

# Western Carolinian.

It is even wise to abstain from laws, which however wise and good in themselves, have the semblance of inequality which find no response in the heart of the citizen, and which will be evaded with little remorse.

Dr. Channing.

[BY BUTTON CRAIGE.]

SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C....MONDAY JUNE 18, 1832.

[VOL. XIII. NO. 625]

## TERMS.

The WESTERN CAROLINIAN is published once a week at Two Dollars per annum, and within these months—two dollars and fifty cents, if paid at any time during the year. No Paper will be discontinued until all arrears are paid, unless at the Editor's discretion—No subscription will be received for a less time than one year.

A failure to notify the Editor of a wish to discontinue, one month before the expiration of a year, will be considered as a new engagement.

Any person procuring six solvent subscribers to the Carolinian, shall have a seventh paper gratis.

Advertising at the usual rates.

All letters addressed to the Editor must be post paid or they will not be attended to.

These terms will be strictly adhered to.

## INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.

### SPEECH OF MR. HALL.

OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

In the House of Representatives—Saturday, May 5, 1832.

Amendments of Mr. Verplanck, making appropriations for Internal Improvements for certain rivers, bays, harbours, &c. being under consideration in Committee of the Whole. Mr. HALL, of North Carolina, offered an amendment to come in after the item for removing obstructions at Ocracoke inlet. The amendment is as follows: "For the removal of the mud shoal below the town of Washington, North Carolina, and a bed of reefs which obstruct the passage of vessels in the river."

Mr. Hall, in explanation of his amendment, said, that he did not wish to impose upon members of that House, they knew generally, that he did not feel so liberty to vote for subjects of this character, but he wished to put it into the power of those who did feel themselves at liberty to apply the public money to such purposes, to apply it where it would be of some use to some of his constituents; and partially to put it in the power of gentlemen who seemed as desirous of giving something to his constituents to do it where it would be attended with practical utility. This object was, from its nature and location, as much entitled to an appropriation as any item in the bill. The shoal to which he alluded, was known to be an impediment to vessels going to or from Washington, loaded, and they had generally to lay below this shoal and lighten by boats.

Mr. H. believed the removal of this obstruction not only practicable, but, at a comparatively small expense, aided by the machine employed at the swash, as he was compelled to believe uselessly. The object is, according to the doctrine of gentlemen, as much national as any of the works appropriated for in this bill. It has all the attributes of nationality claimed for works of this character. It is an obstruction to commerce, it is within a collection district, near a custom house, and therefore, according to the late doctrines that, whatever is within a collection district becomes national, and, therefore, constitutional, is of consequence entitled to an appropriation. The shoals alluded to, though their removal is not altogether as important as the removal of the shoal, are yet entitled, upon the principles already stated, to be considered as good national shoals as any in the Union. He again repeated, he would not deceive gentlemen even if this amendment was admitted into the bill, as he thought, upon their own principles, it ought to be, he should still be obliged to vote against the bill. Mr. H. wished others to preserve their consistency—he meant to preserve his—but these who voted for any similar object, he conceived bound to vote for this.

After some remarks from Messrs. Archer and Alexander, of Virginia, Mr. Hall observed, he presumed, from the manner in which the gentleman, (Mr. Archer,) had asked me questions, and from the expression of his countenance, he did not require an answer to them all, which, indeed he could not give, because they formed a string as long as his arm, and many of them he could not recollect. But he would answer the first which he did recollect, and say that, there really was such a place as he had mentioned. He had stated what was known to all the inhabitants of the town of Washington and surrounding country—and, though the subject had assumed some appearance of a joke, yet it was a true joke, and he knew it to be the wish, as it would be to the interest of these people, to have the obstruction removed, and he (himself) would as soon vote for it as any item in the bill, or any thing of the kind. (Mr. Alexander,) by way of explanation, that it was not the swash which he was understood to allude to when, in conversation, he said it had been made worse—it was another place in North Carolina. But, in relation to the swash, he would only say, that he did not believe that either much good or harm could be done to it, permanently, nor did he believe that the whole corps of engi-

niers, with the whole force of uncle Sam, could permanently remove the obstructions to the navigation and commerce of North Carolina. God and nature, he thought, had, in their modus operandi of creating these obstructions, determined pretty clearly that mortal man should not have any modus operandi by which, effectually to remove them. He had desired to avoid saying any thing at present on this subject, because he knew it to be a favorite project with his colleague, (Mr. Speight,) but as it had been mentioned, and he had been drawn into remarks relative to it, he would say that, if any one would contemplate with proper attention, the elements which enter into the formation of these obstructions, they would see the futility of wasting money on them. When, on Saturday the 7th, the same subject came up in the House, Mr. Hall objected to the appropriation for Ocracoke, but previous to giving his reasons for so doing, said, he wished to make some explanations in relation to the amendment he had previously offered in committee, and should again offer in the House. He then went into such explanations as the case required, similar to those already stated, and called upon the colleague, (Mr. Speight,) to say of his statements were not correct. Sir, said he, I know my colleague to be in possession of such information as will sustain me in what I have said in regard to this subject. He is a swift witness in this case.

[Here Mr. Speight asked, what he meant by a swift witness?]

Mr. H. said, he means a good witness—a competent witness—a witness having full knowledge of the subject—and he protested against its being supposed that he intended any thing in the slightest degree unkind to his colleague, who being not his colleague, but his neighbor, he should be sorry to say any thing in the least unkind, and disclaimed it—but he again called on him to say if his statements were not correct; to which Mr. Speight nodded assent. Mr. Hall then said, his object in calling on his colleague was to show to gentlemen that what he had said was true, and that the information was clearly such as to place the subject on the same footing with other items; nor could he see with what particular gentlemen could vote for the other items and reject this. Sir, said Mr. H., I will now state my reasons for opposing this appropriation for the swash. I am quite certain that if any one will look at this matter in a philosophic point of view—if they will consider the real causes of the obstruction to the commerce of North Carolina, they will perceive that the idea effectually of removing these impediments is idle. It is supported by philosophers and mariners that the trade winds have some influence in producing the gulf stream. Be this as it may, very few mariners who traverse the coast of North Carolina, are ignorant that the gulf stream is one of the principal causes of those obstructions, which to think of overcoming, permanently, by the ploughing machine, commonly called the dredging machine, is about as specious as to talk of quenching the sun with a squirt gun. They had as well get a school of shovel-nosed sharks to root away the sand. It is known that the gulf stream sweeps along our coast at the rate of about three and a half miles an hour, bringing with it, from the Capes of Florida, as it approaches more or less near the shore, according to its projection or incurvature, an immense mass of floating sand. As it approaches the projecting points of the coast of North Carolina, during the prevalence of east winds, it is pressed by the ocean more in shore, producing a counter current or eddy, in which the sand is whirled round & thrown into the mouths of our inlets and in heavy easterly storms thrown in immense masses within the sound, and forms that irregular semicircular deposit known by the name of the swash, consisting almost wholly of sand.

It is believed that the gulf stream, placed before the outlets of our rivers, is the principal primary cause of that deposit of sand along our coast, which forms a barrier between the Atlantic and the sound through which the breaks, pinnacles, are made, and continually modified, by the battlings of the winds and these mighty waters. And now let me ask, does any one really believe that we stand any chance to make a permanent removal of this deposit, while the causes which placed it there remains, and that, too, with this dredging machine? Even supposing it may be cut through and part of it removed, what is to prevent the same operation from filling it up? Sir, if Congress are really in earnest about removing the obstructions to our commerce, let them make an appropriation to remove the gulf stream across the Atlantic—pass a law to stop the storms which beset this coast: and then blow up the banks! we shall then have a good outlet to the ocean. I have had some knowledge of these storms—as fine a specimen of storms as is known. It has, you know, Sir, been doubted by some of our people, whether they had better thunder in England than we have in this country; but I am quite certain, if this country, they have better thunder. It was, however, his purpose to give his views generally, on this subject both as to its details and principles. But before he entered into the subject, he

would take occasion to say that he had voted against reconsideration because he believed, and understood, that the object was to draw a distinction between some of the items, with a view of striking out a part of them. He objected to this course, because he viewed all the various portions of the bills, so far as principle was concerned, as standing precisely upon the same footing.

If our part was constitutional, they were all so, and he wished that no

invidious distinctions should be made. He was not one of those who believed a measure was either constitutional or expedient merely because it went into the State or District to which he belonged, while a measure, of exactly the same nature elsewhere, was neither constitutional or expedient.

It will be recollect, that when the details of this bill were under consideration, I took some part in the debate, but confined my remarks only to one or two items of appropriation for North Carolina, I did so, because I was better acquainted with them than with most others, and also, because, after opposing those in my own immediate vicinity, which I felt it my duty to do, I could, with propriety, and with clearer hands, oppose others of similar character elsewhere.

Mr. Speaker, no one can suppose that, I am friendly to the commercial prosperity of North Carolina, far from it—this surely is the cause of my opposition to appropriations for improvements of this character, but I oppose them for the reason, that

I not only do not feel myself at liberty, because I think Congress has not constitutional authority, but because I believe them ultimately fail in producing any substantial benefit.

The item of appropriation for the swash was not, as I supposed to have been supposed; the only one to which I had objections. In principle I am equally opposed to that for clearing away obstructions below Wilmington, and unless

the efforts of Congress are attended with better success than those made by the State authorities, it is not likely they will be very beneficial, for I have understood, from respectable authority, that so far from the applications made by the State authorities, having been very beneficial, it was believed, that they had rather done injury—certainly no great good.

As to improvements of a similar character with those of North Carolina, (and the greater part of the bill consists of appropriations for similar purposes,) the remarks of the engineers report that, so far as a conclusion may be drawn from observation, during a short period, it is in favor of the final success of the experiment. It is found that, in consequence of the exposed situation of the place of operations, not more than about 150 working days in a year can be counted on; and at the present rate, ten years would be required to complete the proposed excavation. In order to afford, in this case, an opportunity of making a fair experiments as practicable, it is intended to apply another dredging machine of greater power in aid of the one now employed, &c. With these high authorities, in addition to what I have myself shown, shall I not be borne out in my opinion of the utter futility of such enterprises? The Secretary of war tells us that the affair at Ocracoke is an experiment. This, I believe, will be the Third—I am told the fourth, appropriation for that object. We have now been making the applications for something little less than three years, I think, and the Secretary tells us it will take ten years more; this is called an experiment?

It is an experiment with a vengeance; A thirteen years experiment, at the rate of twenty or thirty thousand dollars a year, for what, by their own showing, and the least acquaintance with the nature of the obstructions, can produce nothing but waste of money and eventual disappointment.

I have been informed by many respectable persons living on the banks and other places not remote that the whole affair was viewed as a mere idle waste of money.

But, as regards the mud shoal below Washington, I cannot see what is the difference, one is an obstruction at the upper part of the same body of water, where it is called Pamlico river, and the other at the lower part, where it is called Pamlico sound, both obstruct navigation and commerce.

In explanation of a remark from Mr. Speight, that his information was drawn from pilots, who were interested,

Mr. H. said, it was not alone from pilots but from many other respectable people as well as respectable people of this class whose information was likely to be, perhaps, better than others. The final success of the swash I doubt; as the shoal near Washington, success would probably attend that, with means properly applied.

When the bill was about to have its third reading, an incidental debate arose for a few minutes, on question to reconsider the vote, ordering it to be engrossed and read a third time, the motion for reconsideration being rejected, the question upon the passage of the bill coming up.

Mr. Hall said, the debate which has just occurred was to him wholly unlooked for. It had been customary, at a stage

of bills, not to discuss the details or principles, that having usually been done previously.

It was, however, his purpose to give his views generally, on this subject both as to its details and principles. But before he entered into the subject, he

would burn it up. We do so however, with the logs, not precisely for the same reasons I would this strange affair—we burn them because they are useless, and in the way; but this is worse than useless—it is a great positive evil.

These appropriations amount to the enormous sum of about a million and a quarter, for purposes, as characterised by scientific engineers, of at least doubtful character; most of them coming under the description to which the term hydrographical has been applied. This bill presents, in epitome, a fair sample of the whole system of internal improvements, of which we have since 1824 had some experience.

It is a system of iniquity, one in which from the very nature of things, justice and equity cannot be done; it is another part of the general system of transferring the property of one set of men to others without any equivalent.—the Tariff, Internal Improvements, pensions, &c. &c. The present bill, and the mammoth pension bill, passed through this House a short time since, are instances of the most extraordinary outrage upon the people of their kind. With these hanging upon the Treasury, how are we to pay the debt? Is it not known to be a favorite object of the Executive, and still more, not the people generally look to the extinction of the public debt as a political jubilee? How then can we reconcile it to ourselves to vote for such enormities? The system of internal improvement and the tariff system, compose the notable and far famed American System. They are worthy of each other, par noble, no, sir, net par nobile, but *par ignobile*, not *fratrum*, but *demonum*—not a noble pair of brothers—but an ignoble pair of devils!

Was not the devil, the author of all evil? The brazier of discord and suffering to our first parents? Can any thing be more in character? To what, Sir, do we owe our present political divisions and discord, threatening the most calamitous consequences, but to that most unfortunate and inglorious system of legislation which commenced soon after the close of the war. Which has been called or known by the name of a new departure in politics. Sir, it was a new—a most unfortunate departure from all these fixed principles upon which we had so happily acted heretofore.—And what is the consequence?

To what a state of things have we come? Are we not now standing upon the very brink of political perdition? Is not dismemberment, and disunion talked of, and discussed in this House, in every group of members—a common subject out of doors, and in the newspapers? And to what but this demoniacal system of legislation, scrambling for money and offices, is it attributable? Who is so blind as not to see that unless we speedily return to sound principles, ruin must come?

Mr. Speaker, the whole of this bill is bad—but some of its parts are, if possible worse than others; indirectly, the power to erect toll gates, is asserted, whether intended or not, and though the appropriations have been said to be to finish works already begun, upon inspection, this will be seen not to be wholly correct, and even if true, it would not alter the principles.

If you begin in error it will not become right by keeping in the same course, and as the saying is, “throwing good money after bad.” We also have thirty thousand dollars for surveys, which is the initiation of all works of this kind, and after once commenced, you are told if you do not go on, all the money you have applied will be thrown away, and this, by some, is held a sufficient reason for throwing away thousands and millions. Is it possible the people who furnish this money can longer be willing to be taxed for such purposes? If so, God help them!

Mr. Speaker, the whole of this bill is bad—but some of its parts are, if possible worse than others; indirectly, the power to erect toll gates, is asserted, whether intended or not, and though the appropriations have been said to be to finish works already begun, upon inspection, this will be seen not to be wholly correct, and even if true, it would not alter the principles.

If you begin in error it will not become right by keeping in the same course, and as the saying is, “throwing good money after bad.” We also have thirty thousand dollars for surveys, which is the initiation of all works of this kind, and after once commenced, you are told if you do not go on, all the money you have applied will be thrown away, and this, by some, is held a sufficient reason for throwing away thousands and millions. Is it possible the people who furnish this money can longer be willing to be taxed for such purposes? If so, God help them!

This surveying or engineering, as it has been called, I well recollect, the commencement of this business as a system, principally debated, on the ground of trying the principle of a system of internal improvements. Some three or four years ago, when the present ours were the theme, I recollect frequently to have heard the charge made of engineering the way of our commerce, though certainly in that point of view a great injury, yet are decidedly the best and cheapest fortifications against invasion from a foreign power, it being out of the question for a vessel of war of any magnitude to come within our waters; and I do not agree with those who talk about the degraded state of North Carolina, from these causes, and who therefore solicit aid, as I think, uselessly, from the General Government, to remove them. And Sir, I cannot but feel that North Carolina is quite as much degraded by begging for the crums and drippings from this Government, as from natural causes, beyond human control.

These very obstructions placed in the way of our commerce, though certainly in that point of view a great injury, yet are decidedly the best and cheapest fortifications against invasion from a foreign power, it being out of the question for a vessel of war of any magnitude to come within our waters; and I do not agree with those who talk about the degraded state of North Carolina, from these causes, and who therefore solicit aid, as I think, uselessly, from the General Government, to remove them. And Sir, I cannot but feel that North Carolina is quite as much degraded by begging for the crums and drippings from this Government, as from natural causes, beyond human control.

What has happened, may possibly be seen—formerly, for collecting direct and internal taxes, the States were laid off into collection or revenue districts. And thus, upon the principle asserted, Congress could assume jurisdiction over every thing of a local character in the country.

The general power to regulate commerce, therefore, is the power particularly relied on: it seems to be the intention of our predecessors to settle and establish as a fundamental principle in our political institutions that the State Governments, and Federal Government, should be considered as distinct and separate agencies, established by the people for different purposes. The 9th and 10th amendments, and the second paragraph of the 6th article of the Constitution, will upon due consideration, satisfy any reasonable mind, that such a principle is established.

In this view I am sustained by a doctrine fairly deduced from the Constitution, by no less authority than the Supreme Court, that all the powers of the general government are plenary or full powers over the subjects committed by the Constitution to its management. This being the case, all will admit that they must be exclusive powers; and it follows

that the whole of the powers of the general government, must be exclusive powers; and it follows that the whole of the powers of the general government, must be exclusive powers; and it follows that the whole of the powers of the general government, must be exclusive powers;

So here's damn the oots, and damn the ins, And damn them all together.

I hope and desire the parties here may never justify to be subjected to any such wit and sarcasm—would to God, Sir, we could have but one party—one great party—all the members of which, instead of

scrambling for place, and public money, should be found viewing with each other in disinterested efforts to promote the public good.

Viewing the whole of this bill, individually and collectively, as improper, as being objectionable upon the same grounds, one part with another, it would be difficult to give a preference to any one part over another. It was, I think, some years since, that upon the Mayaville road bill, I took the liberty of addressing some remarks to the House under circum-