

duties as the wisdom of Congress may devise or approve, that important department will soon attain a degree of usefulness proportioned to the increase of our population and extension of our settlements.

Particular attention is solicited to that portion of the report of the Postmaster General which relates to the carriage of the Mails of the United States upon railroads constructed by private corporations under the authority of several States. The reliance which the Government can place on those roads as a means of carrying on its operations, and the principles on which the use of them is to be obtained, cannot too soon be considered and settled. Already does the spirit of monopoly begin to exhibit its natural propensities, in attempts to exact from the public, for services which it supposes cannot be obtained on other terms, the most extravagant compensation. If these claims be persisted in, the question may arise whether a combination of citizens, acting under charters of incorporation from the States, can, by a direct refusal, or the demand of an exorbitant price, exclude the United States from the use of the established channels of communication between the different sections of the country; and whether the United States cannot, without transcending their constitutional powers, secure to the Post Office Department the use of those roads, by an act of Congress which shall provide within itself some equitable mode of adjusting the amount of compensation. To obviate, if possible, the necessity of considering this question, it is suggested whether it be not expedient to fix by law, the amounts which shall be offered to railroad companies for the conveyance of the mails, graduated according to their average weight, to be ascertained and declared by the Postmaster General. It is probable that a liberal proposition of that sort would be accepted.

In connection with these provisions in relation to the Post Office Department, I must also invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the South, by attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints, and in various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and to produce all the horrors of a servile war.

There is, doubtless, no respectable portion of our countrymen who can be so far misled as to feel any other sentiment than that of indignant regret at conduct so destructive of the harmony and peace of the country, and so repugnant to the principles of our national compact, and to the dictates of humanity and religion. Our happiness and prosperity essentially depend upon peace within our borders—and peace depends upon the maintenance, in good faith, of those compromises of the constitution upon which the Union is founded. It is fortunate for the country that the good sense, the generous feeling, and the deep-rooted attachment of the people of the non-slaveholding states to the Union, and to their fellow-citizens of the same blood in the South, have given so strong and impressive a tone to the sentiments entertained against the proceedings of the misguided persons who have engaged in these unconstitutional and wicked attempts, and especially against the emissaries from foreign parts who have dared to interfere in this matter, as to authorize the hope, that those attempts will no longer be persisted in. But if these expression of the public will shall not be sufficient to effect so desirable a result, not a doubt can be entertained, that the non-slaveholding States, so far from countenancing the slightest interference with the constitutional rights of the South, will be prompt to exercise their authority in suppressing, so far as in them lies, whatever is calculated to produce this evil.

In leaving the care of other branches of this interesting subject to the State authorities, to whom they properly belong, it is nevertheless proper for congress to take such measures as will present the Post Office Department which was designed to foster an amicable intercourse and correspondence between all the members of the confederacy from being used as an instrument of an opposition character. The General Government to which the great is trust confided of preserving inviolate the relations created among the States by the constitution is especially bound to avoid in its own action any thing that may disturb them. I would therefore, call the special attention of Congress to the subject and respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit under severe penalties, the circulation in the Southern States, through the mail, of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection.

I felt it to be my duty, in the first message which I communicated to Congress, to urge upon its attention the propriety of Amending that part of the constitution which provides for the election of the President and the Vice President of the United States. The leading object which I had in view was the adoption of some new provisions, which would secure to the people the performance of this high duty, without any intermediate agency. In my annual communications since, I have enforced the same views, from a sincere conviction that the best interests of the country would be promoted by their adoption. If the subject were an ordinary one, I should have regarded the failure of Congress to act upon it, as an indication of their judgment, that the disadvantages which belong to the present system were not so great as those which would result from any attainable substitute that had been submitted to their consideration. Recollecting, however, that propositions to introduce a new feature in our fundamental laws cannot be too patiently examined, and ought not to be received with favor, until the great body of the people are thoroughly impressed with their necessity and value, as a remedy for real evils, I feel that in renewing the recommendation I have heretofore made on this subject, I am not transcending the bounds of a just deference to the sense of Congress, or to the disposition of the people. However much we may differ in the choice of the measures which should guide the administration of the Government, there can be but little doubt in the minds of those who are really friendly to the republican features of our system, that one of its most important securities consists in the separation of the Legislative and Executive powers, at the same time that each is held responsible to the great source of authority, which is acknowledged to be supreme, in the will of the People constitutionally expressed. My reflection and experience satisfy me, that the framers of the Constitution, although they were anxious to mark this feature as a settled and fixed principle in the structure of the Government, did not adopt all the precautions that were necessary to secure its practical observance, and that we cannot be said to have carried into complete effect their intentions until the evils which arise from this organic defect are remedied.

Considering the great extent of our Confederacy, the rapid increase of its population and the diversity of their interests and pursuits it cannot be disguised that the contingency by which one branch of the Legislature is to form itself into an electoral college cannot become one of ordinary occurrence without producing incalculable mischief. What was intended as the medicine of the constitution in extreme cases, cannot be frequently used without changing its character and sooner or later, producing incurable disorder.

Every election by the House of Representatives is calculated to lessen the force of that security which is derived from the distinct and separate character of the Legislative and Executive functions, and while it exposes each to temptations adverse to their efficiency as organs of the constitution and laws, its tendency will be to unite both in resisting the will of the People, and thus give a direction to the Government anti-republican and dangerous. All history tells us that a free people should be watchful of delegated power, and should never acquiesce in a practice which will diminish their control over it. This obligation, so universal in its application to all the principles of a republic, is peculiarly so in ours, where the formation of parties founded on sectional interests is so much fostered by the extent of our territory. These interests, represented by candidates for the Presidency, are constantly prone, in the zeal of party and selfish objects, to generate influences unmindful of the general good, and forgetful of the restraints which the great body of the People would enforce, if they were, in no contingency, to lose the right of expressing their will. The experience of our country, from the formation of the Government to the present day, demonstrates that the People cannot too soon adopt some stronger safeguard for their right to elect the highest officers known to the Constitution, than is contained in that sacred instrument as it now stands.

It is my duty to call the particular attention of Congress to the present condition of the District of Columbia. From whatever cause the great depression has arisen which now exists in the pecuniary concerns of this District, it is proper that its situation should be fully understood, and such relief or remedies provided as are consistent with the powers of Congress. I earnestly recommend the extension of every political right to the citizens of the District which their true interests require, and which does not conflict with the provisions of the constitution. It is believed that the laws for the Government of the District require revision and amendment, and that much good may be done by modifying the penal code, so as to give uniformity to its provisions.

Your attention is also invited to the defects which exist in the Judicial system of the United States. As at present organized, the States of the Union derive unequal advantages from the Federal Judiciary, which have been so often pointed out that I deem it unnecessary to repeat them here. It is hoped that the present Congress will extend to all the States that equality in respect to the benefits of the laws of the Union which can only be secured by the uniformity and efficiency of the Judicial system.

With these observations on the topics of general interest which are deemed worthy of your consideration, I leave them to your care, trusting that the legislative measures they call for will be met as the wants and the best interests of our beloved country demand.

ANDREW JACKSON.  
WASHINGTON, 7th DECEMBER, 1835.

#### AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIANA.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

TWELVE months will not have elapsed, when you will be again called on to select, from among yourselves, a Chief Executive Magistrate. This is a duty, the most responsible of those which pertain to freemen and is interesting and important, because vested in you by the constitution of your common country. It has been deposited in your hands to preserve and perpetuate the form of government bequeathed, as a patriot legacy, from your fathers of the revolution, and as a guarantee against encroachments upon your sovereign power. And, although difference of opinion and honorable competition may have separated and divided many of you, upon subjects of a political character, yet that re-organization of parties which now exist, requires of you an investigation, impartial and deliberate, of the leading principles of national policy, by which your country has been distinguished, since the most trying times of its history.

The liberty and happiness of yourselves and of the successive generations who may follow you, do not depend upon the rise and fall of parties, or the malignity and rancor which signalize and sustain their conflicts. The permanency and security of your happiness is only to be effected and maintained by a prevention of even infraction upon your legitimate sovereignty in the hands of those, the substitution of whose opinions for your own, would subvert every principle of constitutional law and freedom.

I felt it to be my duty, in the first message which I communicated to Congress, to urge upon its attention the propriety of Amending that part of the constitution which provides for the election of the President and the Vice President of the United States. The leading object which I had in view was the adoption of some new provisions, which would secure to the people the performance of this high duty, without any intermediate agency. In my annual communications since, I have enforced the same views, from a sincere conviction that the best interests of the country would be promoted by their adoption. If the subject were an ordinary one, I should have regarded the failure of Congress to act upon it, as an indication of their judgment, that the disadvantages which belong to the present system were not so great as those which would result from any attainable substitute that had been submitted to their consideration. Recollecting, however, that propositions to introduce a new feature in our fundamental laws cannot be too patiently examined, and ought not to be received with favor, until the great body of the people are thoroughly impressed with their necessity and value, as a remedy for real evils, I feel that in renewing the recommendation I have heretofore made on this subject, I am not transcending the bounds of a just deference to the sense of Congress, or to the disposition of the people. However much we may differ in the choice of the measures which should guide the administration of the Government, there can be but little doubt in the minds of those who are really friendly to the republican features of our system, that one of its most important securities consists in the separation of the Legislative and Executive powers, at the same time that each is held responsible to the great source of authority, which is acknowledged to be supreme, in the will of the People constitutionally expressed. My reflection and experience satisfy me, that the framers of the Constitution, although they were anxious to mark this feature as a settled and fixed principle in the structure of the Government, did not adopt all the precautions that were necessary to secure its practical observance, and that we cannot be said to have carried into complete effect their intentions until the evils which arise from this organic defect are remedied.

General Harrison, at an early period of his life, exhibited many of those bold and adventurous traits of character, which were so prominently developed in his father, during the progress of the revolutionary war. Descended from one, whose firmness in the cause of freedom was fully tested in the times that gave birth to our country and its liberty, the distinguished republicans of '76 soon directed their attention to him, as one capable of subversing the purposes of government, and promoting the ends for which it was originated and designed. Accordingly, in 1777, when but twenty-four years of age, he was appointed Secretary to the North Western Territory, which at that time under the

government of General St. Clair, comprised the whole of that extent of territory north west of the Ohio river, which now constitutes the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the territory of Michigan. Having served in that capacity for two years, during which time his conduct afforded abundant evidence of superior talent and ability, he was elected a delegate to represent the Territory in Congress. It will be recollected, that at this time, no less than four thousand acres of land could be sold, by the laws of the United States, except fractional sections upon river banks. This afforded to the speculator every opportunity of converting the labor and industry of the honest and hard working settler to his own profit and emolument, and completely divested the poor man of the power to secure a home and a competency. The practical disasters incident upon this system were witnessed by General Harrison, and he sagaciously foresaw its ruinous effects upon the new and western states, if persisted in during the progress of their settlement. Consequently, upon his entrance into Congress, he procured the passage of a law, providing that one half of the public lands should be sold in sections of six hundred and forty acres, and the other half in half sections of three hundred and twenty. This was the only plan that could, at that time, be adopted, in consequence of the rival interest created in the East through a fear of the rapid settlement of the West. It was the result of compromise and concession, and was the origin and establishment of that system which increased the population of the territory beyond a parallel, and still provides a home for the industrious and honest man. During the same session (1800) the Territory of Indiana was separated from the North Western Territory, and in 1801 General Harrison was appointed its Governor. Invested by that appointment with almost unlimited power, he undertook the discharge of the important duties thus devolved upon him with a determined resolution to effect the security of the white settlement and promote the happiness of the Indian native. He found the five thousand souls, who, at that time, were the entire population of the Territory, in constant fear of depredation, and the various tribes of savages, interspersed throughout the country, existing under the influence of those arts of savagery which had been unremittingly practiced by the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Upper Canada, in order to secure their alliance, in the event of an open rupture with the United States. Every principle of amity had been violated, in the connexion between the natives and the white traders, and the treaty of Greenville almost totally disregarded. During the excitement consequent on such a state of affairs, he commenced his gubernatorial career, under the imposition of more important and responsible duties, than, since the establishment of our national confederacy, have been entrusted to the hands of any one man. He set about, and after the most indefatigable exertions, effected the conciliation of the Indians, and caused the relinquishment of their title to the immense fertile valleys of the Wabash and White rivers, which, at this day, afford the most ample means for agricultural industry, and are the homes of a population, second to none in enterprise, and in their love of republican institutions. It was for services like these—services affording a remedy for these unfortunate difficulties which had hitherto frustrated every effort to secure the correct administration of the law, that produced a commission from the War Department of the United States, in 1802, giving to the Governors of the North Western, Indiana, and Mississippi Territories, the entire, "superintendence of all business relating to the Indians in their respective territories," and an accompanying complimentary letter to General Harrison from Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, in which that profound philosopher and venerated statesman says—"of the means however, of obtaining what we wish, you will be the best judge, and I have given you this view of the system which we suppose will best promote the interest of the Indians and ourselves, and finally consolidate our whole country into one nation, only that you may be enabled to adapt your means to the object.

For this purpose we have given you a general commission for treating." While engaged in the discharge of that commission, General Harrison was destined to encounter all the difficulties incident to the peculiar character of the natives. Had they been permitted to judge for themselves of the services affording a remedy for these unfortunate difficulties which had hitherto frustrated every effort to secure the correct administration of the law, that produced a commission from the War Department of the United States, in 1802, giving to the Governors of the North Western, Indiana, and Mississippi Territories, the entire, "superintendence of all business relating to the Indians in their respective territories," and an accompanying complimentary letter to General Harrison from Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, in which that profound philosopher and venerated statesman says—"of the means however, of obtaining what we wish, you will be the best judge, and I have given you this view of the system which we suppose will best promote the interest of the Indians and ourselves, and finally consolidate our whole country into one nation, only that you may be enabled to adapt your means to the object.

Upon the defeat of the Indians, General Harrison returned to private life, where, in the capacity of a plain and unassuming farmer, he remained, with the exception of having served a few years, in the House of Representatives of the United States, and in the legislature of Ohio, until elected by the latter body to the Senate of the United States. While there, he sustained with ability, and supported every proposition, having for its object the advancement and promotion of western interests. He voted in favor of a GRADUATION OF THE PRICE OF THE PUBLIC LANDS, the DONATION OF THEM TO ACTUAL SETTLERS, and the CESSION OF THE REFUSE LANDS IN THE STATES IN WHICH THEY LIE, FOR PURPOSES OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT AND EDUCATION. He supported the CONTINUATION OF THE NATIONAL ROAD THROUGH OHIO, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS, and voted in favor of APPROPRIATIONS FOR ITS CONTINUATION. He voted in favor of the DONATION OF PUBLIC LANDS TO OHIO, FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MIAMI CANAL, AND TO INDIANA FOR HER WABASH AND ERIE CANAL. He voted in favor of "settlement and pre-emption rights" to the industrious settler of the west. And, he voted for every measure affording protection to the Western states.

From this time to the cession of Louisiana, General Harrison was constantly engaged in reconciling the Indians to the pursuits of agriculture and the practice of morality. He succeeded in the reformation of their habits to such a degree, that the most powerful chiefs were known to deliver the offenders of their various tribes, into his hands for punishment. His duties, however, were destined to become still more arduous. In 1803 the province of Louisiana, by a treaty between the United States and the consular government of France, with all its Islands and dependencies, was ceded to the United States. The country thus added to the lands of the south west, was annexed to the territory of Indiana, and the authority of General Harrison was consequently extended from the Straits of Michilimackinac to the Gulf of Mexico, embracing a tract of country four hundred and fifty thousand square miles in extent, and now constituting the States of Louisiana, Illinois, Indiana, and the territories of Michigan and Arkansas—which now sustain a population of two and a half millions of people. Here he had to encounter all the various prejudices peculiar to the people of the frontier settlements, who were congregated from every portion of the Union—some for gain and speculation, and others as daring adventurers. The manner in which he discharged that duty is sufficiently evidenced by the many complimentary letters written upon his termination, and the frequent appeals made to him to induce his continuance in office. Although the appointment of all public officers, the Judges of the Territory excepted, was reposed in his hands, yet he appealed, in every instance, to the people, to whom the right of selection properly belonged, and was never known to appoint any individual to office, who had not received the free and unbiased suffrages of his fellow-citizens. In this he put into practice those principles, which he had imbibed in his childhood, and evidenced by his act that he regarded the unlimited exercise of power by one man as an act of usurpation, tending to the overthrow of every privilege secured by the war of the Revolution.

In 1805, the Territory of Indiana resolved on entering upon a second grade of government, and a legislative council, of ten persons, was proposed by the House of Representatives. The names of the individuals thus nominated were forwarded to the President of the United States, who returned them to General Harrison, confiding the entire power of selection in his hands. And thus Mr. Jefferson, again, gave demonstrations of his entire confidence in the integrity, patriotism and fidelity of General Harrison. Upon the assembling of the council and House of Representatives, he delivered a message of some length, which may now be seen in the archives of your state, and which contains those sound principles of state policy, by the adoption of which you have become what you now are.

This was an important crisis in the history of your country, and a crisis too, which fully tested the public virtue and integrity of Gen. Harrison. The early settlers of the Territory had subsisted under the most trying and afflictive circumstances for a number of years. The war-whoop of the savage had startled the infant from its slumber, and the fond parent too often found it wailing in its blood—a prey to the fury of a fiendish foe. The corn field of the husbandman was guarded with the rifle of the pioneer, and every egress of the white-man was at a peril incapable of being borne but by the stoutest hearts. Under this state of things society could not long have remained, and it was the duty as well as the object of General Harrison to remove them, and throw around the disaffected and the jealous, a shield of governmental protection. But individuals have not been wanting to accuse him of ambition and an anxiety for the possession of power. Did he, at this time, evidence the influence of motives unpatriotic, unworthy or ambitious? Could he not have exercised the almost supreme power which he possessed, to his own and the aggrandizement of his friends? Most certainly he could. But, impelled by the same spirit which guided him in after life, he rather chose to reprobate it in the hands of the people to whom it properly belonged. This he did by urging the adoption of a second grade of government, and sharing that power which had been entrusted to him by the national government, with a Legislative Council and House of Representatives.

From this until the actual breaking out of hostilities between the whites and the Indians, the intermediate time was devoted by General Harrison to removing the defects in the militia system of the Territory—removing the property qualification of voters in Indiana, & extending the right of suffrage to every freeman—settling conflicting questions between the whites and the natives—securing the correct administration of justice and law, and guarding against the insidious efforts of Tecumseh to incite his countrymen to deadly conflict.

Upon the breaking out of hostilities with the Indians, Gen. Harrison was appointed, by the Governor of Kentucky, in 1812, Commander in Chief of the Kentucky militia, which appointment was subsequently approved by the Legislature of that state. A very few months had elapsed after the reception of this appointment, when he received from Madison, then President of the United States, the appointment of Commander in Chief of the North Western Army. In 1813 he was the successful commander at the siege of Fort Meigs, where he displayed that superior military skill, which had previously distinguished him at Tippecanoe and afterwards at the battle field of the Thames. In the same year, and while prosecuting the arduous duties pertaining to his station, the Governor of Kentucky—the venerated Shelby—the lamented Hero of King's mountain, called around him thousands of his brave and chivalrous Kentuckians, and marched to the banner of Harrison, under whose command he immediately placed himself and troops. Forced marches for four or five days ensued after the union of the two gallant veterans—the one a hero of the Revolution, the other a disciple of the gallant Wayne, until, on the over memorable 5th of October, they achieved a glorious victory over the forces of Great Britain and their savage allies. The remaining portion of Gen. Harrison's character as a commander, is well known to Indians. They will never forget the battle-fields within their borders, which remain a lasting monument to his renown.

Upon the defeat of the Indians, General Harrison returned to private life, where, in the capacity of a plain and unassuming farmer, he remained, with the exception of having served a few years, in the House of Representatives of the United States, and in the legislature of Ohio, until elected by the latter body to the Senate of the United States. While there, he sustained with ability, and supported every proposition, having for its object the advancement and promotion of western interests. He voted in favor of a GRADUATION OF THE PRICE OF THE PUBLIC LANDS, the DONATION OF THEM TO ACTUAL SETTLERS, and the CESSION OF THE REFUSE LANDS IN THE STATES IN WHICH THEY LIE, FOR PURPOSES OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT AND EDUCATION. He supported the CONTINUATION OF THE NATIONAL ROAD THROUGH OHIO, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS, and voted in favor of APPROPRIATIONS FOR ITS CONTINUATION. He voted in favor of the DONATION OF PUBLIC LANDS TO OHIO, FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MIAMI CANAL, AND TO INDIANA FOR HER WABASH AND ERIE CANAL. He voted in favor of "settlement and pre-emption rights" to the industrious settler of the west. And, he voted for every measure affording protection to the Western states.

From this station General Harrison was called, in 1815, by Mr. Adams, who appointed him envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Republic of Columbia, in South America, from which station he was recalled in 1829. Since his return to the United States, he has continued to pursue the honorable occupation of an agriculturist, and has only consented, in consequence of the united acclamations of so many of his countrymen, to become a candidate for the most elevated office within the gift of a free people.

The most prominent competitor of Gen. Harrison, for the vote of Indiana, is MARTIN VAN BUREN, of New York. And who is Martin Van Buren? He is the candidate of the office-holders and office-expectants, who nominated him for the Presidency, at a convention assembled in the city of Baltimore, in May last. The first account we have of his political life, is, while he was a member of the Senate of New York, at the time when Mr. Clinton was nominated as the federal candidate for the Presidency, in opposition to Mr. Madison. The support he then gave Mr. Clinton, afforded abundant evidence of that spirit of opposition to the institutions of his country, which was most prominently developed in the conduct of those with whom he was united. Shortly after the success of Mr. Madison, and during the prosecution of the war, Rufus King, of New York, (for whom Mr. Van Buren voted) was elected to the Senate of the United States, avowedly opposed to the administration. Upon his entrance into that body, instead of devoting his energies to maintain the war, he commenced a tirade of abuse against the administration for having attempted relief to the oppressed seamen of our gallant navy, who had been compelled by British violence, to arm themselves against their country, their firesides and their friends. Thus Martin Van Buren countenanced by his vote in the Senate of New York, an opposition to that war, which, a second time, convinced

Great Britain that Americans could not be awed into bondage and subjection.

Subsequent to this time, Mr. Van Buren became himself a member of the United States Senate, and, while there, opposed every proposition to improve the west or add to her numerical strength. He voted against the CONTINUATION OF THE NATIONAL ROAD THROUGH OHIO, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS, and against APPROPRIATIONS FOR PRESERVATION. He voted against the GRADUATION OF THE PRICE OF THE PUBLIC LANDS. He voted against CEDING THE REFUSE LANDS TO THE STATES IN WHICH THEY LIE. He voted against MAKING DONATIONS OF THE LANDS TO ACTUAL SETTLERS. He again voted against CEDING THE REFUSE LANDS, NOT WORTH TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER ACRE, TO THE NEW STATES, FOR PURPOSES OF EDUCATION AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT. He voted against the bill providing "SETTLEMENT AND PRE-EMPTION RIGHTS" to settlers and thus deprived many an honest poor man of a home. He voted against DONATIONS OF LAND TO OHIO, TO PROSECUTE HER MIAMI CANAL, and although a member of the Senate, he was not present when the vote was taken upon the engrossment of the bill giving land to Indiana for her Wabash and Erie Canal, and was known to have opposed it in all its stages. He voted in favor of ERECTING TOLL-GATES ON THE NATIONAL ROAD, thus demanding a tribute from the west for the right to pass upon her own high-ways, constructed out of her own money—a thing never heard of before.

After his term of service had expired in the Senate, he was elected Governor of New York, by a plurality of votes. From this station he was called to the department of state, and in his instructions to Mr. McLane, the then minister to England, treated our right to transport "our own produce, in our own vessels" to the West Indies, (which George Washington, in a letter to Mr. Morris, had considered as a "privilege" secured by every principle of governmental reciprocity) as a "boon" to be granted us at the will of an opposing parliament