

CAROLINA OBSERVER.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C. THURSDAY MORNING, MARCH 11, 1830.

[NO. 666.]

VOL. XIII.]

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BY EDWARD J. HALE,
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ADVERTISEMENTS inserted for 60 cents per
square for the first, and 30 cents for each succeeding
square. Advertisers are requested to state the
number of insertions desired, or they will be con-
sidered till forbidden, and charged accordingly.
Letters to the Editor must be post paid.

Notice.
THE Subscribers having sold out their entire Stock
in Trade to Mr. A. Torrence, request all per-
sons indebted to them either by Note or Book Ac-
count, to come forward and settle the same without
delay with A. W. Horton and Geo. W. Hutton or ei-
ther of them, who are fully authorized to collect all
debts due the Subscribers, and to grant discharges
for the same. They may at all times be found at the
Counting Room of Mr. A. Torrence.
HORTON, HUTTON, & CO.
Fayetteville, February 25, 1830. 65tf.

Notice.
THE Subscriber having purchased the Entire
STOCK OF GOODS, of Messrs. Horton, Hut-
ton, & Co. in this place, begs leave to inform his
friends and their former customers, that he has now
on hand a very general and extensive assortment of
GROCERIES, which he will dispose of for Cash or
Country Produce, on as good terms as can be pro-
duced in this market. His Stock will in part com-
prise the following articles, viz:
Hhds. Prime Sugars,
20 bbls. loaf and lump do,
165 bags prime green Coffee,
14 do Pepper and Spice,
140 kegs cut Nails,
25 do Brads,
25 hds. prime retailing Molasses,
2 hds. English Copperas,
1 hhd. Dutch Madder,
5 hds. N. E. Rum,
1 hhd. Old Jamaica Rum,
1 do. N. O. Rum,
3 pipes Cogniac Brandy,
2 pipes old Holland Gin,
Sweet and dry Malaga,
Teneriffe & Sherry,
Madera and Port,
1 cask Epsom Salts,
1 do. Alum,
2 casks Sp. ft. Indigo,
20 bbls. Mackerel and Mulletts,
20 boxes bar Soap, (Colgate's best,
30 do Windsor and variegated Soap,
5 casks Rice,
30 whole and half boxes Raisins,
40 casks fresh Thomastown Lime,
1000 bushels Liverpool Salt,
500 do. Alum do.
10 tons Swedes Iron,
Paints and Dye Stuffs,
Train, Lamp, Linseed, & Sweet Oils,
Crockery and Hollow Ware,
Patent Medicines,
Scotch and Maccabau Snuff,
Bale Rope and Bagging,
Trace chains, weeding hoes, bar lead and shot, curry
combs, bed cords, plough lines, twine, shovels, hair
and wire sifters, bonnet boards, mustard, Foolscap,
letter and writing paper, tin plate, fur bats, smith's
bellows, anvils and vices, with a great variety of other
articles too tedious to enumerate.
A. TORRENCE.
N. B. All persons having demands against the
firm of Horton, Hutton, & Co. are requested to pre-
sent them to the subscriber, who will settle the
same.
A. TORRENCE.
Fayetteville, Feb. 25, 1830.

Notice well.—\$20 Reward
RANAWAY from the Subscriber, on the 10th of
February 1830, a white mulatto slave named
CULLEN; or CULLEN MEDLEN, as he calls
himself. He is about 25 years old, 6 feet high, well
made, weighs about 165; has a red neck, hands, and
mouth, his hair is a little light and kinky, grey eyes,
thick feet, flat like a negro's, a small cut by an axe
on the inside of his great toe at the first joint on the
right foot. Has a white tail, mixt coat, white streaked
pantaloon. It is probable that he will alter his
name, and attempt to pass among the lower class of
white people as a free man. I think that he is at
Wilmington, Fayetteville, or Newbern.
I will give the above reward for his delivery to
me near Springhill, in Lenoir county, free of any
other expense, or to have him secured in any jail so
that I get him again.
WILLIAM ROUSE.
February 20, 1830—64-St

Valuable Store House
FOR RENT.
THE subscriber will rent, possession to
be given on the first of May next, his
STORE, at present occupied by Kyles and
Meehan, situated on the east corner of the
Court-house square. It is the best stand for busi-
ness in Salisbury, and the building is large and com-
modious, being 72 feet in length, with three rooms
below, (a store-room, counting-room and ware
house,) two above, and a good cellar. The store
will be rented for one year, or a term of years as
may be desired. To any person desirous of estab-
lishing himself in the Mercantile Business, in a flour-
ishing and healthy village, situated in a rich and popu-
lar district of country, a better stand will rarely be
offered.
For terms, apply on the premises to
ANDREW MATHEW.
Salisbury, Feb. 15, 1830. 64-4w.

New Watches and Jewelry.
J. CAMPBELL
RESPECTFULLY informs his customers and the
public, that in addition to his former Stock, he
has just received a new supply of Gold and Silver,
Patent Lever, and Plain WATCHES, gold Chains,
gold and plated Seals, Keys, Rings, and Slides, a
handsome assortment of Breastpins, Ear Rings, and
Finger Rings. Also, on hand, silver Spoons, Spec-
tacles, self pointed Pencils, various articles of plated
and Britannia Ware, Thermometers, Surveyor's
Compasses and Chains, Rodgers' fine Pen Knives,
Military Trimmings, Swords, Dirks, percussion and
plan pocket Pistols, Drums and Pipes, Flutes, Vi-
olins, &c. &c., together with a variety of other arti-
cles, all of which are offered for sale on the most fa-
vorable terms.
Clock and Watch Repairing, and other Work
in the line, particularly attended to.
Fayetteville March 4, 1830. 65-6w.

Port and Lisbon WINES.
WILKINGS & CO. have just received for
sale:
1 Pipe Port and
10 Qr. casks Lisbon } WINES,
Superior quality, imported into Wilmington, direct
from Lisbon, 13th Feb. 1830.
March 3.

NOTICE.
THE Subscriber having qualified at March Term,
1830, as Administrator on the Estate of Daniel
Buie, late of this county, deceased, hereby notifies
all persons indebted to the said deceased to come
forward and make payment; and all those having
claims against him, to present them within the time
limited by law, otherwise this notice will be pleaded
in bar of a recovery.
DUN. BUIE, Adm'r.

Further Notice.
ON Tuesday the 23d inst., I shall proceed to sell
at the late residence of the deceased, all the
Perishable Property belonging to the said estate,
consisting of CATTLE, SHEEP and HOGS, and
other articles too tedious to mention. Terms, six
months credit, on all sums over two dollars, purchas-
ers giving notes with approved security.
DUN. BUIE, Adm'r.
March 4, 1830. 65-3w.

Cheap Paper.
WHOLESALE OR RETAIL.
THE Subscriber has just received on commission,
from the celebrated Mills of D. & J. AMES,
an assortment of Foolscap and Letter Paper, which
will be sold low, wholesale or retail, at the OBSERVER
Office. An additional and much larger supply is
expected shortly, and will be kept constantly on
hand. The attention of Merchants is invited.
E. J. HALE.
March 4, 1830.



Coach, Saddle, and Harness Making.
THE undersigned respectfully inform the public,
that having entered into copartnership in the
above branches of business, they will continue the
Saddle and Harness Making in the house now oc-
cupied by David L. Evans, two doors west of Liberty
Point, and the Coach Making Business in the house
one door west of Mr. Cade's Tavern. They pledge
themselves, that all work entrusted to their care in
either of the above lines of business, shall be com-
pactly, neatly, and substantially executed, having em-
ployed first rate workmen in the different branches.
DAVID L. EVANS,
JAMES SUNDY.
Fayetteville, Feb. 1, 1830.—61-tf

The Black Book.
A FEW copies of Mrs. Royall's celebrated Black
Book, just received and for sale at the store of
H. G. NELSON.
Fayetteville, Feb. 24.

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offered.
For terms, apply on the premises to
ANDREW MATHEW.
Salisbury, Feb. 15, 1830. 64-4w.

Notice.
THE Virginia & N. Carolina
Transportation Company's Steam Boat
PETERSBURG, Capt. McRea,
WILL, in addition to her other duties, make a
trip once a week, to and from Newbern, N.
C., leaving Elizabeth City every Tuesday evening
after the arrival of the Stage from Norfolk, and
Newbern on every Friday, to commence running on
Tuesday the 17th March next.
Fare for Passengers \$8—Freight on moderate
terms. Feb. 19—64-1m

Leather and Shoe Store,
PERSON STREET,
THREE Doors East of Market Square.
AM now opening a very extensive assortment of
BOOTS and SHOES, embracing every variety
of kind, and offer them by the case, dozen or retail,
at prices less than usual, for cash only.
ALSO,
Sole and Upper Leather,
Skirting and Harness do.
Best Philadelphia Calf Skins,
Lining Skins and Bindings,
Best Coach Leather Linings,
Do. blue and black do. do.
Black Mor. Skins and Hatter's Linings,
Brushes and Fancy Baskets,
Shoe Thread, Blacking, Trunks, &c. &c.
Also, HATS,
By the case or otherwise.
W. L. HAWLEY.
Fayetteville, October 15. 45tf.

To Merchants, Planters, and Manufacturers.
NATHANIEL F. WILLIAMS tenders his serv-
ices to his friends and the public, to transact busi-
ness on Commission, and respectfully refers to the
gentlemen named below, for their qualifications.
References.
Hon SAMUEL SMITH, } Senators in Congress from
" E. F. CHAMBERS, } Maryland.
" JOHN FORSYTH, } Senator in Congress from
" DANIEL WEBSTER, } Georgia.
" DANIEL WEBSTER, } Senator in Congress from
" LEWIS WILLIAMS, } Massachusetts.
" LEWIS WILLIAMS, } Representative in Congress
" WARREN R. DAVIS, } from North Carolina.
" WARREN R. DAVIS, } Representative in Congress
Messrs. MACDONALD & RIDGELY, } Baltimore.
WILLIAM LORMAN, Esq., }
LUKE TIERNAN, Esq., }
ISAAC MCKIM, Esq., }
Baltimore, February 9, 1830. 65-4w.

THOMAS FOSTER,
Fashionable Tailor,
BEGS leave to inform the citizens of Fayetteville
and the public in general, that he has recently
returned from New York and Philadelphia, where
he has obtained the LATEST and MOST APPROVED
FASHIONS, and has made arrangements to receive
them, through his friends at the North, as often as
they are imported.
He has taken the shop on Green street, near the
Bridge, and next door to Mr. James H. Hooper's
office, where all orders in his line will be thankfully
received, and executed in the most fashionable style.
Sept. 22, 1829—42-tf
Two or three apprentices to the above busi-
ness would be taken. T. F.

W. Whitehead,
OFFERS FOR SALE
15 Hhds good Sugar,
3 ditto prime Coffee,
40 bags Coffee, some very low priced.
22 bbls Molasses,
70 kegs cut Nails,
50 casks best quality Stone Lime,
20 bbls Mackerel,
10 boxes window glass, 8 & 10.
8 bbls green Copperas,
Alum and Liverpool Salt,
A good assortment of Castings,
Iron, American, and English,
Blistered & German Steel,
Cotton bagging and bale rope,
Powder, shot, and Lead,
Alum, Indigo, Madder and Logwood.
February 25, 1830.

DEBATE ON THE PUBLIC LANDS,
In the Senate of the United States.
[MR. WEBSTER'S SECOND SPEECH, CONTINUED.]
THE Government, Mr. President, from its origin to
the peace of 1815, had been too much engrossed with
various other important concerns, to be able to turn
its thoughts upward, and look to the development
of its vast internal resources. In the early part of
President Washington's administration, it was fully
occupied with organizing the Government, providing
for the public debt, defending the frontiers, and main-
taining domestic peace. Before the termination of
that administration, the fires of the French Revolution
blazed forth as from a new opened volcano, and the
whole breadth of the ocean did not entirely
secure us from its effects. The smoke and the em-
ber reached us, though not the burning lava. Diffi-
cult and agitating questions, embarrassing to Gov-
ernment, and dividing public opinion, sprung out
of the new state of our foreign relations, and were
succeeded by others, and yet again by others, equal-
ly embarrassing, and equally exerting division and
discord, through the long series of twenty years,
till they finally issued in the war with England.
Down to the close of that war, no distinct, marked,
and deliberate attention had been given, or could
have been given to the internal condition of the
country, its capacities of improvement, or the constitu-
tional power of the Government, in regard to objects
connected with such improvement.

The peace, Mr. President, brought about an en-
tirely new and most interesting state of things; it
opened to us other prospects, and suggested other
duties; we ourselves were changed, and the whole
world was changed. The pacification of Europe, af-
ter June, 1815, assumed a firm and permanent as-
pect. The nations evidently manifested that they
were disposed for peace; some agitation of the waves,
might be expected, even after the storm had subsided,
but the tendency was, strongly and rapidly, to-
wards settled repose.
It so happened, sir, that I was at that time a
member of Congress, and, like others, naturally turned my
attention to the contemplation of the newly altered
condition of the country, and of the world. It ap-
peared plainly enough, to me, as well as to wiser and
more experienced men, that the policy of the Gov-
ernment would necessarily take a start, in a new di-
rection; because new directions would necessarily be
given to the pursuits and occupations of the people.
We had pushed our commerce far and fast, under the
advantage of a neutral flag. But there were now no
neutral flags, either neutral or belligerent. The har-
vest of neutrality had been great, but we had gather-
ed it all. With the peace of Europe, it was obvious
there would spring up in her circle of nations, a re-
vived and invigorated spirit of trade, and a new activ-
ity in all the business and objects of civilized life.—
Hereafter, our commercial gains were to be earned
only by success in a close and intense competition.
Other nations would produce for themselves, and car-
ry to the full extent of their abilities. The crops of our
plans would no longer sustain European armies, nor
our ships longer supply those, whom war had render-
ed unable to supply themselves. It was obvious, that
under these circumstances, the country would begin to
survey itself, and to estimate its own capacity of
improvement. And this improvement, how was it to
be accomplished, and who was to accomplish it? We
were ten or twelve millions of people, spread over
almost half a world. We were twenty-four States,
some stretching along the same seaboard, some along
the same line of inland frontier, and others on op-
posite banks of the same rivers. Two considerations at
once presented themselves, in looking at this state of
things, with great force. One was, that that great
branch of improvement, which consisted in furnish-
ing new facilities of intercourse, necessarily ran into dif-
ferent States, in every leading instance, and would
benefit the citizens of all such States. No one State,
therefore, in such cases, would assume the whole ex-
pense, nor was the co-operation of several States to
be expected. Take the instance of the Delaware
Breakwater. It will cost several millions of money.
Would Pennsylvania alone have ever constructed it?
Certainly never, while this Union lasts, because it is
not for her sole benefit. Would Pennsylvania, New
Jersey and Delaware, have united to accomplish it,
at their joint expense? Certainly not, for the same rea-
son. It could not be done, therefore, but by the
General Government. The same may be said of the
large inland undertakings, except that, in them, Gov-
ernment, instead of bearing the whole expense, co-
operates with others who bear a part. The other
consideration is, that the U. States have the means.
They enjoy the revenues derived from commerce,
and the States have no abundant and easy sources of
public income. The custom houses fill the general
treasury, while the States have scanty resources, ex-
cept by resort to heavy direct taxes. Under this
view of things, I thought it necessary to settle, at
least for myself, some definite notions, with respect to
the powers of Government, in regard to internal af-
fairs. It may not savour too much of self com-
mendation to remark, that, with this object, I considered
the constitution, its judicial construction, its cotem-
poraneous exposition, and the whole history of the
legislation of Congress under it; and I arrived at the
conclusion, that Government had power to accom-
plish sundry objects, or aid in their accomplishment,
which are now commonly spoken of as Internal Im-
provements. That conclusion, sir, may have been
right, or it may have been wrong. I am not about to
argue the grounds of it at large. I say only, that it
was adopted, and acted on, even so early as in 1816.

Yes, Mr. President, I made up my opinion, and de-
termined on my intended course of political conduct
on these subjects, in the 14th Congress, in 1816. And
now, Mr. President, I have further to say, that I made
up these opinions, and entered on this course of po-
litical conduct, *Teucrio Duce*. Yes, sir, I pursued, in
all this, a South Carolina track. On the doctrines of
Internal Improvement, South Carolina, as she was
then represented in the other House, set forth, in
1816, under a fresh and leading breeze; and I was
among the followers. But if my leader sees new lights,
and turns a sharp corner, unless I see new lights also,
I keep straight on, in the same path. I repeat, that
leading gentlemen from South Carolina were first and
foremost in behalf of the doctrines of Internal Im-
provements, when those doctrines first came to be
considered and acted upon in Congress. The debate
on the Bank question, on the Tariff of 1816, and on
the Direct Tax, will show who was who, and what
was what, at that time. The Tariff of 1816, one of
the plain cases of oppression and usurpation, from
which, if the Government does not recede, individual
States may justly secede from the Government, is,
sir, in truth, a South Carolina Tariff, supported by
South Carolina votes. But for those votes, it could
not have passed in the form in which it did pass;
whereas if it had depended on Massachusetts votes,
it would have been lost. Does not the honorable
gentleman well know all this? There are certainly
those who do, full well, know it all. I do not say this
to reproach South Carolina; I only state the fact, and
I think it will appear to be true, that among the ear-
liest and boldest advocates of the Tariff, as a measure
of precaution, and on the express ground of protec-
tion, were leading gentlemen of South Carolina in
Congress. I did not then, and cannot now, under-
stand that language in any other sense. While this
Tariff of 1816 was under discussion in the House of
Representatives, an honorable gentleman from Geor-
gia, now of this House, (Mr. Forsyth,) moved to re-
duce the proposed duty on cotton. It failed by four
votes, South Carolina giving three votes, (enough to
have turned the scale) against his motion. The act,
sir, then passed, and received on its passage the sup-
port of a majority of the Representatives of South Car-
olina, present and voting. This act is the first, in
the order of those now denounced as plain usurpa-
tions. We see it daily in the list by the side of those
of 1824, and 1828, as a case of manifest oppression,
justifying disunion. I put it home to the honorable
member from South Carolina, that his own State was
not only "art and part" in this measure, but the *causa
causans*. Without her aid, this seminal principle of
mischievousness, this root of Upas, could not have been plant-
ed. I have already said, and it is true, that this act
proceeded on the ground of protection. It inter-
fered, directly, with existing interests of great value
and amount. It cut up the Calcutta cotton trade by
the roots. But it passed, nevertheless, and it passed
on the principle of protecting manufactures, on the
principle against free trade, on the principle opposed
to that which lets us alone.—*Note 2.*

Such, Mr. President, were the opinions of impor-
tant and leading gentlemen from South Carolina, on
the subject of Internal Improvement, in 1816. I went
out of Congress the next year, and returning again
in 1823, thought I found South Carolina where I had
left her. I really supposed that all things remained
as they were, and that the South Carolina doctrine of
Internal Improvements would be defended by the
eloquent voices, and the same strong arms, as for-
merly. In the lapse of these six years, it is true, po-
litical associations had assumed a new aspect, and new
divisions. A party had arisen in the South, hostile to
the doctrine of Internal Improvements, and had vigor-
ously attacked that doctrine. Anti-consolidation was
the flag, under which this party fought, and its
supporters inveighed against Internal Improvements,
much after the manner in which the honorable gen-
tleman has now inveighed against them, as part and
parcel of the system of Consolidation. Whether this
party arose in South Carolina herself, or in her neigh-
borhood, is more than I know. I think the latter.
However that may have been, there were those found
in South Carolina ready to make war upon it, and who
did make intrepid war upon it. Names being regard-
ed as things, in such controversies, they bestowed on
the anti-improvement gentlemen the appellation of
Radicals. Yes, sir, the name of Radicals, as a term
of distinction, applicable and applied to those who
denied the liberal doctrines of Internal Improvements,
originated, according to the best of my recollection,
somewhere between North Carolina and Georgia.
Well, sir, those mischievous Radicals were to be put
down, and the strong arm of South Carolina was
stretched out to put them down. About this time,
sir, I returned to Congress. The battle with the Ra-
dicals had been fought, and our South Carolina cham-
pions of the doctrines of Internal Improvement had
nobly maintained their ground, and were under-
stood to have achieved a victory. They had driven
back the enemy with discomfiture; a thing, by the
way, sir, which is not always performed when it is
promised. A gentleman, to whom I have already
referred, in this debate, had come into Congress dur-
ing my absence from it, from South Carolina, and
had brought with him a high reputation for ability.
He came from a school with which we had been ac-
quainted, *et nocuit a sociis*. I hold in my hand, sir,
a printed speech of this distinguished gentleman, (Mr.
McDUFFIE) "ON INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS," delivered
about the period to which I now refer, and printed
with a few introductory remarks upon consolidation;
in which, sir, I think he quite consolidated the argu-
ments of his opponents, the Radicals, if to *crush* be
to consolidate. I give you a short but substantive
quotation from these remarks. He is speaking of a
pamphlet, then recently published, entitled "Consoli-
dation;" and having alluded to the question of re-
chartering the former Bank of the United States, he
says: "Moreover, in the early history of parties, and
when Mr. Crawford advocated the renewal of the old
charter, it was considered a federal measure, which
Internal Improvements never was, as this author er-
roneously states. This latter measure originated in
the administration of Mr. Jefferson, with the appro-
priation for the Cumberland Road; and was first pro-
posed, as a system, by Mr. Calhoun, and carried
through the House of Representatives by a large ma-
jority of the republicans, including almost every one
of the leading men who carried us through the late
war."

So then, Internal Improvement is not one of the
Federal heresies.
One paragraph more, sir—
"The author in question, not content with denounc-
ing as Federalists, General Jackson, Mr. Adams, Mr.
Calhoun, and the majority of the South Carolina de-
legation in Congress, modestly extends the denun-
ciation to Mr. Monroe and the whole Republican
party." Here are his words. "During the adminis-
tration of Mr. Monroe, much has passed which the re-
publican party would be glad to approve, if they
could! But the principal feature, and that which
has chiefly elicited these observations, is the renew-
al of the SYSTEM OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS. Now,
this measure was adopted by a vote of 115 to 86, of a
republican Congress, and sanctioned by a republican
President. Who, then, is this author, who assumes
the high prerogative of denouncing, in the name of
the republican party, the republican administration
of the country; a denunciation including within its
sweep, Calhoun, Lowndes, and Cheves; men who
will be regarded as the brightest ornaments of South
Carolina, and the strongest pillars of the republican
party, as long as the late war shall be remembered,

and talents and patriotism shall be regarded as the
proper objects of the admiration and gratitude of a
free people!"

Such are the opinions, sir, which were maintained
by South Carolina gentlemen in the House of Rep-
resentatives, on the subject of Internal Improve-
ment, when I took my seat there as a member from
Massachusetts, in 1823. But this is not all; we had
a bill before us, and passed it in that House, entitled
"An act to procure the necessary surveys, plans, and
estimates, upon the subject of Roads and Canals." It
authorized the President to cause surveys and esti-
mates to be made of the routes of such Roads and Canals
as he might deem of National importance, in a
commercial or military point of view, or for the trans-
portation of the mail, and appropriated thirty thou-
sand dollars, out of the Treasury, to defray the ex-
pense. This act, though preliminary in its nature,
covered the whole ground. It took for granted the
complete power of Internal Improvement, as far as
any of its advocates had ever contended for it. Hav-
ing passed the other House, the bill came up to
the Senate, and was here considered and debated in
April, 1824. The honorable member from South
Carolina was a member of the Senate at that time.
While the bill was under consideration here, a mo-
tion was made to add the following proviso:
"Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be
construed to affirm or admit a power in Congress, on
their own authority to make Roads or Canals, with-
in any of the States of the Union."

The yeas and nays were taken on this proviso,
and the honorable member voted in the negative.
The proviso failed.
The motion was then made to add this proviso viz:
"Provided, That the faith of the United States is
hereby pledged, that no money shall ever be ex-
pended for Roads or Canals, except it shall be a-
mong the several States, and in the same proportion
as direct taxes are laid and assessed by the provi-
sions of the Constitution."

The honorable member voted against this proviso
also, and it failed.
The bill was then put on its passage, and the ho-
norable member voted for it, and it passed, and be-
came a law.
Now, it strikes me, sir, that there is no maintaining
these votes, but upon the power of internal improve-
ment, in its broadest sense. In truth, these bills for
surveys and estimates have always been considered
as test questions. They show who is for, and who
against internal improvement. This law itself went
the whole length, and assumed the full and com-
plete power. The gentleman's votes sustained that
power in every form, in which the various proposi-
tions to amend presented it. He went for the entire
and unrestrained authority, without consulting the
States, and without agreeing to any proportionate
distribution. And now, suffer me to remind you, Mr.
President, that it is the very same power, thus sanc-
tioned, in every form, by the gentleman's own opin-
ion, that is so plain and manifest a usurpation, that
the State of South Carolina is supposed to be justi-
fied in refusing submission to any laws carrying
the power into effect. Truly, sir, is not this a little
too hard? May we not crave some mercy, under fa-
vor and protection of the gentleman's own authori-
ty? Admitting that a road or a canal must be writ-
ten down flat usurpation as ever was committed,
may we find no mitigation in our respect for his
place, and his vote, as one that knows the law?

The Tariff, which South Carolina had an efficient
hand in establishing, in 1817, and this asserted po-
wer of internal improvement, advanced by her in the
same year, and as we have now seen approved and
sanctioned by her Representatives in 1824, these
two measures are the great grounds on which she is
now thought to be justified in breaking up the U-
nion, if she sees fit to break it up!

I may now safely say, I think, that we have had the
authority of leading and distinguished gentlemen
from South Carolina in support of the doctrine of
Internal Improvement. I repeat, that, up to 1824,
I, for one, followed South Carolina; but when that
star, in its ascension, veered off in an unexpected
direction, I relied on its light no longer. (Here the
Vice President said—does the Chair understand the
gentleman from Massachusetts, to say, that the per-
son now occupying the Chair of the Senate, has
changed his opinions on the subject of Internal Im-
provements?) From nothing ever said to me, sir,
have I had reason to know of any change in the op-
inions of the person filling the Chair of the Sen-
ate. If such change has taken place, I regret it; I
speak generally of the State of South Carolina. In-
dividuals we know there are, who hold opinions fa-
vorable to the power. An application for its exer-
cise, in behalf of a public work in South Carolina it-
self, is now pending, I believe, in the other House,
presented by members from that State.

I have thus, sir, perhaps not without some tedious-
ness of detail, shown, that if I am in error, on the
subject of internal improvements, low and in what
company I fell into that error. If I am wrong, it is
apparent who misled me.
I go to other remarks of the honorable member—
and I have to complain of an entire misapprehension
of what I said, on the subject of the national debt—
though I can hardly perceive how any one could mis-
understand me. What I said was, not that I wish-
ed to put off the payment of the debt, but, on the
contrary, that I had always voted for every measure
for its reduction, as uniformly as the gentleman him-
self. He seems to claim the exclusive merit of a
disposition to reduce the public charge; I do not al-
low it to him. As a debt, I was, I am, for paying it,
because it is a charge on our finances, and on the in-
dustry of the country. But, I observed, that I thought
I perceived a morbid fervor on that subject; an ex-
cessive anxiety to pay off the debt; not so much be-
cause it is a debt simply, as because, while it lasts,
it furnishes one objection to disunion. It is a tie of
common interest while it lasts. I did not impute such
motives to the honorable member himself, but that
there is such a feeling in existence, I have not a par-
ticle of doubt. The most I said was, that if one ef-
fect of the debt was to strengthen our Union, that
effect, itself, was not regretted by me, however
much others might regret it. The gentleman has
not seen how to reply to this, otherwise than by
supposing me to have advanced the doctrine, that a na-
tional debt is a national blessing. Others, I must
hope, will find less difficulty in understanding me.
I distinctly and pointedly cautioned the honorable
member not to understand me as expressing an opin-
ion favorable to the continuance of the debt. I re-
peated this caution, and repeated it more than once
—but it was thrown away.

On yet another point, I was still more unaccount-
ably misunderstood. The gentleman had unaccount-
ably misinterpreted "consolidation." I told him in reply,
that there was one kind of consolidation to which I
was attached, and that was, the consolidation of our
views; and that this was precisely that consolidation
to which I feared others were not attached. That
such consolidation was the very end of the constitu-
tion—the leading object, as they had informed us
themselves, which its framers had kept in view. I
turned to their communication, and read their very
words—"the consolidation of the Union"—and ex-
pressed my devotion to this sort of consolidation. I
said, in terms, that I wished not, in the slightest de-
gree, to augment the powers of this Government,
that my object was to preserve, not to enlarge; and
that by consolidating the Union, I understood to
more than the strengthening of the Union, and per-