

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

At the meeting held in the Senate Chamber on the 22d day of December last, on the subject of Internal Improvement in North Carolina, Dr. CALDWELL rose and expressed himself in effect as follows:

The question before us relates to the advantages and the means of Internal Improvement. All will promptly admit that the benefits to result from it to this people are great beyond estimation. At the present moment I feel safe in asserting that few, if any among us, are of a different opinion. Throw open the gates of commerce to this agricultural people, and the transformation would be too remarkable and diversified for our powers of anticipation. Every individual in the State, now shut up on every side by disheartening and insurmountable obstructions, would feel his limbs unbound, his heart expanded with his widening prospects, and the whole face of society would be renovated.

Let us extend our view over this population of seven hundred thousand. It is as an expanse of water spread abroad under the eye. All is tranquil, and it would seem as if nature had provided no further supply than to maintain it at its present height. If there be any thing more than this, why does it not commence somewhere to overflow its banks? It is because the surface has risen to the level of its mountains, and if there be an outlet one inch higher, the lake must continue stagnant. But cut a channel into its banks, and the waters begin to flow. Let them be discharged indefinitely, and they still continue at the same level. Why? Because there are mountains not now visible, and before unknown, which pour in their living streams and furnish inexhaustible supplies. Make the channel deeper, and it still continues full, enlarging the copiousness of the stream in proportion to the spaciousness of the outlet. Let it be opened even to the extent of a mighty river, yet its sources are sufficient to supply the vast expenditure of its waters. Nay, let other streams be permitted to flow, & nature will appear bountiful in her effusions, to a degree with which it will require even imagination to keep pace. So is it with an agricultural people like ourselves, excluded from the privileges of commerce. Our efforts rise to a certain height, but no vent is found by which the surplus of our productions beyond our domestic wants, may find their way to the ocean, which is the market of the world. Let the channels of commerce be opened, and the sources of our wealth will flow with an increasing and unending exuberance. The waters now stagnant will become pure, and distribute fertility on every side. Then instead of the torpor of indolence, and the silence of the grave, all is activity; the atmosphere is agitated with everliving sounds, the eye is cheered with everliving motion, and individual wealth and national prosperity flow inexhaustible from fountains, once choked by an insuperable pressure.

In this dismal picture of our deplorable condition, there is no extravagance. It is confirmed in its moral by the universal example of other States. In New-York, where navigable waters have been liberally furnished by nature, and canals by art, population, and opulence, and power, have grown to an extent and with a rapidity exceeding all that was once stigmatized as the dreams of imagination. The prosperity of that enterprising people is even more than commensurate with the instrumentalities which they have created in commercial privileges. In Massachusetts, the Quincy Railway, and the transportation by rivers, canals and turnpike roads, have long ago set all in motion, and permanently give life and strength, and prosperity to that spirited people. Sustained by these, and animated by the prospects of still greater advantages, they are meditating to construct a railway through the whole length of the State, from Boston to the Hudson river. The survey has been made, the course marked out, the advantages to the interior country in the productions to which it will give vent, have been pointed out, and this great undertaking, worthy of the glory of the State, is prepared for execution. In Connecticut, their own river, the Northampton canal, and their highly improved roads proclaim at once the means to which they owe their prosperity, and the conviction of their people that it was wisdom to provide them. In New-Jersey, the profitable results of an easy intercourse are attested by the Hudson and Delaware, and now by the canal of communication between them, which intersects the State, and opens a passage directly through the interior. In Pennsylvania, the Susquehanna, Delaware, Schuylkill, Alleghany, Monongahela and Ohio rivers, cleared of natural obstructions, and improved by the people, have given origin and expanded growth, to this powerful and populous member of the Union. But to all these high ways of commercial intercourse, bestowed by nature, and enlarged by art, they add railroads and canals, and especially one which is to penetrate extensively through the State.—The Breakwater, now advancing rapidly at the mouth of the Delaware, will presently stand forth an honorable monument of the wise policy which consists in the protection of commerce, and the multiplication of its privileges to an agricultural people. In this enumeration we must not pass unnoticed the canal recently completed between the Delaware and Chesapeake, evincing the earnestness of men, who already enjoy the greatest commercial opportunities, to push them to a still greater extent. By this, with the magnificent canal through the Dismal Swamp, lately finished by Virginia, an inland passage is opened by water, from New-York to North Carolina, by which a shield is held up between our people and the dangers of the ocean, both in peace and war. And why is not this inland passage prolonged still further to the south? Nature has done

more for its continuance here, than in many other parts of the country, thro' which it has penetrated. Nothing is wanted with us, but to cut a steamboat or ship channel, of less than ten miles at the utmost, and to one place only thro' between the river Neuse and Beaufort, where is one of the best harbors on the whole southern coast, and then the way is cleared for the extension of this interior route by water through the greater part, if not the whole breadth of our State. But this falls not in with the views of our people. We will neither open such a passage for ourselves, nor will we consent that the United States shall do it, though it is so eminently and conspicuously for the common defence and general welfare.

In Maryland, the "Baltimore and Ohio" Railway is now in execution, to unite the Chesapeake on the east, with the Ohio on the west, through the distance of 340 miles. That in gnanimous people, with such as are combined in the work, undaunted and undeterred, are now advancing to the prospect of scaling the summits of those lofty ridges, by which the rivers of the east and west are parted from one another, not doubting that they shall be sufficiently compensated by the commercial abundance, which shall cheer them with its fruits from year to year, increasing with the time necessary to its final accomplishment. Of no less extent is the Georgetown and Onn Canal, which from the nature of the work, must with still greater difficulty, and a more devious course, surmount the same obstacles in common with the Railway. Virginia is proverbial for the bounty lavished upon her by nature in bays and rivers. These have not been neglected by that public spirited people. The waters have been trained, their channels opened, and their courses shaped, till the productions of her remotest population are floated down upon their bosom in safety and with little expense, to the sea, even from the recesses of the mountains. I now speak of a State, with climate, productions, and peculiarity of means similar to our own. By the very contrast between its strength and our debility, its wealth and our impoverishment, as soon as we direct our eye upon the causes, we may well be inspired with confidence that we may grow to corresponding eminence and success, whenever with a similar spirit we shall energetically prosecute the means in our power to possess ourselves of similar privileges. Need I, in confirmation, remind you of the Potomac, Rappahannock, York, James, and Roanoke, to show that if Virginia is superior in strength, in mental efficacy, and in opulence, she enjoys a superiority in the means by which these distinctions are ever attained, consisting in a combination of unrestricted commercial opportunity with internal resources. To the rivers enumerated, I might add a multitude of creeks and smaller streams, branching in various directions, and furnishing transportation by water in seasons of the year when it best accommodates the farmer, and where it would scarcely have been suspected practicable. I have mentioned the Roanoke as a river of Virginia, when it may appear as properly to be ours. And so it might, had we not stood aloof with most wonderful and imperishable apathy, while with the aid which she has induced us to give for its improvement, she has effectually appropriated it to herself, and for her own aggrandizement.—The Roanoke however is but another proof of the benefits of commerce, which comes home to ourselves, for if we were to lay our hand upon the region of our own State, the brightest for affluence and efficient ability, it would fall upon the Roanoke with the portion of country that enjoys its privileges and prospects. It is true we have contributed some funds for this object, but while the work was advancing, she has with a master-stroke of foresight and policy, taken care to complete in time, a wide and deep Canal of twenty-five miles in length through the Dismal Swamp, that her commercial town of Norfolk might luxuriate upon our spoils, when a Canal of not five miles with us, would present a passage less tardy and less impeded to a seaport as good, and far more healthy upon our own coast. Such, Mr. Chairman, is the thrift of our sturdy prejudices against internal improvement.

But let us pass from Virginia still further south, and in doing this, it is not too much to say that we must leave a scene of activity and enterprise, to traverse a woful breadth of embarrassment and depression, where if a voice be heard it is the lament of despondency under the scarcity and harassing litigious consequent upon a home market, or the necessity of seeking one abroad, at an expense which, even with the few articles that will bear transportation, leaves a hard-earned and wretched pittance, to console or rather to mortify the planter after all his toil. No sooner do we reach our southern limits, than the sun of enterprise and public spirit begins to shine upon us. Of South-Carolina it is the peculiar glory, that her people pride themselves in her prosperity as a State. To her enlightened men she looks for the direction of her energies. These, with united and well informed counsels, listen to the call, and her Canals, her flourishing City, her commerce wafted on the wings of every breeze, and her public roads planted and executed in every direction, illuminate her atmosphere with a glowing splendor, and brighten her name with a dazzling sublimity. Her people have dealt out their resources for the public good with no partial or sparing hand. And their liberality to their country has been bountifully rewarded with the double return of a high gratification in the honors and prosperity of their State, and of the motive powers diffused through her population by augmented wealth. The Peedee, Catawba, Santee, Edisto, and Savannah, with their tributaries, an copious streams, on whose bosoms the productions of her people are floated to the Ocean. But to these gifts of nature she has, with liberal and perse-

vering appropriations of her funds, super-added the improvements of skill. In no part of our southern country shall we see a road to compare with that which she thought it not too much to construct at an expense of sixty thousand dollars. I mean that which opens an easy passage through the Satura gap, uniting with the accommodation of her own people, the attraction of trade from some of our most western counties, respecting which we compose ourselves into our usual resolute repose, by saying, "It is no matter how our people obtain the privileges of a market, if only they can by any means obtain them." A Canal has been made to communicate between Charleston and Columbia, the seat of her government; but to this a Railway is now preferred, which it is intended to construct through the distance of 120 miles, because it will still further reduce the cost of transportation. Another extension of Railway is to Orangeburg and Augusta; of so vast importance does she esteem it, to concentrate the channels of commerce upon her own favorite city, sitting with unquestioned sway the Queen of the South in wealth and privilege.

If I do not enlarge upon the evidences exhibited by Georgia to the same effect, it is not that they would fail us, but that time is wanted for so minute a detail. Who does not consider Alabama as a highly favored State, in waters navigable a great part of the year, from the Gulf of Mexico to the vicinity of the mountains, and in a relinquishment by the General Government of four hundred thousand acres of land, for the construction of a Steamboat Canal by the Muscle Shoals. By this improvement, it is evident that Tennessee must be even still more benefited on one part, while the Cumberland river on another, wafts her commerce to the Ohio. When I repeat the names of Kenahway, Ohio, Muskingum, Miami, and Sciota, they remind us of the well known commercial advantages of those eminently flourishing States Kentucky and Ohio. To these and others of our western States, multitudes of our citizens are regularly making their way, not merely for the superior lands they shall find there, but for the opportunities of commerce without which the agriculturalist can never enjoy the high privileges and spreading honors of his profession. Profusely as nature has lavished on the State of Ohio the means of intercourse by water, a passage is made by a Canal from the waters of Erie to those of the Mississippi, by which a communication is effected between the Atlantic ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. How has this astonishing result of free and rapid transportation by water, safe from all external interruption, been accomplished, between points so remote, and separated by those vast mountains, which range through almost the whole extent of country between them? It is by one Canal of 360 miles from Albany to Buffalo, and by another which connects Erie with the Ohio river, while in North Carolina are preventing a similar internal channel from North to South on the Atlantic coast, by refusing to strike one blow for removing an impediment or two of a few miles only in extent, and where nature presents facilities for such a work no where surpassed upon our globe.

Mr. Chairman, it is not my wish to disparage my country. If I make one remark which is not sustained and forced upon us by facts, I hope it will be corrected by those who hear me, and I shall rejoice to find that we can assert glory to ourselves as a people, or exemption from the slight, nay the reproach, which we know to be but too often directed upon us, by our more enterprising neighbors. But if these things be undeniable, let us not hope to elude the natural consequences of our apathy and inaction. We live in an age, & in a country too, to her peculiar honour be it spoken, in which we cannot refuse to participate in the spirit and progress of improvement; without incurring a load of discredit, which it will require us to brace every nerve, and to summon up all our resolution to bear. We may, to keep ourselves in countenance, plead our weakness and our embarrassments, and hope to excuse ourselves in suppressing the incitements, and rejecting the advantages of all the mechanism and knowledge, by which the present period of the world is distinguished; but to others the plea will be pressed in vain, for the reply is ever prompt and ever true, that "at least something may be done." As we now are, and with such plans as we now practise, we correspond in public improvements and in popular education, not with the nineteenth century, but with three centuries ago. Can we, as a population, continue to endure a thought like this?

[To be continued.]

CONGRESS

SENATE.

Tuesday, January 26.

Mr. Rowan offered a bill to authorize a subscription of one thousand shares of stock, on the part of the United States, in the Louisville and Portland Canal Company, which was passed to a second reading.—Mr. Barton reported, without amendment, the bill to continue in force an act authorizing certain soldiers in the late war to surrender the bounty lands drawn by them, and to locate others in lieu thereof. The Senate then resumed the consideration of Mr. Foot's resolution, when Mr. Webster took the floor, in reply to Mr. Hayne of S. C. and spoke for three hours, during the whole of which time he commanded the undivided attention of the Senate, and of every one of the numerous discourse which crowded both the galleries and every part of the chamber not occupied by the seats of the Senators. Before Mr. Webster concluded his remarks, the Senate adjourned.

Wednesday, January 27.

The Senate resumed the consideration of Mr. Foot's resolution respecting the Surveys of the Public Lands. Mr. Web-

ster, in a speech of three hours' length, concluded his argument. Mr. Hayne followed, in reply, in a speech of about an hour in length; to which Mr. Webster briefly rejoined; and then, on motion of Mr. Benton, the Senate adjourned.

Thursday, Jan. 28.

After the reading of the Journal—Mr. Webster rose, and addressed the Senate as follows:

Mr. President—A newspaper has been put into my hands this morning, purporting to be published by Duff Green, who is Printer to the Senate. In this paper I find an article referring to the debate of yesterday, and in that article I find it said, among other things, equally false, that "Mr. Webster contended that the National Government was established by the People, who had imparted to it unlimited powers over the States and the Constitution."

I am of opinion, sir, that we ought either to leave our seats here altogether, or to protect ourselves while in them from such wilful and atrocious calumnies by those who are admitted on our floor, and who receive, through our hands, large disbursements of the public money. It becomes us, sir, either to go home, and yield up our places to men of a better spirit than ourselves, or else to show that we will not be either bullied or slandered, by persons circumstanced like this publisher, out of the free exercise of the right of discussion.

I rise, therefore, sir, to give notice, that on the next similar occurrence, which, judging from the past, may be daily expected, I shall make it the subject of a specific motion to the Senate. I should do so now, sir, if I followed the inclination of my own judgment; but it is thought by others, to whom I defer, that the course which I have thus adopted may, on the whole, be more advisable.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution moved by Mr. Foot respecting surveys of the public lands.

Mr. Benton being entitled to the floor—

Mr. Clayton said, that he desired permission of the Senator from Missouri, (Mr. Benton) who was entitled to the floor, to call the attention of two of the honorable members of this body, Mr. Smith of Maryland, and Mr. Livingston of Louisiana, to a passage in a book which had been cited in this debate by the Senator from South-Carolina (Mr. Hayne) as authority on another subject. He did not rise for the purpose of discussing the resolution itself. In the wide range of the debate here, the north-eastern and southern sections of the country had been arrayed against each other. He listened to the discussion without any intention of participating in it, while the State which he had the honor in part to represent, had escaped unscathed by the controversy. He then read, from the fourth volume of Jefferson's Memoirs, page 515, (the same volume which had been brought into the Senate by Gen. Hayne) the following passage:

"February the 12th, 1801.—Edward Livingston tells me that Bayard applied to do, or last night, to General Samuel Smith, and represented to him the expediency of his coming over to the States who vote for Burr: that there was nothing in the way of appointment which he might not command, and particularly mentioned the Secretaryship of the Navy. Smith asked him if he was authorized to make the offer.—He said he was authorized. Smith told this to Livingston, and to W. C. Nicholas, who confirms it to me," &c.

He then called upon the Senators from Maryland and Louisiana, referred to in this passage, to disprove the statement here made.

Mr. Smith of Md. rose and said, that he had read the paragraph before he came here to-day, and was therefore aware of its import. He had not the most distant recollection that Mr. Bayard had ever made such a proposition to him. Mr. Bayard said he, and myself, though politically opposed, were intimate personal friends, and he was an honorable man.—Of all men, Mr. Bayard would have been the last to make such a proposition to any man; and I am confident that he had too much respect for me, to have made it, under any circumstances. I never received from any man, any such proposition.

Mr. Livingston of Lou. said, that as to the precise question which had been put to him by the Senator from Delaware, he must say, that having taxed his recollection as far as it could go, on so remote a transaction, he had no remembrance of it.

Mr. Clayton said his purpose had been achieved. He thought it his duty to vindicate the honor and fame of his predecessor against unjustifiable imputations, no matter to what party they may have belonged. The character of the illustrious Bayard would, he trusted, stand forever untarnished by the charge of corruption.

Mr. Benton entered his protest against this mode of introducing extraneous questions here, and regretted that he had given way to Mr. Clayton, for a purpose to which, he said, he would not have been instrumental, could he have anticipated it.—Mr. B. then proceeded in his speech, re-affirming and enlarging upon his former arguments, and repelling and replying to those of Mr. Webster. Before Mr. B. concluded, he was induced to give way for a motion for adjournment; and the Senate adjourned till to-morrow.

Friday, Jan. 29.

Mr. Webster offered the following resolution:—
Resolved, That the Senate will, on the 4th day of February next, proceed to the choice of a printer to the Senate.

On motion of Mr. Chambers, the Senate took up the resolution authorizing a subscription to the compilation of Public Documents, proposed to be published by Messrs. Gales and Seaton. On this question a considerable debate ensued, in which Messrs. Chambers, Smith, of South-Carolina, Foote, Bell, Noble, Barton, and

Holmes advocated the measure, and it was opposed by Messrs. Woodbury, Kane, Forsyth, Bibb, Rowan, White, Grundy, and Hayne. Various propositions were made to amend and motions to reconduct the manner of executing the work; all of which were in turn rejected when, on taking the final question, the resolution passed by a vote of—yeas, 21; nays, 16.

Mr. Grundy then submitted a resolution instructing the Secretary not to subscribe to the proposed number of copies of the work until Congress shall have passed a law appropriating the necessary funds for that object.

This resolution comes up on Monday.—The Senate then adjourned until Monday.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, January 26.

Mr. Barringer moved the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the act entitled "An act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States," as to make penal the offence of selling or attempting to sell any counterfeit or altered order, check, draft upon said bank, or any of its branches, or any Cashier thereof, knowing the same to be counterfeit, or altered, and also, the receiving any counterfeit or altered note or bill, order, check, or draft, purporting to be issued by order of the President, Directors and Co. of said Bank, or any of its branches, or of any of the Cashiers thereof, knowing the same to be counterfeit or altered.

On motion of Mr. Alexander, it was

Resolved, That the committee on the Post Office and Post Roads be instructed to inquire into the expediency of establishing a Post route from Richmond by Amelia, Nottoway, Lunenburg, and Mecklenburg Court Houses, to Raleigh.

Mr. Dudley moved the following resolution, which was read and adopted.

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be required to communicate to this House, the report of the Engineer, charged with the superintendence of the work on the river Cape Fear.

On motion of Mr. Alston, it was

Resolved, That the committee on the Post Office and Post Roads be instructed to inquire into the expediency of establishing a Post route from Weldon, in North Carolina, to Green Hill, in the County of Campbell, in the State of Virginia.

A number of resolutions were introduced, and the House then resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the report of the committee on Elections, on the petition of Reuel Washburn contesting the right of James W. Ripley of Maine, the sitting member, to his seat in the House. Without coming to any result, the Committee rose, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

Wednesday, January 27.

Mr. Thomson, of Georgia, from the committee appointed on so much of the President's message as relates to the organization and discipline of the militia of the United States, made a report, accompanied by a bill to provide more effectually for the national defence, by organizing, arming, and establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States, and to provide for the discipline thereof; which was twice read, and committed to a committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

On motion of Mr. Deberry, it was

Resolved, That the committee on Military Pensions be instructed to enquire into the expediency of placing on the Pension roll the name of William Gads, of North Carolina, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, and that his papers accompanying the resolution presented at the last session of Congress in his favor, be referred to the said committee.

Mr. Drayton moved the following resolutions, viz:

I. Resolved, That all duties upon imports, which operate oppressively upon the great body of the people, or unequally upon certain portions of them, ought to be repealed or modified.

II. Resolved, That the importation of raw wool, the prime cost of which does not exceed ten cents per pound, ought to be admitted without being subject to the payment of any duty; and that the duties upon all other kinds of wool ought to be reduced.

III. Resolved, That the drawback which existed upon the exportation of spirits distilled from molasses, before the act of 19th May, 1828, ought to be again allowed; and that the duties upon molasses, cotton bagging, sail duck, and unmanufactured iron, hemp and flax, ought to be reduced.

These resolutions were read, and committed to the committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

On motion of Mr. Alston, the House again resolved itself into a committee of the Whole, Mr. Polk in the Chair, and resumed the consideration of the report on the committee on Elections, in reference to the Maine Election.

The question recurring on the resolution recommended for adoption by the committee, confirming the title of the sitting member to his seat—

Mr. Isaacks addressed the committee in support of the right of the sitting member to his seat.

Mr. Evans, of Maine spoke on the opposite side, but before he had concluded his remarks, the House adjourned.

Thursday, Jan. 28.

The Speaker laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the estimate of the cost of completing the survey and estimate of a canal to connect the waters of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, called for by the House on the 20th inst. which letter was referred to the committee of ways and means.

On motion of Mr. Alston, the House again resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Mr. Polk in the chair, and resumed the consideration of the report of the committee on elections, in reference to the Maine election.

Mr. Evans, of Maine, rose, and, in continuation of his remarks of yesterday,