

Local interests are not less fostered by it. Our fellow citizens of the north, engaged in navigation, find great encouragement in being made the favoured carriers of the vast productions of the other portions of the U States, while the inhabitants of these are amply recompensed in their turn by the nursery for seamen and naval force, thus formed and reared up for the support of our common rights. Our manufactures find a generous encouragement by the policy which patronizes domestic industry; and the surplus of our produce, a steady and profitable market by local wants, in less favoured parts, at home.

Such then being the highly favoured condition of our country, it is the interest of every citizen to maintain it. What are the dangers which menace us? If any exist, they ought to be ascertained and guarded against.

In explaining my sentiments on this subject, it may be asked what raised us to the present happy state? How did we accomplish the revolution? How remedy the defects of the first instrument of our union, by infusing into the national government sufficient power for national purposes, without impairing the just rights of the states, or effecting those of individuals? How sustain and pass with glory through the late war? The government has been in the hands of the people. To the people therefore, & to the faithful and able depositories of their trust, is the credit due. Had the people of the U. States been educated in different principles; had they been less intelligent, less independent, or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, been blessed with the same success.—While then the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state, every thing will be safe. They will choose competent and faithful representatives for every department. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt;—when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and an usurper soon found.—The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin. Let us then look to the great cause & endeavour to preserve it in full force. Let us by all wise and constitutional measures, promote intelligence among the people as the best means of preserving our liberties.

Dangers from abroad are not less deserving of attention. Experiencing the fortune of other nations, the U States may again be involved in war, and it may, in that event, be the object of the adverse party to upset our government, to break our union, and to demolish us as a nation.—Our distance from Europe, and the just, moderate, and pacific policy of our government, may form some security against these dangers, but they ought to be anticipated & guarded against.—Many of our citizens are engaged in commerce and navigation, and all of them are in a certain degree dependant on their prosperous

state. Many are engaged in the fisheries. These interests are exposed to invasion in the wars between other powers & we should disregard the faithful admonition of experience, if we did not expect it. We must support our rights or lose our character, and with it perhaps our liberties. A people who fail to do it, can scarcely be said to hold a place among independent nations. National honor is national property of the highest value.—The sentiment in the mind of every citizen is national strength. It ought therefore to be cherished.

To secure us against these dangers our coast and inland frontiers should be fortified, our army and navy regulated upon just principles as to the force of each, be kept in perfect order, and our militia be placed on the best practicable footing.—To put our extensive coast in such a state of defence, as to secure our cities & interior from invasion, will be attended with expence, but the work when finished will be permanent, and it is fair to presume that a single campaign of invasion by a naval force superior to our own, aided by a few thousand land troops, would expose us to greater expence without taking into the estimate the loss of property, and distress of our citizens, than would be sufficient for this great work. Our land and naval forces should be moderate but adequate to the necessary purposes. The former to garrison and preserve our fortifications and to meet the first invasions of a foreign foe; and while constituting the elements of a greater force, to preserve the science as well as all the necessary implements of war in a state to be brought into activity in the event of war. The latter, retained within the limits proper in a state of peace, might aid in maintaining the neutrality of the U. States with dignity in the wars of other powers, and in saving the property of their citizens from spoliation. In time of war, with the enlargement of which the great naval resources of the country render it susceptible, and which should be duly fostered in time of peace, it would contribute essentially both as an auxiliary of defence, & as a powerful engine of annoyance, to diminish the calamities of war, & to bring the war to a speedy and honorable termination.

But it ought always to be held prominently in view, that the safety of these states and of every thing dear to a free people, must depend in an eminent degree on the militia. Invasions may be made too formidable to be resisted by any land and naval force which it would comport, either with the principles of our government, or the circumstances of the U. States, to maintain. In such cases, recourse must be had to the great body of the people, and in a manner to produce the best effect. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that they be so organized and trained as to be prepared for any emergency. The arrangement should be such as to put at the command of the government the ardent patriotism and youthful vigor of the country. If formed on equal and just principles it cannot be oppressive.

It is the crisis which makes the pressure, and not the laws which provide a remedy for it. This arrangement should be formed too in time of peace to be the better prepared for war. With such an organization of such a people, the United States have nothing to dread from foreign invasion. At its approach, an overwhelming force of gallant men might always be put in motion.

Other interests of high importance will claim attention among which the improvement of our country by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction, holds a distinguished place. By thus facilitating the intercourse between the states, we shall add much to the convenience and comfort of our fellow citizens; much to the ornament of the country; and what is of greater importance, we shall shorten distances and by making each part more accessible to and dependent on the other, we shall bind the union more closely together. Nature has done so much for us by intersecting the country with so many great rivers, bays and lakes, approaching from distant points so near to each other, that the inducement to complete the work seems to be peculiarly strong. A more interesting spectacle was perhaps never seen than is exhibited within the limits of the U. States; a territory so vast and advantageously situated containing objects so grand so useful so happily connected in all their parts.

Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend in the degree we have done on supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, as its influence in that case, instead of exhausting as it may do, in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture, and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as, by extending the competition, it will enhance the price, and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.

With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations, and to act with kindness and liberality in all our transactions. Equally proper is it, to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.

The great amount of our revenue, and the flourishing state of the treasury, are a full proof of the competency of the national resources, for any emergency, as they are, of the willingness of our fellow citizens to bear the burthens which the public necessities require. The vast amount of vacant lands, the value of which daily augments, forms an additional resource of great extent and duration. These resources, besides accomplishing every other necessary purpose put it com-

pletely in the power of the U. States to discharge the national debt at an early period. Peace is the time for improvement, and preparation of every kind; it is in peace that our commerce flourishes most, that taxes are most easily paid in the revenue is most productive.

The executive is charged officially, in the departments under it with the disbursement of the public money, and is responsible for the faithful application of it, to the purpose for which it is raised. The Legislature is the watchful guardian over the public purse. It is its duty to see that the disbursement has been honestly made.—To meet the requisite responsibility, every facility should be afforded to the Executive, to enable it to bring the public agents entrusted with the public money, strictly and promptly to account. Nothing should be presumed against them; but if with the requisite facilities, the public money is suffered to lie long and uselessly in their hands, they will not be the only defaulters, nor will the demoralizing effect be confined to them. It will evince a relaxation and want of tone in the administration, which will be felt by the whole community. I shall do all that I can, to secure economy and fidelity, in this important branch of the administration, and I doubt not, that the legislature will perform its duty with equal zeal. A thorough examination should be regularly made, and I will promote it.

It is particularly gratifying to me to enter on the discharge of these duties, at a time when the United States is blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it, so far as depends on the Executive, on just principles, with all nations, claiming nothing unreasonable of any, and rendering to each what is its due.

Equally gratifying is it to witness the increased harmony of opinion which pervades our Union.—Discord does not belong to our system. Union is recommended, as well by the free and benign principles of our government extending its blessings to every individual by the other eminent advantages attending it. The American people have encountered together great dangers, and sustained severe trials with success. They constitute one great family, with a common interest. Experience has enlightened us on some questions of essential importance to the country. The progress has been slow, dictated by a just reflection, and a faithful regard to every interest connected with it. To promote this harmony in accord with the principles of our republican government and in a manner to give them the most complete effect, and to advance in all other respects the best interests of our Union, will be the object of my constant and zealous exertions.

Never did a government commence under auspices so favorable, nor ever was success so complete. If we look to the history of other nations, ancient or modern, we find no example of