ols, Saintclair, Seitle, Sloan, Smith, Sumuer Thomas, Wadsworth, Watson, Weaver, Whiteter, Wiseman, Witcher, Word, Ziglar.

Nays-Messts. Adams, Arrington, Baker Plave, Baddie, Banner, Bragg, Beeman, Carter, Clark, Cloman, Cronwell, Daniel, Fuscue, Gary, Kiec, Hammond, Hardisin, Harper, Harri- | pal. sou, Hartley, Hurst, Jarvis, John B. Jones, Judan Julk us, Lancaster, Lee, Little, Long, Nelson, Norman, Outlaw, O'Brien, Pierse, Potts, Rand, Reife, Roberts, S. T. Sawyet, F. Wooten, C. Worten

passed-Yeas 56 Nave 53.

Year Messrs Baker, Beringer, Waddell, Ward, Whitaker, Word.

Witcher, B. W. Wooten, Ziglar.

Salurday, Dec 22. Mr. Culbertson presented a bill for the better regulation of hands working on public roads in the county of Auson; and Mr. Polk, a bill to after the mode of appointing certain General and field officers of the militia of the State of North Carthing These bills were read the first time and passed, and the last referred.

The House resolved itself into a committee of January next-Ares 97, Noes 18. the whole, Mr. Barringer in the chair, on the tall fixing a uniform assessment of real estate with the improvements thereon. After some Delivered by Mr. Gaston, on taking the Ckai time spent therein the Speaker resumed the Chair, and the chairman reported the bill to the House with sundry amendments; which were agreed to, and the bill, as ame ded, was, on motion of Mr. O'Brien, laid on the table. Monday Dec. 24.

Meases, Maugum, Davidson, Outlaw and Long were appointed, on the part of the House, 1) complise the committee on the subject of the saits against the securities of the late I'mble Treasurer.

The bill to establish the Back of North Carolina was read the first time and passed-Mr. Long having mayed that it be rejected. It decided in the negative. Year 32, Nays Si.

hir Recles presented a bill to authorise Commissioners of the town of Payetteville to Lorrow \$200 600 to be invested in stock of the Clase Feer and Yadker Rall Road Company.

Mr. Mangum, from the committee of Internal Improvements, reported a bill to enact, with sundry alterations and alditions, an act entitled an not incorporating the Ports.u.u.h and Ronnoke Rail Best Company, &c. possed by the Legisla tero of Virginia on the 8th day of March.

Resolved that the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited subthission to the General Government; but that by compact, under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of emendments thereto, they constitute a General government for special purposes; deligated to that Government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itselfthe residuary mass of right to their own solfgovernment; and that whenever the General its acts are unauthorised, void and of no force that this government created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the other cases of compact among parties having mocommon judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself; as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

Resolved, I hat this State considers the encive to the liberty and happiness of the s yeral States, that it does now unequivocally declare its att.chment to the linion permitted to transgress the limits fixed by that compact by a total disregard of the special delegations of power therein continned, an annihilation oithe State Governments and the creetion apon their runs of a general consolidated government, will be the mountable consequence. That the principle and construction contended for by sundry of the State Legislatures, that the General Covernment is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it. stop nothing short of dispotism; since the discretion of those who administer the goverament, and not the Constitution, would Le the measure of their powers. That the several States who formed that instrument being sovereign and independent leve the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction; and that a Nullification by those sovereignties of unanthorised acts done under color of that pastrument, is the rightful most deliberate consideration, declare that the Tariff Laws, passed not so much for the purposes of revenue, as to protect domestic thanufactures, are in their opinion palpable however cheerfully it may be disposed to justice were yet closed against British creditors, consequences which would probably follow, with-

sister States in matters of ordinary and doubtful policy, yet in momentons regulations like the present, which so vitally affect the best rights of the citizen, it, would consider a silent acquiescence as highly crimi-

That although this State, as a party to the Federal compact, will how to the laws of Manishy, Mulker, Murray, McCleese, McLest, the Union, yet, it does not at the same time declare it will not now, or ever hereafter. A. Sawyer, Sheppard, Simmons, Skinner, cease to oppose in a constitutional manner Sproill, Stallings, Stephens, Telett. Townsend, every aftempt, at what quarter soever afford-Tunstall, Wasdell, Welsh, Willey, A. W. od, to violate the compact. And in order that no pretext or arguments may be drawn The engrossed bill to repeal an act pass- from a supposed acquescence, on the part ed in the year 1830, to repeal part of the of this State, in the constitutionality of these second section of an act passed in the year laws, and be thereby used as proceedents 1806, chapter 708, to revise the militia laws for smalar future violations of the Federal of this State, was read the third time and Compact, this State does now enter against them its solema protest.

Blowe, Resolved further, That this Legislature, en-Borden, Burgin, Borns , Cansler, Carter, tertaining a deep and intense anxiety in the Clark, Clayton Courts, Cunningham, David- relation at present existing between the State son, Dowe, Giass, Grady, flatt Hill, Jordan, of South Carolina and the General Govern-Luncaster, Lee, Locke. Londermilk, Lyon, ment, doth most distinctly declare that in Misk Mullen, M'Laurin, M'Icod, M'Millan, all cases of collision, arising between the M North, Norman, Butlaw, O'Brien, Parke States and the Federal Government, it does Pierse, Relfe, Saintchair, S. T. Sawyer, F. A. not recognize any authority or right in the late Sawyer, Shepard, Smith, Spruit, Phomas, ter to appeal to the swert as an a biter to s !-G. A. Thomson, L. Thomson, Townsend, the such controversy; and that the arms of the Vaddell, Ward, Whitaker, Word. United States can never be employed to Nays-Messrs Abernathy, Adams, Allison, stay any State of the Union from the exer-Arrington, Bonner, Pragg Brower, Cloman, cise of those legitimate powers which be-Craige, Cropswell, Emait, Foscue, Graves, long to her sovereign character, but that Gutheric, Owynn, Hammond, Harpen, Har- it regards an appeal to the Co-State, the rison Horton. Hurst, Irion, J. B. Jones R. source of all power in cases of real doubt Junes Judkins Ledford; Little, Long. Man- amongst the most sacred of all obligations; gum, Marsteller, Monk Mongomery, Murray, and that this State will not tamely submit to M'Queen, Peeples, Pearson, Poindexter, the exercise of the military coercion by the Polk, Potts, Rand. Roberts, Settle Sun- Federal Government against her sister State. raons, Sloan, Stallings, Stephens, Tunstall, South Carolina; but that it be respectfully Wadsworth, Welch, Willey, Wiseman, recommended to both parties to suspend every form and manner of resistance until the disputed power can be submitted to all the States, Convened in general Conven-

The foregoing resolutions were read and laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Clayton, it was resolved that a message be sent to the Senate, proposing that the Legislature adjourn, sine die, on the 5th of

ADDRESS

at the late Anti-Nullification Meeting at New-

I cannot but perceive. Gentlemen, thar you expect from me, on taking this chair, that I should address to you some observations upon the important subject which has brought us together. I is indeed a subject of fearful magnitude. We have met to consider, not any topic of local or transient interest, but one of universal, deep and abiding importance; to consult, not whether we should confide our public concerns to the management of this or that set of men, but how, so far as depends on us we can preserve a united Govermeent to be administered by any set of men; to examine, not into the expediency of any measures of general policy, but into the means fittest to secure for us that Union which makes us a nation. And yet what can I say to you which your anxious thoughts have not already the which was read the first, second and third anticipated? We have all seen the Ordinance likans, passed, and ordered to be engrossed- Yeas flately promulgated in an adjoining State, and its adjuncts of manifestos, addresses and reports. We all behold the course too plainly indicated as the probable result. Nullification and Secession. Rebellion or Disunion! We have beheld thes duings with one common and profound feeling of grief and apprehension. The Union of the A merican People is denounced, assailed, and in pe

rif. To that Union we are indebted for the grea-Mr. S. T. Sawyer presented the following for portion of our earthly blessings, and we should be ungrateful to Heaven, unworthy of our lot, false to ourselves, and faithless to our children, if we did not exert our best energies to up-

To call to the consideration of American Ci tizens the benefits which flow to them, from their Frderal Union, might seem at first view, a superfluous and oven absurd undertaking. Like those of the air which we breathe, and of the light which we enjoy, those benefits are present. efore us and around us. Which of us is insensible of their existence, yet who can enumerate them all, or faithfully portray them? Yet then very familiarily, their unquestioned value, may render it not amiss that our attention should be Government assumes undelegated powers, distinctly drawn to them. Opvious blessings, on that very account, sometimes command little

of our regard.

There are few in this assembly who have a distinct recollection of the state of things which preceded the admition of the Federal Constitution, but history has faithfully recorded it. and most instructive are the admonitions which that measure of its powers; but that, as in all record farmishes. The great contest for Pelatical Freedom had closed in glory, and the Independence of the Thirteen United States had been solemuly recognized by their late powerful foe. But with the contest had ceased also much that patriotic fervour and sustained entirusiasin which, during the struggle, supplied the place of Feder J Union, upon the terms and for the imperfect union; and leave, Literty and lude purposes specified in the compact, as con- pendence, were rapidly giving way to Amarchy. Disgrace and Civil War The Old Congress had the right tolevy armies, and to borrow money on a piedge of the National Faith, but its only means of raising money to pay these armies, and to the compact agreeably to its obvious and to discharge these debts, were by requisitions and real intentions, and will be among or the Legislatures of the respective States the last to seck as dissolution. That if the Large loans had been negotiated abroad, large departments of the General Covernment be sums b rowed at home, and a vast debt was due constancy, unpaid, unclothed and unshed, under from Savannali to the Heights of Abraham, had met and fought -- and at length repelled the invaders. To discharge these engagements, the most stered which could be imposed on man, the debt of our independence, requisitions were made again and again. Requisitions were evaded. postponed and refused, until the very name of remisition became a by word and a jest. Nanation is disgraced, who dreads us anger, or who our friendship. tegards its rights? By the Treaty of Peace, in waich our lugits were defined, Great Britain had stipulated for the withdrawal of her armies and garrisons beyond those limits with all convenient speed, and without carrying away any negroes or other property of American citizens in defiance of this Treaty, negroes and other property had been carried off by the returns armes, and many formidable posts within our territory were yet garrisoned by British troops. Compensation for the property thus taken, and remedy. That this State does, under the a surrender of the forts injuriously detained. were repeatedly demanded, and demanded in rain. In execuse it was alledged, that important stipulations on our part had been broken. The

vernment which had the power to make engagements, but not the ability to enforce their observance, and the taunt was not the less bitter because of its truth. The British Flag that meteer Flag which for a thousand years had braved the battle and the breeze—still waved in profil defiance over American soil, and British Artillery still frowned on fartresses within American limits, affording shelter, countenance and support to the hostile Indians that desolated our Northwestern frontier. By the rights of nature and under the covenants of Treaty, we were entitled to the free navigation of the Mississippi, that great arrery of communication of our Western States. But the enjoyment of this right was interdicted by one of the feeblest of European monarchs. At home, each State was distracted by the contests of hostile factions; the one inseting on the sanctity and vigorous taxation to discharge the public engagements, and a strict a linin stration of justice between individuals; while the other, strained every nerve for a remission of taxes on a distressed community, and for suspending the collection of dobts, or allowing them to be paid off in depreciated paper. He who addresses you remembers well when the credit a could be compelled by law to receive but one half of his just demand for however formally he might have contracted to be paid in specie, the paper currency was a lawful tender, and two paper dalars were in truth but emivalent to one silver. Commerce was at the lowest cab, for there was no uniformity of system - cach Stat: embarrascing navigation and trade by its local regardions, and doing in that respect what seem d g od in its own eyes. A part of North-Cardena had revolted, and a top the independent rivera a at of "Franklin;" there were threatenng disturbances in Pennsylvania: and in New England, a party estimated to amount to twelve or hi e a thousand men, bold, desperate and unprincipled, had actually arrayed themselves in host hisy to the government, proclaiming the annihilation of debts, the division of property. and re-union with England. The whole aspost of our beloved country, seen from abroad or at home, indicated weakness, dissentions, dis hon ir, and misery; excited the decision and contempt of strangers, and filled the hearts of our best pairrols with shaine, grief and fear. In a letter written at this time, by the Marquis La Favette, to his revered Washington, about the fate of that country for which he had fought and bled, he remarks: "Every friend to the rights of mankind admires the principles of the American Constitutions, but I have often the in rufteation to hear, that the want of powers in Congress, and of union between the States, and of energy in the government, will make the confederation very insignificant." "What" exclaimed Washington, pouring out his full heart to a bosom friend "what, Gracious God, is man! -that there should be such inconsistency and perfidiousness in his conduct. It is but the other day that we were shedding our blood to obtain the Constitutions of our own choice and making-and now we are unsheathing the sword to overturn them." It was at this moment of disaster, disgrace and gloom of frarful realities and yet more fearful forebe dings, that one of the most glorious and beneficent of human triumphs, was achieved-a triumple of reason, patriotism and self-denial, over projatice, pission and State-pride. The Federal Constitution, he result of the profound deliberations of our most illustrious sages, was presented for the ratification of the people in each of the States. Furiously was it assailed; jealously were its provistons scanned and scrutinized; and many of the best and all of the worst principles and motives of human action were invoked and arrayed against it. But blessed be God! (and may i not be permitted to say so with the tast devont and heart-felt gratitude?) the Consutu-

What a Moral Revolution then ensued! Order emerged from enant. Light sprang out of Darkness; National Disamour gave way to National ame, and misery and povercy were succeeded by active enterprize, successful industry, and general prosperity. Forty-two years have since passed by in the most troublous age of modern mes The civilized world has been convulsed, kingdoms and republicks have tottered to their tall, and many of the fairest regions of the Earth have been drenched with blood, unplously poured forth in civil strife; while our favoured country has enjoyed one uninterrapted tranquility, offering an Assylum to the persecuted and afficted of every land, advancing with steady step in the arts, literature, improvement, wenith and population, exhibiting a glorious proof of the capacity of man for self government, and presenting to the eve of the ph.lanthropist, a spectacle on which it could dwell with ever new delight. True it is, that our internal peace was once threatened by insurrectionary movements in some of the Western counties in Pennsylvania; but the wislom of the National Legislature, the energy of the National Executive, and the the Insurrection and put it down without shed- must be some fallacy in the elaborate logic; and hold on upon the public domain. ding one drap of blood. True it is, that the above all, too many of the attempts to operate struggles of contending parties on questions of internal and external Policy have been not only an mated and ardent, but even violent and excessive; yet to be used towards Freemen. Time too, must the spirit of our free Institutions has been pre- be allowed for the correction of erroneous notions served invidate; the will of the majority ex ands of Fraternai affection remained unsevered and these very conflicts, like the storms which pass harades ly over our heads, have even purihed and inviguated our political atmosphere. I ublic credit, once so depressed that it could not | Government. Nor is this reliance on our old and command a dollar to meet the most urgent deman's of justice, has risen to an eminence and attained a stability, which leaves literally nothing to be wished for. The entire Revolution- day. Already have important and beneficial ary Debt, and the debt incurred in the course of alterations been inade in the system of which the short and only war ee have since had, are we complain, not only affording immediate relief, to those brave soldiers, who with unexampled before another year passes by we shall exhibit a timent. At this moment, and with these prosspeciacle, almost unknown among civilized gotthe summer's sun and amid the ices of winter, entinents at this day, of a People who owe nothing. Our commerce is spread over every seano toreign standard usurps authority in our landand we not only command the free navigation of the Massissippi, but are the undisputed proprietors of the namense regions through which that flood rolls its waters to the Ocean. Once so low there was none to do us reverence, and now there is no Potentate, no Prince, nor People which tional discrace could not but follow, and when a | does not respect our rights, or is indifferent to

The American name is now a passport of honou in every land, and the American Flag -the same old stripes and stars which our veteran soldiers followed through many a ling day of doubt and danger-is now the proud crablem of American giory, and insures security and protection to all ever whom it waves its folds.

And we are invited to forego these blessines. and to is mar! this Constitution for some unknown, some hypothetical state of greater perfeet at My friends, the man who can talk calculy of the secession of one of the States of this Confederacy, and of a discremberment of this Union, bus a stouter heart and firmer, norves than promise that there susplid as no lawful impedi- I lay claim to. It is impossible to contemplate ment to the recovery of debts, had been disregar- the possibility of our being broken up into petty the said constitution; and ded, and in many of the States the cours of sovereignues, and the shameful and detectable

ting each other with border wars, the result of jealous rivalries; examperated by fareign intrigues -keeping up expensive and appressive military establishments; and, like the iniserable repunlies of South America, too imbecile to obtain respect abroad or enforce eledience at home, the alternate sport and plunder of rapacious chieftains - a mock, a mark, and a scorn for the f es of freedom throughout the world, fall ag at length a prey to despots and digarchs within our boders, or sinking into the state of humble affices to fireign protectors, and submissive slaves to Liteign masters! When the children of Israel had acquired possession of the land long promised to their Fathers, and had rested from their wanderings, and from the wars round about them, their venerable leader assembled the tribes at Shechem, and addressed them thus:-"If it seem evil to you to serve the Lord, choose ye this day whom ve will serve-whether the Gods which four Fathers served that were on the other side f the flood, or the Gods of the Amorites in whose land ve dwell."-Fellow-citizens, a similar question, far less important indeed, but still a similar United Sta es, and such the deliberate opinion of and nothing but the Collery. many of the most intelligent citizens in every section of the Union. But what then? Must ever empirical or desparate? May not the profience, and are we to resort to Revolution whenand we cannot have all taings as we wish, and we are conections of frequent departures in our of the hear slighted to reports and resolutions. olen conduct from the course which our best interests demand, can we hope that, as a then our remedies? What we then ascertained in a well informed, weit-meaning and a tree I'eotion, which, unless you exasperate their passions to the destruction of their judgment, is surenot indeed to save them from error-but to rescue

their from the consequences of errors before they become fatal. If we can shew this system to be, es we allege unequal, unjust & impolite; a taxation of the many for the advantage of the few ; an' oppressive impost on producers and consumers to enable manufacturers to sell a worse article at a higher price -if we make out this case, or any can People, and a treason against Republican have been less conclusive than our partial estimatista, with an assumption of superior intelliconviction, have been rendered worse than ineffectual by a tone of inevective and of menace, never of public policy that have been long and extenpressed under the sanctions and in the forms of sively entertained, and it is especially incumbent he Constitution, settled all controversies; the on us—the Southern section of the United States -to allow time for the correction of those errors on the subject of Protecting Duties, which but for our most distinguished politicians, probably never would have influenced the action of the accustomed remedies, and this hope of relief from them, warranted solely by past experience. They are justified by the demonstrations of the peots, to rus h from inconvenience into Revolution to fly from temporary ill to lasting ruin, would

> Resolved then, as we are, to abide by our Union, whatever desparate and regretted course may be taken by others, prepared to announce that determination to the other States of the Confederacy, I trust that we shall forbear from even intimating an opinion of the measures proper to be adulted in this emergency by those who are appointed to take care that the republic shall sustain no detriment. The crisis is one which eminently demands all their prudence, moderation and firmness. It is for them to view the whole ground, to weigh well the dangers of rashness, on the one hand, gud of posillarimity on the other; and to unite conciliation with dirnity, forbearance with decision, and affection for the ditizes with the supremary of the Law. it would be rash in us to obtrude on them our crudesuggestions. Theirs is the right to judge and the power to act, and it were unjust to

seein to be not guilt only, but madness.

presume that they will be recreates to their duty. Nor let it be supposed that this declaration of our sentiments, to which it is hoped that our resolutions will be confined, is without its use. Did I think so, no consideration could have tempted me, retired as I am, and as I hope to remain. from political strife, to join with you in this

to surrender its opinions to a majority of its | Further negotiations were declined with a go- | out harry. All formers synvathies forgotten mong the immersial advantages of our federal metion his support? out town. At he at synvatores torgotten association, that the tenhanal of public opinion is ved, shock his head. He knew it was of joint compete and light effects, of cannon association, rest the land. Free componi-dangers, spiletage and species of Eurice's the same unavoidably expected to strong observational manusk him to do what that gentleman put interest of property in the contests of Eurice's excitencer's, and it is fortunate when these ex-Hill or King's Monattin, of Trenton, Galiford, or Entry, in the triumphs of Saratoga and citements rige in one State, that those around, do for him? The gentleman wanted York Town, in the vicitories on the broad blue to which the fever has not yet been communicated. Carolina to give up all the shares she on York Town, in the victories on the usua blue to which the franche of authority nor dictation, the public domain; while he franche of Blakely—analying cach other with vexitions but of the most fresidly and fraternal affection— that Alabana would do no such thing—was regulations of tende by sea and land, or deside-intimate error, and ware against mischief. It reciprocal legislation? He thought not cannot well be, but that our excited brethren- the gratleman was willing himself (for brethren they fet are, and brethren I pray they may long remain) even in the midst of that fervor be which they are misled, may be public property of the nation. Now, if it induced to pause in their career, when they per ceive that their neighbors, who think and fee with them on the subject of their discontents utterly reject the course to which they threaten to retort. It may bring on reflection, may with them over to more lenient councils, and may gradually, and almost imperceptibly influence hem to a protercues of mer. temperate measures. They now regard themselves at leading the van is a conflict for a commissi cause, confident of the animating cheers of those for whom, they have seized the pist of dunger, and sure, if there be need, of being sustained by the more efficient support of their ass cares. It is right to undecore them, and when the datuson is dispelled passion may yield to the sway of reason, and all It is due also, to the Councils of the Nation

placed as they are, in a situation so responsible, that they should accurately know the disposition and a moment us spection, is put to us. Our of North Caroling at this critical moment. For answer, I trust is ready. We will not serve the one, I rejuice that the People of this State, un dominion which our fathers served beyond the pretending as they always are, are, and indispocean, fir we have long since tried and renona- sed to obtrade themselves upon public notice. cel it. Neither will we serve the new political have, under a strong scuse of duty, so generally of Nullification, Secession and Disumion - come forward to declare their unshaken althouson they command not our reverence, and attract to the integrity of our great contederated Renot our affections. Each and every of us, like public. They may disapprove the Tariff much, heard the terms proposed. the Patriarch of old, is ready to exclaim- but they love the Union more. They differ-For me and my house, we will cleave to our and it is the privilege of freemen to differ, and glorous Union, to our time tried Constitut their duty firmly and constitutionally to declare tion, to our Country and its institutions as they are. their difference on several questions of Great Na-But it may well be asked, have not our tional importance. They may not concur in the bretimen of South Carolin, have not the People selection of these to whom they would confide of this State, grave and well founded causes of the management of their national concerns, complaint against the Tarief system of the Gen-eral Government—that system of extravagant constitutes Americans one People" is lendangered the thought they had better keep processing the detriment —when perd menaces "that main Pillar in the while they had it. There was something personal transfer of the constitutes and the detriment in the second in the detriment in the detrim of the other pursuits of Industry?-And are not edifice of Independence, the support of Tran these evils of a kind to justify vigorous efforts at qui ity at home, of l'ence abroad, of Safety, redress? Be it so. What is the precise fextent Prosp r ty and Liberty, then all differences are and pressure of these mischiefs, I stop not to in- laid aside and f righten. Then they rouse forquire. They have unquestionably been grossly ward as one min. Then they have out one and ridiculously exaggerated-but still I admit | voice (and from the bottom of my Leaft, and in them to be mischiels. Such certainly is the the sincerity of my soul, I join with them) and general sertiment of the Southern section of the that voice is the Country, the Whole Country.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

fered cufe be worse than the disease? Do we REMARKS OF MR. WILLIAMS OF N. C. expect a condition exempt from every inconven- On the subject of beding portions of the Public The gentleman might as well tell the House Lands to the States

ever this extravagant expectation is disappointed. Ma. Williams resumed the course of his remarks in reply to Mr. Clay, of Alabaigh, which as we believe they ought to be? If, as individuals, but been suspended yesterday by the extention

He said that when the had suspended his re marks yesterday, he endeavored to show that community, we shall never blander? Do we ex- the public lands were a common fund, owned a peet that there are to be no errors in legislation, like by all the States, to be appropriated only to their own lands : but they had had all the no deviations from true policy? We have erred common purposes, and for the benefit of ail the bt arising from such improvement in the group before often and seriously errod. What were States collectively Since then he had an on portunity of examining the various pression acts to be efficacious, time, fair discussion, and ealigh- of the several States who had relinquished their tened public opinion, may be now safely trusted | uncuitivated lands to the General Government. to, in the confidence that they will accomplish for He found that New York had ceded, in 1781. us the same results. There is a redeeming spirit | Virginia in 1784, Marshelusetts in 1785, South Garolina in 1787, North Carolina in 1790, and tion was at length adopted in each and every of ple, kept together by an efficient similar organization of the constrainments of ces sion he found one uniform prevision to this effect. "That the lands they ceded to the United States shall be emsidered as a common fund for the use and benefit of the United States of America (the ending State included,) according to their respective and usual proportion in the general change and expenditure; and shall be faithfully disposed of for that purpose, and for no

other purpose whatever?" This clause, found in every act of cession, solicitude went far to show that those laws thing like this case, it were a libel on the Ameri- clearly showed what had been the object of the ceding States in giving up their unsettled lands-Principles, to donot the result. We must not By the very terms of the deed, these lands were be surprised that our arguments have not opera- to constitute a common fund, faithfully to be apted instantenous conviction, for not only may they plind to the general benefit. One of the argumeats he had been urging in favor of retaining mate represents them, but they may have been the public domain in the passession of the Generurged with an appearance of arrogance and dog- al Government had been from the possible contine gency of a state of war. It was not reusonable gence, which renders a plain people indisposed to a hope that this country would enjoy a state of to allow them due weight, or have been accom- uninterrupted peace; and should war arrive, these panied with avowed distrust of their honesty of lands would constitute a good & valuable pledge purpose, which must render a just and self-re- on which toberrow them ney which might be de- the New States? specting l'emple indignant and unwilling to be manded by the public exigencies. Until the convinced. Some of our most admired efforts gentleman and those who acted with him should may have been too refined for common appre- point out some other fund which might be subheasion, and leading to such extravagant practi- stituted far such a purpose, Mr. W. thought it prompt patriotismof our citizen soldiers, put down cal results, as to awaken a suspicion that there manifestly incumbent upon the Government to

Another general purpose to which the public lands might be applied was found in the payment of settling vacant lands. The lands of the of soldiers enlisted by the United States, luthe ate war with Great Britain, the country, being deprived of its ordinary pecuniary resources, had been obliged to resort to this common fund to sustain itself in the struggle, and the soldiers culisted were promis da bounty in land as well better land had brought at first. What ad b as in money. Many were induced to enlist by experience of all the old States proved on the an offer of this kind who would have been moved subject? In Virginia, for example, the god by no other. The same thing might be under soil had been first taken up; but when was hold when this landed fund would be found very con- been disforested, the adjoining land, though venient, and highly important to the public de- inferior quality, commanded a better projection fence. Mr. W. knew it to be a fact that ma- the good land had been sold for. In ny had been tempted to enlist by the prospect of adjuning counties of the State I am tod, passessing a permanent home after the toils and Mr. W. that land which in 1790 sold from dangers of the war were past. Now, unless the dollar an acre, had, during the late war, hour gentleman was able to point out some other sixty dollars. The same thing was talking plan means of paying our troops in such an emergency, every day in North Carolina. Infer this domain furnished the means not only of increasing our ariny, but of augmenting our naval results will also follow in the progress of force; it would enable the Government to add new States. How then could gentlemented to that arm of its strength which bore the national flag over every sea, and sent it to the very of no value? The land which were snow to

Another general purpose, common to all the States, which would be met by this common fund, was the support of the Government, the payment of the civil list.

If this public property of the Union should be surrendered, then, fedmitting the proceeds of :.e sales to amount to three millions of dollars.) his own State of North Carolina would have to pay from 150 thousand to 200 thousand more than it the government retained it, in the shape of bonnty to soldiers, augmentation of the navy, and paying the current charges of Govern ment.

If these lands smuld not be equally divided amon the States, then North Carolina would kese that amount of reverue entirely; but if, on the contrary, the proceeds were to be equally di vided, she would gain that amount. He asked, was of importance in this argument. The ga therefore, whether it was reasonable in the new tleman from Alabama had produced and read States to call for the setting aport of the whole of the House with great emphasis a document this public property for their benefit exclusively? to contain a report from the Register and Were not the old States asked to do for them ceivers of all the Land Offices, from which what they would be far from doing for the old stated the large proportion of the unsetted States? Suppose he should put in a similar which were unfit for cultivation. News he claim in behalf of the old States of this Union I since learned that those decements better meeting, much less to accept of the station to claim in behalf of the old States of this Union, since learned that those documents

others what he very modestly asked others a for him, Mr. W. was for holding on of retaliation should take place, where wo gentleman and his friends be found? would take from them what they had take from others, and the new Sintes went all share in the public domain, And wa Congress be justified in measuring or States what they had prepared for States? But Mr. W. was far from en any measure of such a character. Let States continue to enjoy an equal share which was the common property of all.

The gentleman had said that the new did not ask these lands for nothing; but the man had not told the House what if States would gize for them. He took it ted they would not give \$1 25 per acreis now the minimum price established I AV ould they give 50 cents per acre? did, then the old States would lose 75 ce acre—if they would not give more cents, then the old States would like on the per acre: and if they would not give most this, lar and lifteen cents on every aere. In wanter ratio the new States were to gain by the surgain the old States were to lise. Mr. W. prope was not prepared to pregotiate until he had belle

But, admitting that Congress must well the public domain to the new States, what elevring were they to receive for the payment of the m ucy? He was willing to trust the new steates as far as he would trust any body; yet he rather concluded that if the Government once gave as the land, the affair would end in giving up it

maneut, something real, something undesimete ble, connected with the idea of land : but inthe God vernment should be compelled to give up is claus to the land, it was much more ledy abandon its claim upon money.

The gentleman had said that the people of the new States had augmented the value of the Public lands. Mr. W. did not know how The truth was, they had added nothing is vaine. Had they cleared these lands ... they er cted houses upon them, or harns to Ha planted orehards? He believed not Hi they communicated one additional' degrees to the fertility of their soil? He had never heard so that ins constituents had improved the plue grain, if wheat should sell next year at \$2 bushel. The same universal law of deprecation and appreciation applied to land which applied to wheat. Unless the gentlman could prave ha doctrine true in relation to wheat, could not believe it in relation to land. In true the people of the new States had he tion and sale of their own crops. If any benefit had accrued, it had accrued to themselves. The Government surely was not bound to part them for this improvement of their own for

lands which he wished to have eeded to new States were of no value; and in the position had read a statement, going & she that out of ten millions of acres of land in Mi sissippi, eight millions were reported as safit f cultivation. Now it struck Mr. W. wat great surprise, that the gentleman, as representing the new States in this matter, should be sid traordinarily solicitions to get possession a lands, but which, according to his own showing were of no value! The very fact of the genericans were, at least by the people of the new States themselves, considered as of some value. He a uld not bring himself to believe that States would be so anxious to get hold which were of no use or value. And it Gas jan cisely for this reason that he was equally designed that the Government should had upon their land. He knew that it was of value

The conduct of the gentleman proved that it was, and that they knew it. If the land was of no value to the Government of the United States, would it be appreciated by being transferred to If the land was of no value to the while In-

ion, would it be of any value to the State of Alabama? Would the transfer improve a ferile ity? He thought not. If it was of in value to the United States as an aggregate, at could be of none to the State of Alabama separately invery body knew what was the usual group quality were selected first; and when the were all taken up, then that of inferior quality was brought into market; and it often happen that this, owing to the advanced sottlement the country, sold for a higher price will be brought into cultivation as soon of better quality have been occupied. 'I that the land of less than the first quality was poor to command immediate settlemed well hereafter become valuable for the timber if er camed. This happened in Europe ; it in present all the world over.

The Gentleman had said that the refuse, and valueless. Mr. W. was comprehend this. He did not believe da thre had ever designed any land on the face the earth to be refuse, and of no use. the high est mountain land was of some use ; if was wholly refuse, if it would grow grass or smallest shrub. Possibly the summit des might be considered as useless, and respect to the purposes of man, as refuge there was very little land, of which this will said with truth.

But Mr. W. said, he was now destrut calling the attention of the House to a feet who which your partiality has called me. It is a would the gentleman from Alabama yield the worthy of being received by the House at