EASTON GAZETTE.

WHERE THE PRESS IS FREE—"Literature well or ill-conducted, is the Great Engine which all Popular States must ultimately be supported or overthrown
RELIGION purifies the Heart and teaches us our Duty—Morality refines the Manners—Agriture makes us Rich, and Politics provides for the enjoyment of all.

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PUBLIC LANDS' SALES DISTRIBUTION.

Mr. CLAY rose, and addressed the Chair. Although (said he) I find myself borne down by the severest affliction with which Providence has ever been pleased to visit me, I have thought that my private griefs ought not longer to prevent me from attempting, ill as I feel qualified, to discharge my public duties. And I now rise, in pursuance of the notice which has been given, to ask leave to introduce a bill to appropriate, for a limited time, the proceeds of the sales of the public land of the United States, and for granting land to certain States.

I feel it incumbent on me to make a brief explanation of the highly important measure which I have now the honor to propose. The bill, which I desire to introduce, provides for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands in the years 1833. 34, 35, 36, and 37, among the twenty-four States of the Union, & conforms substantially to that which passed in 1833. It is therefore of a temporary character; but if it shall be found to have salutary operation, it will be in the power of a future Congress to give it an indefinite continuance; and, if otherwise, it will expire by its own terms. In the event of War unfortunately breaking out with any foreign power, the bill is to cease, and the fund which it distributes is to be applied to the prosecution of the War. The bill directs that ten per cent. of the nett proceeds of the public lands, sold within the limits of the seven new States, shall be first set apart for them in addition to the five per cent. reserved by their several compacts with the United States; and that the residue of the proceeds, whether from sales made in the States, or Territories, shall be divided among the twenty-four States, in proportion to their respective federal population. In this respect the bill conforms to that which was introduced in 1832.—For one, *I* should have been willing to have allowed the new States 12 1 2 instead of ten per cent; but as that was objected to by the President, in his Veto Message, and has been opposed in other quarters, I thought it best to restrict the allowance to the more moderate sum. The bill also contains large and liberal grants of land to several of the new States to place them upon an equality with others to which the bounty of Congress has been heretofore extended, and provides that, when other new States shall be admitted into the Union, they shall receive their share of the common fund.

The nett amount of sales of the public lands in the year 1833 was the sum of $3.967.682 55, in the year 1834 was $4.857,600 69, and in the year 1835, according to actual receipts in the three first quarters and an estimate of the fourth is $12,222,121 15; making an aggregate for the three years of $21.047,404 39. This aggregate is what the bill proposes to distribute and pay to the twenty four States on the first day of May, 1836, upon the principles which I have stated. The difference between the estimate made by the Secretary of the Treasury and that which I have offered of the product of the last quarter of this year, arises from my having taken, as the probable sum, one third of the total amount of the three first quarters, and he some other conjectural sum. Deducting from the $21,047,404 39 the fifteen per cent. to which the seven new States, according to the bill, will be first entitled, amounting to $2.612.350 18, there will remain for distribution among the twenty four States of the Union the sum of $18,435,054 21. Of this sum the proportion of Kentucky will be $960.947 41, of Virginia the sum of $1 581,669 39, of North Carolina $988.632 42, and of Pennsylvania $2.088,238 82. The proportion of Indiana, including the fifteen per cent will be $855.588 23, of Ohio $1.677.110 84, and of Mississippi $958,945 42.—And the proportions of all the twenty four States are indicated in a table which I hold in my hand, prepared at my instance in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, and to which any Senator may have access *—The grounds on which the extra allowance is made to the new States are, first, their complaint that all lands sold by the Federal Government are five years exempted from State taxation; secondly that it is to be applied in such manner as will augment the value of the unsold public lands within them; and lastly, their recent settlement.

It may be recollected that a bill passed both houses of Congress, in the session which terminated on the 3d March, 1833, for the distribution of the amount received from the public lands, upon the principles of that now offered. The President, in his message at the commencement of the previous session, had specially invited the attention of Congress to the subject of the public lands; had adverted to their liberation from the pledge for the payment of the public debt; and had intimated his readiness to concur in any disposal of them which might appear to Congress most conducive to the quiet, harmony, and general interest of the American people.

After such a message, the President's disapprobation of the bill could not have been anticipated. It was presented to him on the 2d of March, 1833. It was not returned as the Constitution requires, but was retained by him after the expiration of his official term, and until the next session of Congress, which had no power to act upon it. It was understood and believed that, in anticipation of the passage of the bill, the President had prepared objections to it, which he had intended to return with his negative; but he did not. If the bill had been returned there is reason to believe that it would have passed, notwithstanding those objections. In the House, it had been carried by a majority of more than two-thirds. And, in the Senate, although there was not that majority on its passage, it was supposed that, in consequence of the passage of the Compromise Bill some of the Senators who had voted against the Land Bill had changed their views, and would have voted for it upon its return, and others had left the Senate.

There are those who believe that the bill was unconstitutionally retained by the President, and is now the law of the land. But whether it be so or not, the General Government holds the public domain in trust for the common benefit of all the States, and it is, therefore, competent to provide by law that the trustee shall make distribution of the proceeds of the three past years as well as future years, among those entitled to the beneficial interest. The bill makes such a provision. And it is very remarkable that the sum which it proposes to distribute is about the gross surplus, or balance estimated in the Treasury on the 1st of January, 1836. When the returns of the last quarter of the year come in, it will probably be found that the surplus is larger than the sum which the bill distributes. But if it should not be, there will remain [illegible] millions held in the [illegible] bank of the United States, applicable as far as it may be received, to the service of the ensuing year.

It would be premature now to enter into a consideration of probable revenue of future years; but at the proper time, I think it will not be difficult to show that exclusive of what may be received from the public lands, it will be abundantly sufficient for all the economical purposes of Government, in a time of peace. And the bill, as I have already stated, provides for seasons of war. *I* wish to guard against all misconception by repeating what I have herefore several times said that this bill is not founded upon any notion of a power in Congress to lay and collect taxes and distribute the amount among the several States. I think Congress possesses no such power, and has no right to exercise it until some such amendment as that proposed by the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun) shall be adopted. But the bill rests on the basis of a clear and comprehensive grant of power to Congress over the Territories and property of the United States in the Constitution, and upon express stipulations in the deeds of cession.

Mr. President, I have ever regarded, with feelings of the profoundest regret, the decision which the President of the United States felt himself induced to make on the bill of 1833. If it had been his pleasure to approve it, the Heads of Departments would not now be taxing their ingenuity to find out useless objects of expenditure, or objects which may be well postponed to a more distant day.—If the bill had passed, about twenty millions of dollars would have been, during the three last years, in the hands of the several States, applicable by them to the beneficient purposes of Internal Improvement, Education or Colonization. What immense benefits might not have been diffused throughout the land by the active employment of that large sum?—What new channels of commerce and communication might not have been opened? What industry stimulated, what labor rewarded? How many youthful minds might have received the blessings of education and knowledge, and been rescued from ignorance, vice and ruin?—How many descendants of Africa might have been transported from a country where they never can enjoy political or social equality, to the native land of their fathers, where no impediment exists to their attainment of the highest degree of elevation, intellectual, social and political? Where they might have been successful instruments, in the hands of God, to spread the religion of his Son, and to lay the foundations of civil liberty!

And, Sir, when we institute a comparison between what might have been effected, and what has been in fact done, with that large amount of national treasure, our sensations of regret, on account of the fate of the bill of 1833, are still keener. Instead of its being dedicated to the benificent uses of the whole people, and our entire country, it has been an object of scrambling among local corporations, and locked up in the vaults, or loaned out by the directors of a few of them, who are not under the slightest responsibility to the Government or people of the U. S. Instead of liberal, enlightened and national purposes, it has been partially applied to local, limited and selfish uses. Applied to increase the semi-annual dividends of favorite stockholders in favorite banks! Twenty millions of the national treasure, are scattered in parcels among petty corporations; and whilst they are growling over the fragments and greedy for more, the Secretaries are brooding on schemes for squandering the whole.

But, although we have lost three precious years, the Secretary of the Treasury tells us that the principal is yet safe, and much good may be still achieved with it. The General Government, by an extraordinary exercise of Executive power, no longer affords aid to any new works of internal improvement. Although it sprung from the Union, and cannot survive the Union, it no longer engages in any public improvement to perpetuate the existence of the Union. It is but justice to it to acknowledge that, with the co-operation of the public spirited State of Maryland, it effected one national road having that tendency. But the spirit of improvement pervades the land, in every variety of form, active vigorous and enterprising, wanting pecuniary aid as well as intelligent direction. The States have undertaken what the General Government is prevented from accomplishing. They are strengthening the Union by various lines of communication thrown across and through the mountains. New York has completed one great chain. Pennsylvania another, bolder in conception and far more arduous in the execution. Virginia has a similar work in progress, worthy of all her enterprise and energy. A fourth, farther South, where the parts of the Union are too loosely connected, has been projected, and it can certainly be executed with the supplies which this bill affords, and perhaps not without them.

This bill passed, and these and other similar undertakings completed, we may indulge the patriotic hope that our Union will be bound by ties and interests that render it indissoluble. As the General Government withholds all direct agency [illegible] works, & from [illegible] and keys, water [illegible] well as [illegible] ought it not to yield to the States, what is their own, the amount received from the public lands? It would thus but execute faithfully a trust expressly created by the original deeds of cession, or resulting from the treatise of acquisition. With this ample resource, every desirable object of improvement, in every part of our extensive country, may, in due time, be accomplished. Placing this exhaustless fund in the hands of the several members of the Confederacy, their common Federal head may address them in the glowing language of the British bard, and

Bid harbors open, public ways extend,
Bid temples worthier of the God ascend.
Bid the broad arch the dangerous flood contain,
The mole projecting break the roaring main.
Back to his bounds their subject sea command;
And roll obedient rivers through the land.

The affair of the public lands was forced upon me. *In* the session 1831–2 a motion from a quarter politically unfriendly to me, was made to refer it to the Committee of Manufactures, of which I was a member. I strenuously opposed the reference. I remonstrated, I protested, I entreated, I implored. It was in vain that I insisted that the Committee of the Public Lands was the regular standing Committee to which the reference should be made. It was in vain that I contended that the Public Lands and Domestic Manufactures were subjects absolutely incongruous. The unnatural alliance was ordered by the vote of a majority of the Senate. I felt that a personal embarrassment was intended me. I felt that the design was to place in my hands a many-edged instrument, which I could not touch without being wounded. Nevertheless, I subdued all my repugnance, and I engaged assiduously in the task which had been so unkindly assigned me. This, or a similar bill, was the offspring of my deliberations. When reported, the report accompanying it was referred by the same majority of the Senate to the very Committee on the Public Lands to which I had unsuccessfully sought to have the subject originally assigned, for the avowed purpose of obtaining a counteracting report. But, in spite of all opposition, it passed the Senate at that session. At the next, both Houses of Congress.

I confess I feel anxious for the fate of this measure, less on account of any agency I have had in proposing it, as I hope and believe, than from a firm, sincere, and thorough conviction, that no one measure ever presented to the councils of the nation was fraught with so much unmixed good, and could exert such powerful and enduring influence in the preservation of the Union itself, and upon some of its highest interests. If I can be instrumental, in any degree, in the adoption of it, I shall enjoy, in that retirement into which I hope shortly to enter, a heart feeling satisfaction and a lasting esolation. I shall carry there no regrets, no complaints, no reproaches on my ov account.

When look back upon my humble origin, lean orphan too young to have been conous of a father's smiles and caresses, ith a widowed mother, surrounded a numerous offspring, in the midst of puniary embarrassment, without a regar education, without fortune, without finds, without patrons, I have reason toe satisfied with my public career. I ght to be thankful for the high places anhonors to which I have been called bythe favor and partiality of my countrym, and I am thankful and grateful.

And I hall take with me the pleasing consciouess that, in whatever station I have beeplaced, I have earnestly and honestly abored to justify their confidence by faithful fearless and zealous dischargof my public duties. Pardon these peonal allusions. I make the motion c which notice has been given.

Leave as then granted, and the bill was introduced, read twice, referred to the Comittee on Public Lands, and ordered to e printed.

*The llowing is the table referred to by Mr. Cay:

Statemen shewing the dividend of each State, according to its federal population) of the proceeds of the public lands, uring the years 1833—'4, and '5, afte deducting from the amount 15 per cen. previously allowed to the seven ne States.

States.	Federal Popula-tion.	Share for each State	Total to new States.
Maine	399,437	$617,269	
N. Hampshire	269,328	416 202	
Massachusetts	610,408	943,203	
Rhode Island	97,194	150 198	
Connecticu	297,655	459 996	
Vermont	280,657	433,718	
New York	1,918,553	2,964 834	
New Jersey	319,922	494,391	
Pennsylvana	1,348,072	2,083,238	
Delaware	75.432	116,569	
Maryland	405,843	627 169	
Virginia	1,023,503	1,581 669	
N. Carolina	639 747	988 632	
S. Carolina	455,025	701 495	
Georgia	429,811	664 208	
Kentucky	621,832	960,917	
Tennessee	625,263	966 249	
Ohio	9.35,884	1,446,266	1,677,110
Louisiana	171,694	265,327	332,888
Indiana	343,031	530,102	855 588
Illinois	157,147	242,845	726,606
Mississippi	130,338	201,542	373,897
Alabama	262,508	405,666	917,607

[Fractions of dollars are omitted in the above sums.

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.
ANNAPOLIS, December 30, 1835.
Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the House of Delegates:

It has again become our welcome duty to lay before you a general view of the proceedings of the Executive department of the Government during the past year, and to suggest for your consideration such measures as appear to us important to the happiness of our fellow citizens, or the prosperity of the Republic.

In the outset we must be permitted to pay a just tribute to the enlightened wisdom of the last General Assembly, who struck out from the difficulties with which those important subjects had been previously embarrassed, the most happy expedient for giving a new and powerful impulse to our great works of internal improvement, and at the same time providing ultimately an ample fund for general education. Complete success has so far attended the execution of the law then passed on these subjects. The loans have been effected upon even better terms than required by the law authorizing them. The States' sinking fund, created from the bonus received, has been invested in her own stocks to an amount more than sufficient, by its own regular accumulations, to discharge the principal debt by the stipulated time of payment. The works are being prosecuted with a zeal, a vigor and a persevering intelligence, which cannot fail of success. Every stroke of the spade the pick, or the hammer, in the progress of their construction, seems to develope new sources of wealth, to awaken new and livelier hopes for the future, and to impart fresh vigor and activity to our commercial and agricultural community. Other and kindred enterprises are either in progress or contemplation in various directions, to connect with these and to pour their tribute of wealth through these great channels into our commercial emporium, and Maryland seems now destined by these means to regain all the natural advantages of her local situation, and to advance in her march to greatness with rapid and unfaltering strides. No reasonable doubt, it seems to us, can be entertained of the sufficiency of the security given to the Treasury of the State for the payment, by the several corporations, of the annual interest upon the respective loans, and still less, with their brightened prospects of their ultimate ability, and that at no very distant day, to refund the principal sums advanced. It is the appropriation of these sums, when so refunded, that gives to this law its most estimable and interesting feature. Great and highly beneficial as the direct results which will flow from the completion of these stupendous works must be, yet they are short of the blessings to be diffused amongst our posterity by the repayment and faithful application, according to the provisions of the act, of the sums loaned for their completion. Long have the patriots of our State sighed over the neglected state of education; long have her public functionaries and her people busied themselves in searching for means to provide adequately for that holiest duty of a perternal government. Behold them now flowing from this measure. Hitherto we have been on the subject of internal improvements a divided people. A very large portion of the State, having no direct interest in works of this character, has been reluctant to consent to their construction, and many of our best citizens have pertinaciously refused to lend the public purse, or public credit, to any such enterprizes, thinking it unjust that all should be burdened in equal proportions with expenditures of which a part only were to reap the immediate benefits. But happily a change has taken place in our policy in regard to such works.—The systems of internal improvement & general education are united. The former is made the handmaid of the latter. Thelaw of the last session lends the public credit to insure the completion of works of great importance and certain profit, and bestows the whole of the great direct pecuniary gain of the State to provide for general education, and the whole state as with one voice approves the measure. All rejoice that these magnificent enterprises no longer languish; all hail the light of the new day which has dawned upon our native land; all exult in the sure prospect of ample provision being made in future for the developement of the intellectual powers of our posterity. Great, rich and powerful, the people of the State might have been without this, but happy they could never have become—a sheet anchor for their republican institutions they would not have had. The instructive pages of history, ancient and modern, tell of communities warlike, powerful & abounding in wealth, who yet have known little happiness, who have been the victims of depravity, or the sport of tyrants, and these same pages acquaint us also with the fatal cause—the uneducated condition; the deplorable ignorance of the great mass of the people. Shining instances have have existed, and may again exist, of great genius and learning in the midst of ignorance and neglect of general education, but these have dazzled and passed away, seeming only to render visible the darkness that surrounded them, and often using the superior advantages thus possessed but to enslave or oppress their fellow men. These do not make a people happy; and perhaps they are farther from giving security to liberty: Great and superior power, when possessed by but few, gives temptations to its abuse, sometimes too strong for the frailty of our nature, and though there is much in the qualities of this species of superior power to enable its possessor to resist these temptations. experience proves that the resistance has not always been made, or at least has not always been successful. Let every citizen be educated, then will the disparity of power from this and other sources be greatly lessened, while the public stock will be immensely increased. Each man will know how to appreciate his own rights, will become sensible of his own dignity as a freeman: all will be able to understand, all will love and support the only true principles of civil government. The spirit of usurpation will ever quail before the enlightened & impartial judgment of such a people; tyranny will tremble at the thought of their resistless indignation, and their affections will be an anchorage for the principles of freedom, improving by storms and strengthening by time. Happiness too will be theirs, because with knowledge comes love of virtue, naturally as light from the sun. Juster and clearer perceptions of right and wrong will prevail, and obedience to the laws will be acknowledged by all as a moral as well as a political duty. Of the principles and policy of this law then we will say, let them be perpetual.

Before we leave the subject of general education, we will recommend a careful examination into the application of the funds of the State, already available for that purpose, and with them the arrangement and commencement of a wise and uniform system throughout the State, calculated for suitable extension, when the other great funds we have spoken of shall have become applicable thereto.

Connected with these subjects is the consideration of the disposition to be made by the federal government of the public lands of the Union. Surely the time has arrived for doing justice to the original States in this particular. The immense revenue derived from that source is not only no longer wanted by the federal goverament, but is actually burthensome to it. The National Treasury is full to overflowing, and the question with that government is not now, how ways and means are to be raised to meet all its legitimate and necessary expenditures, but it is how are they to get rid of superabundant revenue.—Nothing would seem to fit the occasion better, or to be more consonant with the principles of equal justice, and the genius of our institutions, than the distribution of these lands, or the revenue thence arising, among the several States, in just and fair proportion, for the purposes of education and internal improvements. It cannot be that Congress will harken to the proposition once made of ceeding these lands gratuitously to the States within whose respective limits they lie. It cannot be that the junior members of our political family have so engrossed the affections of the Federal head as that the common parents of both are to be discarded and forgotten. It cannot be that the original States will ever patiently submit to such a flagrant violation of the principles of the original cession, and the ideas of equal justice. We recommend this subject to your serious consideration, & would respectfully suggest the propriety of presenting to Congress and the Nation, the views entertained by this State upon the subject in such a mode as you may deem most desirable and appropriate.

We herewith submit reports recently received from the President and Directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company, and also from the President and Directors of the Baltimore and Susquehannah Canal Company, which give a gratifying view of the affairs of each company, & of their future prospects. No official report has been recently received from the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company. A general meeting of that company is now being held, & a report of its progress and prospects will probably be received at no distant day.

It pains us to be obliged to advert to the spirit of insubordination, which has of late so frequently manifested itself in many parts of the country, and deep and unfeigned is our mortification, while we are compelled to admit that our own State has exhibited some of its worst examples. In governments not formed in the principles of republicanism, where persons claiming to be independent of and superior to the people, under color of laws enacted by themselves, practice tyranny and oppression, these popular commotions may sometimes be palliated or excused, as the only means possessed by an enslaved people of checking the inordinate excesses, and striking terror into the hearts of their oppressors.—But in a country like ours, a country of liberty and laws, were the people are acknowledged to be supreme, and in fact are in the constant practical exercise of absolute sovereignty; where the government claims no power but what is immediately derived from the consent of the governed, and is administered solely and exclusively for the good of the whole; where the laws are made by the immediate agents of the people and designed for the protection and security of the rights, privileges and possessions of all equally, and are subject at all times to be altered, repealed or amended as may be agreeable to the will conducive to the interests, or promotive of the happiness of the people, there can be no apology, there is no extenuation or excuse for such commotions, and their occurrence stains the character of the government, and wounds deeply the cause of equal liberty. If existing laws are defective; if artful villainy can pervert their meaning or elude their justice, surely there is virtue and intelligence enough to amend such defects and to devise the means of bringing those who will practice wrong and injustice to legitimate punishment; but let not the restraints, the security of the laws be thrown off. How terrible is the conditon of that community where anarchy reigns! How much more of cruelty, wrong and injustice flows from it than from the most despotic of governments! How soon are all, having claim to virtuous motives, driven from control or sacrificed, to fury! How completely is the voice of reason silenced, and every thing useful or valuable, sacred or profane, prostituted, abased or destroyed, as may suit the caprice, or be suggested in the wantonness of brutal force, acting without virtuous motives and guided only by the principle of evil! How natural, nay almost inevitable, the refuge from these horrors to the power most certain to afford effective protection! And what power so effectual, when the people have forgotten their duty to themselves, as a despotism! To this such things tend, and in this they must ultimately terminate, unless a just abhorrence for them can be kept alive among the great body of the citizens of the Republican, and there shall be awakened and cherished, in the bosoms of a majority of the community, a sufficient sense of their fatal tendency, and a devotion to our laws and institutions, which shall induce them promptly to repress all similar attempts, and to aid in visiting the judgments of the law upon all who shall aim such fatal blows at the nature and genius of our happy from of government. Although all these strong motives exist to induce the citizens every where to restrain and check all such excesses, and although we doubt not they will be generally felt and acknowledged, yet we have seen they are not always sufficient to bring the laws of peace and good order promptly into action upon such emergency. Hope is too apt to blind us to the extent or fearful nature of remote dangers, and each one, busied

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