ADDRESS of ROBERT H. GOLDSBOROUGH, *to his Constituents, upon the subject of the late law in relation to Internal Improvement.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

In undertaking to give you an account of the views I entertained upon the great question of Internal Improvement, which has engaged the attention of the late Legislature of Maryland, I shall endeavour to treat it in such a way that it may be understood by every man who is desirous to enquire into it—and as it is a question of common concern and general interest, so it ought to be a matter of universal enquiry. The only appeal I shall make on this occasion is to your understanding and love of country—that in your reflections upon this subject, you will exercise your accustomed liberality and good sense, and dismiss fears that are groundless, for supposed sacrifices, that you will never be called to make.

If there is any question on which a difference of opinion may be justly ascribed in all to honest and good motives, this is one—for it cannot enter into the heart of man, to conceive how any sinister or selfish views could mingle with it, and it is worthy of remark, that all opposition to questions of this sort, however honestly entertained, has been uniformly put down, upon the completion of the work, by proving that that opposition was founded in error and false alarm. As applicable to the Eastern Shore, it is not asked whether we shall advance the interests of the state of Maryland—upon that point there is no division of sentiment, for every man wishes the prosperity of the state, and every man would promote it—The point of hesitation lies here, viz: Will this system of Internal Improvement redound to the general welfare of Maryland? and whether the Eastern Shore is not called on to make too great a sacrifice—(i. e.) whether she will not be greatly injured in the result? This I believe is a fair and honest statement of the case, at least it is intended to be so, and this is my answer, viz: I believe, if the system is carried into effect, that the advantages to Maryland will be glorious—that the Eastern Shore need never feel any burden in the progress of the work, and that upon its completion, so far from injuring her, I am persuaded and believe that she will participate largely in its benefits.

Having thus stated the case as much against myself as truth and justice would permit, you will, I am sure, indulge me in a short declaration, the sentiments of which, I must beg you to bear in mind, viz: As an Eastern Shore man, I am proud of my country—I am bound to this land I live in, by ties that I could not throw off if I would, and if my poor life was of any value but to my family, I would freely offer it as a hostage for the sincerity with which I speak, for the conviction under which I have acted, and for the truth of the results I anticipate.

Rising as this country is, in the possession of every thing which essentially constitutes national power and human enjoyment, my opinion is, it becomes us to adopt that course of internal policy which will more and more consolidate the bonds of the federal union of the states, and give to the states the best opportunity of developing their resources of wealth and industry to promote and improve the condition of the people

To proceed from year to year in one trodden and assigned path, without improving, by means of experience and science which begin to abound in our country, the great advantages that the munificent God of nature has kindly put into our power, is at once to set a destructive limit to exertion and to paralyse all those energies for which our countrymen have ever been distinguished. Our country is already great, naturally beautiful, & abundantly stored with riches—our people are intelligent, brave, enterprising and generous, and will be proud to unfold the capacities and power of their country, if those who are called to watch over their public concerns, will only afford them a favourable opportunity. Let our country then and our people be the objects of our care—with a proper devotion to the spot of our residence, and faithful to the interests of its vicinity, we should suffer no narrow or local trammels to hinder us from aiding in great objects of general state welfare that lead to lasting national benefits, and in doing this, we are justified in the hope of gratifying every man, not only in his interest, but by the indulgence of his pride of country in making it the most happy, the most desirable residence of man.

The object of the law upon Internal Improvement is to better the condition of the State generally, by increased facilities of intercourse and by great augmentation of its trade and business—but the question which particularly attracts attention, is that branch of it, which designs to connect the western or inland parts of the state, by a navigable canal, with those parts which have a ready access to the sea, and by concentering the interests of the whole, to unite us more firmly in one harmonious community. In doing this by an artifical water communication, called a canal, from the mountains to the Chesapeake Bay, we lay the foundation of a great national work which, by the aid of the Federal Government, will connect the Western States together with parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, with Maryland, by the indissoluble ties of convenient trade and common interest—and Maryland becomes both the passage way and the mart of their immensely redundant products, from whence they are to be shipped abroad, and to which are to be returned the great supplies of imported articles that are to be furnished to this vast and rich track of growing country.

It will be difficult to find a man who does not believe, that the introduction of such increased trade, to be carried on within the heart of the state, upon the borders of the Chesapeake Bay, (Baltimore for instance) will be of incalculable advantage to Maryland—It will, I presume, be no less difficult to find one who can doubt, that such a work and such a trade will be the best means to strengthen the bond of the federal union of these states. What is the strongest cement in human society? Is it not interest? Make that interest common and as far as its community extends it binds with insoluble force.

But this work is a great one, and will cost a great deal of money, it is true—and all great works that are pregnant with great benefits will cost much money—yet the amount of the cost will be diminished in comparison with the advantages to be derived from it.

The trade of this extensive country will come down to the Federal City and to Baltimore, but the greater portion must centre in Baltimore, because there is the great capital of money and the theatre of enterprise, and from thence is the easiest and readiest access to the ocean. And here I would ask, what has increased the prosperity of Baltimore so far, but the growing western trade superadded to that of the Eastern Shore? Why has Baltimore taken the lead of all her contemporary trading places in Maryland, and even of those that were older than herself? Because she was most convenient to a Back Country trade; and the more that back country trade has been improved, the more produce has been brought to her market, and the more produce has been brought to her market, the greater have been her means to purchase it—this is part of the history of our state.

Increase that western trade by other artificial means, so as to draw to Baltimore that produce which otherwise must go elsewhere, and what will be the consequence? a correspondent extension of her faculties and means and a greater capacity to purchase.

This question, to most men, may be difficult or doubtful, because it is a profound one, and it is not strange that differences of opinion arise on it; for on such subjects, some have always felt, at first, jealous local fears. It is too great a question also to be weighed at once in an ordinary balance—it is too comprehensive to be decided on at a first glance. Men must take time and reflection together with additional information, before they can make up their minds on it. In forming our judgments we must take into view the impetus and the exertions which pervade our country generally upon this subject—the efforts that are making on all sides of us—the contests which exist to rival us in the possession of this wealthy trade by sister states that have rich back countries and sea-ports like our own, whilst we are slow to determine whether this trade is of advantage or not. Situated as we are, in a fine level country, where almost every man has navigable water at his door, we are tempted to doubt if any country is divested of these blessings—doubting still more how the want of them can be supplied by artificial means. Nor do our doubts end here, for we even doubt, if this canal should be completed, whether the great quantity of produce of all sorts that will be brought to the Baltimore market will not overstock it, and either crowd out our produce or so reduce it in price as to render it worthless—and this doubt is sustained by the example of small market towns, whose purchases are chiefly for consumption, where abundance destroys and scarcity somewhat enhances prices.

In adopting first impressions as the rule of opinion we are apt to incur the risk of error. It is safer in making up opinions upon complex questions to discriminate accurately and to listen to the voice of experience. In markets for consumption uniformly and most generally in others, abundance and scarcity affect prices—and was there ever one, or can there be one, where this will not be the case? *A sudden glut* of produce at market sinks the price, but the experience of the world proves that this remark does not apply to *a regularly augmented trade derived from new and established sources;* because trading men who purchase produce are always awake to their interest, and when they see new sources of increasing trade opening upon any place, they follow that trade as sea birds do the fish. Regular increase of trade at any place always calls to it increase of men and money to manage it. The prices of those great articles which principally bring money to us on the Eastern Shore depend on foreign demand, and that price will be as good, nay better, at a market that exports five millions of barrels, as at one that exports only half a million; with this advantage in behalf of the larger market, that its consumption will be greater in proportion to its population and wealth, and its demands for produce will be increased in proportion to the capital it can vest in it—nor will the means of combination among traders be as easy in an extended as in a limited market.

Turning from these truths which have been established throughout all time, we are invited to cast a thought upon the canal across the Eastern Shore that is to open to us a communication with Philadelphia. Have we any fear that the whole of our produce, if thrown into the Philadelphia market will depress the price? or why are we so anxious to see that valuable work completed? Is it not that we may have a choice of markets by getting up to the greater one of Philadelphia where there is more population and more capital? With this cross cut between the two Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, whilst Pennsylvania is going on with her great works of internal improvement in opening canals to draw her extended western trade to Philadelphia—and Maryland is undertaking to draw her western trade in more abundance to Baltimore, conjointly with that from the western states beyond the mountain and the contiguous parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, can any agricultural people have better hopes or prospects of improved benefits than the people of the Eastern Shore of Maryland from their fortunate situation between, and their still more fortunate possession of the easiest access to, both these great marts that are thus destined to grow, to improve, and to flourish? Instead of desponding, we have every rational calculation for the best hope—instead of doubting, human wisdom and exertions combined could scarcely direct our labours to any thing that promises more abundant, more certain reward.

But shutting out of view the prospect of general advantage to be derived from an expansion of the market, would it not be churlish in us, because we have abundant land carriage and water carriage of the most delightful kind given to us by nature, that we should be reluctant to see the energies of the state directed to facilitate the intercourse of other parts of the state to market also—we are not so untaught, if we could be so unfeeling, as to expect that our interest is to be improved by the vain hope of checking and restricting the welfare of other parts of our own state. We know that we are members of one whole community, and that we can thrive but by the general thriftiness of the whole, and not by stopping the circulation in other parts. The work of facilitating intercourse and improved transportation to market will go on, as far as practicable whether we require it or not, nor is it in our power to prevent it, even if we had the will—and that we must be benefitted by it is as certain as that we are members of that community in which it is carried on. Where all are free to participate, it is impossible to dispense benefits to some and injuries to others by means of an augmented trade in the very heart of the state—and occupation will balance itself between the wants of the city and the wants of the country, as certainly, where men are at liberty to seek employment at pleasure, as water between two reservoirs. Increase business and employment and you increase industry, and industrious employment is every where the parent of wealth and comfort.

We are entering upon no new and untried projects—what is now proposed to be done in Maryland has been often done by others, and in our own country; and in every instance where it has been done, it has been uniformly accompanied by the most extended and general benefits. It is natural for those who have not made themselves acquainted with the effects of such undertakings to be at first a little cautious and timid—but caution and timidity must yield to the progress of science and experience. In the first settlement of this country we imported every thing from England—among other things were bricks to build houses and porter for drinking—this was not so much because we took up with the doubts that were entertained at that time whether American clay would make bricks, or whether any other water than that from the River Thames would make porter, but because we had no brickmakers or brewers; we did not understand either business. In time, however, this knowledge grew among us, and our convenience and our welfare have been promoted in these, as in all other things, correspondently with the advancement of knowledge.

In reasoning upon this great point it is fortunate for us that we can have recourse to the aid of established principles of human science to conduct us, and therefore we can easily guard against every thing that can be denounced as visionary on the one hand, or as prejudice on the other. The results will be proved hereafter—the contest must therefore be, for the present, between the comparative soundness of principles, fairness of conclusions, fidelity to past experience, and rational calculations of what ought to be expected to come to pass.

From this course of general remark I will beg leave to draw your attention to some specific points with a view of being more accurately understood—for a subject of this sort, allied to so many considerations and interests, and susceptible of so many views and illustrations, presents a topic too copious to be managed within the limits of such an address as I could alone have hopes to render tolerable to your patience.

I will examine the following points.

1. The practicability of the work and the terms upon which it is to be undertaken.

2. The resources of the state to meet the expense of the work and its capacity to pay interest without additional taxes upon the people.

3. To examine this question particularly in reference to the E. Shore.

4. The appropriation of $200 000 for the navigation and low lands of the E. Shore.

In relation to the first point, the practicability of making the canal, that must depend upon the report of the corps of Engineers appointed by the U. States to examine its route, which report, it is expected, will be made to the present session of Congress. Early in December last when the Secretary of War made his annual report to Congress, the document which accompanied it from the Engineers department stating the account of its operations, contains this paragraph. "Two brigades of topographical engineers and one brigade of civil engineers, were employed this season upon the Chesapeake and Ohio section of the canal to connect the Chesapeake and Lake Erie, and have completed all the surveys upon that section requisite to enable the Board to select the most eligible route determine a general line of direction for the canal, and make a preparatory project and estimate, upon which the operations may be commenced."

There are no other means of deciding this point of practicability, nor could we have better. Should it be decided that the work is impracticable, there is an end to it, and the hopes of the nation as well as our own are cut off—but if, as there is every reason to believe, they should decide that it is practicable, with reasonable means, then the work is to be undertaken, as soon as Congress shall think proper. In that case the state of Maryland has agreed to appropriate half a million of dollars upon the Eastern Section of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and half a million upon the Cross-Cut, from that Canal to Baltimore—*provided*, 1st. that Congress appropriates not less than one million of dollars to the same Canal—2dly. that the aforesaid Cross Cut from the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Baltimore is practicable—3dly. that the Governor and Council of Maryland shall be satisfied that the residue of the money necessary to complete the canal, besides what is given by Congress and Maryland, has been subscribed by bona fide and competent subscribers—Then upon these three conditions being performed, Maryland is to be called upon for her first payment, and not 'till then. It seems to have been scarcely possible to have made the matter more safe and guarded than by the terms of this law.

There is not a shadow of doubt, that the corps of Engineers engaged in this work by the United States' Government, are perfectly competent to make an accurate estimate of the whole cost, so that there will be an entire security against future deficiency. Of this amount of cost, the state of Maryland promises to pay a specific part, on the performance of three stipulations before stated, viz: That the whole amount of the cost of the canal is to be taken up by good and responsible subscribers—that this canal can be brought to Baltimore by a cross-cut—and that the United States shall invest *not less* than one million of dollars on her part in the canal. No person believes if the U. States invest any money, in this work, but that she will invest three or four times as much as is here stipulated—in fact, that she will carry the canal through with her own means, except what the state of Maryland has promised and what other states and banks and individuals may give. If the United States refuse to take a part in this work, there is an end to the whole business—If she does take a part in it, she will do it, knowing that she must carry it through—In that case, Maryland will be called upon, when the other two conditions are performed, to pay what she has promised in instalments as they may become due.

(*To be continued in our next.*)

CONGRESS.

[From the National Journal.]

MONDAY, March 27.

The Senate did not sit on Saturday.

In the House of Representatives, Mr. Wickliffe introduced a resolution, the object of which is to institute an inquiry into the fact of a pledge being given by the government of the United States, to the South American Republics, to defend their independence against the aggressions of any European power, except Spain, and the precise character of that pledge. The resolution is grounded on a conversation detailed by Mr. Poinsett in one of his letters to Mr. Clay, (embraced in the documents accompanying the President's Message,) as having taken place between him and an officer of the Mexican government. The resolution was not finally acted on, owing to the hour having elapsed before the discussion to which it led, and in which Messrs. Wickliffe, Forsyth, Webster, Buchanan, and Cook, participated, had terminated.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs made a report, by Mr Crowninshield, of Mass. on the subject of the Mission to Panama, which, we understand, is decidedly favourable to its objects. Mr. M'Lane, of Delaware, from the Committee on Ways and Means, also reported a bill making appropriation for the objects of the Mission It will be seen that the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs will be taken up on Monday next.

The House, in Committee of the Whole, took up the consideration of the claims of the State of Massachusetts, for services rendered during the late war. Mr. Hamilton, of South Carolina, the Chairman of the Military Committee, and Mr Davis, of Massachusetts, spoke at length, in favor of the claims, and Mr. Houston of Tennessee, in opposition. The Committee ultimately rose, on motion of Mr. Dwight, of Mass. without coming to any decision.

TUESDAY, March 28.

In the Senate, the bill for the relief of the company of rangers, under the command of Capt. James Bigger, and the bill on the subject of further relief of purchasers of public lands in Alabama, were read the third time and passed. The bill for the relief of Francis Larche, of New Orleans, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

Mr. Van Buren gave notice that the consideration of the Judiciary Bill would be deferred until Wednesday.

The House of Representatives was occupied yesterday in the discussion of the resolution offered on Saturday, by Mr. Wickliffe, on the subject of a pledge to the South American Republics. The resolution underwent a variety of modifications, and was finally agreed to, without a dissenting voice. The House afterwards went into Committee on the bill to provide for an additional naval force. The object of this force is to protect our commerce on the Eastern Coast of South America, during the war between the Emperor of Brazil and Buenos Ayres. The bill experienced no opposition, but went through Committee, and was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time to day.

The select committee appointed on the subject of adjournment, made a report yesterday, stating the impracticability of reporting a day for the termination of the present session, until the pressure of business should be lessened.

WEDNESDAY, March 29.

In the Senate, the bill for the relief of Francis Larche, of New-Orleans, was yesterday read a third time and passed. The bill for the benefit of the Kentucky Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, and the bill authorising the re-opening of the King's road, in the Territory of Florida, were ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

In the House of Representatives yesterday, Mr. ISACKS, of Tennessee, offered a resolution asking for information from the War Department, relative to the road from Washington City to New-Orleans. Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, also offered a resolution, asking of the President a copy of the instructions given by the Congress of Confederation, immediately at the close of the revolution, to the three Commissioners appointed to negotiate treaties with the European Powers. On motion of Mr. MERCER, of Virginia, the Judiciary Committee were instructed to inquire into the expediency of extending the laws in relation to forgery in certain cases; and also, of augmenting the penalty annexed by the laws of the United States, to forgery and perjury committed with intent to defraud any individual of life or liberty. A Bill was reported by Mr. Newton, of Virginia, from the Committee on Commerce, authorizing the building of light houses, light vessels, &c. and clearing of the harbour of Savannah. The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, when Messrs. Whipple, of New-Hampshire, Garnsey, of New-York, Worthington, of Maryland, Miner, of Pennsylvania, and Kellogg, of New-York, severally addressed the Committee, which ultimately rose, leaving Mr. Hoffman, of New York, in possession of the floor for to-day.

THURSDAY, March 30.

In the Senate, the several bills ordered to a third reading on Tuesday, were yesterday passed and sent to the House of Representatives. The bill to authorize the State of Pennsylvania to open a canal through the United States public grounds in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, and the resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution as it respects the periods to which any person may be elected President, were ordered to a third reading.

In the House of Representatives yesterday, a resolution was introduced by Mr. Cocke, of Tennessee, instructing the Committee on Naval Affairs to inquire into the legality of the allowances made to the Quarter-Master's Department of the Marine corps. The resolutions offered on the preceding day, by Mr. Isacks, of Tennessee, and Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, were laid on the table. A committee of five was ordered to be appointed to act with the committee of the Senate, in examining and reporting the business to be acted on at the present session.

An attempt was made by Mr Hemphill, of Pennsylvania, to take up the bill to provide for the Officers of the Revolutionary Army, but it was not sustained, and the the discussion of the amendment of the constitution was resumed. Mr. Hoffman, of New York, and Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, spoke in favor of the amendment; and an amendment was offered by Mr. Cocke. The committee rose on motion of Mr. Bartlett, of New Hampshire.

FRIDAY, March 31.

In the Senate the several bills engrossed for a third reading on Wednesday, were yesterday passed, and sent to the House of Representatives. The resolution denying the power of the Executive to appoint Foreign Ministers except with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the resolution proposing the repeal of the duty on salt, were the subjects of discussion the greater part of the day.

In the House of Representatives yesterday, Mr. Forsyth moved an amendment to the resolution offered on the preceding day by Mr. Campbell of Ohio, calling for a copy of a letter from Mr. Middleton, the United States Minister at Russia, to the Russian Government; and of the instructions to the United States' Minister at Chili, Buenos Ayres, and Mexico, relative to a proposed Congress of the South American States; which was agreed to. On motion of Mr. Mitchell, of Maryland, it was referred to the Committee on Military Pensions, to amend the act relating to Revolutionary Pensions, so as to authorize Justices to attend at the houses of Revolutionary officers, soldiers, and sailors, for the purpose of administering the oath prescribed by law. A bill was reported to increase the width of the Washington Canal; which was ordered to be read a third time to day. The House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, when Mr. Bartlett, of New Hampshire, and Mr. Cook, of Illinois, addressed the Committee on the resolutions to amend the Constitution. Mr. M'Duffie has the floor for to day, when he will reply to the arguments brought forward against his resolutions, and it is expected the question will be taken.

SATURDAY, April 1.

In the Senate, the greater part of yesterday was passed in Executive business.

The expectation of many, we are among the number, that the discussion on the Constitutional question, in the House of Representatives, would yesterday be brought to a close, was again disappointed. After Mr. M'Duffie's reply, which consumed about four hours, on motion of Mr. Trimble of Kentucky, the Committee rose.

A resolution was introduced yesterday by Mr. Bartlett of N. H. sending it to the Committee on Naval Affairs, to inquire into the expediency of removing the naval

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