Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Many important subjects will claim your attention, during the present Session, of which I shall endeavour to give, in aid of your deliberations, a just idea, in this communication. I undertake the duty with deference, from the vast extent of the interests on which I have to treat, and of their great importance to every portion of our Union. I enter on it with zeal, from a thorough conviction, that there never was a period, since the establishment of our Revolution, when regarding the condition of the civilized world, and the bearing on it there was greater necessity for devotion on the part of public servants, to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union, in our Constituents.

Meeting in you a new Congress, I deem it proper to present this view of public affairs in greater detail than might otherwise be necessary. I do it, however, with peculiar satisfaction, from a knowledge that in this respect, I shall comply more fully with the sound principles of our Government. The People being with us exclusively the Sovereign, it is indispensable that full information be laid before them on all important subjects. 
To enable them to exercise that high power with complete effect. If kept in the dark, they must be incompetent to it. We are all liable to error, and those who are engaged in the management of public affairs, are more subject to excitement, and to be led astray by their particular interest and passions than the great body of our Constituents, who living at home, in the pursuit of their ordinary avocations, are calm, but deeply interested spectators of events, and of the conduct of those who are parties to them. To the People every Department of the Government, and every individual in each, are responsible, and the more full their information, the better they can judge of the wisdom of the policy pursued, and of the conduct of each in regard to it. From their dispassionate judgment, much aid may always be obtained; while their approbation will form the greatest incentive and most gratifying reward for meritorious acting, and the dread of their censure, the best security against the abuse of their confidence. Their interests in all vital questions are the same, and the bond by sentiment as well as by interest, will be proportionably strengthened, as they are better informed of the real state of public affairs, especially in difficult conjunction. It is by such knowledge that local prejudices and jealousies are surmounted, and
and that a National policy extending the fostering care and protection to all the great interests of our Union, as formed and steadily adhered to.

A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers, as respects our negotiations and transactions with each, is thought to be particularly necessary. Equally necessary is it, that we should form a just estimate of our resources, revenue and progress in every kind of improvement connected with the National prosperity, and public defence. It is by rendering justice to other nations, that we may expect it from them. It is by our ability to avert injuries, and redress wrongs, that we may avoid them.

The Commissioners under the 5th Article of the Treaty of Ghent, having disagreed in their opinions respecting that portion of the Boundary between the Territories of the United States and Great Britain, the establishment of which had been submitted to them, have made their respective reports; in compliance with that Article, that the same might be referred to the decision of a friendly Power. It being manifest however that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any Power to perform that office, without great delay, and much inconvenience to itself, a proposal has been
been made by his Government, and acceded to by that of Great Britain. In endeavour to establish that harmony by amicable negotiation, which appears from long experience to have existed between the United States and British Colonies in this Hemisphere, by legislative act, while each party pursued its own course, without agreement or concert with the other, a proposal has been made to the British Government to regulate this commerce by treaty, as it has been to arrange in the manner the just claims of the citizens of the United States inhabiting the States and Territories bordering on the Lakes and Rivers which empty into the St. Lawrence, to the navigation of that river to the Ocean. For these and other objects of high importance to the interests of both parties, a negotiation has been opened with the British Government, which it is hoped will have a satisfactory result.

The Commissioners, under the 6th and 7th Articles of the Treaty of Ghent, having been sufficiently clothed with authority in relation to the 6th, have proceeded to the discharge of those relating to the 7th. Their progress in the extensive survey required for the performance of their duties, justifies the presumption that it will be completed in the ensuing year.

The negotiations which has been long
Long depending on the French Government, on several important subjects, and particularly for a just indemnity for losses sustained in the late war, by the citizens of the United States, under unjustifiable seizures and confiscations of their property, has not as yet, had the desired effect. As this claim rests on the same principle with others which have been admitted by the French Government, it is not perceived on what just ground it can be rejected. A minister will be immediately appointed to succeed to France and resume the negotiations on this and other subjects which may arise between the two nations.

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange by amicable negotiations, the rights and interests of the two nations on the North West Coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by His Imperial Majesty, to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been accepted by the Government of the United States. It has been expressed by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government.
Government. In the descriptions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper, for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subject for future colonization by any European Power.

Since the close of the last Session of Congress, the Commissioners and Arbitrators for ascertaining and determining the amount of indemnification which may be due to Citizens of the United States under the decision of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in conformity to the Convention concluded at St. Petersburg on the 12th of July 1822, have assembled in this City, and organized themselves as a Board for the performance of the duties assigned to them by that Treaty. The Commissioners constituted under the 11th Article of the Treaty of the 22d of February 1819 between the United States and Spain, are also in session here; and, as the term of three years limited by the Treaty, for the execution of the trust, will expire before the period of the next regular meeting of Congress, the attention of the Legislature will
will be drawn to the measures which may be necessary to accomplish the objects for which the Commission were instituted.

In compliance with a Resolution of the House of Representatives, adopted at their last session, instructions have been given to all the Ministers of the United States accredited to the Powers of Europe and America, to propose the prohibition of the African Slave Trade, by clasping it under the denomination, and entitling it on its Perpetration, the punishment of Piracy. Should this proposal be acceded to, it is not doubted, that this odious and criminal practice will be promptly and entirely suppressed. It is earnestly hoped that it will be acceded to from a firm belief, that it is the most effectual expedient that can be adopted for the purpose.

At the Commencement of the recent War between France and Spain, it was declared by the French Government, that it would grant the Commissions to Prevent, and that neither the Commerce of Spain herself, nor of Neutral Vessels should be molested by the Naval force of France, except in the breach of a lawful blockade. This declaration which appears
appears to have been faithfully carried into effect, concerning such principles proclaimed and cherished by the United States from the first establishment of their independence, suggested the hope, that the time had arrived, when the proposal for adopting it as a permanent and unchangeable in all future Maritime Wars, might meet the favorable consideration of the great European Powers. Instructions have accordingly been given to our Ministers with France, Russia, and Great Britain to make these proposals to their respective Governments; and, when the friends of humanity reflect on the essential amelioration to the condition of the human race, which would result from the abolition of private war on the Sea, and in the great facility by which it might be accomplished, requiring only the consent of a few sovereigns, an earnest hope is entertained, that these overtures will meet with an attention animated by the spirit in which they were made, and that they will ultimately be successful.

The Ministers who were appointed to the Republics of Columbia and Buena Vista during the last sessions of Congress proceeded shortly afterwards to their destinations. Of their arrival, there official intelligence has not
yet been received. The Minister appointed to the Republic of Chile will sail in a few days. An early appointment will also be made to Mexico. A Minister has been received from Columbia, and the other Governments have been informed, that Ministers or Diplomatic Agents of inferior grade, would be received from each, accordingly as they might prefer the one or the other.

The Minister appointed to Spain proceeded soon after his appointment, for Cadiz, the residence of the Sovereign to whom he was accredited. In approaching that Port, the Frigate which conveyed him, was warned off by the Commander of the French Squadron, by which it was blockaded, and not permitted to enter. Although approved by the Captain of the Frigate, of the public character of the person whom he had on board, the landing of whom was the sole object of his proposed entry, this act being considered an infringement of the rights of Ambassador, and of Nations, will form a just cause of complaint to the Government of France, against the Officer by whom it was committed.

The actual condition of the public finances, more than realizes the favorable anticipations that were entertained of
of it, at the opening of the last session of Congress. On the first of January there was a balance in the Treasury of $4,257,429.85. From that time to the 30th September the receipts amounted to upwards of $16,100,000, and the expenditures to $11,400,000. During the fourth quarter of the year, it is estimated that the receipts will, at least, equal the expenditures and that there will remain in the Treasury on the 1st day of January next a surplus of nearly $9,000,000.

On the 1st January 1835, a large amount of the War Debt and a part of the Revolutionary Debt becomes redeemable. Additional portions of the former will continue to become redeemable, annually, until the year 1835. It is believed however that if the United States remain at peace, the whole of that Debt may be redeemed by the ordinary revenue of the year during that period, under the provisions of the Act of March 5th, 1817, creating the sinking fund, and in that case, the only part of the Debt that will remain after the year 1835 will be the $7,000,000 of 3 per cent stock subscribed to the Bank of the United States, and the 3 per cent Revolutionary Debt amounting to $13,296,097.06 — both of which are redeemable at the pleasure of the Government.

The state of the Army in its organization
and discipline has been gradually improving for several years, and has now attained a high degree of perfection. The Military Establishments have been regularly made and the Accounts regularly and promptly rendered for settlement. The supplies of various descriptions have been of good quality and regularly issued at all of the Posts. A system of economy and accountability has been introduced into every branch of the service which admits of little additional improvement. This desirable state has been attained by the Act reorganizing the Staff of the Army, passed on the 14th of April, 1818.

The monies appropriated for Fortifications have been regularly and economically applied, and all the Works advanced as rapidly as the amount appropriated would admit. Three important Works will be completed in the course of this year that is, Fort Washington, Fort Delaware and the Fort at the Rockleigh in Louisiana.

The Board of Engineers and the Topographical Corps have been in constant and active service in surveying the Coast
Coast, and projecting the Works necessary for its defence.

The Military Academy has attained a degree of perfection in its discipline and instruction equal, as is believed, to any Institution of its kind, in any Country.

The money appropriated for the use of the Ordnance Department has been regularly and economically applied. The fabrication of Arms at the National Armories, and by Contract with the Department, has been gradually improving in quality and cheapness. It is believed that their quality is now such as to admit of but little improvement.

The completion of the Fortifications renders it necessary that there should be a suitable appropriation for the purpose of fabricating the Cannon and Carriages necessary for those Works.

Under the appropriation of $5000 for exploring the Western waters for the location of a site for a Western Armory, a Committee was instituted, consisting of Colonel McKee, Colonel Lee and Captain Tallis, who have been engaged in exploring the Country. They have not yet reported the result of their labors, but it is believed that they will be prepared to do it at an
an early part of the Session of Congress.

During the month of June last, General Ashley and his party, who were trading under a license from the Government, were attacked by the Ricasars, while peaceably trading with the Indians, at their request. Several of the party were killed, wounded, and their property taken or destroyed.

Colonel Leavenworth, who commanded Fort Atkinson at the Council Bluffs, the most Western Post, apprehending that the hostile spirit of the Ricasars, would extend to other tribes in that quarter, and that thereby the lives of the traders on the Missouri, and the peace of the Frontiers would be endangered, took immediate measures to check the evil.

With a detachment of the Regiment stationed at the Bluffs, he successfully attacked the Ricasar Village, and it is hoped that such an impression has been made on them as well as on the other tribes on the Missouri, as will prevent a recurrence of future hostility.

The Report of the Secretary of War which is hereunto transmitted, will exhibit in greater detail, the condition of the Department in its various branches, and the progress which has been made in its administration during the three first Quarters of the year.
Transmit a Return of the Militia of the several States, according to the last Reports which have been made by the proper Officers in each, to the Department of War.

By reference to this Return, it will be seen that it is not complete, although great efforts have been made to make it so. As the defence and even the liberties of the Country, must depend in times of imminent danger, on the Militia, it is of the highest importance, that it be well organized, armed, and disciplined through out the Union. The Report of the Secretary of War shows the progress made, during the three first Quarters of the present year, by the application of the fund appropriated for arming the Militia. Much difficulty is found in distributing the arms, according to the Act of Congress providing for it, from the failure of the proper Departments in many of the States, to make regular Returns. The Act of May 12, 1812 provides that the system of Tactics and Regulations of the various Corps of the Regular Army shall be extended to the Militia. This Act has been very imperfectly executed, from the want of uniformity in the organization of the Militia, proceeding from the defects of the system itself, and especially in its application to that arm.
arm of the public defense. It is thought that this important subject in all its branches, merits the attention of Congress.

The Report of the Secretary of the Navy, which is now communicated, furnishes an account of the administration of that Department for the 2 first Quarters of the present year, with the progress made in augmenting the Navy, and the manner in which the funds in Commisioners have been employed.

The usual Force has been maintained in the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, and along the Atlantic Coast, it has afforded the necessary protection to our Commerce in those seas. In the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexcio, our Naval Force has been augmented by the addition of several small Vessels provided for by the Act authorizing an additional Naval Force for the suppression of Piracy, passed by Congress at their last Session. That Moment has been eminently successful in the accomplishment of its object. The Pacifies by which our Commerce in the neighborhood of the Island of Cuba, had been afflicted, have been repressed, and the confidence of our Merchants, in a great measure restored. The patriotic zeal and enterprise of Com...
Theodore Porter, to whom the command of the Expedition was confided, has been fully seconded by the officers and men under his command. And in reflecting with high satisfaction on the honourable manner in which we have sustained the reputation of our country and our Navy, the sentiment is allowed only by a concern, that in the fulfilment of that arduous service the disease incident to the season and to the climate in which it was discharged, have deprived the nation of many useful lives, and among them of several officers of great promise.

In the month of August a very malignant fever made its appearance at Thompson's Island which threatened the destruction of our station there. Many perished; and the Commanding Officer was severely attacked. Uncertain as to his fate, and knowing that most of the medical officers, had been rendered incapacitated of discharging their duties, it was thought expedient to send to that post an officer of rank and experience, with several skilful surgeons to ascertain the origin of the fever, and the probability of its recurrence there in future seasons; to furnish every assistance to those who were suffering; and if practicable, to avoid the necessity of abandoning so important a station.

Commodore Rogers, with a promptitude which did him honor, cheerfully accepted that
that fleet, and has discharged it on the main.
her anticipated from his skill and patriot-
ism. Before his arrival, Commodore
Porter, with the greater part of the squad-
ron, had removed from the Island, and
returned to the United States, in conse-
quence of the prevailing sickness; much
useful information has however been obtain-
ted as to the state of the Island, and great
relief, afforded to those who had been nec-
essarily left there.

Although our Expedition, co-operating
with an integrated administration of
the Government of the Island of Cuba
and with the corresponding active opera-
tions of a British Naval Force in the
same seas, have almost entirely destroyed
the unlicensed piracies from that Island,
the success of our exertions has not been
equally effective to supprese the same
Crime under other pretences and colours
in the neighboring Island of Porto Rico.
They have been committed there under the abu-
sive issue of Spanish Commissions, than
early period of the present year, remonstrances
were made to the Governor of that Island, by
an Agent who was sent for the purpose,
against those outrages on the peaceful
Commerce
Commerce of the United States, of which many had accused. That officer profes-
ing his own want of authority to make satisfaction for our just complaints an-
drew only by a reference of them to the Government of Spain. The Minister of the
H. H. 
that Court was specially in-
structed to urge the necessity of the imme-
diate and effectual interference of that
Government, directing its cessation tender-
only for wrongs already committed, and in-
creasing the repulsive horrors of them. The Min-
ister, as has been seen, was debarred access
to the Spanish Government, and in the mean-
time, several new cases of flagrant outrages
have occurred, and Citizens of the United
in the Island of Porto Rico have suffered, oth-
ers been threatened with apprehensions for
asserting their unquestionable rights, even
before the lawful Tribunals of the Country.

The usual orders have been given to all
our public ships, to seize American vessels
engaged in the Slave Trade, and bring them
in for adjudication, and I have the grat-
ification to state that not one, so far as I am
aware, has been discovered, and that is a good
reason to believe that our Flag is
now seldom, if at all, disgraced by

that
that staffs.

It is a source of great satisfaction that we are always enabled to recur to the conduct of our Navy with pride and commendation. As a means of national defence, it enjoys the public confidence, and is steadily assuming additional importance. It is submitted whether a more efficient and equally economical organization of it, might not in several respects, be effected. It is proposed that higher grades than now exist by law, would be useful. They would afford well merited rewards to those who have long faithfully served their country; present the best incentive to good conduct, and the best means of insuring a proper discipline; destroy the inequality in that respect between military and naval service; relieve our officers from many inconveniences and mortifications which occur when our officers meet those of other nations. Our being the only service in which such grades do not exist.

C. T. Report of the
Post Master General, which accompanies this communication, will shew the present state of the Post Office Department and its general operations for some years past.

There is established by law 58,600 miles of Post Roads; on which the Mail is now transported 55,700 miles. 4 contracts have been made for its transportation on all the established routes, with one on two exceptions. There are 5,250 Post Offices in the Union and as many Postmasters. The gross amount of postage which accrued from 1st July, 1822 to 1st July, 1823 was $1,114,345 - 12. During the same period the Expenditure of the Post Office Department amounted to $1,169,885 - 37 and consisted of the following items:

- Compensation to Post Masters $357,996 - 98
- Incidental Expense $30,866 - 87
- Transportation of the Mail $784,000 - 08
- Payments into the Treasury $423 - 08

On the 1st July last there was due to the Department from Post Masters $135,245 - 28. From late Postmasters & Contractors $256,749 - 31 making
a total amount of balances due to the Department of $391,994.59. These balances embrace all delinquencies of Post Masters & Contractors which have taken place since the organization of the Department. There was due by the Department to the Contractors on the 1st July last $21,548.64.

The transportation of the Mail within five years last has been greatly extended, and the expenditures of the Department proportionately increased. Although the Postage which has accrued within the last three years has fallen short of the expenditures $262,821.46 it appears that collections have been made from the outstanding balances, to meet the principal part of the current demands.

It is estimated that not more than $25,000 of the above balances can be collected and that a considerable part of this sum can only be realized by resort to legal process. Some improvement in the receipts for postage is expected. If prompt attention is given to the collection of
Moneys received by Post Masters, it is believed, will enable the Department to continue its operations without aid from the Treasury, unless the Expenditures shall be increased by the establishment of new Mail Routes.

A revision of some parts of the Post Office Law may be necessary; and it is submitted whether it would not be wise to provide for the appointment of Post Masters, where the compensation exceeds a certain amount, by nomination to the Senate, as other Officers of the Post Government are appointed.

Having communicated my views to Congress, at the commencement of the last Session respecting the encouragement which ought to be given to our Manufactures, the principles on which it should be founded, I have only to add, that those views remain unchanged, and that the present state of those Countries with which we have the most immediate political relations, and greatest Commercial intercourse, tends to confirm them. Under this impression, I recommend a review of the Tariff, for the purpose of affording such additional protection to those articles which we are prepared
Prepared to manufacture, or which are more immediately connected with the defence and independence of the Country.

The actual state of the public accounts furnishes additional evidence of the efficiency of the present system of accountability in relation to the public expenditure. Of the money drawn from the Treasury from the 1st March 1817 to the sum remaining unaccounted for on the 30th September last, is more than a million and a half of Dollars, less than on the 30th September preceding, and during the same period a reduction of nearly a million of Dollars has been made in the amount of the unsettled accounts for money advanced previously to the 1st March 1817. It will be obvious that in proportion as the mass of accounts of the latter description is diminished by settlement, the difficulty of settling the residue, is increased, from the consideration that in many instances it can be obtained only by legal process. For more precise details on this
Subject. I refer to a Report of the First Controller of the Revenue.

The sum which was appropriated at the last Session for the repairs of the Cumberland Road has been applied with good effect to that object. The final Report has not yet been made by the Agent who was appointed to superintend it. As soon as it is received, it shall be communicated to Congress.

Many patriotic enlightened Citizens who have made the subject an object of particular investigation, have suggested an improvement of still greater importance. They are of opinion that the Waters of the Chesapeake and Ohio may be connected together by one continued Canal and at an expense far short of the value & importance of the object to be obtained. If this could be accomplished, it is impossible to calculate the beneficial Consequences which would result from it. A great portion of the produce of the very fertile Country through which it would pass, would find a market
Market through that Channel. Troops might be moved with great facility in War, with Cannon bever kind of munition, and in either direction. Connecting the Atlantic with the Western Country, on a line passing through the seat of the National Government, it would contribute essentially to strengthen the bond of Union itself. Believing as I do that Congress have the right to appropriate money for such a National object (the jurisdiction remaining to the States through which the Canal would pass) I submit it to your consideration whether it may not be advisable to authorize by an adequate appropriation the employment of a suitable number of the Officers of the Corps of Engineers to examine the unexplored ground during the next season and to report their opinion thereon. It will likewise be proper to extend their examination to the several routes through which the Waters of the Ohio may be connected, by Canals, with those of Lake Erie.

As the Cumberland Road will require annual
annual repairs, and Congress have not thought it expedient to recommend to the States an amendment to the Constitution, for the purpose of providing in the United a power to adopt and execute a system of Internal improvement, it is also submitted to your consideration, whether it may not be expedient to authorize the Executive to enter into an arrangement with the several States through which the road passes to establish tolls, each within its limits for the purpose of defraying the expense of future repairs. Of providing also, by suitable penalties, for its protection against future injuries.

The Act of Congress of the 7th May 1822. appropriated the sum of $22,700 for the purpose of erecting two piers as a shelter for Nelves from ice, near Cape Henlopen Delaware Bay. To effect the object of the Act the Officers of the Board of Engineers with Commodore Bancroft were directed to prepare plans and estimates of piers sufficient to answer the purpose intended by the Act.
It appears by their Report which accom-
pnies the Documents from the War
Department, that the appropriation is not
adequate to the purposes intended, and
as the piers would be of great service
both to the navigation of the Delaware
Bay, and the protection of Delaw, on the
adjacent parts of the Coast, I submit for
the consideration of Congress whether addi-
tional and sufficient appropriation should
not be made.

The board of Engineers were
also directed to examine and survey
the entrance of the Harbor of the Port of
Presque Isle, in Pennsylvania, in order to
make an estimate of the expense of
removing the obstructions to the entrance
with a plan of the best mode of effecting
the same, under the appropriation for
that purpose, by act of Congress passed
the 3d of March last. The report of the
board accompanies the papers from
the War Department, and is submitted
for the consideration of Congress.

A strong hope has been long
entertained, founded on the heroic strug-
gle of the Greeks, that they would succe...
in their contest and resume their equal station among the Nations of the Earth. It is believed, that the Philistines would take a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none according to our information has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest and of aggrandizement with a view to aggrandizement which seems to much in the transacting of nations, seems to have had no effect as regards to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe, that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them, that Greece will become again an Independent Nation. That she may attain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes.
It was stated at the Commencement of the last Session, that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal, to improve the condition of the people of those Countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked, that the Result has been so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the Globe, with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The Citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly, in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense. With the movements in this Hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by Causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference pro-
ceeds from that, which exists in their respective Governments, and to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is resolved. We owe it therefore to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing Colonies or dependences of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Government who have declared their Independence and maintain it, and whose Independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interference for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of unfriendly dispositions towards the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their Recognizing, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government shall make
make a corresponding change on the part of the United States, indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal, show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact, no stronger proof can be adduced, than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried on the same principle, is a question, in which all independent powers, whose Governments differ from theirs, are interested, even those most remote, and purely remote, so than the United States. Our policy is regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the Globe, nevertheless remain the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers, to consider the Government the facts, as the legitimate for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by fair, firm, and steady policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from more. But, in regards to those Continent, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is
it impossible that the allied powers, should extend their political system, to any portion of either continent, without endangering our peace and happiness, nor can any one believe, that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should withhold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and these new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

If we compare the present condition of our union with its actual state at the close of our Revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress, in improvement in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation, which bears any resemblance to it. At the first epoch, our population did not exceed three millions. By the last census it amounts to about ten millions. And what is more extraordinary, it is almost altogether natural, for the emigration from other countries has been inconsiderable. At the first epoch, half the territory within our acknowledged limits was uninhabited and a
wildermp. Since then, New Territory has been acquired, of least extent. Comprising within it, many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which, to the Ocean, was of the highest importance to the original States. Over this territory, our population has expanded in every direction, and new states have been established, almost equal in number to those which formed the first bond of our union. This expansion of our population, and accession of new states to our union, have had the happiest effect on all its highest interests. That it has eminently augmented our resources, and added to our strength and respectability as a power, is admitted by all. But it is not in these important circumstances only that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest that, by enlarging the basis of our system, and increasing the number of states, the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches. Consolidation and division have thereby been rendered equally impracticable. Each Government, relying on its own strength, has leaped to apprehensions from the other, and, in consequence, each enjoying a greater freedom of action, is rendered more efficient for all the purposes for which it was instituted.
It is unnecessary to treat here, of the least improvements made in the system itself, by the adoption of this Constitution, and of its happy effect in elevating the character, and in protecting the rights of the nation as well as of individuals. To what these do we owe these blessings? It is known to all that we derive them from the excellence of our Institutions. Ought we not then to adopt every measure, which may be necessary to perpetuate them?

James Monroe

Washington 2d Decr. 1825.