John Catrup

EASTON GAZETTE.

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE, TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS:

DECEMBER, 1835.

[CONCLUDED.]

The condition of the Public Finances was never more flattering than at the present period.

Since my last annual communication, all the remains of the Public Debt have been redeemed, or money has been placed in deposite for this purpose, whenever the creditors choose to receive it. All the other pecuniary engagements of the government have been honorably and promptly fulfilled, and there will be a balance in the Treasury, at the close of the present year, of about nineteen millions of dollars. It is believed, that after meeting all outstanding and unexpended appropriations, there will remain near eleven millions to be applied to any new objects which Congress may designate, or to the more rapid execution of the works already in progress. In aid of these objects, and to satisfy the current expenditures of the ensuing year, it is estimated that there will be received, from various sources, twenty millions more in 1836.

Should Congress make new appropriations, in conformity with the estimates which will be submitted from the proper departments, amounting to about twenty-four millions, still the available surplus, at the close of the next year, after deducting all unexpended appropriations, will probably be not less than six millions This sum can, in my judgment, be now usefully applied to proposed improvements in our Navy Yards, and to new national works, which are not enumerated in the present estimates, or to the more rapid completion of those already begun. Either would be constitutional and useful, & would render unnecessary any attempt in our present peculiar condition, to divide the surplus revenue, or to reduce it any faster than will be effected by the existing laws. In any event, as the annual report from the Secretary of the Treasury will enter into details, showing the probability of some decrease in the revenue during the next seven years, and a very considerable deduction in 1842, it is not recommended that Congress should undertake to modify the present tariff, so as to disturb the principles on which the compromise act was passed. Taxation on some of the articles of general consumption, which are not in competition with our own productions, may be, no doubt, so diminished as to lessen to some extent the source of this revenue; and the same object can also be assisted by more liberal provisions for the subjects of public defence, which, in the present state of our prosperity and wealth, may be expected to engage your attention. If, however, after satisfying all the demands which can arise from these sources, the unexpended balance in the Treasury should still continue to increase, it would be better to bear with the evil until the great changes contemplated in our tariff laws have occurred, and shall enable us to revise the system with that care and circumspection which are due to so delicate and important a subject.

It is certainly our duty to diminish, as far as we can, the burdens of taxation, and to regard all the restrictions which are imposed on the trade and navigation of our citizens as evils which we shall mitigate whenever we are not prevented by the adverse legislation and policy of foreign nations, or those primary duties which the defence and independence of our country enjoin upon us. That we have accomplished much towards the relief of our citizens by the changes which have accompanied the payment of the public debt, and the adoption of the present revenue laws, is manifest from the fact, that compared with 1833, there is a diminution of near twenty-five millions in the last two years, and that our expenditures, independently of those for the public debt, have been reduced near nine millions during the same period. Let us trust, that by the continued observance of economy, and by harmonizing the great interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, much more may be accomplished to diminish the burdens of government, and to increase still further the enterprise and the patriotic affection of all classes of our citizens, and all the members of our happy confederacy. As the data which the Secretary of the Treasury will lay before you, in regard to our financial resources, are full and extended, and will afford a safe guide in your future calculations, I think it unnecessary to offer any further observations on that subject here.

Among the evidences of the increasing prosperity of the country, not the least gratifying is that afforded by the receipts from the sales of the public lands, which amount, in the present year, to the unexpected sum of $11,000,000. This circumstance attests the rapidity with which agriculture, the first and most important occupation of man, advances, and contributes to the wealth and power of our extended territory. Being still of the opinion that it is our best policy, as far as we can, consistently with the obligations under which those lands were ceded to the United States, to promote their speedy settlement, I beg leave to call the attention of the present Congress to the suggestions I have offered respecting it, in my former messages

The extraordinary receipts from the sales of the public lands invite you to consider what improvements the land system, and particularly the condition of the General Land Office, may require. At the time this institution was organized, near a quarter of a century ago, it would probably have been thought extravagant to anticipate, for this period, such an addition to its business as has been produced by the vast increase of those sales, during the past and present years. It may also be observed, that since the year 1812, the land offices and surveying districts have been greatly multiplied, and that numerous legislative enactments, from year to year since that time, have imposed a great amount of new and additional duties upon that office; while the want of a timely application of force, commensurate with the care and labor required, has caused the increasing embarrassment of accumulated arrears in the different branches of the establishment.

These impediments to the expedition of much duty in the General Land Office induce me to submit to your judgment, whether some modification of the laws relating to its organization, or an organization of a new character, be not called for, at the present juncture, to enable the office to accomplish all the ends of its institution with a greater degree of facility and promptitude than experience has proved to be practicable, under existing regulations. The variety of the concerns, and the magnitude and complexity of the details occupying and dividing the attention of the Commissioner, appear to render it difficult, if not impracticable, for that officer, by any possible assiduity, to bestow on all the multifarious subjects, upon which he is called to act, the ready and careful attention due to their respective importance; unless the Legislature shall assist him by a law providing, or enabling him to provide, for a more regular and economical distribution of labor, with the incident responsibility, among those employed under his direction. The mere manual operation of affixing his signature to the vast number of documents issuing from his office, subtracts so largely from the time and attention claimed by the weighty and complicated subjects daily accumulating in that branch of the public service, as to indicate the strong necessity of revising the organic law of the establishment It will be easy for Congress, hereafter, to proportion the expenditure on account of this branch of the service to its real wants, by abolishing, from time to time, the offices which can be dispensed with

The extinction of the Public Debt having taken place, there is no longer any use for the offices of Commissioners of Loans and of the Sinking Fund. I recommend, therefore, that they be abolished, and that proper measures be taken for the transfer to the Treasury Department, of any funds, books, and papers, connected with the operations of those offices, and that the proper power be given to that department for closing, finally, any portion of their business which may remain to be settled.

It is also incumbent on Congress, in guarding the pecuniary interests of the country, to discontinue, by such a law as was passed in 1812, the receipt of the bills of the Bank of the United States in payment of the public revenue; and to provide for the designation of an agent whose duty it shall be to take charge of the books and stock of the United States in that institution, and to close all connection with it, after the 3d of March, 1836, when its charter expires. In making provision in regard to the disposition of this stock, it will be essential to define, clearly and strictly, the powers of the officer charged with that branch of the public service.

It will be seen from the correspondence which the Secretary of the Treasury will lay before you, that notwithstanding the large amount of the stock which the United States hold in that institution, no information has yet been communicated which will enable the Government to anticipate when it can receive any dividends, or derive any benefit from it.

Connected with the condition of the finances and the flourishing state of the country in all its branches of industry, it is pleasing to witness the advantages which have been already derived from the recent laws regulating the value of the gold coinage. These advantages will be more apparent in the course of the next year, when the branch mints authorized to be established in North Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, shall have gone into operation. Aided, as it is hoped they will be, by further reforms in the banking systems of the States, and by judicious regulations on the part of Congress, in relation to the custody of the public moneys, it may be confidently anticipated that the use of gold and silver, as a circulating medium, will become general in the ordinary transactions connected with the labor of the country. The great desideratum, in modern times, is an efficient check upon the power of banks, preventing that excessive issue of paper whence arise those fluctuations in the standard of value, which render uncertain the rewards of labor. It was supposed by those who established the Bank of the United States, that from the credit given to it by the custody of the public moneys, and other privileges, and the precautions taken to guard against the evils which the country had suffered in the bankruptcy of many of the State institutions of that period, we should derive from that institution all the security and benefits of a sound currency, and every good end that was attainable under that provision of the constitution which authorizes Congress alone to coin money and regulate the value thereof. But it is scarcely necessary now to say that these anticipations have not been realized. After the extensive embarrassment and distress recently produced by the Bank of the United States, from which the country is now recovering, aggravated as they were by pretensions to power which defied the public authority, and which, if acquiesced in by the People, would have changed the whole character of our Government, every candid and intelligent individual must admit that, for the attainment of the great advantages of a sound currency, we must look to a course of legislation radically different from that which created such an institution.

In considering the means of obtaining so important an end, we must set aside all calculations of temporary convenience, and be influenced by those only which are in harmony with the true character and the permanent interests of the Republic. We must recur to first principles, and see what it is that has prevented the legislation of Congress and the States, on the subject of currency, from satisfying the public expectation, and realizing results corresponding to those which have attended the action of our system when truly consistent with the great principle of equality upon which it rests, and with that spirit of forbearance and mutual concession, and generous patriotism, which was originally, and must ever continue to be, the vital element of our Union.

On this subject I am sure that I cannot be mistaken in ascribing our want of success to the undue countenance which has been afforded to the spirit of monopoly All the serious dangers which our system has yet encountered, may be traced to the resort to implied powers, and the use of corporations clothed with privileges, the effect of which is to advance the interests of the few at the expense of the many We have felt but one class of these dangers exhibited in the contest waged by the Bank of the United States against the Government for the last four years. Happily, they have been obviated for the present by the indignant resistance of the people; but we should recollect that the principle whence they sprung is an ever active one, which will not fail to renew its efforts in the same and in other forms, so long as there is a hope of success, founded either on the inattention of the People, or the treachery of their representatives, to the subtle progress of its influence.

The Bank is, in fact, but one of the fruits of a system at war with the genius of all our institutions—a system founded upon a political creed, the fundamental principles of which is a distrust of the popular will as a safe regulator of political power, and whose great ultimate object, and inevitable result, should it prevail, is the consolidation of all power in our system in one central Government. Lavish public disbursements, and corporations with exclusive privileges, would be its substitutes for the original, and as yet, sound checks and balances of the constitution—the means by whose silent and secret operation a control would be exercised by the few over the political conduct of the many, by first acquiring that control over the labor and earnings of the great body of the People. Wherever this spirit has effected an alliance with political power, tyranny and despotism have been the fruit. If it is ever used for the ends of Government, it has to be incessantly watched, or it corrupts the sources of the public virtue, and agitates the country with questions unfavorable to the harmonious and steady pursuit of its true interests.

We are now to see whether, in the present favorable condition of the country, we cannot take an effectual stand against this spirit of monopoly and practically prove, in respect to the currency as well as other important interests, that there is no necessity for so extensive a resort to it as that which has been heretofore practised The experience of another year has confirmed the utter fallacy of the idea that the Bank of the United States was necessary as a fiscal agent of the Government.

Without its aid, as such, indeed in despite of all the embarrassment it was in its power to create, the revenue has been paid with punctuality by our citizens; the business of exchange, both foreign and domestic, has been effected with convenience, and the circulating medium has been greatly improved. By the use of the State Banks which do not derive their charters from the General Government, and are not controlled by its authority, it is ascertained that the moneys of the United States can be collected and disbursed without loss or inconvenience, and that all the wants of the community, in relation to exchange and currency, are supplied as well as they have ever been before. If, under circumstances the most unfavorable to the steadiness of the money market, it has been found that the considerations on which the Bank of the United States rested its claims to the public favor, were imaginary and groundless, it cannot be doubted that the experience of the future will be more decisive against them.

It has been seen, that, without the agency of a great moneyed monopoly, the revenue can be collected, and conveniently and safely applied to all the purposes of the public expenditure—It is also ascertained, that, instead of being necessarily made to promote the evils of an unchecked paper system, the management of the revenue can be made auxiliary to the reform which the Legislatures of several of the States have already commenced in regard to the suppression of small bills, and which has only to be fostered by proper regulations on the part of Congress, to secure a practical return, to the extent required for the security of the currency, to the constitutional medium. Severed from the Government as political engines, and not susceptible of dangerous extension and combination. the State Banks will not be tempted, nor will they have the power which we have seen exercised, to divert the public funds from the legitimate purposes of the Government. The collection and custody of the revenue being, on the contrary, a source of credit to them, will increase the security which the States provide for a faithful execution of their trusts, by multiplying the scrutinies to which their operations and accounts will be subjected.

Thus disposed as well from interest as the obligations of their charters, it cannot be doubted that such conditions as Congress may see fit to adopt respecting the deposites in these institutions, with a view to the gradual disuse of the small bills, will be cheerfully complied with: and that we shall soon gain in place of the Bank of the United States, a practical reform, in the whole paper system of the country. If, by this policy, we can ultimately witness the suppression of all bank bills below twenty dollars, it is apparent that gold and silver will take their place, and become the principal circulating medium in the common business of the farmers and mechanics of the country. The attainment of such a result will form an era in the history of our country which will be dwelt upon with delight by every true friend of its liberty and independence. It will lighten the great tax which our paper system has so long collected from the earnings of labor, and do more to revive and perpetuate those habits of economy and simplicity which are so congenial to the character of republicans than all the legislation which has yet been attempted.

To this subject I feel that I cannot too earnestly invite the especial attention of Congress, without the exercise of whose authority, the opportunity to accomplish so much public good must pass unimproved. Deeply impressed with its vital importance, the Executive has taken all the steps within his constitutional power, to guarde the public revenue, and defeat the expectation which the Bank of the United States indulged, of renewing and perpetuating its monopoly, on the ground of its necessity as a fiscal agent, and as affording a sounder currency than could be obtained without such an institution. In the performance of this duty much responsibility was incurred which would have been gladly avoided, if the stake which the public had in question could have been otherwise preserved. Although clothed with the legal authority, and supported by precedent, I was aware that there was, in the act of the removal of the deposites, a liability to excite that sensitiveness to Executive power which it is the characteristic and the duty of freemen to indulge: but I relied on this feeling, also, directed by patriotism and intelligence, to vindicate the conduct which, in the end, would appear to have been called for by the best interest of my country. The apprehensions natural to this feeling, that there may have been a desire, through the instrumentality of that measure, to extend the Executive influence, or that it may have been prompted by motives not sufficiently free from ambition, were not overlooked.

Under the operation of our institutions, the public servant who is called on to take a step of high responsibility, should feel in the freedom which gives rise to such apprehensions, his highest security. When unfounded, the attention which they arouse, and the discussions they excite, deprive those who indulge them, of the power to do harm: when just, they but hasten to certainty with which the great body of our citizens never fail to repel an attempt to procure their sanction to any exercise of power inconsistant with the jealous maintenance of their rights. Under such convictions, and entertaining no doubt that my constitutional obligations demanded the steps which were then taken in reference to the removal of the deposites, it was impossible for me to be deterred from the path of duty, by a fear that my motives could be misjudged, or that political prejudices could defeat the just consideration of the merits of my conduct. The result has shown how safe is this reliance upon the patriotic temper and enlightened discernment of the People.—That measure has now been before them, and has stood the test of all the severe analysis which its general importance the interests it affected, and the apprehensions it excited, were calculated to produce; and it now remains for Congress to consider what legislation has become necessary in consequence.

I need only add to what I have, on former occasions said, on this subject generally, that in the regulations which Congress may prescribe respecting the custody of the public moneys, it is desirable that as little discretion as may be deemed consistent with their safe keeping should be given to the executive agents. No one can be more deeply impressed than I am with the soundness of the doctrine which restrains and limits, by specific provisions, Executive discretion, as far as it can be done consistently with the preservation of its constitutional character. In respect to the control over the public money, this doctrine is peculiarly applicable, and is in harmony with the great principle which I felt I was sustaining in the controversy with the Bank of the United States; which has resulted in severing, to some extent, a dangerous connection between a moneyed and political power. The duty of the legislature to define, by clear and positive enactment, the nature and extent of the action which it belongs to the Executive to superintend, springs out of a policy analagous to that which enjoins upon all the branches of the Federal Government an abstinence from the exercise of powers not clearly granted. In such a government, possessing only limited and specific powers, the spirit of its general administration cannot be wise or just, when it opposes the reference of all doubtful points to the great source of authority, the States and the People: whose number & diversified relations, securing them against the influences and excitements which may mislead their agents, make them the safest depository of power. In its application to the Executive, with reference to the Legislative branch of the Government, the same rule of action should make the President ever anxious to avoid the exercise of any discretionary authority, which can be regulated by Congress The biasses which may operate upon him will not be so likely to extend to the representatives of the People in that body.

In my former messages to Congress, I have repeatedly urged the propriety of lessening the discretionary authority lodged in the various departments; but it has produced no effect, as yet, except the discontinuance of extra allowances in the Army and Navy, and the substitution of fixed salaries in the latter. It is believed that the same principles could be advantageously applied, in all cases, and would promote the efficiency and economy of the public service, at the same time that greater satisfaction and more equal justice would be secured to the public officers generally.

The accompanying Report of the Secretary of War will put you in possession of the operations of the department confided to his care, in all its diversified relations, during the past year.

I am gratified in being able to inform you that no occurrence has required any movement of the military force, except such as is common to a state of peace. The services of the army have been limited to their usual duties at the various garrisons upon the Atlantic and inland frontier, with the exceptions stated by the Secretary of War. Our small military establishment appears to be adequate to the purposes for which it is maintained: and it forms a nucleus around which any additional force may be collected should the public exigencies unfortunately require any increase of our military means.

The various acts of Congress which have been recently passed in relation to the army, have improved its condition & have rendered its organization more useful & efficient. It is at all times in a state of prompt and vigorous action, and it contains within itself the power of extension to any useful limit, while at the same time, it preserves that knowledge both theoretical and practical, which education and experience alone can give; and which, if not acquired and preserved in time of peace must be sought under great disadvantages in time of war.

The duties of the Engineer Corpse press heavily upon that branch of the service, and the public interest requires an addition to its strength. The nature of the works in which the officers are engaged renders necessary professional knowledge and experience; and there is no economy in committing to them, more duties than they can perform, or in assigning these to other persons temporarily employed, and too often, of necessity, without all the qualifications which such service demands. I recommend this subject to your attention, and also the proposition submitted at the last session of Congress and now renewed, for a re-organization of the Topographical Corps. This re-organization can be effected without any addition to the present expenditure, and with much advantage to the public service. The branch of duties which devolves upon these officers is at all times interesting to the community, and the information furnished by them is useful in peace and in war.

Much loss and inconvenience have been experienced in consequence of the failure of the bill containing the ordinary appropriations for fortifications, which passed one branch of the National Legislature at the last session, but was lost in the other. This failure was the more regretted, not only because it necessarily interrupted and delayed the progress of a system of national defence, projected immediately after the last war, and since steadily pursued, but also because it contained a contingent appropriation inserted in accordance with the views of the Executive in aid of this important object, and other branches of the national defence, some portions of which might have been most usefully applied during the past season. I invite your early attention to that part of the report of the Secretary of War which relates to this subject, and recommend an appropriation sufficiently liberal to accelerate the armament of the fortifications, agreeably to the proposition submitted by him, and to place our whole Atlantic seaboard in a complete state of defence. A just regard to the permanent interests of the country evidently requires this measure, but there are also other reasons which, at the present juncture, give it peculiar force, and make it my duty to call to the subject to your special consideration.

The present system of Military Education has been in operation sufficiently long to test its usefulness, and it has given to the army a valuable body of officers. It is not alone in the improvement, discipline and operation of the troops, that these officers are employed.—They are also extensively engaged in the administrative and fiscal concerns of the various matters confided to the War Department; in the execution of the staff duties, usually appertaining to military organization; in the removal of the Indians, and in the disbursements of the various expenditures growing out of our Indian relations; in the formation of roads, and in the improvement of harbors and rivers, in the construction of fortifications; in the fabrication of much of the *materiel* required for the public defence; and in the preservation, distribution, and accountability of the whole; and in other miscellaneous duties, not admitting of classification [illegible] heavy expenditures of public money, and require fidelity, science, and business habits in their execution; and a system which shall secure these qualifications is demanded by the public interest. That this object has been, in a great measure, obtained by the Military Academy, is shown by the state of the service, and by the prompt accountability which has generally followed the necessary advances.—Like all other political systems, the present mode of military education, no doubt, has its imperfections, both of principle and practice, but I trust these can be improved by rigid inspections, and by legislative scrutiny, without destroying the institution itself.

Occurrences, to which we as all other nations are liable, both in our internal and external relations, point to the necessity of an efficient organization of the Militia. I am again induced, by the importance of the subject, to bring it to your attention. To suppress domestic violence, and to repel foreign invasion, should these calamities overtake us, we must rely, in the first instance, upon the great body of the community, whose will has instituted, and whose power must support, the government. A large standing military force is not consonant to the spirit of our institutions, nor to the feelings of our countrymen; and the lessons of former days, and those also of our own times, show the danger, as well as the enormous expense, of these permanent and extensive military organizations. That just medium which avoids an inadequate preparation on one hand, and the danger and expense of a large force on the other, is what our constituents have a right to expect from their government. This object can be attained only by the maintenance of a small military force, and by such organization of the physical strength of the country as may bring this power into operation, whenever its services are required. A classification of the population offers the most obvious means of effecting this organization. Such a division may be made as will be just to all, by transferring each, at a proper period of life, from one class to another, and by calling first for the services of that class, whether for instruction or action, which, from age, is qualified for the duty, and may be called to perform it with least injury to themselves, or the public. Should the danger ever become so imminent as to require additional force, the other classes in succession would be ready for the call. And if, in addition to this organization, voluntary associations were encouraged, and inducements held out for their formation, our militia would be in a state of efficient service. Now, when we are at peace, is the proper time to digest and establish a practicable system. The object is certainly worth the experiment, and worth the expense. No one appreciating the blessings of a republican government, can object to his share of the burden which such a plan may impose. Indeed, a moderate portion of the national funds could scarcely be better applied than in carrying into effect and continuing such an arrangement, and in giving the necessary elementary instruction We are happily at peace with all the world A sincere desire to continue so, and a fixed determination to give no just cause of offence to other nations, furnish, unfortunately, no certain grounds of expectation that this relation will be uninterrupted. With this determination to give no offence is associated a resolution, equally decided, tamely to submit to none.—The armor and the attitude of defence afford the best security against those collisions which the ambition, or interest, or some other passion of nations, not more justifiable, is liable to produce In many countries, it is considered unsafe to put arms into the hands of the people, and to instruct them in the elements of military knowledge. That fear can have no place here, when it is recollected that the People are the sovereign power. Our government was instituted, and is supported, by the ballot-box, not by the musket. Whatever changes await it, still greater changes must be made in our social institutions, before our political system can yield to physical force. In every aspect, therefore, in which I can view the subject, I am impressed with the importance of a prompt and efficient organization of the militia.

The plan of removing the Aboriginal People who yet remain within the settled portions of the United States, to the country west of the Mississippi river, approaches its consummation. It was adopted on the most mature consideration of the condition of this race, and ought to be persisted in till the object is accomplished, and prosecuted with as much vigor as a just regard to their circumstances will permit, and as fast as their consent can be obtained. All preceding experiments for the improvement of the Indians have failed. It seems now to be an established fact, that they cannot live in contact with a civilized community and prosper. Ages of fruitless endeavors have, at length, brought us to a knowledge of this principle of intercommunication with them. The past we cannot recall, but the future we can provide for. Independently of the treaty stipulations into which we have entered with the various tribes for the usufructuary rights they have ceded to us, no one can doubt the moral duty of the government of the U. States to protect and if possible to preserve and perpetuate the scattered remnants of this race, which are left within our borders. In the discharge of this duty, an extensive region in the West has been assigned for their permanent residence. It has been divided into districts and allotted among them. Many have already removed, and others are preparing to go, and with the exception of two small bands living in Ohio and Indiana, not exceeding fifteen hundred persons, and of the Cherokees, all the tribes on the east side of the Mississippi, and extending from lake Michigan to Florida, have entered into engagements which will lead to their transplantation.

The plan for their removal and re-establishment is founded upon the knowledge we have gained of the their character and habits, and has been dictated by a spirit of enlarged liberality. A Territory exceeding in extent that relinquished, has been granted to each tribe.—Of its climate, fertility, and capacity to support an Indian population, the representations are highly favorable. To these districts the Indians are removed at the expense of the United States; and, with certain supplies of clothing, arms, ammunition, and other indispensable articles, they also furnished gratuitously with provisions for the period of a [illegible] nature of the country, and of the products raised by them, they can subsist *themselves by agricultural labor if they choose* to resort to that mode of life; if they do not, they are upon the skirts of the great prairies, where countless herds of buffalo roam, and a short time suffices to adopt their own habits to the changes which a change of the animals, destined for their food may require. Ample arrangements have also been made for the support of schools in some instances council houses and churches are to be erected, dwellings constructed for the chiefs and mills for common use. Funds have been set apart for the maintenance of the poor; the most necessary mechanical arts have been introduced, & blacksmiths, gunsmiths, wheelwrights, &c. are supported among them. Steel and iron, and sometimes salt, are purchased for them; and ploughs, and other farming utensils, domestic animals, looms, spinning wheels, cards, &c. are presented to them. And besides these beneficial arrangements, annuities are in all cases, paid, amounting in some instances, to more than thirty dollars for each individual of the tribe, and in all cases sufficiently great, if justly divided and prudently expended, to enable them, in addition to their own exertions, to live comfortably. And as a stimulus for exertion, it is now provided by law that in all cases of the appointment of interpreters, or other persons, employed for the benefit of the Indians, a preference shall be given to persons of Indian descent, if such can be found who are properly qualified for the duties

Such are the arrangements for the physical comfort and for the moral improvement of the Indians The necessary measures for their political advancement, and for their separation from our citizens, have not been neglected.—The pledge of the United States has been given by Congress, that the country destined for the residence of this people, shall be forever "secured and guaranteed to them." A country west of Missouri and Arkansas, has been assigned to them, into which the white settlements are not to be pushed. No political communities can be formed in that extensive region except those which are established by the Indians themselves or by the United States for them, and with their concurrence. A barrier has thus been raised, for their protection against the encroachments of our citizens, and guarding the Indians, as far as possible, from those evils which have brought them to their present condition. Summary authority has been given, by law, to destroy all ardent spirits found in their country, without waiting the doubtful result and slow process of a legal seizure I consider the absolute and unconditional interdiction of this article, among these people, as the first and great step in their melioration. Half-way measures will answer no purpose. These cannot successfully contend against the cupidity of the seller, and the overpowering appetite of the buyer. And the destructive effects of the traffic are marked in every page of the history of our Indian Intercourse.

Some general legislation seems necessary for the regulation of the relations which will exist in this new state of things between the Government and the People of the United States and these transplanted Indian tribes; and for the establishment among the latter, and with their own consent, of some principles of intercommunication, which their juxtaposition will call for, that moral may be substituted for physical force, the authority of a few and simple laws for the tomahawk, and that an end may be put to those bloody wars whose prosecution seems to have made part of their social system.

After the further details of this arrangement are completed, with a very general supervision over them, they ought to be left to the progress of events.—These, I indulge the

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