

warn the tax-payers not to be tantalized by specious devices. Our public debt, if paid must be paid out of our own resources. Whoever thinks otherwise, follows a phantom.

The evil consequences, threatened by our State liabilities to our institutions, are greater far in the measures they have prompted as a means to escape their direct payment, than their effects as invasions of the rights of private property. There is an energy and elasticity in the American character that will soon cause the whole country to recover from its present depression, without governmental aid in any form. But there is cause to fear that errors of opinion, growing out of the pecuniary difficulties as to the nature of our complex and beautiful system of government, may not be so soon eradicated. Unlimited authority to dispose of the public lands, was not seriously and generally claimed for the government of the Union, until after the power to consummate a grand system of roads and canals was denied to be in Congress. After that, the deeds of cession for that part of the National domain lying east of the Mississippi and north of Florida, were so construed as to make language, declaring expressly that the land ceded to the United States "should be considered a common fund", for the use and benefit of the United States, mean that the grantee in the deed should dispose of them, and make separate funds for each of the States in the confederacy, and the stipulations in the same deeds that the lands should be used for the benefit of the United States, according to their usual "respective portions in the general charge and expenditure," was made to signify, that Congress should have power to distribute to the several States, the money arising from land sales, not according to their respective portions in the general charge and expenditure, but to an arbitrary rule of distribution, to be found in the land bill. As to the vast domain purchased by money out of the common Treasury, no power to distribute the proceeds of its sales being found in the several treaties, authority for that purpose was derived from that article of the Constitution intended only to clothe Congress with power to sell the lands, or dispose of them in the same manner as the other property of the United States may be, for the purposes of the general government.

The land bill, the creature of these constitutional doctrines has had its day. It has most signally failed to answer the purpose of its author; and we are now to encounter, in another form, a temptation to give such an enlargement to the powers of the general government, as would ultimately consolidate under one head, all those now possessed and exercised by the several States.

The proposition to issue government stock of several hundred millions of dollars, to be exchanged for State bonds, has as yet but few public advocates. It is however sufficiently countenanced to justify serious consideration. It is not designed to relieve the people of their obligation to pay annually the interest of their public debt, but, to have the taxes for that purpose levied by our representatives in Congress instead of by the members of the State Legislature. Had it is intended to have the necessary taxes imposed on our wearing apparel, on our sugar, coffee and salt, instead of our lands and personal property.

There is no power in Congress to levy taxes, duties, imposts or excises which shall not be uniform throughout the Union. There is now no surplus in the national treasury. It is then obvious; if the States' debt