To the Freemen of the Tenth Congressional District:

FELLOW CITIZENS: The term for which I was elected to represent you in Congress expired on the 3d instant. I have already announced to you that I am not a candidate for re-election, but before I take my leave of you, I feel it to be my duty to lay before you such information on the state of public affairs, as in my opinion, may be interesting to you.

You will remember at the time I became a candidate, that the country was labouring under considerable pecuniary embarrassment; and that my opponent, and myself differed as to the cause of it. He charged the whole evil to mal-administration in the Government, while I, without justifying the proper acts, assigned other causes.

You will also recollect, during the last summer's campaign, we were everywhere told by the advocates of Gen'l. Harrison, that his election would at once restore confidence—raise the prices of produce—increase the value of property, and, in short, give us better times. He has now been elected nearly five months, and I leave it to you to say whether these promises have been realized or not. I do not here mention these facts, for any other purpose than to show that some of you, very honestly, no doubt, were mistaken in the CAUSES that produced the "hard times."—You were induced to believe that they were brought on by the acts of Mr. Van Buren's administration, and that the only remedy was, to turn him out, and put Gen'l. Harrison in. You will now soon see whether this was a just conclusion, or not. At the same time that I am free to say, I was no friend to many of the acts of the two last administrations, particularly [illegible] I must also say, however much the measures referred to may have aggravated the evils we complain of, I do not believe they were the cause of them. The cause lies much deeper. I do not now intend to [illegible] whether than to deceive,—that all the embarrassments and difficulties of the times may be fairly traced to two CAUSES,—that is, the [illegible] "Protective Tariff,"—and to the "Banking system."—These are the two causes, and as they disappear so will the evils we complain of [illegible].

[illegible] preceding Administrations, measures were adopted to [illegible] these causes. By the act of 1833, the high [illegible] are in a rapid state of reduction, and on the 30th of June, 1842, [illegible] to 20 per cent ad valorem; and it is to be [illegible] never again in time of peace, submit to pay a [illegible] on the dollar.

[illegible] is now coming out as fast as any prudent [illegible] cannot be more rapid, the shock on the [illegible] greater, and the suffering more severe.

[illegible] things brought upon the country by these [illegible] discharged, and trade and commerce shall be allowed [illegible] reason, then, and then only, may we look for stability [illegible] prices. That this will [illegible] adopted, cannot be well [illegible] Administration;—and, whilst [illegible] we do a free [illegible] that the leading friends of Gen. [illegible] marked out for him a course of [illegible] the Southern States;—so much so, [illegible] the party sage of the ablest Whigs in [illegible] Harrison's administration will fall into these [illegible]

[illegible] Debts and the following [illegible] directly or indirectly, the payment [illegible] among the States the proceeds of the sales [illegible] in fact, but another form of paying the [illegible] *Tariff*, which is a certain con[illegible] direct or indirect, of the [illegible] National Bank [illegible] States Bank, and [illegible] Banks [illegible] these heads.

[illegible] you, and fully understand what is [illegible] I will briefly explain [illegible] pay the debts of the States, I will briefly explain [illegible] the States of this Union have incurred debts. Not being able to obtain as much [illegible] by sending agents abroad to foreigners, [illegible] get hold of. On these loans they [illegible] every six months, and to report the proceeds [illegible] way these States have become indebted to the [illegible] *twenty millions of dollars*,—each State [illegible] for its own debts. They are now [illegible]

[illegible]	20	" "
[illegible]	15	" "
[illegible]	15	" "
[illegible]	14	" "
South Carolina owes		not one cent!

[illegible] of the States that owe large amounts, and [illegible] North Carolina owe not [illegible] small sum. [illegible] States expended within its own limits all the money [illegible] New York, and if the money was not wisely or economically spent [illegible] of it. As long as the money [illegible] no difficulty whatever [illegible] on their Bonds,—but when the money was all [illegible] for payment of interest. The INTEREST—to the amount of [illegible] annually is regularly falling due, and these unprecedent States (with a few exceptions) have nothing to pay with. What ought they to do? Why, certainly, they ought to lay taxes on themselves, and honestly meet their contracts,—but instead of doing this, the most of them [illegible] and then to another, to put off the evil day, and some of them have wholly failed to meet their engagements. The [illegible] deeply in debt, now [illegible] the necessary taxes to pay even the interest, and have fallen on another plan to relieve themselves,—*that is*,—for the Gen[illegible] assume and pay these debts for them. This is the [illegible] assuming the State debts;—and, I now ask you, [illegible] right that North Carolina, that kept out [illegible] and be made liable for the debts of other [illegible] Pennsylvania, and other States? During last year, [illegible] that leading Whigs were in favor of assuming [illegible] was flatly denied, and we were accused of misrepresen[illegible] but now, since the election is over, many of them come out [illegible] in favor of the scheme.

A proposition for paying the State debts in one form was brought before Congress at one session by Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, who is now one [illegible] Harrison's Cabinet,—it was voted for by every Whig, and against by every Democrat in the House where the measure was discussed. [illegible]

CONSIDER THE WRONG TO THE STATES THE PROCEEDS OF THE PUBLIC LANDS.

[illegible] proposition carefully, you will see that it is [illegible] to raise by *taxation* on the people five millions [illegible] the States.

[illegible] is derived from *two sources* mainly,—[illegible] on foreign articles imported into the country, and [illegible] Public Lands. For several years past, it has required [illegible] from both of these sources to meet the current [illegible] Government,—for is there, at this time, nor can there [illegible] a surplus in the Treasury.

[illegible] two ways of assuming the State debts;—one is, for the Gen[illegible] to sell some lands, and take them on itself,—the other [illegible] doing so in the name of the States that owe them, [illegible] Government to march the money to pay them. Both of [illegible] to the same thing, and the only difference [illegible] be seen and noticed at the time, it might star[illegible] all to be matters,—whereas, the second [illegible] peace,—and, in[illegible] to distribute them. The first plan [illegible] Congress in opposition of [illegible] Whigs opposed Con[illegible]

Judging from all we have seen, it is more than probable that before the close of Gen. Harrison's term, the State debts will be virtually assumed by the General Government, and North Carolina, that owes nothing, made liable in part for the debts of other States.

If, then, we take out of the Treasury, that part of the revenue which comes from the sale of Public Lands, and distribute it among the several States, it follows of necessity that we thereby create a *deficiency* in the Treasury which must, in some way or other, be supplied. How can this be done? Why, there is no other way but to impose heavier taxes on the people;—the Tariff will have to be revised, and increased.

The proceeds of the Public Lands, it is believed, may be put down at an average at *five millions* of dollars a year. Now, what [illegible] difference between distributing five millions raised from the customs, and five millions raised from the Public Lands? Both go into the Treasury, and to take either out for this purpose would create a deficiency there, requiring taxation to replace the same amount.—What would the people say, if Congress were to pass a law entitled,—"An act to levy, and collect from the people, five millions of dollars, to be divided out among the States?" Every body would cry out against such a law;—and yet, in effect, there is no difference whatever between such a law, and a law to distribute among the States the proceeds of the Public Lands. Or, what would you think of Congress were to pass a law imposing a tax on sugar, coffee, salt, iron, rods, &c., for the purpose of raising five millions of dollars to divide among the States? You would at once denounce it; and yet, in effect, this is the very thing that the friends of distribution are now proposing to do;—for, if you give away five millions of the money that comes from the Public Lands, then you must replace it by a tax on these, and other articles.—Why is it then that the friends of this measure are trying to do indirectly, what they dare not do *directly?* Can it be that they think the people too ignorant to detect the artifice, or do they fancy that there is some charm in the words "the proceeds of the Public Lands," that will infatuate the people, and make them swallow the gilded fact?

Thus it is perfectly clear that, if the proceeds of the Public Lands are divided out among the States, Congress will have to supply the place of what is taken away, by additional taxes on the people,—and it is well known that every dollar now coming into the Treasury from all sources whatever, is required to carry on the Government.

There is another objection to this scheme of distribution, [illegible] even the views I have already presented,—and that is, that Congress has no power under the Constitution to sell the Public Lands and give away the money. Congress can exercise such powers only as are given to it in that instrument. The Constitution is written in plain English, and any one who will read it can understand it. Now, I ask the framers of the country to read the Constitution, and point out any clause, or sentence in it, that gives the power to Congress to sell the Public Lands and distribute the proceeds thereof gratuitously among the States,—or that will justify Congress in doing any thing of the kind. The Public Lands stand on the same footing with all the other property of the United States, and Congress has just as much right to give away and distribute the Navy, and fortifications of the Republic, and divide the money among the States, as to sell the lands, and distribute the money.

But I know it is alleged that the Public Lands were ceded to the United States by Virginia and other States for the purpose of paying the Public debt; and that as the debt has been paid, the power and the [illegible] the land should now be returned to the States. I have carefully [illegible] took, and acted on, this view of the subject [illegible] the whole question, I soon came to a different conclusion. On examining the Cession Acts I find that Virginia and the other [illegible] lands, ceded all "their right and title" to the Union, "for the common benefit of the Union,"—and not for the separate benefit of the States. And the fact is, these States had no right whatever to the soil, [illegible] to the *jurisdiction*,—the soil being at the time, [illegible] and the Government had to purchase it from them by paying [illegible] money for it. The books of the Treasury [illegible] lands," have, to the present time, shot the Government a [illegible] more than they have sold for.

But even if there was anything in this argument, [illegible] Acts," it would not cover the case [illegible] Public Lands was ceded to the States [illegible] Public Lands have been a source of political [illegible] a mistake. It appears from the Records in the Treasury, that [illegible]

The total cost and expense of all the Public Lands [illegible] year 1841, was [illegible]

And that the total receipts from lands during [illegible] period was [illegible]

[illegible] cost and expenses of [illegible] the receipts by nearly *nineteen millions of dollars*. [illegible] eral Government for the Public Lands [illegible] could not in equity be required for lands and pecuniary [illegible] past back all that it has expended, over and [illegible] yielded, which is as we shall see, more than [illegible]

From the foregoing facts and views we are brought to the [illegible] conclusions:

1st. That it is unconstitutional for Congress to sell the Public Lands and give the money away to the States.

2d. That, to distribute the proceeds of the Public Lands in this form for paying the State debts, which are [illegible] Carolina, and the other States having no debts,

3d. That, the inevitable consequence of distributing the proceeds of the Public Lands, must be an increase of the Tariff [illegible] brings me to the subject of the Tariff.

AN INCREASE OF THE TARIFF.

The word TARIFF means the rate of duty [illegible] ported into the country. By the Tariff of 1841 [illegible] imposed on all articles imported into the country [illegible] they ranged from 40 to as much as 200 per cent [illegible] manufactures. Foreign articles are always bought [illegible] exchange for what we send out, and the [illegible] burdens of taxation on that part of the country [illegible] ties of export. Now, as *three fourths* of all the exports [illegible] furnished by the Southern States, it follows that [illegible] Tariff taxes fell on the South. The high duties [illegible] at the North not only to make enormous profits [illegible] millions that flowed into the Treasury from the South [illegible] at the North—thus pouring two rich streams of [illegible] out of this section of the country was drained a direct tax to pay the [illegible] the system of oppression, the people of the South [illegible] lature of every Southern State [illegible] North Carolina, passed resolutions declaring the Tariff to be [illegible] but all to no purpose—the Tariff was having its [illegible] South Carolina, determined to bear it no longer, [illegible] Tariff acts as unconstitutional;—that is—she [illegible] willing and ready to pay her part of whatever might be [illegible] proper to support, and carry on the Government, [illegible] longer submit to pay tribute to enrich the North [illegible] hard earnings of her own people. The [illegible] forced the Tariff laws to give way, and the [illegible] act provides that thenceforward [illegible] taxes all, and reduced down to 20 per cent all [illegible]

The last reduction takes place on the 30th of June [illegible] that is to say, all the Tariff taxes will come [illegible] dollar. Even this is a very high tax [illegible] it is and cast about and look for the cause of [illegible] out to it.

As the subject of the Tariff taxation is not well [illegible] persons, I will briefly explain. As above [illegible] the Tariff will be reduced to 20 per cent [illegible] much higher, but, to make all clear, I will take [illegible]

When we say 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, we mean [illegible] dollar's worth of goods. For example [illegible] and valued at $10, then the tax on that part [illegible] is valued at $1 per yard,—then the tax [illegible] As some of the plain Farmers [illegible] is, that the people pay these taxes. I will [illegible]

An importing merchant brings in [illegible] things, a piece of woollen cloth valued at $1 [illegible] can sell this, he has to pay to the Government [illegible] of tax. But this is not a loss to him [illegible] when he sells the goods to the retailer he [illegible] price, and makes the retailer pay it [illegible] pay it,—for when he takes the goods [illegible] the tax on to the price, and makes the Farmer [illegible] So, that in the end the Farmer, or consumer, [illegible] merchants through whose hands the goods pass [illegible] the average tax is 40 cents in the dollar [illegible] Tariff is now in progress of reduction, and after [illegible] will be only 20 cents in the dollar.

Every honest man of common sense, must see from [illegible] whatever they may be, always fall on the Farmer [illegible] consumer. For the last [illegible] years, we have been [illegible] part of the profits arising from the sales of the [illegible] away to the South, and the taxes levied on the consumers [illegible] falling on the Farmers of the South [illegible]

[illegible] nually, to pay the debts of other States? If you are willing to submit to this, you may make up your minds before long to submit to still further impositions. The willing horse always rides, and if you now give up, without a murmur five millions annually, of your hard earnings, you must expect very soon to give up ten millions more.

It is certainly not improper that I should inform you who it is, that were in favor of giving away the Public Lands to the States, or public lands. All the Whigs in Congress, (except Mr. Wise, of Virginia, and a few others) were strong advocates of the measure, while every Democrat was against it. I may add, that the Legislature of North Carolina passed a Resolution in favor of the Government keeping the Treasury—and protesting the way it was being used;—and, the Journals will show that all the Whigs voted for it, while all the Democrats voted against it.—I might extend these remarks much farther to show you the bad policy of taking money out of the people's pockets for the purpose of giving it back to the States, but the limits of a Circular will not permit.

THE BANKING SYSTEM—A NATIONAL DEBT, AND A UNITED STATES BANK.

These subjects are so intimately connected, that I shall not treat them separately, but lay before you a number of facts, and a few general remarks for your consideration.

On the 7th of January last, (1842,) the Senate of the United States adopted the following Resolution, to wit:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to communicate to the Senate, as early as practicable, in a detailed and tabular form, all the information of the power of his department to answer to the following questions:

"1. What amount has the Federal Government lost, from the organization to this time, by the common use of banks, in the use of bank paper, or by its connexion in any way with banks, including the depreciation of bank paper.

"2. What amount the people of the United States have lost, from the connexion of the Government with the banks, or by the depreciation of bank paper, or by the depreciation of the currency, or by the failure of banks, and by their connexion with the Government, or by bankruptcy generally.

"3. What is the expense, and to whom chargeable, of the Government, directly or indirectly, by the existence of banks, including the expense of the [illegible] operations of banks, and the [illegible] of the Government with banks.

"4. What is the amount of the expense of the Navy Department, [illegible] Secretaries of the Navy, and the Navy Commissioners, in matters relating to the Navy Department, since the 4th of March, 1841, and the amount of the expenses of the Navy Department, in the same period, in the Navy Yard, in the District of Columbia, which have been paid by the Navy Agent, or other officers, in the City of Washington, and not accounted for to the Navy Department, with a [illegible] of the expenses of the Navy Department, in the same period, in the Navy Yard, in the City of Washington