Road Companies, i expressed my views fully in regard to the power of Congress to construct roads and canale within a State, or to appropriate money for improvements of a local character. I, at the same time, intimated my belief that the right to make appropriations for such as were of a national character with and of the positive interest of the point of the first pursuit of those great objects as a paramount duty in the true faith, and one to which we are mainly indebted for the present success of the strength of the true and uninterrupted usage; but that it was, nevertheless, highly expedient that appropriations as were of an autional of continues and uninterrupted usage; but that it was, nevertheless, highly expedient that approximations of a property of the present success of the present success of the different States which compose this extentions be reported to the property of the papers of the different States which compose this extentions are referred to the property of the present success of the papers of the different States which compose this extentions are referred to the property of the property of the present success was, nevertheless, highly expedient that ap-propriations, even of that character, should, with the exception made at the time, be de-Terred until the national debt is paid, and that, in the mean while, some general rule for the action of the Government in that respect ought to be established. These suggestions were not necessary to

the decision of the question then before me: and were, I readily admit, intended to awak-en the attention, and draw forth the opinions and observations, of our constituents, subject of the highest importance to their interests, and one destined to exert a powerful influence upon the future operations of our political system. I know of no tribunal to hich a public man in this country, in a case oubt and difficulty, can appeal with greater advantage or more propriety than the judg-ment of the peoples and although I must ne-cessarily, in the discharge of my official duties, be governed by the dictates of my own judy nent, I have no desire to conceal my analons wish to conform, as far as I can, to views of those for whom I act.

are if necessity attenued with some doubt as to their accuracy; but, making full allowan ces on that account, I chant. I think, de-cer a myself in believing that the acts refer-reation as well as the suggestions which I allowed myself to make in relation to their allowed myself to make in relation to their bearing upon the fiture operations of the Government, him been approved by the great mody of the product. That those whose immediate potential between the affected by proposed expenditives should shrink from the application of a rate which profess their more general and remote interests to those which are personal and immediate, is to be expected. But even such objectives must, from the nature of our population, so but temporary in their duration; and io , le but temporary in their duration; and if it were otherwise, our con we should be the same; for the time is yet, I have, far distant, when those entrusted with power to be exer cised for the good of the whole, will consid it either honest or wise to purchase local faour at the sacrifice of principle and the ge

neral good.

So understanding public sentiment, and thoroughly satisfied that the pest interests of our common country imperiously require that the course which I have recommended it this regard should be adopted. I have, upo the nost mature consideration, determined t

It is due to candour, as well as to my ow feelings, that I should express the reluctant and laxiety which I must at all times expe o in exercising the undoubted right of Executive to withhold his assent from bills on other grounds than their unconstitu-tionality. That this right should not be ex-groused on slight occasions, all will admit. In is only in matters of deep interest, when the principle involved may be justly regarded as next in importance to infractions of the Conof tation itself, that such a step can be expected to meet with the approbation of the ople. Such an occasion do I conscientious believe the present to be. In the discharge this delicate and highly responsible duty I am sustained by the reflection that the ex-I am sustained by the reflection that the ex-ery so of this power has been deemed coasis-tent with the obligation of official duty by se-veral of my predecessors; and by the persua-sion, too, that, whatever liberal institutions m . have to fear from the encroachments of Executive poler, which has been every where the cause of so much strife and bloody conte don, but little danger is to be apprehended from a precedent by which that authority de nes to itself the exercise of powers that bring in their train influence and patronage of of personal interests, every where the bane of official trust. I derive, too, no small degree of satisfaction from the reflection, that, if I have mistaken the interests and wishes the people, the Constitution affords the means of soon redressing the error, by selecting for the place their favour has besto wed upon me a citizen whose opinions may ac-cord with their own. I trust in the meantime ed for the adoption of some better rule, for the operations of the Government in this matter, than any which has hitherto been acted upon. Profoundly impressed with the importance

of the subject, not merely us it relates to the general prosperity of the country, but to the safety of the federal system; I cannot avoid repeating my earnest hope that all good citi-zens, who take a proper interest in the success and harmony of our admirable institutions; and who are incapable of our admirable political ing to convert an opposite state of things in-to means for the gratification of personal am-bition—will playing aside minor considera-tions, and discarding local prejudices, unite their honest exercises to establish some fixed general principle, which shall be calculated to effect the greatest extent of public good in regard to the subject of internal improvement

The general ground of my objection to lo-cal appropriations has been heretofore express-ed; and I shall endeavour to avoid a repeti-tion of what has been already urged—the im portance of sustaining the State sovereign,

ingists .

That there are diversities in the interests of the different States which compose this extensive confederacy, must be admitted. Those diversities, arising from situation, climate, population, and pursuits, are doubtless, as it is natural they should be, greatly exaggerated by jealousies, and that spirit of rivalry so inseparable from neighbouring communities. These circumstances make it the duty of these who are entrusted with the management of its affairs to neutralise their effects as far as practicable, by making the beneficial operation of the Federal Government as equal and equitable among the several States as can be done consistently with the great ends of

It is only necessary to refer to undoubted facts, to see how far the pist acts of the Go vernment upon the subject under consideration have fallen short of this object. The expenditures heretofore made for internal improvements amount to upwards of five millions of dollars, and have been distributed in very unequal proportions amongst the States. The estimated expense of works of which surveys have been made, together with that of others projected and partially surveyed, viciont to more than ninety-six millions of dollars.

That such improvements, on account of particular circumstances, may be more advantageously and beneficially made in some States than in others is doubtless true; but that they are of a character which should present in equitable distribution of the funds as coungst the several States, is not to be con-ceded. The want of this equatible distribu-tion cannot fail to prove a profile source of irritation amongs the Stress.

We have it constantly before our eyes, that

profession of superior zeal in the cause of in-ternal improvement, and a disposition to lay-on the public funds upon objects of that character, are daily and carrestly put forth by operants to power, as consultating the high est claims to the confidence of the people. Would it be strange, under such circumstan-ces, and in times of great excitement, that greats of this description stould find their motives in objects which may not accord with the public good? Those who have not had occasion to see and regret the indication of a smister influence in these matters in past times, have been more fortunate than myself a their observation of the course of public offices. If to these exists by rived the commartions and angry contentions to which such course of things gives rise, with their bile-al influences upon the legislation of Congress orching the leading and appropriate curies of the Federal Gorceament, it was but doing justice to the character of our people to expect the severe contempation of the past which the recent exhibition of public sentinent has evinced.

Nothing short of a radical change in the

action of the Gov roment upon the subject can, in my opinion, remedy the evil. If, as it would be natural to expect, the States which have been least favoured in past appropriations should insist on being redressed n those hereafter to be made, at the expense of the States which have so largely and disproportionately participated, we have, as mat-ters now stand, but little security that the attempt would do more than change the inequality from one quarter to another.

Thus viewing the subject, I have heretofore felt it my duty to recommend the adoption of some plan for the distribution of the surplus funds which may at any time remain in the treasury after the national debt shall have been paid, among the States, in proportion to the number of their representatives, to be applied by them to objects of internal improvement.

Although this plan has met with favour in some portions of the Union, it has also clicited objections which merit deliberate considerations. cation. A brief notice of these objections here will not, therefore, I trust, be regarded as out of place

They rest, as far as they have come to knowledge, on the following grounds: 1st, an objection to the ratio of distribution; 2d, an apprehension that the existence of such a regulation would produce improvident and opprejudice, by a rigid application of that portion of the public funds which might other wise be applied to distribution. pressive taxation to raise the funds for distri wise be applied to different objects to that hignest of all our obligations, the payment of the public debt, and an opportunity be affordable and injurious dependence, ate a discreditable and injurious dependence, on the part of the State Governments, upon the federal power. Of those who object to the ratio of representation as the basis of dis-tribution, some insist that the inportations of the respective States would constitute one that would be more equitable; and others, again, that the extent of their respective ter-ritories would furnish a standard which would be more expedient, and sufficiently equitable. The ratio of representation presented itself to my mind, and it still does, as one of subvious equity, because of its being the ratio of con-tribution, whether the funds to be distributed be derived from the customs or from direct taxation. It does not follow, however, that its adoption is indispensable to the establishment of the system proposed. There may be considerations appertaining to the subject which would render a departure, to some extent, from the rule of contribution, proper.
Nor is it absolutely necessary that they have of distribution be confined to one grounds It may, it, in the judgment of those whose right it is to fix it, it be deemed politic and just to give it that character, have regard to several

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ever the person authority, in the exercise of constitutional power, shall, at any time hereafter, decide to be
for the general good, will, in that as in other respects,
deserve and receive the acquiescence and support of
the whole country; and we have supple security that
every abute of power in that regard, by the agents of
the people, will receive a speely and effectual corrective at their hands. The views which I take of the futurn, founded on the obsious and increasing improvement of all classes of our fellow-citizens, in intelligence, and in public and private virtue, leave me without much apprehension on that head.

I do not doubt that those who come after in will be
as much alive as we are to the obligation upon all the
trustees of political power to exempt these for whom
they are from all unnecessive bertlems; and as senable
of the great truth, that the resources of the nation, beyond those required for the immediate and necessary
purposes of Gover ment, can no where be so well deposited as in the speciets of the people.

It may sometimes lappon that the interests of particular states would not be deemed to coincide with
the general interest in relation to improvenent withits
each states. But, if the danger to be apprehended
from this seneral is sufficient to require it, a discretion
might be received to Congress to direct, to such improvements of a general character as the States concerned night not be disposed to under the restriction
of confiding to each state the exponitions of the application of the position of those States, under the restriction
of confiding to each state the exponentive of its appropriate quete. It may, however, he assumed as a safe
powers rule, that such improvements as serve to inchto seas the endowers of the reserved to chinch
where the mathematic of the reserved to the in-

with precise equality upon States situated like those which compose this confederacy; nor is inequality always injustice. Every State cannot expect to shape the measures of the General Government to suit its own particular interests. The causes which prevent it are seated in the nature of things, and cannot be entirely counteracted by human means. Mutual forbearance, therefore, ber-ness aduly obligatory upon all; and we may, I sim conflict, count on a cherrful compliance, with this high nijunction, on the part of our constituents. It is not to be supposed, that they will object to make such comparatively inconsiderable sacribees for the preservation of rights and privileges, which other less favored portions of the wirld have in vain waded through seas of blood to acquire.

Our course is a safe one, it it be but faithfully adhered to. Acquiescence in the constitutionally expressed will of the majority, and the exercise of that will in a spirit of moderation, justice, and brotherly kindness. will constitute a cement which would forever preserve our Union. Those who cherish and inculcate senti-ments like these render a most essential service to their country; whilst those who seek to weaken their influence, are, however conscientious and praiseworthy their latentions, in effect its worst enemies.

their intentions, in effect its worst enemies.

If the intelligence and influence of the country, instead of laboring to foment sectional prejudices, to be made subservient to party warfare, were, in good faith, applied to the radication of causes of local discontent, by the improvement of our institutions, and by inclitating their adaption to the condition of the times, this task would prove one of less difficulty. May we not hope that the obvious interests of our common country, and the dictates of an enlightened patriotism will, in the end, lead the public mind in that direction.

After all, the nature of the subject does not admit of a plan wholly free from objection. That which has for some time been in operation is perhaps, the worst that could exist; and every advance that can be made in its improvement is a matter aminently worthy of the processing of the country of the

must be semilvie that, unless some fixed rate for the action of the Federal Government to this respect is established, the course new attempted to the respect is established, the course new attempted to the arrested will be again reserved to. Any mode which is calculated to give the greatest degree of affect and—harmony to our legislation upon the subject—which shall hast across the theorem to the first the summer of the national desirch the federal Government of the national desirch the strength period, is suppose the lightest burdens upon our constituents, shall receive from me a cordical and firm support.

Among the objects of great national concern, I cannot omit to press again upon your attention that part of the Constitution which regulates the election of President and Vice President. The necessity for its amesiment is made sorlear ty my mindby the observation of its evits, and by the many able discussions which they have elicited on the floor of Congress and elsewhere, that I should be wanting to my duty were I to withhold another expression of my deep solicitude upon the subject. Our system fortunately contemplates a recurrence to first principles; differing, in this respect, from all that have preceded it, and securing it, I trust, equally against the decay and the communities which have marked the progress of other Governmen (Our fellow-citizens, toe, who, in proportion to their love of liberty, keeps steady eye upon the means of sustaining it, to not require to be remighted of the duty they owe to themselves to remedy all cuential defects inso vitals part of their system. While they are sensible that every cell attendant upon its operation is not necessarily indicative of a had organization, but may proceed from temporary causes; yet the abstual presence, or eron a single instance of evils which can be clearly traced to an organic defect, with our clearly traced to an organic defect, with our clear the state of the duty of the State authorities. For the justice of the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities, in the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities, in the scope of the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities, in the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities, in the scope of the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities, in the scope of the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities, in the scope of the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities, in the scope of the state authorities. For the justice of the state authorities, in the scope of the state of the state authorities. For the justice of the state of the

the Constitution to keep as separate as possible the action of the Legislative branches of the Government. To secure this object, noth ing is more essential than to preserve the for mer from the temptations of private interest and, therefore so to direct the pationage of the latter as not to permit such tempta-tions to be offered. Experience abundantly demonstrates that every precaujon in this re-spect is a valuable sateguard of liberty, and one which my reflections upon the teneroies of our system incline me to think should be made still stronger. It was for this reason that, in connexion with an amendment of the Constitution, removing all intermediate agency in the choice of the President, I recommended some restrictions upon the re-elligibility of that officer, and upon the tenure of officers generally, The reason still exists; and I renew the recommendation, with an increased confidence that its adoption will strengthen those checks by which the Constitution designed to secure the independence of such department of the Go his appointment may, as far as possible, be placed beyond the reach of any improper influences; in order that he may approach the solemn reerponsibilities of the highest effice in the gift of a free people, uncommitted to any other course than the strict line of constitutional during and the strict line of constitutional during the strict line of cons tional duty; and that the securities for this in-

hat the benevolent policy of the Government. steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in re-lation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements, is approaching to a happy consummation Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress; and it is be-lieved that their example will induce the remaining tribes, also, to seek the same obvious advantages.

The consequences of a speery removal will be important to the United States, to individu al States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the Government are the least of its recommenda-Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of ef cellision between the authorities of the General & State Governments on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territery between Tennessee on the sorth, and Louisiana on the south, to the set-tlement of the whites, it will incalculably

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works part of Alabama, of Indian occupants or, and enable those States to advance rapidly in population wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whitees free them from the power of the States; enable them: to purvue happiness in their own way, and under their own rode institutions; will setard the progress of decay, which is fearning their numbers and their own them gradually, under the perhaps came them gradually, under the deery which is beening the pro-perhaps came them gradually, under the pro-tection of the Government, & through the init-ence of good counsels to cast off their stage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community. These consequences some of them so certain, and the rest so probable, make the complete execution of the plan sanctioned by Congress at their last session an object of much solicitude.

I'oward the aborigines of the country no one can indulge a more friendly feeling than

myself, or would go further in attempting to reclaim them from their wandering habits, and make them a happy and prosperous people & have endeavored to impress upon them my to impress upon them my own solemn convictions of the duties and powto control them as we have to prescribe laws With a full understanding of the subject the

Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes have, with great unanimity determined to avail themselves of the liberal offers presented by the act of Congress, and have agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi river. Treaties have been the Mississippi river. I reaties have been made with them, which, in due season, will be submitted for consideration. In negotiating these treaties, they were made to understand their true condition; and they have preferred maintaining their independence in the wester forests to submitting to the laws of the States in which they now reside. It here treaties being probably the last which will ever be made with them, are characterized by great liberalisms. ty on the part of the Government the Indians a liberal sum in consideration of their removal, and comfortable subsistence on t eir arrival at their new homes. It it be their real interest to maintain a separate existence, they will there be at liberty to do so without the inconveniencies and vexations to which they would unavoidably have been subject in Alabama and Mississippi

Humanity has often weptover the fate of

the aborigines of this country; and philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising neans to avert it. But its progress has never for a moment been arrested; and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last particular interests to a degree incerestent with the generalgoed. The consequences of this feature of the constitution appear far more threatering to the peace and integrity of the Union than any which I can concern as likely to resultfrom the simple legislative action of the federal Government.

It was a leading object with the framers of the Constitution and the complete another. of one generation to make room for another. In the monuments of fortresses of an unknown neople, spread over the extensive regions of the west, we behold the memorials of a once disappeared, to make room for the existing savage tribes. Nor is there any thing in this, which, upon a comprehensive view of the general savage tribes. neral interests of the human race, is to be regretted Philanthropy could not wish this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages, to our extensive republic, studded with cities, owne, and pro-perous farms; embellished with all the improvements which art can devise, or industry execute; occupied by more than 12 millions: of happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and reli-

The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change, by a milder process. The tribes quitable administration of all the trus's which occupied the countries now constituting it has created. The agent most likely to contavene this design of the Constitution is the Chief Magistrate. In order, particularly, that his appointment may as for many contaveness. The tribes which occupied the countries now constitution the eastern states were annihilated, or have melted away, to make room for the whites. The wave of population and civilization are rolling to the westwards and we now constituting to the westwards and we now constituting to the westwards and we now constituting to the countries of the countries of the countries now constituting to the eastern states were annihilated, or have melted away, to make room for the writer. to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the south and west by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged, and perhaps made perpetu-

al. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our children dependence may be rendered as strong as the lusture of power and the weakness of its possessor, will admit, I cannot too earnestly invite your attention to the propriety of promoting such an amendment of the Constitution as thousands, yearly leave the land of their birth, to seek new homes in distant regions. Does humanity weep at these painful separations and inanimate, humanity weep at these painful separations from every thing, animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become en-twined? Far from it. It is rather a source of Joy that our country affords scope where our oung population may range unconstrained in ody or in mind, developing the power and faculties of man in their highest perfection These remove hundreds, and almost thousands of miles, at their own expense, purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their new home from the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this Government, when, by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home, to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay

a plan wholly free trom espection. That which has a sorth, and Louisiana on the south, to the settlement of the whites. It will incalculably has a stronger attachment to his home, than the tentient must deliberate attention.

And is it supposed that the wantering savage that can be made if its improvement is a matter eminently worthy of your most deliberate attention.

It is try possible that one better calculated to effect the edificient State of Mississippi, and the Rightly considered, the policy of the Geng.

descriment towards the red man is more life in the second but generous. He is unwilling to the states, and mingle the the laws of the States, and mingle whit is the laws of the States, and mineral with the population. To save him from this with the population. To save him from this with the constant of the same and proposes to pay the whole expense in removal and settlement. The consumutation of spaller originating is style fool, and steadily pursues by reflection within the present constant the States, and so generous the Indiges, the Executive Joels it has a secret the co-operation of Congress.

the indicate the Executive feels it has a set to expect the co-operation of Congress, and all good and disinterested men. The tules, horefyles, thave a right to demand it. It was substantially part of the, compact with mide them memoers of our confederation. With Georgia, there is an express concept with the her States, an implied one, of each obligation. Why, in authorizing Ohio, blints, Illinois, Missouri. Mississippi, and Indians, there were substantially of the compact of the second constitutions, and become earlte States, did Congress include within rante States, did Congress include within fer limits extensive tracts of Indian lands, for inniverse instances, powerful Indian ribes. Was it not understood by both parthat the power of the States was to be extensive with their limits, and that, with extensive with their frants, and that, with a convenient despatch, the General Government should extinguish the Indian title, and want every obstruction to the complete jurisdiction of the State Governments over the Frebably not one of those States would hierecepted a separate existence—certainly had it been understood that they were be confined forever to those small portions their nominal territory, the Indian title to had at the time been extinguished. It is, therefore, a duty which this Govern-entouses to the new States, to extinguish.

sma as possible, the Indian title to all for which Congress themselves have includwhich Congress themselves has is done, within their limits.) When this is done, in the General Government in rethe States and Indians within their mis are at an end. The Indians may leave astate or not, as they choose. The pur-ies of their lands does not alter, in the ist their personal relations with the State No act of the General Governat his ever been deemed necessary to give ites juris liction over the persons of for Sittes juris liction over the persons of felalism. That they possess, by virtue of describing power within their own limits, has fall a moner before as after the pur-due of the Indian lands; nor can this Go-

Seament add to or diminish it.

Mar we not hope, therefore, that all good etzers, and none more zeulously than those vothink the Indians oppressed by subjec-to to the laws of the States, will units in respting to open the eyes of those children for forest to their true condition, and, by poly removal, to relieve them from the of or imaginary, present or prospecwith which they may be supposed to be

Amig the numerous causes of congratulathe condition of our impost revenue desathe means of extinguishing the public astrongillustration of the practical effects Be present tariff upon our commercial in-

The object of the tariff is objected to by as unconstitutional; and it is consideritralianst all as defective in many of its

power to impose duties on imports oriall belonged to the several States. The story adjust those duties with a view to the ragement of domestic branches of in-Buy is so completely incidental to that powat it is difficult to sunpose the exist the one without the other. The States redelegated their whole authority over imrts to the General Government, without intion or restriction, saving the very intsilerable reservation relating to their multiple reservation relating to their inmethon laws. This authority having thus
affely passed from the States, the right to
merise it for the purpose of protection does
at suit in them; and, consequently, if it be
at passessed by the General Government, it
must be extinct. Our political system would
his present the anomaly of a people stripped
the right to foster their own industry, and
have the first the first angles and destructive materact the most selfish and destructive which might be adopted by foreign na-This syrely cannot be the case: this inexable power, thus surrendered by the y on the subject expressly delegated to

hris conclusion, I am confirmed as well "te opinions of Presidents Washington, I am Monroe, who have the repeatedly recommended the exercise this right under the Constitution, as by this market requirement of the States, and the

ra understanding of the people.

The efficiency of a more expedient adjustated the present tariff, although great, are
from being insurmountable. Some are
white this improve any of its parts, because
y weld destroy the whole; others fear to would destroy the whole; others fear to the objectionable parts, lest those they may should be jedparded. I am persuad that the advocates of these conflicting was doinguisties to the American people, at to their Representatives. The general threat is this interest of each; and my contents is entire, that, to ensure the adoption they may be a sufficient of the facility of the series. sect modifications of the tariff as the gene-d interest requires, it is only necessary that interest should be understood.

is an infirmity of our nature to mingle as interests and prejudices with the operation of our reasoning powers, and stribute to the objects of our likes and dislikes qualified do not possess, and effects they cannot produce. The effects of the present tarifier doubtless, overraced, both in its evils and its advantages. By one class of reasoner, the reduced price of potton and other pricalities produced by a seribed wholly to its