

# Western Carolinian.

SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C. TUESDAY, MAY 14, 1830.

[VOL. X. NO. 518.]

## INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

### BUFFALO AND NEW-ORLEANS ROAD.

Mr. Barber's Speech continued.

I come, now, to another serious objection; I mean the inequality in the distribution of our favors. The theory of our constitution, undeniably is, that the contributions of the people of the United States should, as nearly as possible, be equal. Thus, it is provided that direct taxes shall be apportioned amongst the several States, according to their population; that duties, imposts and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States; and that no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce, to the ports of one State over those of another; but of what avail is it, to secure equality in contribution, or to attempt to secure it, if the moment the contribution is made, the whole effect may be instantly destroyed by gross inequality in making appropriations? This idea may be forcibly illustrated by a familiar example, drawn from common life. Suppose, Sir, you and myself being about to embark in a common enterprise, each with great accuracy contributes precisely equal sums, and the very moment the fund was thus formed, you were at liberty to apply the whole amount to your own use,—would it not be mockery in such a case to talk of any substantial equality? In the execution of this system it will be in the power of this Government, at its pleasure or caprice, to increase the wealth of one portion of the Union, and to diminish that of another, without any restraint whatever. Let me suppose a case or two. Suppose the Cumberland road had been extended to Baltimore, no one will deny that the commerce of that city would have been benefited; of this, Maryland seems to have been aware, because she has constructed a turnpike from Cumberland to Baltimore; but, on the contrary, that road had been conducted from some point on the Ohio to Philadelphia, then that city would have received the advantage; and thus the one or the other city might be increased in property at the expense of the other, just as the one or the other might be given to the road. I will put a stronger case. Suppose New York had not been able, with her own means, to execute her great Erie Canal, and that State and Louisiana had both applied to this Government for aid at the same time, the one to have made the Erie Canal, so as to connect that Lake with the city of New York, the other to improve the Mississippi and all its tributary streams,—is it not obvious, that, according as we had executed the one or the other project, we should have built up the city of New Orleans on the one hand, or that of New York on the other? Sir, from these examples, it is impossible not to see, that the relative wealth and importance of the different portions of the Union, might be made to depend upon the favor which they might respectively find here. Mr. Chairman, our revenue being raised almost exclusively by imposts, the attention of the people at large is not drawn to the subject. To test the justice and policy of this system, I appeal to gentlemen to say, whether they would venture to impose a direct tax to the amount of millions, and then apply the proceeds to the improvement of particular parts of the country? I undertake to answer no; and let me tell them, that if they were to try the experiment, the people would soon arrest them in their course. We sometimes hear it said, that as the United States are one great whole, whatever benefits one of the parts is a benefit to the whole. This, Sir, I acknowledge, is too lofty a magnanimity, too expensive a patriotism for me to pretend to. Say what you will, reason as you will, as long as man is man, the States and the people of the States will never forget their individuality; they will never consent that the fruits of their labor shall go to enrich others. Let me test this principle by a case. I suppose that some five or six millions would probably improve all the important rivers in Virginia. I read upon the members from Massachusetts, to say, whether they would impose a direct tax. If they would not, and I am sure they have too much candor to say that they would, then this high minded indifference will do well, "to point a moral or adorn a tale," but will not do for practical life.

Now, Mr. Chairman, is the objection on account of inequality at all obviated, by the common remark, that our resources are to be applied to national objects? National objects! Where is the criterion by which we are to decide? What comes up to this standard, and what does not? We have none but the opinions of members here; and whenever the question comes to be decided, rest assured that each individual member will think that the project which he presents has the stamp of *nationality*. And what, Sir, will be the necessary result in practice? I make no invidious distinctions between North and South, East and West; we are all men, and have all the feelings and passions of men; many projects will be presented at a given session, the disposable funds will not be adequate to the completion of them all; then will come "the tug of war," and the struggle, who shall succeed and who must be disappointed. No one or two of the objects can be carried by themselves, but must get their passport by the company which they are in. Sir, the inevitable result will be, combinations and arrangements so as to unite a sufficient force, to carry through a number of different objects, neither by its own intrinsic weight, but all, by the united weight of all. This will generate feuds and bickerings, in those who are defeated. It will, it would seem, for the one party, be a bitter struggle, for the other States or individuals, without murmuring and discontent, to stand by and see a fund divided, in which they have a common interest, and of which they are not allowed to participate. They will never be satisfied by telling them, that their objects were not national, whilst the others were. They will think otherwise; and they will tell the participants in the spoil, that they had decided the question of nationality in their own case, and then enjoyed the fruits of that decision.

Mr. Chairman, I am no apostle of division; I look to the confederacy of these States as to the ark of our political salvation; may God grant that it may be perpetual! Sir, I go further and say, that I come not here with any language of menace; but as the representative of a portion of the people of this country, I have a right to use the language of *exposition*; in that language, then, Sir, let me warn this committee, that there are already points of difference

amongst the States of this Union, enough to inspire us all with a spirit of moderation and forbearance. A minority, it is true, but a very large minority of the people, have calmly protested against some of the leading principles of policy of this Government; Virginia, N. & South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, all tell you that they feel themselves to be oppressed. Will you turn a deaf ear to their complaints? Will you pay no respect to the opinion of a large and respectable portion of the community? Will you, because you are a majority, feel power and forget right? What more could the veriest despot do? Sir, the machine of government may, for a time, be propelled by a given momentum, though many of its parts work not at all in concert; but sooner or later it must be worn too much by excessive friction, or possibly it may become so disordered as to be unable to perform its functions.

What makes this system still more obnoxious is, that some of the States of this Union believe that this power does not reside in Congress, and therefore, cannot participate of the bounty of this Government, even if it were offered to them. Sir, I do not mean to violate my promise, that I would not discuss this question, but I may, consistently with the propriety of my own speech, discuss the propriety of a principle recommended by two distinguished American statesmen, to abstain from the exercise of a doubtful power. Suppose that you may, as has been said, "by hanging inference on inference, until, like Jacob's ladder, they reach to Heaven," come to the conclusion, that the power is with you, I ask, emphatically, is it not reason enough to forbear its exercise, when so many of the States believe it to be a violation of the compact of their union with you? Will you, can you, consistently with justice, proceed in the distribution of a common fund, when so many of the joint owners must, according to their own sense of duty, either be forever excluded from their equal share, or procure it only by sacrificing their solemn convictions of what is right, to their interest? Though you constitute a majority, yet let me remind you of this eternal truth, that the acts of a majority to be *rightful*, must be *just*.

Mr. Chairman, we seem to have reached an interesting crisis in our political history. During the war of the revolution, the whole energies of our people were concentrated in support of that great struggle, and they went together with one heart and one hand. During the interval between that and the late war, our strenuous efforts were exerted to repair the mischiefs of the first war; to build up a new government; to put into operation; restore our public credit, and by every means in our power, to acquire a stand amongst the nations of the earth. The late war again put into requisition all our civil and military energies in vindication of our national honor. Since its termination, a new era has opened upon us. With nothing seriously to disturb us from abroad, we are left to look at home. The action of the government has now turned inwards, with an overflowing revenue, and a near approach to the extinguishment of our public debt. New schemes of policy are devised; new principles of government avowed. I fear, Sir, that we may find, as other nations have found, that a period of peace, however desirable in itself, is precisely that in which our government is to be put to its severest trial. Amidst the din of arms, or in the great effort to build up political establishments, the selfish passions are in a great degree absorbed in the more important objects to be effected. These causes being removed, there is now full scope for their action, and it calls for all our firmness and all our patriotism to prevent the injurious effects. Sir, if this government would confine its action to those great objects, which, in my estimation, its founders intended, such as war, peace, negotiation, foreign commerce, &c. and leave every thing municipal in its nature to the States, we should go on in harmonious concert; and peace, content, and happiness, would prevail throughout our borders. In relation to these great questions, there is a community of interest throughout the Union; as, on the one hand, these must be acted upon by the federal government, so, on the other, its action upon them is not, in its nature, necessarily calculated to create strife and conflict amongst the different parts of this great whole. Sir, it is when we pass beyond this line and intrude upon the field of municipal legislation; when we act on subjects in which the different States have different and opposing interests; in which the benefit we extend to one is at the expense of another; and in which each State can best act for itself; it is by this course that we are converting content into discontent, harmony into discord, and bringing into direct conflict those differ-

ent interests which, if acted on internally by this Government, would afford the strongest cement to the Union. The natural pursuits of the North, for example, are those of commerce and navigation; that of the South, is agriculture. Let each be managed at home.—I mean in their internal operation.—and they are the allies of each other; the Northern merchants and ship owners are the buyers and transporters of Southern produce; and the South purchase the imported goods of the North; but the moment this Government attempts to control and regulate the whole, then the conflict begins; for then the regulation which advances the interest of one, by the same operation injures that of the other.

Sir, there are strong objections to this system, arising from the difficulty of executing it. If a road is to be constructed by our authority, we must have power to demand the land for its site—timber, stone and gravel for its construction. How are these to be obtained? The Constitution forbids us from taking private property without just compensation. To make this, we must, by our officers, summon juries, condemn the requisite land, value the stone, timber, &c. Is this not municipal legislation? The bill in question would give the power to this purpose the owners of the soil, to refuse, by contract, to supply these things, you must go into this whole process. Again, Sir, after the roads shall have been constructed, they must be kept in repair. Shall it be done by a perpetual drain upon the Treasury, or will you proceed to erect toll gates? Sir, this has been attempted in the case of the Cumberland road, but we have not yet screwed our courage up to this point. Here let me remind you of the solemn conviction of some of the States, that you cannot erect these gates. Will you, in the face of this, press on and put such States in the painful dilemma of restricting your authority, or yielding up what they believe to be their rights? God forbid that the experiment should be made! I would not have one serious conflict with a single State for all the roads which you will ever make.

Sir, there is one argument addressed to the States, which charms like the Syren's song, which I beg leave to examine closely, and to expose to the people at large; I wish to prove to them, and think I can, to demonstration, that they are under utter delusion in relation to it. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has given us a glowing description of the value of good roads, and other channels of communication; they enhance the value of land, they diminish the price of transportation, they almost annihilate time and space, and, in the fashionable figure of speech, they are to the body politic, what the veins and arteries are to the body natural. The gentleman, not content with mere description of their value, has held up to us in bold relief, the thousands of turnpikes constructed by Napoleon, the splendid bridges, &c.; he might have added the 18,000 miles of turnpike in England; he might have gone further back, to the time of Louis 14th, the Grand Monarque, and described the Canal of Languedoc; he might have gone further back, to Henry 4th of France, and spoken of the splendid road constructed by Sully from Paris towards Brussels, adorned with triple rows of elms; nay, Sir, he might have gone back further still, and spoken of the magnificent aqueduct of Rome, near Appian and Emilian ways.

This, Sir, is the splendid illusion which charms and captivates our people; until this shall be dispelled, they can never be brought to dispassionate reasoning on the subject. I wish the gentleman had held up to our view, on the same canvass, the thousands of miles of turnpike in England; and the tens of thousands of people, who either go supperless to bed, or are driven by taxation to live on the least sustenance which will support human life; and the 7000 Irishmen, the most brave and the most persecuted people on earth, who subsist, as O'Connell tells us, each upon three half pence per day; so, on the French canvass, he should have presented the roads, the canals, the bridges, and, at the same time, the ruinous, primitive and oppressive public and corvee; so, on the Roman canvass, he should have presented the splendid aqueduct and the paved ways, and at the same time, he should have told us, in the eloquent language of a modern writer, "that the pavement and ruins of Rome are buried in dust shaken from the feet of barbarians." Sir, let it not be supposed, that I am hostile to good roads and canals; the gentleman may exhaust himself in their eulogy, and I shall not object; by rightful means let mountains be levelled, valleys filled up—even the Appalachian mountains, if you please, subdued by the hand of man. The value of all this concludes nothing against my argument; it does not at all touch the question at issue

between the gentleman and myself; that question is, not whether these things are useful—for that nobody denies—but it is how, and by whom, the improvements shall be made? The gentleman says, they should be made here; I say, that they should be made by the States; when those made, we shall enjoy all their utility, and that only; when made by this Government, I believe, for the reasons I have already stated, and others, which I shall hereafter urge, that the system will eventually destroy the independence of the States; that the States, in their great independence, are the pillars which support our great political fabric; that, if these be weakened, the whole fabric will crumble into atoms, and fall, with a tremendous crash; that, with it, will fall our political liberty, which, in the language of Cató, I value more than houses, villas, statues, pictures—and I will add, roads, canals, and bridges. Give me a people who are free, happy, and not oppressively taxed, though in the plain garb of republican simplicity, rather than one weighed down by oppression, though surrounded by all the monuments of the arts. A nation in this last condition, may be aptly represented by the description which has been given of a splendid city, "seen at a distance, and held only lofty turrets, magnificent steeples, and superb edifices; but when you shall have entered in, and taken a closer view, you find wretched hovels, dark and narrow alleys, which shut out the light of heaven, and, I will add, many of those who inhabit these abodes, with famine in their eyes, and ragged misery on their backs."

I now beg leave to address myself to the sober sense, the interest, nay, the pride of the States, and the people of the States, and to say, as I will clearly show, that if, instead of heaping up their treasure here, they will keep it at home, they can execute for themselves all their splendid works, so eloquently described by the gentleman, without coming here, in the language of supplication, to beg us to do it for them; and that they will then maintain their independence, and continue to occupy their place as a respectable constellation in the political firmament, and not, like little twinkling stars, be so eclipsed by the meridian blaze of this Federal sun, as not to emit light enough even to make "darkness visible."

I ask the attention of the Committee, whilst I exhibit to them some plain and practical proofs of this proposition.

The revenue of the United States, which is the fund by which these improvements are to be executed, is derived by the contribution of the people of the States. It unquestionably cannot be good policy for the States to furnish it to this government; to be redistributed by us, in the form of internal improvement, if that re-distribution be made in proportion to the respective contributions; for then it is apparent, that the portion which each State would thus receive back, would be less than that which it had advanced, by the amount of the expense of collection; what, then, is the only remaining part of the alternative? Why, Sir, that the re-distribution must necessarily be unequal. To those States which may receive more than their proportionate share, I propound this solemn question: Is it reconcilable with the principles of justice, for them to make such a demand? To those which, on the contrary, may receive less than their due share, I put this question: Are you prepared thus to sacrifice your own interests, to give up the fruits of your own labor, to gratify the cupidity of those who, in the distribution of a common fund, clutch at more than the eternal principles of justice authorize them to ask? The demand of the one class would be as incompatible with the immutable principles of right, as the sacrifice of the other would be at war with their self-preservation. Sir, the force of this argument is infinitely increased by the consideration, that, as it has already happened, so it would most probably hereafter happen, that the States which contributed the least, would be precisely those which would receive the most—thus presenting the injustice of such a course, in the most vivid lights of contrast. And will the States which are to be the losers by this operation, continue longer blind to the plainest dictates of interest, and act as willing instruments in the promotion of the very scheme which is thus to injure them? Do they not, must they not perceive, that it can only be pressed for, by those States which are to profit by it? If they were to receive their fair portion, they would, at least, as I have said, suffer the loss of the expense of collection; if they were to receive less than their due share, this loss would be greatly increased; it is only, then, because they expect, and intend to receive more, that they can desire it; but whatever they receive more

At the request of many of our patrons, and in pursuance of the promise of the Editors, the following is published in this issue, a list of the names of the subscribers to the Western Carolinian, for the year 1830. The names of those who have not yet paid their subscription, are marked with an asterisk. The names of those who have paid their subscription, are marked with a check mark. The names of those who have not yet paid their subscription, are marked with an asterisk. The names of those who have paid their subscription, are marked with a check mark.

## NEW CHEAP STORE.

ALL NEW GOODS.  
H. Hackett and Samuel Lemly,  
HAVING formed a Copartnership in the Mercantile Business, under the firm of Hackett & Lemly; beg leave to inform their friends and the public, that they are now receiving and opening, in the House lately occupied by Daniel H. Cross, on Main street, directly opposite J. Murphy's, a general and handsome assortment of

## ENTIRELY NEW GOODS.

For cash, in New-York and Philadelphia, of the latest importations. Which they will sell as low as Goods can be had in this part of the country. They respectfully invite their acquaintances, and all who may wish to examine their stock, to call and satisfy themselves, as to the quality of the goods, the lowness of the prices, and the variety of the assortment.  
Salisbury, May 5th, 1830.  
N. E. Hackett & Lemly have a lot back of their store, and opposite Mowry's Blacksmith's Shop, provided for the accommodation of their friends, with racks and troughs, convenient for fishing and feeding trout.

## New Cheap Store.

CLAYLAND & TORRENCE.  
R. M. CLAYLAND and A. TORRENCE, having formed a copartnership in the Mercantile Business, under the above firm, beg leave respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Salisbury and the surrounding country, that they have just returned from New York and Philadelphia, with a beautiful assortment of New Style, Fancy and Staple GOODS, which have been selected from the latest importations, and will be offered at a very small advance for cash. Purchasers are invited to call and view their assortment.  
Salisbury, April 5, 1830.

## No longer to be "put off."

THE Notes and accounts of A. Torrence, and A. Torrence & Co. are placed in the hands of C. L. Torrence, for collection; and I would advise those interested, to call on him before ten days before May Court.  
A. TORRENCE.  
April 17th, 1830.

## Hampton & Palmer.

H. Hampton and J. Palmer, watch and clock makers, silversmiths and jewelers, for the purpose of carrying on the business, in all its various branches, in the town of Salisbury. They occupy the New Shop, built by James B. Hampton, adjoining his dwelling—on Main street, 6 or 7 doors south of the Court House.  
They will carefully repair all kinds of Watches, Clocks, and Time-Pieces, and warrant them to perform well. And are prepared to manufacture, and will keep on hand for sale, all descriptions of Silver Ware, such as Spoons, Ladles, Sugar Tongs, &c. Work sent from a distance will be promptly executed, and safely returned according to directions.  
A good assortment of JEWELRY will be kept constantly on hand, and sold low for cash.  
JAMES B. HAMPTON,  
JOHN C. PALMER.  
Salisbury, April 2d, 1830.  
James B. Hampton tenders his grateful acknowledgements to the public, for the liberal patronage hitherto extended to himself individually, and respectfully asks a continuance of it to the firm of which he is a partner. N. B. Those indebted to him, are earnestly desired to liquidate their accounts as soon as possible; as his new arrangement makes it necessary old stores should be settled up.

## A Neat Dwelling.

In the Town of Salisbury, for sale.  
THIS property is pleasantly situated in the most agreeable part of the town, and is very suitable for a small family. The lot is spacious, and contains a very good garden, with much rare shrubbery. The terms can be made easy, as the most of the purchase money can be paid by note in the Bank, on the usual terms of accommodation. Persons wishing to purchase, can apply to Mr. E. Allom, or to David E. Caldwell, Esq. (who is authorized to make title,) and the terms can be known.  
H. C. JONES.  
Feb'y. 20th, 1830.

## Windsor Chair & Bed-Stead MAKING.

THE subscriber very respectfully informs the public, that he has, and will continue to keep on hand, a large supply of high, half-high, and low Windsor Chairs, and Bed-Steads, made to order, and at the most reasonable rates.

## BED-STEADS.

THE subscriber has on hand, a full supply of elegant well made Windsor Chairs, Settees, &c. made to order, and at the most reasonable rates.

## SIDEBOARDS & BUREAUS.

Orders from a distance will meet with punctual attention; and all kind of Repairs, in his line, will meet with due attendance.  
His terms will be accommodating. Country produce will be taken in part pay for work.  
The subscriber returns his acknowledgements for the liberal encouragement he has heretofore received, and hopes to merit a continuance of public patronage.  
WM. R. HUGHES.  
Salisbury, April 2d, 1830.