

\$250,000—and this including the Lock at the National Road, which we know must be forever useless. And yet the gentleman complains of bad management; of extravagance; and would place it all upon the whigs! There has been bad management; there has been extravagance, but this has been no more the fault of the whigs than of the loco-focos. A ample proof of this assertion can be found on every page of our history. In the campaign for Governor in 1837, the contest was between Wallace and Dumont, and the object of the leaders of the loco-foco party was to unite that party with the anti-improvement whigs on Dumont. Wallace was thus driven, to identify himself with the system men, he was elected by them; and in his inaugural address he spoke their language. Governor Noble, in his message, did precisely as might have been expected from a man of his good sense and experience; he recommended classification. Mr. Morgan of Rush county, a whig, moved in the Senate on the 14th Dec. 1837, Journal page 189, a resolution approving Gov. Noble's message on this subject. Mr. Dunning a loco-foco, Journal 170, moved to amend the resolution, by striking it out and inserting an approval of Gov. Wallace's inaugural. The amendment of Mr. Dunning was amended by inserting a resolution decidedly opposed to classification, which was inserted in the place of Mr. Morgan's, and then the resolution, thus amended, was adopted. Journal page 182, by 33 votes to 15—12 loco-foco voted for it. Messrs. Catheart, Crawford, Dobson, Dunning, Elliott, Ewing, Haskell, Kennedy, Moore, Trask, Tuley and Watt of Union, whilst only nine voted against it.

But the gentleman from Franklin does not only find fault with the Board of which he was a part, but he has told us, that the Fund Commissioners have also acted very wrong. He says that Dr. Coo and others, by their bad management, have caused us to become liable for interest on near three millions of money which we have not received, and perhaps never shall receive.—This is a mistake. But, first let me say, that the gentleman can no more drive me to the defense of Dr. Coo, than to the defense of the system, and for the same reason. Nevertheless it is in my power to do one act of justice to Dr. Coo. I can earnestly say, that I never saw or heard anything to cause me to entertain the least doubt of his integrity. And, I am proud that now a fair opportunity is presented to me, to renew the remembrance of at least one praiseworthy act of Dr. Coo, in the discharge of his duties. Soon after the organization of the board of improvement, and before more than one or two thousands of dollars could be necessary, one of the Commissioners drew a draft on Dr. Coo for ten thousand dollars. Dr. Coo had the fumness to refuse payment of it. That Commissioner was not then, is not now, a whig. The gentleman from Franklin knows it. Whence does the gentleman get the proofs for his assertion about near three millions. He must include the bank loan of one million, on which we have not paid any interest, and shall not have to pay any, until the money on the bonds is paid over. He must include the improvement debt of \$1,700,000 due from the Morris canal and other New York banks, on which we have not paid any interest, and shall not, sicut as the money is paid to us. And then, he must include the Cohen compromise property; for the interest of this, we receive rent on the Spermatoc factory, interest on the Baltimore mortgages, and interest on the cash instalments. I ask the gentleman for the particulars, for the documents. I ask him to make good his charge, if he can. And, if he will, he may be assured that I will go with him, whether he be a system man as I have always understood him to be, as I believe he was elected, and as I think he was understood here, until the day before yesterday, to be, or whether he be an anti-system man as he has talked. I will go with him to ferret out such abuses, and will cheerfully leave his inconsistencies to him and his constituents.

It was with regret Mr. Speaker, that I found myself compelled to be absent, while the gentleman from Switzerland (Mr. Fisher) addressed the House. But as I knew that gentleman was expected to speak about financial matters, several friends at my request, were careful to note his remarks, and I know them. That gentleman, any more than the other, did not attempt to sustain the report. But he did assume three propositions, substantially as follows:

1st. That the bank of the United States has not been affected by the war of the government upon it.

2d. That the gold bill and specie circular were beneficial measures, and were now approved generally.

3d. That the increase of bank capital had not been more than in proportion to the increase of business in general.

It is a task to my credulity, to believe that any intelligent gentleman, could assert the first proposition; although the boldness of the assumption so well accords with much of that recklessness of theory which marks that gentleman's arguments and opinions, that it is not so surprising, coming from him as it might be from another.

The bank of the U. S. not affected by the war of the government upon it! Who can believe it? That war, sir, compelled the bank to lessen its issues; to take a charter from the State of Pennsylvania, at the expense of an excessive premium; and to wind up its western and southern branches. Above all, sir, deserted by its patrons at home, under the influence of the great and ruinous outcry against it, raised by the administration, the pet banks and all the minions of power, that bank was compelled to send abroad for specie

to sustain itself. The proposition is so absurd that further I will not speak of it.

The gentleman asserts that the gold bill and specie circular have been beneficial—approved by the people—and that to the first we must attribute that great blessing, an increase of \$53,000,000 of specie in the country.

The gold bill was the beginning of that exhibition of ignorance and folly, of sheer quackery, Benyon's humbugery, by which this country has been plunged into its present state of misery and distress—a distress not peculiar to Indiana, as asserted in the report, but pervading every part of the U. S. We have fifty-three millions of specie more than we had. The gentleman attributes it to the administration. But, is it a blessing? Has it rendered us more prosperous, or more happy? It has not. The same cause which gave us the specie, for which we are yet in debt, gave to us also, foreign indebtedness to the amount of two hundred millions. We are a nation of financiers! we have raised the wind most beautifully! but now the day of reckoning has come. The fifty-three millions was a great curse to the country, a curse, because we are in debt for it; because it stimulated the creation of more banks; and, especially, because it served to keep up the Benton humbug. It is not difficult to trace the operation of the gold bill, if we will look to the commercial history of the country. For some years previous to the passage of that bill, this country, according to the treasury reports, exported each year an average amount of specie, of about one-half million of dollars more than was imported; nevertheless the country was prosperous. The supply of specie was kept up by the amounts brought in, by emigrants from Europe, and by traders on the western frontier, and not noticed on the books of the treasury. During that time too, the imports from abroad exceeded the exports, about three and a half millions of dollars per year, being about 7 per cent. advance on the amount of the exports, and merely a fair profit. That surplus, I believe to have been clear profit; and hence, the prosperity of the country. The gold bill was the first sowing of that wind, whose spout the whirlwind, that is now sweeping over the land—the crop of distress we are now reaping. By that bill, the price of gold was raised; and owing to the scarcity of specie amongst us, the price of silver was affected. The mercantile who had before shipped the half million of specie to Europe annually, were thus induced to ship produce; it was better for them to send produce without a profit, than specie at a loss; an increased demand for produce, to the amount of one-half million of dollars annually, was thus created; and it is too, at an increased price. The increased demand for produce, stimulated the increased price exacted, the farmer to extend the indulgence of himself and family in the use of foreign goods; thus, an increased demand for foreign goods was created; and the excess of importations was increased; but that increased excess, was not a profit; it was a debt still chargeable against us, a debt yet to be paid. In this manner, the increased demand for exports, and the increased demand for imports, acted upon each other in a rapid progression, and the results of Dr. Benton's first dose of No. 6, would have been soon developed; but that other cause, more mighty in their effects, were called into action, and in their intensity covered up these. Dr. Benton's nose was given in the morning; it excited a vast scheme of speculation, which by its operation on the foreign exchanges, would have soon caused specie, the bill notwithstanding, to leave the country; and would have thus, soon reduced our apparent increased prosperity and excited surprise, into mere rageocritical nakedness. But just as the debility, consequent upon the first dose of stimulants, was beginning to exhibit itself, Dr. Kendall stepped in and swore that it was 11 o'clock. This brings me to the third proposition of the gentleman from Switzerland (Mr. Fisher), that the increase of banks has not been more than the increase of business in the country.

After the gold bill, came Dr. Kendall's quackery—the removal of the deposits from the bank of the United States, and the State bank alliance. Dr. Kendall became a traveller—he went from city to city—he administered his stimulants medicinally—and hence sprung the increase of banks, the most unbounded speculations in public lands, and in town lots—hence sprung evils, so vast in their influences, so overpowering in their effects, that the gold humbug was forgotten, sunk, precisely as the marlins bitters are forgotten in the eleven o'clock drum.

The removal of the deposits, the State bank alliance, the increase of discounts, and the increase of State banks, were all parts of the same measure, and are chargeable to the *Party in Power*, and to none other. To the country, it is immaterial whether this great evil is to be attributed to the late, or present administration. It belongs to the kitchen cabinet—to the men then and now in power. Those men by their recommendations encouraged the increase of State banks, and by their official acts ensured an increase of bank discounts. These men, thus brought upon us unbounded speculations, and now say that it was the fault of the credit system—the fault of that system which is the peculiar offspring of well regulated liberty, which is peculiar to free States, and which is founded upon, and cannot exist without, the utmost inviolability of character, of person, and of property, compatible with the administration of the laws. Those men abused the credit system—and the consequent control over the currency of the country. This is the real question. Let us not

deceive ourselves—this league, this association of banks, created by the Executive—bound together by its influence—experience, but the present dogmas of the party to whose skirts he hangs. The increase of State banks was an administration measure. If proof is wanting, I tell you, that the Globe recommended it—that the greatest increase took place in the administration States—and that a majority of the Representatives who, in our own House, voted for our own bank, were administration men—And, sir, the increase of discounts by the State depository banks was not only a party measure, but was actually recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, an old federalist to be sure, who has since been placed in the highest judicial station in our land, next after Marshall, but with a wide space between them—I mean Mr. Taney. In the letters of the Secretary of the Treasury, to the banks at different periods, selected as depository banks, advice, instructions I should say, will always be found substantially as follows:

"The deposits of the public money will enable you to afford increased facilities to the commercial and other classes of the community, and the Department anticipates from you the adoption of such course respecting your accommodations as will prove acceptable to the people and safe to the government," dated, Oct. 9, 1833, and signed, R. B. Taney, Secretary of the Treasury. Similar instructions were given to all the depository banks, including the State bank of Indiana, on whose files an original may yet be found. At the time, the whole told well. For base party purposes, war was made upon the bank of the United States—and then an increase of State banks was stimulated and an increase of discounts was ordered, to divert the popular attention, precisely as the gentleman from Switzerland, would draw our attention from the examination of facts, by the investigation of theories. But, sir, their effort did not answer, and his will not.

Ad. Mr. Speaker, I have caught the literary passion of that gentleman. I must quote poetry—if you do not like it, it is a mere difference of taste.—Ad. Mr. Speaker,

Weep for the hour,  
When to liberty's bower,  
The Fisher of theories,  
With false notions came!  
The sun went to bed—  
The moon hid her head,  
And wept behind the clouds,  
For the Fisher-man's shame!

Under the influence of the party in power, from 1839 to 1837, the State bank system increased as follows: 33 banks to 634 banks, 145 millions of capital to \$91 millions, 290 millions of discounts to 525 millions, 61 millions of circulation to 139 millions.

And, sir, while with one breath, this gentleman tells you, that this increase, sufficient to revolutionize the monetary affairs of any nation, and which has now revolutionized those of our country, not our State alone, but the whole country, was not more than the business of the country required—the will, if occasion require, turn round, and in the next breath assert, that he is a sub-treasury specie-clause hard-money currency man.

The gentleman from Switzerland, in his conclusion, favored us with a grand flourish, upon the excellence of the administration of Gen. Jackson. But he forgot in his enumeration, that Gen. Jackson, as he suggested an increase of banks and of bank paper so also suggested to the States, State systems of internal improvement, to be sustained by a distribution of the surplus revenue. To me, it has often seemed wonderful, that the country could sustain, as long as it did, the vast increase of circulation founded upon fictitious capital. The gentleman (Mr. Fisher) accounts for it by saying that, it was only commensurate with the increase business of the country.—To prove this, he points to the sales of public lands—and thus would substitute the effect for the cause. The increase of banks induced the speculations in lands, and it is contrary to common sense to suppose otherwise. So too, he has pointed to the increase of exports, especially of cotton. That increase has been more an increase of price than of quantity.—The same sort of cotton which in March 1830, sold for ten cents per pound, sold in March 1837, for sixteen cents—and the same sort of pork which in March 1830, sold for nine dollars per barrel, sold in March 1837, for eighteen dollars and a quarter.

The country could not have sustained this vast increase of circulation, but that quackery was piled upon quackery, humbug upon humbug, and stimulus upon stimulus—but that the gold bill was followed by the State bank system, and that by the State improvement system, each accompanied with its own trains of apparent prosperity, all driving us into the vast ocean of speculation.

On the 13th of January, 1837, in the Senate of the United States, Mr. Calhoun, in bold tones, foretold the results which must follow, and which have followed, the measures of the administration. I shall read from his speech on the removal of the deposits.

"What then is the real question which now agitates the country? I answer, it is a struggle between the Executive and Legislative Departments of the Government—a struggle not in relation to the existence of the bank, but which, Congress or President, shall have the power to create a bank, and the consequent control over the currency of the country. This is the real question. Let us not

choose between it and a system of corruption and of plunder, whose only sanction the President himself can only find in the example of more than twenty foreign and monarchical governments. The President in his message tells us, that out of twenty-six governments, twenty-two prefer the union of the purse, with the sword—and he calls on us to yield our opinions to the example of this majority. But it will not do. Such examples are not for us.

To return to the proper subject. The gentleman alluded to the state of the bank in 1819, and referred to its effects in 1820. The gentleman forgot to review the financial history of the country from 1811 to 1819, so necessary to a proper understanding of the state of affairs in 1819 and 1820. He is better able than I to look back upon those times—he was a man then—and doubtless he would have done so, if he had been sincere about his discussion—if he had not feared to give the facts, and trust to the honest convictions those facts would induce.

Sir, in 1811, the battle of Tippecanoe was fought, and the war with England followed. At that time we only had State banks—and in a short time, all of the south of New England, suspended specie payment. The necessities of the times compelled the government and the people to sanction the suspension. In 1815, such men as Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun, driven by the situation of the country, forgot their abstract opinions, their party theories, and their personal prejudices, and united with Mr. Madison in creating the bank of the U. S. The leading republicans of that day sacrificed all personal considerations on the common altar of their Father land. The object was to restore the currency, to regulate the exchanges, and to aid the treasury. But, sir, those men never dreamt that Mr. Taney or Mr. Woodbury, would commence, unopposed in the treasury department,

Does not the gentleman from Switzerland apprehend the force of this language? Do not you, Mr. Speaker, and the majority here, feel its truth—not has the whole country realized it? Mr. Calhoun, is distinguished for many of the rare qualities of the great statesman. Some of them, he exhibited in the extract I have read, is his prediction of the ruin which the administration was bringing upon the country. But times have changed. Then, I attached consequence to all Mr. Calhoun said.—Now, sir, I do not attach any, to any thing he may say. He is now reposing in the Foot-step Administration, and doubtless thinks that he will yet sit enthroned in the Capitol.—He is mistaken. Many men with heads as clear, and hearts as firm, and arms as strong, have realized the truth of the school boy lesson, that there is but one step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock.

Mr. Judah continues: I now approach the remarks of the last gentleman (Mr. Lane), whose remarks I feel bound to answer. That gentleman informed the House, that he owed a debt to Indiana, which he was determined to strive to pay. And so do I. But that gentleman is a man of many dominies! He grew up in New York—he lived for a time in Ohio—for a time in Kentucky—and, he has lived for many years in Indiana. I have had but two—the homes of my boyhood and of my manhood—after God's mercy and my own exertion. I owe all, of private fortune and public reputation to the people of Knox county—they have upheld and sustained me—whether in good fortune or in bad—whether in days of triumph, exalted by friends—or in times of misfortune, persecuted by foes—they have never forsaken me. Can the gentleman from Dearborn say the same, of all, or of any of his homes? That gentleman told of heavenly qualities which he loved. But there is one love, which ought to warm all our hearts, and which cannot find a resting place in basins warred only by the fire of action. I mean the love of our country. That gentleman called on the dominant party to rally—and hoped, they would get all right! But I hope, that he will cease to exhibit himself as a mere partisan leader, that he will soon forget his caucus tactics, and engage with me in our only worthy strife—the effort to do the most public good.

The gentleman from Dearborn, did not pause to enquire, whether the report was true or false, in its statements or conclusions. But he was pleased to assume these propositions for discussion—neither of which had any thing to do with the report. He said that the present difficulties of our country had been attributed and falsely to

1st. The opposition of Jackson's administration to the bank of the United States.

2d. The specie circular and bank suspension.

3d. To the Maysville veto—and, by these digressions, he hoped to withdraw attention from the report, and to unite the party. He went back to the state of the bank of the U. S. in 1819—and has, in his most impressive manner said, that if the bank could secure a sound currency to the country, it could have done it in 1820. The transactions of those years were matters of observation to him—so much, sir, as matters of history, but of well known history. However, he might have spared all his labor, if his object is to identify me with the bank of the U. S. Up to this day, not one word in support of the bank of the U. S. has passed my lips—but, I will avail myself of this opportunity to declare my settled opinion—the opinion of one whose political opinions are all drawn from the Jefferson school—the opinion of an original Jackson man, long accustomed to the battle cry—a single term, reform and retrenchment; that I prefer a bank chartered by Congress to State banks selected and controlled by the Executive—and that I prefer a bank of the U. S. to the union of the purse with the sword, commonly called the sub-treasury. I regret the necessity which drives me to support a national bank—but we must

choose between it and a system of corruption and of plunder, whose only

sanction the President himself can only find in the example of more than twenty foreign and monarchical governments.

The Wabash has continued to rise since our last, and is now generally over its banks above and below us, wherever they are low. All the streams and rivers in the valley, are also high. White river, it is said, is higher than it has been for twenty years. Embarrass is also very high.

*Accident.*—The Great Western Mail, hence, west, was lost, with stage and team, at Embarrass river, on Thursday morning last. The river has risen so high, as to run around the west end of the bridge, and the driver and others not being aware of any washing having taken place, passed over, and was immediately engulfed in a vortex some fifteen feet deep. The way mail only was saved. The driver swam to shore. Happily, there were no passengers in the stage at the time.

We are requested to say that the regular monthly meeting of the "Old Knox Temperance Society," will take place at the Methodist Episcopal Church, on Monday evening next the 2d March at early candle-lighting.

The members are requested to attend, and such of the citizens as feel friendly to the cause, are invited to be present.

We hear that almost the last act of our loco-foco legislature, was to pass a stay law, the tendency of which will be to cripple business of all kinds, and foster rogues.

## GAZETTE.

FINANCES.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1840.

*The Union of the Whigs for the sake of the Union.*

NOMINATION BY THE WHIG NATIONAL CONVENTION.

FOR PRESIDENT,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF OHIO.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,

JOHN TYLER

OF VIRGINIA.

ONE TERM.—Mr. PINEKETON, of Ohio, stated in the Convention, that it was the wish of General HARRISON, to be elected to the Presidency, to serve only ONE TERM.

TRUE WHIG DOCTRINE.—"One Presidential Term—the Integrity of the Public servants—the safety of the Public Money—and the general good of the People."—Gov. Barber.

FOR GOVERNOR,

Samuel Bigger, of Rush County

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR,

Samuel Hall, of Gibson County

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

SENATORIAL,

JONATHAN McCARTY, of Fayette.

JOSEPH G. MARSHALL, of Jefferson.

REPRESENTATIVE,

1st District, JOHN W. PAYNE, of Harrison.

2d. do. R. W. THOMPSON, of Lawrence.

3d. do. JOSEPH L. WHITE, of Jefferson.

4th. do. JAMES H. CHAPERS, of Ripley.

5th. do. CALKIN B. SMITH, of Fayette.

6th. do. WM. HERON, of Bartholomew.