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Let some remarks in this address, on the subject of the Canal, and recommending on certain terms, a sale of the canal lands, may be understood to be offered to induce the acceptance of the Treaty, it is proper for me to add, that they are intended, only to be considered, upon the happening of that contingency. If, with such provisions of doubtful policy, the treaty should be ratified, the question of *ways and means*, will then be fairly before you. But pressed as we are by necessity, for this important link in the chain of national improvement, which promises also to be so useful a channel for the commerce of the country, my own assent to postpone without certainty in the end, for fifteen years, the long looked for benefits expected from it, would (without further effort to do better) be given with melancholy reluctance. Nor could any of us, without poignant regret, see this valuable grant revert back to the United States. Rather than think seriously of such a result, your foresight, your prudence, your desire for the honor of the state, would prompt you to memorialize Congress again, to authorize the state to change the proposed canal into a *Rail Way*, or even a turnpike road on the canal location. There could remain little doubt but that, in this way, the grant might be preserved. It is the immediate expense of a canal and the idea of competition that alarms Ohio. A single railway would cost only but a little more than half of what is the estimate of a canal, as they might be constructed in Indiana with durable timber mostly. I have seen some estimates as low as \$6200 per mile.

Whatever may be the fate of the Wabash & Erie canal, I take pleasure in assuring you, that no part of the failure, to enlist Ohio in it, within a less period than is stated, is ascribable to Major Sullivan, our commissioner, whose talents and zeal to obtain a better compact for the state have been conspicuously exerted on the occasion.

#### WABASH AND WHITE RIVER OBSTRUCTIONS.

To enable the State to remove the obstructions in these valuable rivers, the friends of the Wabash and Erie Canal, and of Steam-boat navigation on the Wabash and White Rivers, would doubtless gratify a majority of the people in the state of Indiana, by uniting in a memorial to congress, for a grant of the public lands adequate to the accomplishment of the object. The removal of the falls in the Wabash and the improvement of the White Rivers by means of the public domain, may be sustained by the same reasoning, which led to the grant to open the canal. For the one is indispensable to the other. If the state goes on with her canal, she must improve the rapids in the Wabash, or cut a canal around them for the passage of all kinds of boats. No doubt is entertained but that steam boats may traverse the White rivers if they are well improved, through hundreds of miles of our territory; and that the seat of government, will ere long be visited by these messengers of Fulton's immortal genius.

#### NEW MILITARY SYSTEM.

Whatever is novel and is intended to supplant established usages, however confirmed by prejudice or replete with hoary error, has, in a majority of cases, subjected the innovator to unenvied notoriety. As to the modifications which will be submitted under this head, it is not intended to claim any indulgence for their author for not being aware of the fate that awaits him. A conscientious conviction, that it is my duty, uninduced by any latent consideration, to advise such a partial revision of the Militia Laws of this State, as is called for by the advanced progress of the principle of toleration, and by the intelligence and tactics of the illustrious age we live in, will not, even by counting the chances of its success, permit me to be silent. Experience, which is the test of all human organic laws and regulations, offers her objections to the impolicy and inutility of repeating so frequently and unsuccessfully, attempts upon attempts, to instruct the great mass of the people in the art of war. The chivalric reputation of our brave countrymen and the military Science have been lowered in this respect, by unremitting efforts to perform impossibilities.—Our existing militia laws, commit violence upon the rights of conscience, as well as impose penalties on poverty, exacting equipments and services which many of the people are not able to perform. Instead of this, whilst aiming at efficiency of organization, the noble purpose should be adapted to imperious circumstances, and to produce a reconciliation to it, amongst all the people—amongst all denominations and opinions. This must be done, if general submission and obedience to the laws, are to be expected. It should be a first concern with the statesman, to lop off from the institutions of his country, every obnoxious feature, in any degree tending to beget the opposition of the citizen or that is regarded with indifference, or calculated to diminish his veneration and affection for the policy of the land in which he lives.

It is proposed, in times of peace, to comprise the militia into two classes, to be called the *active* and the *sedentary*. Let the Militia of the State remain enrolled and organized as they now are,

with all the officers, to be called the *sedentary*. Require them to meet once a year at the time of the regimental muster, without equipments, except of officers, for the purpose of reporting their strength; and to hold themselves in readiness for hostile emergencies, most of whom being infantry, require their officers to assemble and drill frequently. Extract from the present sedentary militia, by voluntary enlistment, about ten thousand men, which would be about every fourth or fifth man, in the State, to be called the *voluntary militia*. This corps is intended to be well disciplined and should be required to appear frequently in service. From each regiment of about eight hundred men raise four companies of volunteers—an artillery and cavalry of about fifty men each; and an infantry company of one hundred men, and a rifle company of about the same. Allow them to elect their own officers—independent of the sedentary, and besides their company muster and attendance at the regimental parade, provide for exercises in the school of the battalion. Require that the public arms shall be exclusively distributed to the voluntary militia, to stimulate them to duty. If the required number should not volunteer in each regiment, resort to draft; if too many turn out, determine by lot who shall be taken, of those who can be relied upon. Let the voluntary corps report their strength as in other cases. Besides giving the United States arms to the voluntary corps, exempt officers and soldiers from working on roads, serving on juries and from a poll-tax. On the other hand require the sedentary militia to work as many days on the public highways in their proper districts, as the active militia are required to perform military service, in addition to what is now called for by law from each citizen.

Those who are conscientious against bearing arms will as a matter of course be ranked with the sedentary militia, and their strength may be reported in the manner provided by the present law, without requiring them to appear in public, to report it. The above presents the skeleton of a plan, which, with its appropriate details, would bring into existence a bulwark of defence against hostile incursion, combining the double advantages and safety of the *"citizen soldier"* with the *"scientific disciplinarian."*

The warmest and bravest blood and flower of the state, would be splendidly displayed in the voluntary rank; which, added to their skill in tactics, must constitute an intrepid phalanx of irresistible soldiery. Our portion of the two hundred thousand dollars, annually expended by the United States, for arming and equipping the militia, will, on this plan, at no very remote period, supply this part of the militia with arms, if they are carefully preserved; but to ever supply the whole, is as hopeless, as it would be a waste of treasure. Such a system as this, will also bring to pass, the pleasing consequence of setting at ease the conscience of that very exemplary, peaceable, industrious and moral denomination of people in the state, called *"Friends"* who are honestly opposed to war preparations. It is believed that this is the only mode, by which they can be constitutionally relieved; and it is recommended, more for its own excellence, than to secure any special privilege at the public expense. Nor can this arrangement lose any of its attractions, in consequence of the hundred thousand days labour it would authorize you to apply on the public roads, essential in an improved state, to the public good, in *war or peace*. Now, should you approve of these suggestions, it will then be worthy of consideration, whether you will carry them into effect by a state law, or recommend them to the favourable notice of the general government, whose right it is to legislate on this subject, concurrently with the state.

Independent battalions are called for as a necessary and just accommodation to the people of new counties and detached settlements.

#### AGRICULTURE, MECHANICS AND ARTS.

The farmer's interest should be made a matter of special inquiry. He who gives support to every other occupation and profession, commercial or mechanical—he, whose drudgery in its culture, provides the materials which shield our firm bodies from the inclemencies of the seasons—he, who nourishes the soldier, while he perils in the battles of his country—he, whose incorruptible fidelity, in times of severest trial, is proof against the most seductive temptations, deserves alike your countenance and efficient aid. Besides exempting from tax, lands cultivated in hemp, tobacco, and other neglected productions of profit, an adequate appropriation for premiums, to be distributed as prizes, for the best specimens of whatever you consider most useful in any of the arts, sciences, and professions, will be found in experiment, most encouraging to our various branches of industry, and stimulating to the slumbering capability of every department of genius or labor. If the encouragement here contemplated, should make any considerable impression upon the common chest, the deficit may be replenished by the imposition of a duty

or tax upon all spirituous liquors, which may be found in the state for consumption. By this plan of creating a fund, the two fold object will be accomplished, of encouraging the cause of temperance, in the use of ardent spirits, and exciting a commendable spirit of emulation, and a zealous competition in laudable and useful pursuits, among the sons and daughters of Indiana.

If, in connection with this object, the manufacture of the article, whiskey, for export, could be encouraged, and its excessive consumption at home, discounted by some satisfactory mode of restriction, the wealth of the country would be increased, and the moral condition of our society greatly improved & meliorated. A small amount, also, exacted from professional gentlemen, whose occupations are more useful to themselves than to the public, as a bounty fund, would tend not a little to induce, into field of enterprise, many a fair female competitor for skillful and industrious fame, in the manufacture of good, substantial fabrics for clothing.

Much has been effected in other states, by commendable and generous efforts, and by means of agricultural and other societies, striving to raise the yeomanry, the artists, and mechanics of the country, to an equality with the first rank of honourable professions—their most unquestionable right,—and something may be done by you, to insure to merit here, whether at the plough or in the work shop, at the needle, spindle, or the loom, its own high reward.

**COLONIZATION.** The colonization of free blacks, dispersed through our country, in the native land of their fathers, is passing the ordeal of philanthropic reflection, and gradually rising to public view, under the patronage of the American Colonization Society. No period in the annals of our history, would be hailed with more universal acclamation, than that one, which shall accomplish the return of these long degraded and unhappy members of the human family, to the country in which, their God had placed them; from which they have been oppressively torn by the hand of tyranny, to gratify the most sacrilegious cupidity. We long to celebrate the jubilee of freedom—of general and unconditional emancipation, of every soul held in bondage, because his skin is dark. We look forward, with fervent hope, to this important era, when we shall see them wending their way across the Atlantic, bearing with them the religion of the cross, and the eternal principles of liberty and equality, to a country where they may organize a government of their choice, & take their sable stand among the nations of the earth. But this is not the work of a day. And if, in attempting to identify the colonization and emancipation of our coloured population with the politics of the country as a popular hobby, before the public mind and resources are prepared to yield to the good work their effectual sanction, we shall touch the sensitive chord with too bold a hand, so as to endanger our *magna charta*, the great cause in hand, and the union, and thus effect the overthrow of our own liberties, the premature zeal affected on the subject must be long a fruitful source of perpetual lamentation. If there were no latent intention in the end, of levying a tax upon the free states, for the purchase of slaves, or in some other way, forcing a manumission—thereby strengthening the inducement and obstinacy of their holders to continue their bondage, until remuneration or compunction of conscience might reach them, they would have excited less jealousy. Instead of this, the talent of the country were fairly enlisted to convince the people of the slave states, of what their own experience will ultimately show, that free labor is more profitable than slave labour, so as to produce a voluntary abandonment of the unnatural and unchristian practice, without locking to the treasury of the nation, and the consequent introduction before Congress, of a question more dangerous to the constitution than any enemy we have ever yet encountered, tending to incite the blacks to the perpetration of the most horrid insurrections and murders, means would have, ere this, flowed into the coffers of the society in greater profusion. With such modifications, distrust would give place to general support; and the next generation might be saved the mortifying spectacle, of beholding the manacled African writhing in his fetters, in the temple of human freedom. I lay before you, at the request of the Governors of Missouri, Georgia, and South Carolina, resolutions of those states, denying the right of the general government, by the constitution, to appropriate money for the use of the society.

#### COLOURED PEOPLE IN INDIANA.

Duty to the state of Indiana, requires me to remark, that the scourge of the oppressed is not confined as it should be, exclusively to the land of the oppressor, but that this state, in common with her other free sisters, is not exempt from the lash of our crying national sin. A non-productive and in many instances a super-annuated population, is pouring in upon us, possessing all the affirmative bad qualities of the uneducated immoralized bondman, without affording any of his

advantages, living without visible means, or labor—most of whom are paupers on society. This being the consequence of expulsion laws of other states, less humane than ours, renders corresponding measures on our part necessary and inevitable. Whilst our laws and institutions proclaim the state an asylum for the good, virtuous and useful of all nations and colours, it is due to ourselves and to the rights of posterity, that we should not tamely submit to any imposition, which is the direct effect of foreign legislation. Though it might savour some what of injustice to interfere with any that are already here, it will still become your province as it is your right, to regulate for the future, by prompt correctives, the emigration into the state and the continuance of known paupers thrown upon us from any quarter. Such if they cannot afford, by sureties, indemnity to our citizens in a reasonable time, should be thrown back into the state or country from whence they came. To effect this it may be proper to require them on entering the state, to file a proclamation of particulars with evidence. No terms however should be demanded which could not in the nature of things, be complied with. For to those of them who will fill up the measure of duties of good citizens, the hand of fellowship should be offered; and to such a proper and necessary portion of the citizens' privileges should be extended, that they may have some inducements to the performance of virtuous deeds. But shorn as they now are of every incentive of the kind, they can do but little more than agonize in silent despair.

#### INDIANS.

Two tribes of these aboriginal people are still lingering within our borders. Their growing indolence, their alarming intemperate habits, their primitive simplicity of manners, their increasing dependence upon their social neighbors for the bread of life, their diminished prospects of living by the chase, their perpetration of murders and other outrages of dangerous precedent, their frequent collisions with our people, their unrestrained exhibitions of their own savage customs before our citizens and citizens' children, the impositions which for the lack of knowledge, they are ever suffering from their more artful brothers, and their destitution of any moral code whatever, are all weighty considerations that combine in admonishing them before you as *children to be governed*. A trial for half a century, to better their condition as independent nations, or tribes, has only served to increase their wretchedness. They have, by some unaccountable fatality, acquired all of the vices of the whites, with but few of their virtues. Besides, the absurdity of one independent power residing in another, both the happiness of the natives and the policy and interest of the government, call emphatically for a change of relation between the parties. It is time that Agency domination was yielding up its absolute sway, to the mild and salutary laws of free, enlightened and religious freemen. The hearts of the Indians themselves, would team with thanksgiving, after realizing their advantages, for the preserving influences of organic laws. If upon the first shock, they should receive, by the extension of the laws of the State over them, their timidity should not overcome them, so as to incline them to sell and move beyond the Mississippi, a cheering hope may yet be indulged, that their infantile offspring may be reared, to understand, venerate and enjoy, the blessings of the social system. The act of enforcing our State laws upon the Indians, must be accompanied with great prudence and forbearance on the part of the executive officers. Between the extension of our laws and their liability to them, sufficient time should be given to enable them to understand the new rule of their conduct. Special modes of promulgating the laws must of necessity be resorted to. A school for legal and other instructions ought to be instituted. Whether these people stay within the State or go to the country allotted to them, after they are brought to an equality with the citizen, and subjected to his burdens and counted in the federal census, their landed possessions must soon form an item in the revenue of the State. If they remove, they will sell to the United States; & if they submit, it is the opinion of the President, that their national property must be carved up into individual rights.

It gives me much pleasure to inform you, that in submitting the above proposition, I am fortified by the opinion of the President of the United States, and by late legislative enactments, of most of the States that feel an interest in the matter, and have Indians within their limits. The success of the measure must be of signal service to all such States. In the prosecution of our canal, the execution of the policy must produce the most pleasing results. There is nothing in the federal constitution, or in the laws of Congress, to forbid this exercise of power.

#### SPECIAL COURTS.

The many imprisonments in jails for so long a vacation as that which elapses between the semi-yearly terms, at heavy county expense, will appeal to you for a

remedy. A power vested some where to convene a court by proclamation, to try special cases, under the existing judicial regulations, is demanded by economy.

#### PROBATE JUDGE.

It will be seen from examination, that the probate law of the last session, needs some revision, and particularly an amendment which will provide for filling the vacancy of the office of probate judge when it may occur.

#### CONTEST OF ELECTIONS.

A less ambiguous law than the one in force, has been found to be necessary, providing for the trial of contested elections, and for certifying their decision to the executive. The duties of the county officers and of the clerk in particular, in such cases, should be more carefully pointed out.

#### CHIEF MAGISTRATE.

Since the adjournment of the last Legislature, one distinguished American citizen has retired from the Presidential chair, and another has occupied it. The most sincere regret can only be felt, that the change did not carry along with it, more indications of submission and resignation on the part of the minority to the mighty work, wrought by the people themselves. A respectful regard for the will and opinions of the majority should have hushed the murmurings of discontent, and displayed a magnanimity as noble as the defeat. The same high sense of patriotic devotion to country, which led the friends of the late chief magistrate, to give to his prosperous administration, a generous, honest and liberal support, because he was the constitutional and legitimate President of the nation, and because his leading measures were based in the public interest, should, with increased propriety, incline the same persons to sustain the ably and judiciously conducted administration of the excellent man who now guides the helm of State; because he super-adds to the many reasons offered for giving a support to his predecessor, an irresistible claim to respect and obedience, the omnipotence of public sentiment and publicly expressed popular predilection. If these causes will not, in the public estimation, justify the support of the righteous acts of the present authorities, then we have already nothing but a republic shorn of its cardinal principles; a factious minority endeavouring to rule—too aristocratic and stubborn to submit to the majority, and trampling their will, as it were under their unhallowed feet. What besides consistency of conduct in this respect—standing erect and unchanged upon an unchangeable set of principles—will be more efficacious in restoring a distracted country to its departed tranquillity? Nothing less than an abandonment of men and an adherence to measures strictly, will unite the divided affections of brothers—throw the son into the embrace of his father—and solder the recent enemies of old friends, never excited till the witchery of party and the cry of proscription rent them asunder. Nothing else will place aspirants to public office upon their moral character and unalloyed merit. If the broad axiom, allowed to be correct by all, that this is a government of laws and measures and not of men, and the greatest indifference should be felt as to who the agent is, so that he has merits, be as tenable as popular, it is difficult indeed, to perceive upon what grounds the supporters of the present administration who were supporters of the past one, can be justly made the objects of censure. The will of the people should be the supreme law.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

At the instance of the Governors of the States of Louisiana and Missouri, I lay before you, resolutions of the Legislatures of those States, proposing a change in the Constitution of the United States, relative to the election of President and Vice-President of the same. The history of the eventful struggle which has just terminated—the irritated feelings engendered by a late election by Congress, threatening to rend the Union in twain—an anxious care for the harmony of the State, and a community of attachment for the purity of elections, constrain us to look to the PEOPLE, as the only safe depository of the stupendous power and privilege of making the President and Vice-President. These resolutions with admirable foresight, contemplate the election of those high officers for the term of six years, and rendering them ineligible afterwards. That the patronage of the President may, in no case, be made to influence State elections; and that the head of the nation may suffer less in character, in the eyes of the world, from the licentiousness of the press, by removing the motive to scandal and misrepresentation—the President should never be allowed to be a candidate for the Presidency. The mode of election ought to be uniform throughout all of the States, by general ticket. The intervention of electors may be dispensed with. The due weight of the States, respectively, should be reserved, as is now guaranteed to them by the constitution. It would be best not to submit the decision in any case whatever, to Congress, for let them act ever so pure, suspicion will assail them. [Concluded next week.]