

founded, as the attempt to extort from the fears of that nation what her sense of justice may deny, would be vain and ridiculous. But the constitution of the United States imposes on the President the duty of laying before Congress the condition of the country, in its foreign and domestic relations, and of recommending such measures as may, in his opinion, be required by its interests. From the performance of this duty he cannot be deterred by the fear of wounding the sensibilities of the people or Government of whom it may become necessary to speak; and the American people are incapable of submitting to an interference, by any Government on earth, however powerful, with the free performance of the domestic duties which the constitution has imposed on their public functionaries.—The discussions which intervene between the several departments of our Government belong to ourselves; and, for any thing said in them, our public servants are only responsible to their own constituents, and to each other. If, in the course of their consultations, facts are erroneously stated, or unjust deductions are made, they require no other inducement to correct them, however informed of their error, than their love of justice, and what is due to their own character; but they can never submit to be interrogated upon the subject, as a matter of right, by a foreign Power. When our discussions terminate in acts, our responsibility to foreign Powers commences, not as individuals but as a nation.—The principle which calls in question the President for the language of his message, would equally justify a foreign Power in demanding explanation of the language used in the report of a committee, or by a member in debate.

This is not the first time that the Government of France has taken exceptions to the messages of American Presidents. President Washington, and the first President Adams, in the performance of their duties to the American People, fell under the animadversions of the French Directory. The objection taken by the Ministry of Charles X, and removed by the explanations made by our Minister upon the spot, has already been adverted to. When it was understood that the Ministry of the present King took exception to my message of last year, putting a construction upon it which was disavowed on its face, our late Minister at Paris, in answer to the note which first announced a dissatisfaction with the language used in the message, made a communication to the French Government, under date of the 29th of January, 1835, calculated to remove all impressions which an unreasonable susceptibility had created. He repeated, and called the attention of the French Government to, the disavowal contained in the message itself, or any intention to intimidate by menace—he truly declared that it contained, and was intended to contain, no charge of ill-faith against the King of the French, and properly distinguished between the right to complain in unexceptionable terms, of the omission to execute an agreement, and an accusation of bad motives in withholding such execution—and demonstrated, that the necessary use of that right ought not to be considered as an offensive imputation. Although this communication was made without instructions, and entirely on the Minister's own responsibility, yet it was afterwards made the act of this Government by my full approbation, and that approbation was officially made known, on the 25th of April, 1835, to the French Government. It, however, failed to have any effect. The law, after this friendly explanation, passed with the obnoxious amendment, supported by the King's Ministers, and was finally approved by the King.

The People of the United States are justly attached to a pacific system in their intercourse with foreign nations. It is proper, therefore, that they should know whether their Government has adhered to it. In the present instance, it has been carried to the utmost extent that was consistent with a becoming self-respect. The note of the 29th of January, to which I have before alluded, was not the only one which our Minister took upon himself the responsibility of presenting, on the same subject, and in the same spirit. Finding that it was intended to make the payment of a just debt dependent on the performance of a condition which he knew could never be complied with, he thought it a duty to make another attempt to convince the French Government, that whilst self-respect, and a regard to the dignity of other nations would always prevent us from using any language that ought to give offence, yet we could never admit a right in any foreign Government to ask explanations of, or to interfere in any manner in, the communications which one branch of our public councils made with another: that in the present case, no such language had been used, and that this had in a former note been fully and voluntarily stated, before it was contemplated that the explanation a condition: and that there might be no misapprehension, he stated the terms used in that note, and he officially informed them that it had been approved by the President; and that, therefore, every explanation which could reasonably be asked, or honorably given, had been already made—that the contemplated measure had been anticipated by a voluntary and friendly declaration, and was therefore not only useless, but might be deemed offensive, and certainly would not be complied with, if annexed as a condition.

When this latter communication, to which I specially invite the attention of Congress, was laid before me, I entertained the hope that the means it was obviously intended to afford, of an honorable and speedy adjustment of the difficulties between the two nations, would have been accepted, and I therefore did not hesitate to give it my sanction and full approbation. This was due to the Minister who had made himself responsible for the act; and it was published to the people of the United States, and is now laid before their representatives, to show how far their Executive has gone in its endeavors to restore a good understanding between the two countries. It would have been, at any time, communicated to the Government of France, had it been officially requested.

The French Government having received all the explanation which honor and principle permitted, and which could in reason be asked, it was hoped it would no longer hesitate to pay the instalments now due. The agent authorized to receive the money, was instructed to inform the French Minister of his readiness to do so. In reply to this notice, he was told that the money could not then be paid, because the formalities required by the act of the Chambers had not been arranged.

Not having received any official communication of the intentions of the French Government, and anxious to bring, as far as practicable, this unpleasant affair to a close before the meeting of Congress, that you might have the whole subject before you, I caused our charge d'Affaires at Paris to be instructed to ask for the final determination of the French Government; and in the event of their re-

usal to pay the instalments now due, without further explanations, to return to the United States.

The result of this last application has not yet reached us, but is daily expected. That it may be favorable, is my sincere wish. France having now, through all the branches of her Government, acknowledged the validity of our claims, and the obligation of the treaty of 1831; and there really existing no adequate cause for further delay, will, at length, it may be hoped, adopt the course which the interests of both nations, not less than the principles of justice, so imperiously require. The treaty being once executed on her part, little will remain to disturb the friendly relations of the two countries; nothing, indeed, which will not yield to the suggestions of a pacific and enlightened policy, and to the influence of that mutual good will and of those generous recollections, which we may confidently expect will then be revived in all their ancient force. In any event, however, the principle involved in the new aspect which has been given to the controversy, is so vitally important to the independent administration of the Government, that it can neither be surrendered nor compromised, without national degradation. I hope it is unnecessary for me to say, that such a sacrifice will not be made through any agency of mine. The honor of my country shall never be stained by an apology from me, for the statement of truth and the performance of duty; nor can I give any explanation of my official acts, except such as is due to integrity and justice, and consistent with the principles on which our institutions have been framed. This determination will, I am confident, be approved by my constituents. I have, indeed, studied their character to but little purpose, if the sum of twenty-five millions of francs will have the weight of a feather, in the estimation of what appertains to their national independence; and if, unhappily, a different impression should at any time obtain in any quarter, they will, I am sure, rally round the Government of their choice with alacrity and unanimity, and silence forever the degrading imputation.

Having thus frankly presented to you the circumstances which, since the last session of Congress, have occurred in this interesting and important matter, with the views of the Executive in regard to them, it is at this time only necessary to add, that whenever the advice, now daily expected from our Charge d'Affaires, shall have been received, they will be made the subject of a special communication.

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 deposit 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, and 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 impiments 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 3rd 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 duties and 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 securities 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 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 principle 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 conducted 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 favorable 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 deposits 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 guard 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 the 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 deposits, 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 interests 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 the certainty with which the great body of our citizens never fail to repel an attempt to procure their sanction to any exercise of power inconsistent with the jealous maintenance of their rights. Under such convictions, and entertaining no doubt that my constitutional obligations demanded the steps which were taken in reference to the removal of the deposits, 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 a 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 analogous 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 and 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 biases 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.

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

From the Raleigh Register, of Dec. 15.

On Wednesday last, Gen. Samuel F. Patterson was re-elected Public Treasurer for the ensuing year, by nearly an unanimous vote.

**Inauguration of Governor Spaight.**—This ceremony took place on Thursday last, in the presence of both Houses of the Legislature, and a large number of spectators. Gov. Spaight read an address on the occasion, which we made an unsuccessful effort to obtain for publication, in to-day's paper.

**Our University.**—We are gratified to learn, from the best authority, that in no period of its past history, has this Institution been more distinguished, than during the past session, for the good order and studiousness and regular attention to business of the youth who compose it—that it has really seemed as if there had been a general consent among them to improve their valuable privileges, and to show in their treatment of their officers and their Collegiate habits, that gentlemanly respect and decorum which might be expected of enlightened academic youth. It is no more than justice to the present administration of the College, to give them the credit of this happy result; to ascribe it, in a great measure, to the kind spirit of friendly counsel which has characterized its discipline, as well as to the increasing refinement and morality of our youth. We have every reason to believe, that our College has peculiar advantages for prosperity, in the quiet and retirement of its location, the exemption of its youth from temptations to idleness and dissipation, and the general moderation and equality of fortune among our citizens, whereby their sons are preserved from ruinous habits of expenditure, and learn to appreciate their education as their chief dependence for a livelihood. While we see Virginia on one side, and South Carolina on the other, cherishing their State Institutions with patriotic pride and maternal fondness, we cannot but think that our character and reputation as a Republic demand of us to do all in our power to