

BUFFALO AND NEW-ORLEANS ROAD.

Mr. Bates's speech continued.

In the creation of the Cumberland road, Congress acted on the compact between this Government and the North-western Territory, stipulating that five per cent. of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands should be applied to making a road within and leading to that territory; they enlarged the amount expended in the construction of the road, upon that fund, and practiced the consent of the States through which it was to pass. During the interval between the year 1800 when that road was commenced, and the year 1817, the public mind was in such oscillation on this subject; it was brought up and under great discussion in this House, upon the following resolutions reported from the Committee upon the whole:

1st. That Congress has power to appropriate money for the construction of post roads, military roads, and other roads, and the improvement of water courses. This resolution was carried; yeas 90, noes 75.

2d. To construct post roads and military roads. Lost; yeas 82, noes 84.

3d. To construct roads and canals for carrying on commerce between the States. Lost; yeas 71, noes 85.

4th. To construct roads for military purposes. Lost; yeas 61, noes 83.

5th. A fifth resolution was moved, that Congress has power to appropriate money in aid of the construction of roads and canals, which shall be laid out and constructed under the authority of the Legislatures of the States, through which they pass. Negatived; yeas and noes not known.

Thus, we see, that by the solemn decision of this House in 1817, all power over this subject was repudiated in every form and shape, save only the power to appropriate money for the purpose of construction.

The bill now under consideration affirms the power to construct, in direct contradiction of the recorded opinion of this House in 1817. Thus it is as true of joys of power as it is of another passion, "that increase of appetite grows by the very food it feeds upon." Under the appropriating power, let them say to the Committee, that it appears by a report made some time since, that in the session of 1827-8, three millions of dollars worth of public lands were given to States and individuals; and that, at this very session we have applications for aid to the Portland canal, the Blackstone canal, a rail road in Georgia, another in South Carolina, and a third in Maryland; for aid to the Transylvania University, the Columbia College; and, finally, for an appropriation of \$40,000 to establish a flature of silk in Philadelphia. I might add, West and Bomb Asylums, and a long list of other benevolent projects, including a memorial from the Colonization Society; but I forbear from a fear of wearying the patience of the Committee. And last, but not least, comes this bill. As we are now about to take a new latitude and departure, it behooves us before we weigh anchor, to consider well what is the port of destination; in other words, to look along the line of time into futurity, and estimate the consequences of this system, some of the most prominent of which, it is my purpose to attempt to develop.

But first, Sir, allow me to inquire what are the advantages which are to recommend this bill to our adoption? They must be, that it is beneficial, either to commerce, or military operations, or the transportation of the mail. I will examine the subject in reference to each of these considerations. And first, as to its commercial advantages. A glance of the eye at the map of the United States, will furnish, I think, an irrefragable answer to this argument, at least in reference to the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, through which it is to pass. Nature has stamped upon the territory of each of these States, one common indelible feature. That the streams of every size, whether great or small, flow from the mountains, either Eastwardly into the Atlantic Ocean, or Westwardly through the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico. Now, Sir, the road in question, at least throughout its whole extent, in the four States which I have mentioned, runs almost at right angles with these natural channels of commercial intercourse. Whilst, then, the produce of the country seeks its market in one direction, this road passes in another; and, indeed, it coincides with the direction of commerce and these natural channels, that would be a stronger argument against it, by all the difference between the facility of water and land transportation. This road, then, cannot stand upon the fact of its commercial advantages.

As little can it be supported upon the ground of its necessity for military operations. When the gentleman speaks of the exposure of Buffalo and New-Orleans, the two termini of this gigantic road, I call upon him to say, has he forgotten the vast and expensive system of fortifications which we have created, and with

which we are surrounded, as with a wall of circumvallation? After the millions which we have expended in these, are they to be abandoned as useless, for all the purposes of defense? or, will they not be supplied with ordnance, and participated in time of war, for our protection? Does the gentleman suppose that troops are ever to be marched from Buffalo to defend Orleans, or from Orleans to defend Buffalo? Let the defence of Orleans during the late war answer the question; it was successfully—aye, gloriously defended by troops, not a man of whom was I believe, marched from North of Tennessee and Kentucky. If, contrary to every rational probability, such a thing should ever occur, where are all the mighty rivers and canals which surround our borders, and penetrate our interior country? Where, for example, is the Ohio Canal? Where that of New York? It is possible, that, in some twenty or thirty years hence, we may have war; say, if you please, in twenty years, for Ferguson in his Treatise on Civil Society, thinks that a war in every twenty years is necessary to prevent a moral rust, and the dying away of the national spirit; in that event, it is also possible that troops may be marched on this road; but if this road be constructed upon these two possibilities, does it not strike the mind of every man who hears me, that the same thing may possibly happen to every road in the Union; and that, therefore, every road may be created as being necessary for military operations? Sir, the extent of the system, which this reasoning would justify, would be unlimited, and illimitable. The gentleman alludes us with the enormous expense incurred during the late war in the transportation of provisions and the material of war, to our Northern and Northwestern frontiers. Does he not remember that the two great canals of New York and Ohio have both been constructed since that period; both leading directly to these points? Does he not also remember, that the frontiers of both of these States have, since that time, been overspread with an overflowing tide of emigration; covering the face of the country with arable fields, where the towering forests then stood, and intersecting it every where with the roads necessary for their own accommodation? Sir, the difficulties which then existed, have sunk beneath the enterprise of our people, and the irresistible force of circumstances. Let us now, for a short time, examine this question in relation to the transportation of the mail.

The whole length of the road, we are given to understand, will be fifteen hundred miles, which, at the estimated cost of \$1500 per mile, will amount to two and a quarter millions of dollars. This, Sir, is the supposed cost of making the roads of convex earth, without the use of either stone or gravel. My experience here, has satisfied me, that what is at first estimated as the whole cost, generally turns out to be but one of several instalments necessary to the completion of any great work; let the road be constructed in the manner provided in this bill, and at some after time, we shall be told that it must be furnished with stone or gravel; nay, it is possible that it must be made a rail road; how many additional millions that may cost, I leave it to the committee to conjecture. Indeed, Sir, during this session, I have seen a report, which, if I mistake not, (and I speak from a doubtful memory, subject to correction) estimates the cost of this road, constructed as a proper turnpike, at eleven and a half millions. But let us take even the sum of two and a quarter millions, the estimate of the cost of the plan now proposed; the interest of that sum, at six per cent. is \$135,000; I state the interest at six per cent., because, though the Government could borrow at home, probably, at four and a half, and in England or Holland, at three, yet, the legal interest throughout the United States varies from six to eight; as the amount will be drawn from the pockets of the people, it would be worth at least six per cent. to them. Now, Sir, I learn that the average cost of transporting the mail triweekly, in a stage coach, would not in the more important parts of the country, exceed, if it equalled fifteen dollars per mile. A report, however, of the Postmaster General, made in the year 1824, states the cost of thus transporting the mail from this city to Orleans, at \$52.75 per mile; even at this extravagant rate, the whole transportation of the mail from Buffalo to Orleans, would be less than \$80,000, whilst the annual interest of the cost of the road, without stone or gravel, has been above to be \$172,000; they exceed, in annual interest, the whole cost of transportation, by more than 235,000; in this respect, then, I put it to the candid consideration of the committee, whether the proposed expenditure can be judicious? The answer must be obvious to the minds of all who hear me. What, let me ask, is the equivalent promised for such a waste of money? Why, the mail will probably pass a few days sooner, between these two points. In the present condition of the road, however, if I mistake not, the message of the President to this Congress, was carried from Washington to Orleans in five and a half days; I am well aware that that extraordinary

velocity was the result of a great effort, in communicating to the public a document in which they felt an interest; but if such speed as this be possible by any effort, the committee will be able to judge how much additional time is necessary, with that diligence, which, in the ordinary transportation of the mail, is now usually practiced.

I have thus far, Mr. Chairman, been engaged in examining the supposed advantages of this road. Suffer me now, Sir, to present the other side of the question; a view of the disadvantages, of the many mighty objections founded upon the injustice, the inexpediency, the injurious political effects of this system of internal improvement, if persevered in. In doing this, I shall, nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.

When I shall have finished this view, I will only ask you to "look upon this picture and upon this;" and to say which of the two is the most accurate representation of the case, and to decide accordingly. Sir, I beg the committee to understand, that the objections which I am now about to urge, apply to the whole system of internal improvements, embracing this road as one link in the mighty chain; if the system, as such, is to prevail, then I feel no manner of interest or concern in the defeat of this or any other particular object; for though a single object may occasionally fail, by an accidental concurrence of votes, yet all the evils which I anticipate to my country would be realized; and in the general, nay, universal scramble for the spoils of the treasury, a few millions dilapidated here or there, would be but as a drop in the bucket; and the whole treasury, of minor importance compared with the injurious consequences which sooner or later, in my opinion, will follow, in the train of a system calculated to affect so fatally the destinies of the republic.

The first objection which presents itself to the action of this Government, has relation to the subject of economy. A knowledge of human nature will teach us, that the surest safeguard in this respect, is the keen sighted vigilance of self interest. This principle burns with an indistinguishable ardor, in the heart of man; and if it does not point to its object, with an invariable certainty as the needle to the pole, it is only because we may sometimes mistake the direction; if, therefore, individual means were adequate to the effecting any given purpose, upon them we might always rely with the greatest safety; but if governmental aid be necessary, then we may rely that the object will be most economically executed, under the superintendence of the States. Sir, the great advantages of embracing individual interest in such enterprises, are—1st. That they will never engage in them at all unless they will probably yield a reasonable profit; and 2d. That when they do engage in them, they will use their utmost endeavors to reduce the expense to the smallest possible amount. The State of Virginia is acting mainly upon this principle, in her system of internal improvements; they have provided, that when, to effect any given object, individuals will subscribe three-fifths of the sum required, the State will furnish the remainder; thus securing the guaranty of self-interest against the application of public money to any unproductive or visionary scheme. But the States, with out the aid even of private interest, will most probably waste less than the Federal Government; they have much less scope for their action, and much fewer objects to which to direct their attention; they have fewer again to whom to confide their management, and the supervising power is nearer the scene of operation; but, above all, the people, for whose benefit the money is expended, are the same by whose contributions the money to be expended is raised; whilst, under our system, it may happen, and often does happen, that whilst one portion of the community get the benefit of an improvement, they furnish no part of the means, as in the case of donations of the public lands; and even where money is advanced from the treasury, they may have furnished a very small and unequal share. If this policy be pursued by the States, as it usually is, of always having individual interest engaged, there is a fair prospect of the money invested producing a reasonable profit, and in that event, through the medium of dividends, there is restored to the public treasury a sum equal to the interest of the capital advanced. However this reasoning may apply to those cases in which the United States subscribe to works undertaken by individuals, or corporations, it surely has no application to those which the Government undertake on its own account, to have executed; and in those works which the States themselves execute by their own means, they endeavor by tolls to reimburse the treasury for the disbursement, which, in the case of the United States, is not done.

Self-interest, then, may be considered as the central point of economy; the State and Federal Governments as concentric circles drawn round that centre; the States being the smaller and the Federal Government the larger; and it is not more true in mathematics, that the radii which pass from a common centre must

be longer in reaching the circumference of a larger, than those which will touch the one of a smaller circle; than it is, that by how much the Federal Government is further removed from the point of self interest than the State Government, by so much is economy in the expenditure of public money diminished. For a practical illustration of this truth, I appeal to the Cumberland road, which, for a distance of about 150 miles, I suppose must have cost between a million and a half and two millions of dollars.

[To be continued.]
Washington, April 5, 1830.

We publish the following remarks of Mr. Carson, of North Carolina, as the best commentary upon the scurrilous attack on that gentleman, in the National Journal:

Remarks of Mr. Carson, in the House of Representatives on Thursday, the 1st ult. in reply to the observations of Mr. W. B. Sheppard, on the Buffalo and New Orleans Road Bill.

Mr. CARSON said, I rise, Mr. CHAIRMAN, not to make a speech, but to notice a remark which fell from my colleague, (Mr. W. B. SHEPPARD) which, to say the least of it, was uncalled for. My colleague said, Sir, (in speaking of the story of "a bargain and corruption" by which the last administration were hurried from power, &c.) "that no honorable man now believed the slander. It had long since been consigned to the kennel of forgotten calumnies."

Sir, I know not what opinion my colleague holds of me. The friendship and respect, however, which I felt for him, induced a hope that he entertained similar feelings towards me, and I should be sorry to hold any "belief" which would forfeit them. But, Sir, I do not believe, and have always believed since I heard of the election of J. Q. Adams, which took place on this floor, and I shall continue to believe, that that election was carried by "bargain, intrigue and combination, whether corruption entered into the arrangement, I leave to be determined by those concerned. This, Sir, I have spoken upon this floor, I have written it to my constituents, and spoken it too while among them; and, Sir, I did so from the fullest conviction of its truth. It was the very grounds upon which my opposition was first raised, the most prominent upon which it was prosecuted; and it will always be a gratifying recollection, that my public arm was raised, and my aid willingly given to hurl them from their ill-gotten power.

This same remark, Sir, was made by a Senator (Mr. WEBSTER) nearly verbatim, in the other branch of Congress. I do not mean by saying this, to charge my colleague with plagiarism; no doubt the remark was original with him; but it was made in the Senate, and I thought then ought to have been noticed. Yet, Sir, I probably should not now have noticed it, had it not fallen from a source so respectable as from a colleague. So far as regards myself, Sir, I desire to set him right; and however sceptical he, or others may be, upon this subject; or however they may doubt the correctness of the charge, I do say, fearless of contradiction, that in the election of John Q. Adams, there was a combination founded in corruption, and if every impartial, unbiased mind, on a full view of all the facts and circumstances, comes not to the same conclusion, they must at least admit that those facts and circumstances go as strong to prove the point as were ever brought to bear in any case. And I now repeat that I do believe, a more shameful and corrupt bargain was never consummated against the rights of freemen. Nor did one more disgraceful in its character, ever sully the annals of any nation.

[U. S. Telegraph.]

Extract of a Letter to the Editors, dated

WASHINGTON, MARCH 24, 1830.

"It seems every where, to be the wish of the friends of reform throughout the nation, that President Jackson should consent to be a candidate for re-election. Indeed it could not be well otherwise. They elected him to purify the Government, and to reform abuses, a task that evidently requires time, talent and great decision of character to effect. He has but just commenced the work we have given him to perform. Our opponents ask us sneeringly, what have we done, and we answer, that we have not done as much as we could have wished."

"In one department, much has already been done. I allude to the savings in the Navy, under the able and efficient management of Governor BRANCH. The naval expenditures in 1828, were \$3,925,362 From March 1829, to March 1830, 3,149,549 Making a saving of \$776,813

In favor of the first year of the present administration, over the preceding year of the last administration, in the expenses of supporting the Navy." [U. S. Sentinel]

Public Debt.—The Secretary of the Treasury has given notice to the proprietors of the six per cent. stock created by the act of March 3d, 1815, that the certificates of the said stock, amounting in the whole to six millions four hundred and forty thousand five hundred and forty six dollars and seventeen cents, will be paid on the first day of July next, to the proprietors thereof, or their legal representatives or attorneys, duly constituted, on the presentation and surrender of the said certificates at the Treasury, or at the Loan Office, where the same may stand certified. No transfer will be allowed after the last day of June next.

Mr. Livingston.—The Washington correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce, noticing the "great debate" in the Senate, says—

"I heard Mr. Livingston with much satisfaction. He is a model of dignity and decorum in the Senate. You will be delighted with most of his views. He denounced most vehemently the tariff. On the whole, I esteem Mr. Livingston a ripe and liberal statesman, and wish we had a few more such in the Senate."

From late English papers.

A suspension bridge is about to be built at Bristol, England, over the Avon, to be constructed at a height of 210 feet above high water mark. It will be carried from the summit of St. Vincent's Rock, on the Gloucestershire side of the river to a point of Rock in Leigh Woods, on the Somersetshire side.

About 8000 persons had applied for relief in Edinburgh. Only 100 pounds had been raised to relieve them.

A very daring forgery was discovered yesterday week in the Consols Office, at the Bank, where a person had obtained the dividend on 106,070 Consols, by personating the real holder and counterfeiting his signature. The amount thus obtained was 7990, and the forgery not discovered till the true claimant, whose name is Thomas Ubbish, presented himself, as usual, to sign for his dividend. The money was taken out chiefly in notes of 150 each, of which only one has come back to the Bank, so that the offender will probably be detected. Of course the loss falls on the Bank.

The members of the French Topographical brigade in Greece have suffered severely from sickness. All the members of the expedition except four or five have died.

No less than 95,000 offenders are said to have been committed within the year, to different prisons in England and Wales, the expense of which establishments exceeds half a million.

From the Wilmington, (Del.) Gazette, April 6.

Chancellor Ridgely is no more!—It has become our painful duty to record the death of the Hon. Nicholas Ridgely, Chancellor of the State of Delaware. A letter from a friend in Georgetown, informs us that he had been holding his Court, on the 1st inst. and about nine o'clock in the evening retired to bed, apparently as well as usual, but in about thirty minutes after, his body was a lifeless corpse! He had lived to an advanced age, and was full of years and honors.

Mr. Clay has lately eaten another public dinner at Natchez, and made a public speech. A tremendous eater, that same Clay. If he doesn't believe away all his stall feeding, he will unquestionably go the farthest candidate in the Presidential market. Camden Journal.

Singular.—A coloured child was born in this town, a few weeks since, without eyes. The outward conformation of the parts is perfect, except that there is no appearance of eyeballs. The child is healthy, as are also its parents. Fayetteville Journal.

Fire.—We understand, with much regret, that the office of John B. Kelley Esq. of Moore County was consumed by fire, a short time since, with all its contents, consisting of his library, valuable papers and furniture. As Mr. Kelley was from home and the office had not been occupied for some days, the fire was, no doubt, the work of some malignant incendiary.

A valuable Mill of Mr. Kelly's was burnt within the last twelve months, and this also was the effect of design. [U. S. Sentinel]

White's—Gallatin and White, of New York, have just issued from the press, an abridgement of the great work of our American Johnson, which is of the same size with what are called ordinarily pocket dictionaries, but contains many more words than any of them with which we are acquainted.

Push on—keep moving!—The Detroit Gazette says, "By a letter received here a few days since, we learn that one hundred and fifty families, from the county of Chataque, New York, are prepared to emigrate to this territory, as soon as navigation opens. The St. Joseph country, it is added, is to be their location."