

## President's ADDRESS,

At the opening of the present CONGRESS.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate,  
and of the House of Representatives,

IT is a circumstance of sincere gratification to me, that on meeting the Great Council of the nation, I am able to announce to them on grounds of reasonable certainty, that the wars and troubles, which have for so many years afflicted our sister nations, have at length come to an end; and that the communications of peace and commerce are once more opening among them. Whilst we devoutly return thanks to the beneficent Being who has been pleased to breathe into them the spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, we are bound, with peculiar gratitude, to be thankful to him that our own peace has been preserved through so perilous a season, and ourselves permitted quietly to cultivate the earth, and to practise and improve those arts which tend to increase our comforts. The assurances indeed of friendly disposition received from all the powers with whom we have principal relations, had inspired a confidence that our peace with them would not have been disturbed. But a cessation of the irregularities which had afflicted the commerce of neutral nations, and of the irritations and injuries produced by them, cannot but add to this confidence; and strengthens at the same time, the hope that wrongs committed on unoffending friends, under a pressure of circumstances, will now be reviewed with candor, and will be considered as founding just claims of retribution for the past, and new assurance for the future.

Among our Indian neighbors also a spirit of peace and friendship generally prevails; and I am happy to inform you that the continued efforts to introduce among them the implements and the practice of husbandry, and of the household arts, have not been without success.— That they are become more and more sensible of the superiority of this dependence for clothing and subsistence, over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing: and already we are able to announce that, instead of that constant diminution of numbers produced by their wars and their wants, some of them begin to experience an increase of population.

To this state of general peace with which we have been blessed, one only exception exists. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary States, had come forward with demands unfounded either in right or in compact, and had permitted itself to denounce war, on our failure to comply before a given day. The style of the demand admitted but one answer. I sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of our sincere desire to remain in peace; but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. The measure was seasonable and salutary. The Bey had already declared war in form. His cruisers were out. Two had arrived at Gibraltar. Our commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded; and that of the Atlantic in peril. The arrival of our squadron dispelled the danger. One of the Tripolitan cruisers having fallen in with and engaged the small Schooner Enterprize, commanded by Lieut. Sterret, which had gone out as a tender to our larger vessels, was captured, after a heavy slaughter of her men, without the loss of a single one on our part. The bravery exhibited by our citizens on that element, will, I trust, be a testimony to the world, that it is not a want of that virtue which

makes us seek their peace; but a conscientious desire to direct the energies of our nation to the multiplication of the human race, and not to its destruction. Unauthorised by the Constitution, without the sanction of Congress, to go beyond the line of defence, the vessel being disabled from committing further hostilities, was liberated, with its crew. The legislature will doubtless consider whether, by authorising measures of offence also, they will place our force on an equal footing with that of its adversaries. I communicate all material information on this subject, that in the exercise of the important function, confided by the Constitution to the legislature exclusively, their judgment may form itself on a knowledge and consideration of every circumstance of weight.

I wish I could say that our situation with all the other Barbary states was entirely satisfactory. Discovering that some delays had taken place in the performance of certain articles stipulated by us, I thought it my duty, by immediate measures for fulfilling them, to vindicate to ourselves the right of considering the effect of departure from stipulations on their side. From the papers which will be laid before you, you will be enabled to judge whether our treaties are regarded by them as fixing at all the measure of their demands, or as guarding against the exercise of force our vessels within their power? And to consider how far it will be safe and expedient to leave our affairs with them in their present posture.

I lay before you the result of the census lately taken of our inhabitants, to a conformity with which we are to reduce the ensuing rates of representation and taxation.— You will perceive that the increase of numbers, during the last ten years, proceeding in geometrical ratio, promises a duplication in little more than twenty-two years. We contemplate this rapid growth, and the prospect it holds up to us, not with a view to the injuries it may enable us to do to others in some future day, but to the settlement of the extensive country still remaining vacant within our limits, to the multiplication of men, susceptible of happiness, educated in the love of order, habituated to self-government, and valuing its blessings above all price.

Other circumstances, combined with the increase of numbers, have produced an augmentation of revenue arising from consumption, in a ratio far beyond that of population alone; and though the changes in foreign relations, now taken place so desirably for the whole world, may for a season affect this branch of revenue, yet, weighing all probabilities of expence, as well as of income, there is reasonable ground of confidence that we may now safely dispense with all the internal taxes, comprehending excises, stamps, auctions, licences, carriages, and refined sugars: to which the postage on newspapers may be added to facilitate the progress of information: and that the remaining sources of revenue will be sufficient to provide for the support of government, to pay the interest of the public debts, and to discharge the principals in shorter periods than the laws, or the general expectation had contemplated. War, indeed, and untoward events may change this prospect of things, and call for expences which the imposts could not meet. But sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow-citizens to accumulate treasure for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not, perhaps, happen but from the temptations offered by that treasure.

These views, however, of re-

ducing our burthens, are formed on the expectation, that a sensible, and at the same time, a salutary reduction may take place in our habitual expences. For this purpose, those of the civil government, the army and navy, will need revival. When we consider that this Government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of the states themselves have principal care of our persons, our property, and our reputation; constituting the great field of human concerns we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated too expensive; whether offices and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote. I will cause to be laid before you an essay towards a statement, of those who, under public employment of various kinds, draw money from the treasury, or from our citizens. Time has not permitted a perfect enumeration, the ramifications of office being too multiplied and remote to be completely traced in a first trial.— Among those who are dependent on executive discretion, I have begun the reduction of what was deemed unnecessary. The expences of diplomatic agency have been considerably diminished. The inspectors of internal revenue, who were found to obstruct the accountability of the institution, have been discontinued.— Several agencies, created by Executive authority, on salaries fixed by that also, have been suppressed, and should suggest the expediency of regulating that power by law, so as to subject its exercises to Legislative inspection and sanction.— Other reformatations of the same kind will be pursued with that caution which is requisite, in removing useless things, not to injure what is retained. But the great mass of public officers is established by law, and therefore by law alone can be abolished. Should the Legislature think it expedient to pass this roll in review, and to try all its parts by the test of public utility, they may be assured of every aid and light which executive information can yield. Considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expence to the ultimate term of burthen which the citizen can bear, it behoves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge; that it never may be seen here that, after leaving to labor the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, government shall itself consume the residue of what it was instituted to guard.

In our care too of the public contributions entrusted to our direction, it would be prudent to multiply barriers against their dissipation, by appropriating specific sums to every specific purpose susceptible of definition; by disallowing all applications of money varying from the appropriation in object, or transcending it in amount; by reducing the undefined field of contingencies, and thereby circumscribing discretionary powers over money; and by bringing back to a single department all accountabilities for money, where the examination may be prompt, efficacious, and uniform.

An account of the receipts and expences of the last year, as prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury, will, as usual, be laid before you. The success which has attended the late sales of the public lands, shows, that with attention they may be made an important source of receipt. Among the payments, those made in discharge of the principal and interest of the national debt, will show that the public faith has been exactly maintained. To these will be added, an estimate of appropriations necessary for the ensuing year. This last will of course be

affected by such modifications of the system of expence as you shall think proper to adopt.

A statement has been formed by the Secretary at War, on mature consideration of all the posts and stations where garrisons will be expedient, and of the number of men requisite for each garrison. The whole amount is considerably short of the present military establishment. For the surplus, no particular use can be pointed out. For defence against invasion, their number is as nothing; nor is considered needful or safe, that a standing army should be kept up in time of peace, for that purpose. Uncertain, as we must ever be, of the particular point in our circumference where an enemy may choose to invade us, the only force which can be ready at every point, and competent to oppose them, is the body of neighboring citizens, as formed into a militia.— On these, collected from the parts most convenient, in numbers proportioned to the invading force, it is best to rely, not only to meet the first attack, but if it threatens to be permanent, to maintain the defence until regulars may be engaged to relieve them. These considerations render it important that we should, at every session, continue to amend the defects, which from time to time show themselves, in the laws for regulating the militia, until they are sufficiently perfect: Nor should we now, or at any time, separate, until we can say we have done every thing for the militia, which we could do, were an enemy at our door.

The provision of military stores on hand, will be laid before you, that you may judge of the additions still requisite.

With respect to the extent to which our naval preparations should be carried, some difference of opinion may be expected to appear; but just attention to the circumstances of every part of the union, will doubtless reconcile all. A small force will probably continue to be wanted, for actual service in the Mediterranean. Whatever annual sum beyond that, you may think proper to appropriate to naval preparations, would perhaps be better employed in providing those articles which may be kept without waste or consumption, and be in readiness when any exigence calls them into use. Progress has been made, as will appear by papers now communicated, in providing materials for 74 gun ships, as directed by law.

How far the authority given by the Legislature, for procuring and establishing sites for naval purposes, has been perfectly understood and pursued in the execution, admits of some doubt. A statement of the expences already incurred on that subject, shall be laid before you. I have in certain cases, suspended or slackened these expences, that the Legislature might determine whether so many yards are necessary as have been contemplated. The works at this place are among those permitted to go on: And five of the seven frigates directed to be laid up, have been brought and laid up here, where, besides the safety of their position, they are under the eye of the Executive administration, as well as of its agents, and where yourselves also will be guided by your own view, in the Legislative provisions respecting them, which may from time to time be necessary.— They are preserved in such condition, as well the vessels as whatever belongs to them, as to be at all times ready for sea on a short warning.— Two others are yet to be laid up, so soon as they shall have received the repairs requisite to put them also into sound condition. As a superintending Officer will be necessary at each yard, his duties and emoluments, hitherto fixed by the Executive, will be a more proper subject

for Legislation. A communication will also be made of our progress in the execution of the law respecting the vessels directed to be sold.

The fortifications of our harbors, more or less advanced, present considerations of great difficulty.—While some of them are on a scale sufficiently proportioned to the advantages of their position, to the efficacy of their protection, and the importance of the points within it; others are so extensive, will cost so much in their first erection, so much in their maintenance, and require such a force to garrison them, as to make it questionable what is best now to be done. A statement of those commenced or projected, of the expences already incurred, and estimates of their future cost, as far as can be foreseen, shall be laid before you, that you may be enabled to judge whether any alteration is necessary in the laws respecting this subject.

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are then most thriving, when left most free to individual enterprise. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be seasonably interposed. If, in the course of your observations or enquiries, they should appear to need any aid, within the limits of our constitutional powers, your sense of their importance is a sufficient assurance, they will occupy your attention. We cannot, indeed, but all feel an anxious solicitude for the difficulties under which our carrying trade will soon be placed. How far it can be relieved, otherwise than by time, is a subject of important consideration.

The Judiciary system of the United States, and especially that portion of it recently erected, will of course present itself to the contemplation of Congress; and that they may be able to judge of the proportion which the institution bears to the business it has to perform, I have caused to be procured from the several States, and now lay before Congress, an exact statement of all the causes decided since the first establishment of the courts, and of those which were depending when additional courts and judges were bro't in to their aid.

And while on the Judiciary organization, it will be worthy your consideration, whether the protection of the inestimable institution of juries has been extended to all the cases involving the security of our persons and property. Their impartial selection also being essential to their value, we ought further to consider whether that is sufficiently secured in those States, where they are named by a Marshal depending on Executive will, or designated by the court, or by officers dependent on them.

I cannot omit recommending a revival of the laws on the subject of naturalization. Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship, under a residence of fourteen years, is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it; and controuls a policy pursued, from their first settlement, by many of these States, and still believed of consequence to their prosperity.—And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers, arriving in this land?—Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? The Constitution, indeed, has wisely provided that, for admission to certain offices of important trust, a residence shall be required, sufficient to develop character & design. But might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to every one manifesting a *BONA FIDE* purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us? with restric-

tions, perhaps to guard against the fraudulent usurpation of our flag; an abuse which brings so much embarrassment and loss on the genuine citizens, and so much danger to the nation of being involved in war, that no endeavour should be spared to detect and suppress it.

These, fellow-citizens, are the matters respecting the state of the nation, which I have thought it important to be submitted to your consideration at this time. Some others of less moment, or not yet ready for communication, will be the subject of separate messages. I am happy in this opportunity of committing the arduous affairs of our government to the collected wisdom of the union. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to inform, as far as in my power, the Legislative judgment; nor to carry that judgment into faithful execution. The prudence and temperance of your discussions will promote, within your own walls, that conciliation which so much befriends rational conclusion; and by its example, will encourage among our constituents that progress of opinion which is tending to unite them in object and in will.

That all should be satisfied with any one order of things is not to be expected; but I indulge the pleasing persuasion that the great body of our citizens will cordially concur in honest and disinterested efforts, which have for their object to preserve the general and state governments in their Constitutional form and equilibrium; to maintain peace abroad, and order and obedience to the laws at home; to establish principles and practices of administration favorable to the security of Liberty and property, and to reduce expences to what is necessary for the useful purposes of government.

TH: JEFFERSON.

December 8th, 1801.

#### MR. FOX'S SPEECH,

On being re-elected a Member of Parliament.

“ON this day twenty-one years, Gentlemen, I had the honor of being first elected your Representative, after a most arduous and honorable struggle on your part. For your exertions made on that occasion, and since repeated, I have ever felt the warmest gratitude. In that first instance I could not consider yours as favors personally conferred on the Individual. I was but little known to you, and had but few services on record. I could not, therefore, but receive your favors as marks of your opinion against the then existing American war. You did me the honor of selecting me as a firm opponent to that marked invasion on the liberty and rights of mankind. I contributed my aid to efforts much more potent, until we at length happily saw an end put to the American war. We then saw the maxim realized that any war made against the rights of mankind, must ultimately turn against its movers. I do not say that different forms of Government may not prevail in different parts of the world, bestowing either a greater or a smaller share of freedom; but what I mean to state is, that tho' tyranny may lord it for a time, yet that when the will of the tyrant comes into contest with the principles of liberty and justice, the latter must uniformly triumph. I have ever been an advocate for the principles of justice. I have been always an enemy to war, because I hold all wars to be unjust, except those of necessary self-defence.—What then could I do when this war was to be commenced, for the obvious purpose of interfering with the internal affairs of another country, and of forcing a king upon her against her will? We had certainly no more right to do this, than we had to tax America without her

consent. I opposed this war, therefore, both before and after its commencement. I know that my conduct was unpopular in several parts of the country, but I am happy in believing that I never lost the good opinion of the citizens of Westminster. The war is now fortunately at an end, a circumstance which must give pleasure to every British heart with a very few exceptions, and to every thinking mind in Europe, which must have viewed it as hostile to the principle of liberty. The war, I must observe, has been distinguished by many brilliant successes on our part; but it has been a war of various colour; it has also been marked by numerous disasters, and by an effusion of blood, such as but to think upon must appal every reflecting mind. I shall not therefore canvas the terms of the preliminaries. I have only to say, that the war being bad, a Peace must therefore, be good. If I were disposed to canvas the treaty, there are two points of view in which it might be considered, namely, the terms, and the time. With respect to the terms, I must say, such is my feelings of the war, that it is not for an island the more in the West-Indies, or for a fortress the more in the East-Indies, that I would have the campaign to continue for another month; nay, I had almost said, for another hour. With regard to the time, if a Peace could have been obtained on as good terms at an earlier period, every one must regret that it had not been accelerated. But it was sufficiently known that there were several epochs in the war at which a peace was attainable. Not only when Buonaparte wrote a letter, two years since, but even before that time, there was no doubt but as good a peace as this might have been obtained. What then was the inference but that, dating from the first of these opportunities, every life that has been lost, and every penny that has been expended, have been lost and expended to no purpose.

They have been wantonly lavished by his majesty's late ministers, and sorry I am to say, that no less than 150 millions of money, and lives to an amount almost incalculable, are to be set down to this dreadful account!—You, gentlemen, petitioned his majesty for a change of ministers and measures; but not being seconded and followed up by the country at large, the petition of the citizens of Westminster was of no avail.—A change of ministry at length, however, has unexpectedly taken place, under circumstances, which, I confess, I never could thoroughly understand, but I am glad to find that a peace has been the salutary consequence. We never could have had a peace whilst the late ministry continued in office; whatever may be my opinion therefore, of their successors on other points, I cannot but rejoice in the downfall of those, whose removal has been the prelude to a peace. It has been said by some, that the terms of this peace are glorious to France. If my opinion be asked, I say, so they ought to be. That country has now for nine years struggled for liberty against a powerful continental confederacy—she has maintained the contest with unprecedented heroism—she has given to Britain a glorious example for future times—and from such a conflict I think that France ought to come out with splendor. But it is said that we have not gained the objects for which we went to war:—on that very account I like the peace the better! If, as it was well understood, our object was to remodel the constitution of France, and to force her to accept of her ancient despotism, I for one express myself happy in the failure. I have no doubt but that the blessings of

this peace will be extensively felt; but I must observe that this country is not at all in the situation in which she stood before the war. I shall not dwell on that which is obvious, the pressure we are destined long to sustain from the enormous load of public debt. There were evils of another kind, and perhaps, as greatly to be dreaded. Engaged in the conflict with France, who was fighting for her freedom, it was much to be apprehended that the minds of the people of this country, either through sympathy or by a sort of reaction, had taken an opposite bias, and inclined, perhaps, to unlimited monarchy.—Their cooler reflection, I trust, will do away the prejudices which may have been thus imbibed. They will again look back to the days when to have sent away James II, was regarded as a glorious effort, and when the right to cashier and elect our kings was reckoned amongst the proudest of our privileges. I shall not now dwell on the atrocities which at Paris and elsewhere disgraced the earlier period of the revolution; nor shall I enter into the question, whether France has in reality, and with certainty, obtained that liberty for which she has contended. We should remember, in our future intercourse with France, that she had previously suffered under the severest despotism. It was softened down and disguised by the mild manners of the people, and by the prevailing spirit of literature, but it was still a despotism of the most cruel and licentious nature. The recollection of their endurance, of their struggle, and of their triumph, will, I hope, at some future time, restore us to ourselves, not such as we are at present, but such as we have been in better periods of our history. There are other evils, I am sorry to add, in our present condition, arising out of the abuses which have been employed, as it was said to prevent the dangers arising from the war.—There were in fact so many inroads into our constitution. Whether it be in the contemplation of ministers to restore us our best privileges, which have been thus wrested from us, I cannot ascertain; nor do I know whether the people themselves are duly anxious for the recovery of their lost liberty and constitution. The crown has gained a vast accession of influence, arising from the expenditures of the war, from the increase of our debt, and I must add, from the union with Ireland. The support which this influence has created, which it would derive from the large establishments still to be maintained, and from the prejudices which had been artfully excited and kept alive, was of so colossal a nature, that I shall not be surprised to find that the people have recovered peace, but have lost their liberty.—When I speak of prejudices I do not allude to the country at large, and to the electors at Westminster. I shall use my best efforts, but I dare not hope that any effort will be so successful. The chances, however, are increased by peace. It would be better if that had been earlier obtained, as every added year has magnified our difficulties; but its arrival tho' late, is with me a matter of sincere rejoicing. You will recollect my uniform opposition to the war, of which I must remember also, that you have repeatedly expressed your detestation. We have shewn ourselves friends to the rights and liberties of mankind; we can therefore hail with unmixed pleasure an event which tends to diminish the sum of calamities for which we are not answerable.” This speech was received with loud and repeated acclamations.

Westminster (England) Oct. 10, 1801.

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