it be the case until then. The more lands are sold the more State and county taxes are paid thereon, and the more tax payers, the lighter the burthen upon all, and the less a man is required to pay for his land, the more money will he have left wherewith to pay his taxes. It will be recollected that the principle object for which those lands were ceded to the general government, no longer exists, (the national debt) and that the Bill to reduce the price of public lands actually passed the Senate the session previous to the introduction of the Bill commonly called Mr. Clay's Land Bill. It will be recollected too, that since that time the new states have become entitled to an additional representation.

The subject of a National Bank is one of the exciting topics of the times, and lest I should be misunderstood on this head, I will observe that I have always been of opinion that a *really* NATIONAL BANK, was necessary to carry on, with convenience, the fiscal operations of the government, and that such a Bank was also required for the purpose of equalizing exchange and facilitating commercial operations; but the Bank should be such an one as it purports to be; it should be a *Bank of the United States* in substance as well as in name; it should be restricted in its powers, limited in its issues, and as far removed from political connexions as guards and checks can remove it. To have the advantages of a sound national currency, it is not a necessary consequence that we should clothe a Banking institution with such powers as will enable it to defy the will of the people, contemn the action of Congress, or control the exclusive franchise of the nation. It should not be set above the reach and authority of the States; neither should it have power to locate its branches in any State without the approbation and consent of said State. It should not have an exclusive right to a monopoly of banking privileges; but Congress should retain the power to grant other charters during its existence, if the situation of the country should require such additional monetary aid. I am opposed to the recharter of the present Bank, called the Bank of the United States, with the unlimited, dangerous, and exclusive powers which it claims and possesses; but would not be opposed to a National Bank under proper and judicious restrictions.

I am in favor of a Tariff for the protection of domestic industry and the purpose of revenue. I am particularly opposed to Nullification in all its bearings, and consider the Union of the States as the indispensable bulwark for the protection and preservation of the liberties of this Republic. I am in favor of the speedy extinction of all Indian title to lands within the State of Indiana, and of the improvement of our harbors and streams on our lake frontier.

To conclude, fellow-citizens, I will remark, that I have been a citizen of Indiana for more than twenty years; that through the kindness of her people I have derived a comfortable living for myself and family, and for whatever of honor and reputation which have fallen to my lot, I am indebted to their goodness; and I will further say that all the interests which I possess is identified with your interests, and that gratitude, duty, and inclination, as well as interest, would prompt me to use my best exertions to promote the welfare of the State and happiness of the people; and should I be so fortunate as to be placed in a situation where my exertions can be seen and felt, I can only assure you

that no effort on my part shall be spared which will conduce to your honor and the prosperity of Indiana.

June, 1834.

J. G. Read.

WASHINGTON CITY, June 28, 1834.

Sir.—The history of the present session may be given in a few words. It has been little else than a scene of political warfare and strife. Less Legislative business has been done than at any previous Session. The great exciting question has been the Bank and the deposits. On this single subject, by far the greater portion of the Session has been employed. It would be useless to enter into details of this matter. They would be endless. Every one must, in a greater or less degree, be familiar with the subject: one, which is believed to have agitated Congress and the country, more than almost any other since the days of the revolution. The questions of the Tariff and Nullification, heretofore engrossing almost entirely public attention, have scarcely been spoken of, and that of the Public Lands has been wholly crowded out of view by it. The Land Bill is among the unfinished business of the Session.

The fiscal affairs of the country were, agreeably to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury in December last, in a prosperous condition. The amount of public debt remaining unpaid, was, on the 1st of January last, less than \$5,000,000. This is the remnant of the old debt of the revolution, and the debt created by the late war with England. Our chief sources of revenue is the tariff; or in other words, duties collected at the custom houses on imported goods; and in modifying the tariff to the diminished wants of the country, the difficulty has been to know where to stop. The business of reduction has been an agreeable employment, and Congress has already gone too far in reducing the tariff, in passing a second law before a former one had gone into operation, and at a time when the effects of neither could be foreseen. This was the case last Session, when a second tariff reducing law was enacted, before the law of a previous Session had gone into operation, until it has become doubtful whether Congress will not be under the necessity of imposing additional tariff duties, in lieu of those recently taken off. These reductions were made to the manifest jeopardy of the manufacturers, and the manufacturing interests, have ever since, been in a depressed and sickly condition. Many establishments have already ceased their operations, and their proprietors will no doubt direct their capital into other channels, no longer willing to hazard every thing, in the doubtful experiment, whether the manufacturing interests can live under the reducing law of 1833.

The reduction of the revenue, and the possible necessity for its increase, has very much injured the prospect of internal improvement. The manufacturers, while protected by a sustaining tariff, were the close allies of internal improvements; for the tariff, while it protected their interests, furnished the means of making roads and canals, which were also necessary to that interest, in the transportation of their fabrics throughout the whole country. The effects of these causes have already been felt, and deeply felt, in the difficulties experienced in obtaining an appropriation for the Cumberland Road. Those interested in this road, must have observed these difficulties, and the road will feel them in the fact, that midsummer must pass by, before the work of the present year can commence, owing to the late period of the Session at which the appropriation was made. It will feel them too, in the increased difficulty of appropriations. The amounts this year appropriated for the progress of the work, are \$200,000 to be expended in the state of Ohio, \$150,000 in Indiana, and \$100,000 in Illinois. Appropriations have also passed the House of Representatives for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, and Red rivers.

A bill has passed the Senate, authorizing the selection of Wabash and Erie canal lands, in the valley of the Maumee river, in lieu of lands sold by the United States, which would otherwise have become the property of the canal, in virtue of the original grant of March 2d, 1827. This bill authorizes the selection of about \$80,000 acres for the use of the canal. A bill has passed the Senate making an appropriation of \$20,000, to improve the navigation of the Wabash river.

The subject of the Public Lands is one of increasing importance. The large sums those lands are now bringing into the Treasury, make them more than heretofore, a bone of contention. Those who would destroy the tariff, and grasp at every other source of revenue, are more zealous than ever, to retain their proceeds for the ordinary disbursements of Government. The old tariff States, wish the Federal Government to be sustained by the duties on imported goods, and the proceeds of the Public Lands distributed among all the States. Both these classes of politicians are opposed to any change of the land system; opposed to reduction of price, to graduation, and to all advantages to actual settlers. The Representatives of the new States are not entirely agreed in this matter, nor have they power to control it if they were. With few exceptions we all go for the graduating principle, while some would carry that principle farther than others. We all go for reduction of the price, and for privileges and favors to actual settlers. In the details of these principles we might not all agree, but we have never yet been able to induce Congress to go with him who demanded least, and who would be willing to stop first. We all think too, "that in convenient time, this machinery of Land Offices, &c., should be withdrawn from the states, and that the right of soil, and the future disposition of it, should be surrendered to the States respectively." These principles embrace, it is believed, the whole land system of the President, as set forth in his various messages. Most of these principles I greatly prefer to the land system of Mr. Clay, but when no hope of succeeding in any of them remained, I did on former occasions, as I probably would again, vote for that bill. In doing so I have never preferred it to other propositions on the subject of the Public Lands, but in doing so, I have preferred it to the system as it is, and as it has been with slight alterations almost thirty years. By the present system, the monies paid into the Land Offices, go into the Treasury of the United States. By the bill all will be paid over to the States; giving also the new States a preference over the old States, in this distribution of 17 1/2 percent. of the receipts into their own Land offices, being 12 1/2 per cent. in addition to that they already receive. Now if we do not adopt some such regulation as this, the Land system remains as it is, and we get no part of the money. I say remains as it is, for every effort to change it for many years past, has been unavailing. But if we pass the bill the system in other respects, remains as it is, and the States get the money.

The bill appropriates for five years, from and after the 31st December, 1832, the net proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands. One year of the term had expired on the 31st of December, 1833. The amount received that year is known, and the dividend of each State is a matter of easy calculation. The net proceeds is about four per cent. less than the aggregate receipts. The aggregate receipts for the year 1832, are \$4,939,519 53, of which sum \$693,319 81, was received in the State of Indiana. 17 1/2 per cent. of the net proceeds of this latter sum is \$116,645 79; the amount, to which Indiana would be entitled, as a primary dividend. Deduct 17 1/2 percent from the net proceeds of the aggregate receipts, and \$3,912,009 49 is left to be divided among the 24 States of the Union, according to their respective federal representative population, of which sum, Indiana would be entitled to \$114,102 90. These two sums amount to \$230,745 60; the amount to which the State would be entitled of the monies, which have actually been

received during the last year. Now on the supposition that the present year, and the three subsequent years, will be as productive as the past year; and the probability is that they will be more so, the dividend to which Indiana would be entitled, under the five years' existence of the Bill, would be \$1,153,743 00.

In addition to this, the Bill also gives to the State of Indiana, 115,272 acres of land, which at the minimum price would be worth \$144,090 00; making the whole amount, to which the State would be entitled by the Bill, agreeably to the last year's receipts, the sum of \$1,297,833 00. I make no error in estimating the net proceeds—having the office calculations before me; and the Bill now before the Senate, whatever may have been the provisions of previous Bills, authorizes a dividend of the net proceeds. I have been thus particular in stating the provisions of this Land Bill, and the advantages offered by it to the State, whose interests are entrusted in part to my care, knowing that a difference of opinion exists among the most honest, and intelligent of our citizens, in relation to it, and believing that the subject is generally well understood. It is my firm belief, that whoever lives to the 31st December, 1837, should this Bill not become a law, will see the Land System as it now is, and the monies paid into the Treasury of the Union, instead of the Treasuries of the 24 States. The 31st of December, 1837, is the period when the Bill would expire by its own limitation.

The fear that the passage of this Bill would diminish the prospect of reducing the price, is not well founded. The Bill itself expressly excludes such conclusion. The Bill, however, is left among the unfinished business of the Session.

Another pre-emption law has passed providing, that every settler or occupant of Public Lands, prior to the passage of this act, who is now in possession, and cultivated any part thereof, in the year 1833, shall be entitled to all the benefits and privileges provided by the act of May 29, 1830. Which act is revived, and continued in force two years.

Bills have been presented, and passed upon the attention of the Senate, authorizing the Territories of Michigan and Arkansas, to form for themselves Constitutions and State Governments, and for the formation of the Territory of Wisconsin; but no laws on these subjects have been passed. The population of Michigan proper is stated at about \$35,000, and that of Arkansas, between 40 and 50,000. The Bill to attach the Territory of the United States west of the Mississippi river, and north of the state of Missouri, to the Territory of Michigan, will probably become a law.

With much respect,  
your obedient servant,

WILLIAM HENDRICKS.

CORRESPONDENCE

Between the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES and the honorable R. B. TANEY, upon the subject of the resignation of his office as Secretary of the Treasury.

WASHINGTON, June 25, 1834.

SIR: The Senate having yesterday refused to confirm my nomination, as Secretary of the Treasury, I beg leave to resign the commission with which you honored me, during the last recess. It would expire, by its own limitation, at the end of the present session of Congress, which is now at hand. But after the appointment has been submitted to the Senate, and acted on by them, it is due to you and to myself, that I should conform to their decision, and retire at once from the office.

I cannot, however, take my final leave of the official relations which have connected me with your administration, without returning my cordial thanks for the many and continued proofs of kindness and confidence, which I have received at your hands. I shall always bear them in grateful recollection, and am, sir, with the highest respect,

Your obedient servant,

R. B. TANEY.

The President of the United States.

WASHINGTON, June 25, 1834.

Dear Sir: Your resignation of the appointment of Secretary of the Treasury, conferred upon you in the recess of the Senate, and now relinquished in consequence of the refusal of that body to confirm your nomination, has been received.

I cannot refrain from expressing on this occasion, my profound regret at the necessity of your retirement from that important office, nor can I suffer the opportunity to pass, without paying just tribute to the patriotism, firmness, and ability which you have uniformly exhibited since your introduction into my cabinet. Knowing that such a station was not desired by you, and was in opposition to your course of life, I could not but feel grateful to you, while, in compliance with my invitation, you exchanged the independence of your professional pursuits, for the labors and responsibilities of the office of Attorney General of the United States. This sentiment was greatly and deservedly increased, during the last year, when upon becoming acquainted with the difficulties which surrounded me, and with my earnest desire to avail myself of your service in the Treasury Department, you generously abandoned the studies and avocations to which your life had been devoted, and encountered the responsibility of carrying into execution those great measures which the public interest, and the will of the people alike demanded at our hands. For the prompt and disinterested aid, thus afforded me at the risk of personal sacrifices, which were then probable, and which have now been realized, I feel that I owe you a debt of gratitude and regard, which I have not the power to discharge. But, my dear sir, you have all along found support in a consciousness of right; and you already have a sure promise of reward in the approbation and applause which an intelligent and honest people always render to distinguished merit. The plan of financial policy which you have initiated by your acts, and developed in your official reports, and which has thus far received the full approbation of the Representatives of the People, will ultimately, I trust, be carried into complete operation, and its beneficial effects on the currency of the country, and the best interests of society, will be, in all future time, more than an adequate compensation for the momentary injustice to which you have now been subjected. And as it is the martyr in any cause, whose memory is held most sacred; so the victim in the great struggle to redeem our Republic from the corrupting domination of a great moneyed power, will be remembered and honored, in proportion to their services and their sacrifices.

I am, very respectfully,  
and sincerely, your friend

and ob't servt,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Hon. R. B. TANEY.

A Snake. We are informed, that a Snake of the rattle kind,