CONGRESSIONAL.

SPECCH OF MR. CLAYTON, OF GEORGIA, On the bill proposing a reduction of the duties on Imports.

(commound) When the convention commenced the work of the Constitution, it is well known esveral plans were proposed upon which to raise the ciructure. The people neverintended that the delegates should do any thing more than amend the old efficies of confederation, and, with such intention, many of them tessembled, and long retained that inclination. But, after an interchange of various views, a new government was resolved epon, and Mr. Randolph's and Pickering's plans were submitted to a committee to report a constitution. - Mr. Randolph's propocition contained fifteen resolutions, the sixth of which contained these words, and formed the foundation of the enumerated powers found in the present constitution: "Resolved, That the National Legislature ought to possess the legislative rights vested in Congress by the articles of confederation; and, moreover, to legislate, in all cases, for the GENERAL INTERESTS of the Union, and, also, those to which the States are separately incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legisla-

Now, here is the great corner-cione of the reventeen powers contained in the eighth section of the first article of the federal constitution. "The general interests of the Union" is I en expression found in the articles of confederation, and is there used synonimously with the phrese general welfare, and meant nothing more in that instrument, as all will agree, than the interests therein specially enumerated, in which all the States were equally and directly concerned—not general interests which one section of country might hold in opposition to other interests possessed by another, but such as affected the whole sisterhood precisely alike.

What were these general interests which

were alike applicable to every part of the confederation? They were those of war, peace, Indian trade, and foreign negotiation Now, whatever was added to these general interests, and the regulation of commerce, was the principal accession, was placed precisely under the same condition in the new constitution, which they held under the articles of confederation; for no one can believe that the general interests of the States as a confederation, could ever be changed in character, or different in purpose; from being transferred to the new constitution. A-mere enlargement of general powers, and not an alteration of the objects of the Government was intended. They remained the general interests still, in which all the States were alike and equally concerned, and were to be managed as before. It is true the powers were increased in number in the new Government, but not altered in purposes and their regulation was to remain the same; so that whatever meaning the term general welfare, or, which was the came thing, general, interests, received under the old confederation, was exactly the same in the new Government.

Now, it is well known that these phrases, the "general welfare," the "general interests," the "general affairs" of the Union, found promiscuously in the articles of confederation, all meant the same thing, and were not intended to be such uncertain interests as a majority of the States, (for that Government voted by States) might, in their discretion, consider general in opposition to the interests of the minority of the States; but they were circumscribed by the specific and defined powers therein mentioned, and never, in any instance, were designed to convey unlimited power. In these well | described and cautiously expressed powers, both in the articles of confederation, and the federal constitution, the minority find their only accurity. They were intended to be the barriers to the capricious will of the majority. Break down these, and the Government becomes one vast consolidation, destroying the State boundaries, and subjecting the federal rights of the minority to the most erbitrary/control of the majority. Why should these; phrases assume a different import when transferred to the constitution? If they were -confined to the enumerated powers of the artiecces of confederation, what good reason is there for giving them an unlimited effect in the conctitution, when connected with the power to collect or appropriate money? And closs not every one perceive, that, if this be its true interpretation, the new constitution could have been despatched to the nation with a solitary article, and in a single hour, viz. there shall be a General Government, with power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, and to provide for the common defence and general welfare! Every thing else was perfectly unnemessary; and the convention, instead of receiving so much credit for their wisdom, deserves the everlasting execration of all posterity for -fixing upon them a government of such gigan tic and all absorbing powers, under the specious and insiduous appearance of cafely marked metes and bounds.

But, Sir, to return to what shall be considered objects of general welfare. Perhaps I may be told that the reason why Congress cannot appropriate money for the benevolent objects which'I have just mentioned, is, because they form the peculiar concern of State legislation! Then, I answer, I am contented with this t st. and it reduces the matter to the only reasonable certainty, save that which, as I contend, belongs to the enumerated powers already explained; and by it I am willing to be governed. Let us now reason the point upon this rule. No one as yet denies but that the General Government is entirely one of derivative powers. From whence does it derive them? All must answer, from the States. Then, all the power was once in the States: this, I apprehend, is beyond all dispute. A certain portion has been parted with, and to that extent the States are the grantors, and the Federal Government the grantee; the balance of power not granted, certainly resides in the grantors. Can any postible objection be made to the proposition that each of these parties is supreme in the exercise of the powers thus separated and belonging to each? The federal court has declared that the General Government, to the extent of its granted powers, is sovereign, and over them it is supreme. Then I assert for the States, from whom these sovereign and supreme powers were ori-.ginally obtained, that their reserved powers are equally sovereign and supreme. A part of the same whole cannot be different from the other part. It must follow, then, that the grantors have as much right to judge of the powers conferred, as the grantees and to say that the latter has the exclusive right to determine how much the former has granted, leaves no security for the reserved powers, and they are delivered over to a discretion, which, like all other discretion, has no bounds but its interest or inclination. I affirm, then, that if each | party is supreme over their respective powers, no act of the legislation of the one can interfere with the other, for the exercise of such a right would inevitably destroy each others purposes, and thereby involve their proceedings in the most inextricable discord and confusion.

With the colitary exception of taxation, which is the only concurrent right, as Alexan-Ber Hamitton himself declares, possessed equally by the States and the General Government, and obviously different from all other powers, (it being the power or rather the means for carrying all other powers into effect,) there is no other actually conferred upon the General [Government, which the States can, in the smallest degree, exercise, and they only claim, for their reserved powers, the same respect from that Government. They contend, in the language of an enlightened writer, "that it is a manifest absurdity to maintain that the same prople rould desire to exist as ONE nation, for

an expetial of designated object, and, at the junconstitutional, bow does it happen that a presame time, to exist as TWENCY-FOUR dis- cisely similar law to protect manufactures detinet mations for the self-scare object." Now, frived from the right to regulate commerce, is let us apply these principles to the case sub- not equally so? fore, if the States have the right, the General | hoarser tones of rebellion. Government has not; for I have already shown for both Governments to entertain supreme con- pects this branch will be considered. trol over the same subjects, and whatever power is exercised by either party, must be supreme [system. and exclusive over the objects upon which 2. Its dangerous effect upon the peace and they have a right to act. Any other doctrine, harmony of the Union. from the most common principles of philosophy, implies a destruction of the power; for to present one serious reflection before I prodental results will be perfectly harmless.

with, and naturally lead us to, some conclud- | yet some portions of the country must suffer, ing remarks on the other ground, which is said and there is no help for it. Is this the kind of to justify the tariff system, viz: the right to re- | reply that a free people ought to submit to gulate commerce. The expression in the Con- You may think so, but depend upon it, a very stitution is, "to regulate commerce with fo. | short time will find you in a woful mistake. reign nations, and among the several States." This reflection brings me to the assertion of a It has been urged, in a late popular essay, principle, which, if any man pretends to conlate commerce," before the adoption of the ceed any further. I confidently lay down this Constitution, and the practice of the colonies position, that Government cannot make one restrain, but even to suspend commerce indefi- It cannot take the property of one and give it nitely, belongs to that expression. What to another. That whatever would be wrong would be the consequence of such a construct in the acts of Government, as between man and tion? If Congress can restrain or suspend com- man, is e ually wrong as between ten or ten merce with foreign nations to protect manufac- | millions of men. Does any one deny this tures, it can certainly do the same thing "a- | None! Then I proceed. If any casualty should, mong the several States," for they are both in in the ways of Providence, reduce the four the same grant of power. The right way to quarters of the Union to but one man apiece, allits consequences: whatever, therefore, Con- the north a cotton spinner; of the west a gress can do in relation to commerce with fo- hemp weaver; and of the south a cotton planreign nations, it can do that same thing among | ter; in what condition would the tariff system the several States. Now, let us see how an | find these four individuals? Mark well, I beact of this kind would be received among the | seech you, Mr. Chairman, their exact relative States, to wit, "An act to restrain or suspend | situations, for this very picture is a faithful ilall commerce among the States for the pur- | lustration of the bill on your table, and I propose of protecting manufactures in the States | nounce there is no getting away from it. Your of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts." Does any bill, as plain as a bill can talk in vernacular one believe such an act would go down among | language; says to the hemp weaver, and pointthe people? Now, apply a similar law to the ling at the same time to the cotton planter, you suspension of commerce with foreign nations | may make him pay you, besides a fair price for for a similar object: who is there that will be | your bagging, five cents a yard as a bounty for so uncandid as to say that this is a faithful, your labor. It is true he works as hard as you clause of the Constitution I have just read? | must be protected. He shall wrap his cotton Such interpretation would be a departure in your bagging, or pay a higher price to some strument, and a breach in this regard, accord. | the shipbuilder, that came cotton planter shall ing to all sound exposition of law, is not less il- | pay you a bounty for carrying his cotton to the legal than a violation of its most express provi- | spinner. To the spinner, it says he shall self sions. If communes was one of the prime it to you, and buy your cloths; or, if he dares causes of the Uzioz, with a view to pay the | to carry it to any other market, he shall pay public debt, and to prevent the wars ever in- | you a tax of eight cents a yard for every yard cident to its regulation, and of which it is the of cottons he buys elsewhere. Now, I as you, most fruitful source; if it was the source to Mr. Chairman, is this just? Would the Governwhich each State looked for its prosperity, it | ment dare to put its law into this kind of lansurely was the intent and interest of the whole guage as between one laborer and another? to have it so regulated by the General Govern- And, if it would not, how can it do so as bement as to be productive of the greatest possi- | tween whole communities? Would the princible advantage to the confederation. That each | ple be changed from the case I have put, if the State would give up this most valuable source | laborers and their pursuits were multiplied to | of wealth to be destroyed, can hardly be cre- | ten thousand? And if that single cotton planter dited by the most infatuated manufacturer. No could not bear the drafts of the other three one can believe it was for any other object than | taskmasters, will the whole class of planters be to be encouraged, fostered, and promoted, by in any petter situation from the multiplied classall the means which the united energies of all es of manufacturers constantly preying upon the States could exert. In the power to regu- his labor? No, Sir, they cannot and will not late commerce, no one could possibly conceive | bear it; and, I repeat, they are preparing to there was contained a lurking principle to de- | signify it to you in a way that cannot be misun- | stroy it; yet every one must admit that the di- | derstood. rect tendency of the protection of manufactures | The remarks I have made, naturally conduct is to produce that effect. And, in proof of this | me to an examination of the burdens we think assertion, commercial men, commercial cities, we bear, though the manufacturers think it is raise their hands and voices in the most carnest all delusion. When the bill of the gentleman opposition to this singular method of regulating | from South Carolina, (Mr. McDuffin's) was commerce by promoting manufactures.

pressed powers of the Constitution, is to take | self is it possible that any thing more could in them separately. The 8th section of that in-| conscience be demanded? When I reflect that strument contains seventeen enumerated pow- 25 per cent. was a tax of the fourth part of a ers, all general and applicable alike to all the man's income, for nine men out of ten spend all States of the Union. One is not more benefi- | their income, and when I recollected, also, cial than another, and this is what is meant by that most men of money are contented with 25 the general interests in the old confederation, per cent interest, I wondered if it were possiand the general welfare in the new Constitu- | ble that the manufacturers were in the habit of tion. Now suppose the States, instead of con- | receiving this amount, and were yet anxious to federating for these seventeen objects, had on- get more. There is hardly one man in a thouly confederated for one single purpose; and it samt believes that he pays twenty-five cents on might just as well have been for one as seven- | every dollar that he lays out; and 'yet, Sir, teen; and suppose that the one had been "to what will be his astonishment when he comes regulate commerce;" does any one believe to learn that he pays the double of it? The that the agricultural and planting States, for rejection of the bill just mentioned proves that whose especial benefit commerce was to be re- | the tax is over 25 per cent. or sthey would gulated, because exports are as much the pe- have taken it. Then, what is it? The Secreculiar concern of commerce as imports, meant | tary of the Treasury, in his calculations subto give up their commerce, to have a system of mitted to this House, places it at 474 her cent. manufactures founded upon it, by which it other calculations make it a fraction over 50. would be destroyed? And can it be imagined, Now, I demand, if it be less than either of for a moment, that, upon this single power to these sums, that some friend of the tariff immeregulate commerce. Congress would have dar- | diately rise in his place, and state what it is! ed to build their immense structure commonly | Finding no apposition to this statement, I set i called the American system? No one believes down as granted, that the duty is comewhere it. Now try all the other powers in the Con- in the neighborhood of 50 per cent. upon an stitution, one by one, in the same way, and see | average, on all the usual articles of consumpwhether there is any one of them that will au- tion, such as cottons, woollens, iron, salt, suthorize this intolerable system of legislative gar, coffee, and all kinds of tools and farming

tion that seems to my mind to be conclusive. adjusted, I proceed to state another, which is It is a universal principle, which no one will necessary to my purpose, and in which there controvert, that what is directly forbidden can can be little or no dispute. It is this: the not be done by indirection. Now, the federal price of an article is increased the amount of constitution, in granting the power to regulate | the duty. The establishment of this position commerce, was so fearful that the regulation will be postponed until I come to answer the might be made to operate partially upon the argument of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, States, to the benefit of some, and injury of [Mr. STEWART,) on that subject. One other others, that it expressly declared "no tax or point is also admitted, viz. that the consumer duty shall be laid on articles imported from any | pays the duty, and this for the present is enough State, No preference shall be given by any for my purpose, though I think I shall herealregulation of commerce or nevenus to the ports | ter be able to sustainsthe views of the gentleof one State over those of another." If, then, man from South Carolina, that the producer no regulation of commerce or revenue could pays the tax. These three things being setdirectly be made to act unequally upon the tled, to wit, that the duty is 50 per cent.; 2d, States, how happens it that a regulation con- that articles purchased are increased in price cerning minutactures, bottomed upon the the amount of the duty; and, 3d, that the conpower to regulate commerce, can lawfully have | sumer pays the duty, I proceed to present an what effect? In other words, if a law com- illustration of its burdensome effects upon the pelling Georgia to pay duties to Massachusetts | planters of the south. Suppose, Mr. Chair-

* Mr. Verplanck's.

mitted to the consideration of this committee. I have now done with the constitutional point, Where, in the Constitution, is any nower given | and I make no spology for the great length of to Congress to legislate on the subject of ma- largument employed on this head, for I readily nufactures; or where is it taken away from the lown if the subject for protecting manufactures States? No one will contend that the States depended alone upon the question of expedimay not protect manufactures; for it is con- ency, unless it was carried to a state of maniceded they can grant, towards that object, and fest oppression, of which I shall speak herealhave often done it, bounties, premiums, privi- | ter, I should have nothing to say, for that is a leges, and exemptions, and this cannot be done matter legitimately within the power of Conby the General Government. Now, this plain- | gress; and although I should greatly deplore ly shows that the whole right is not parted with the adoption and continued prosecution of a by the States, and if not, I defy an instance to | policy obviously grinding down the resources of be shown in the Bederal Constitution where one class of the States to build up and advance the States have divided any one power between I the prosperity of another of the same confedethemselves and the General Government; in racy; yet it would be ours to submit under the other words, retaining a part and granting a terms of the compact. All argument is vain part. That each Government possesses con- against cupidity supported by power; but, if current jurisdiction over a part, only, of a cer- it is unconstutional, it is our right, nay, it is our tain power, is an absurdity so glaring, that it duty, to resist, and to use every weapon in our cannot, for one moment, be believed. There- power, from the voice of reazon up to the still

I proceed now to examine the question in that, in the nature of things, it is impossible reference to its expediency; and under two as-

1. The great inequality and injustice of the

On the first point, suffer me, Mr. Chairman,

equal forces destroy one another, and, indeed, | ceed to the argument. It is by close thinking it is not too much to say, and it is said with | we sometimes get upon the track of truth great reverence, that even Deity, to remain which leads to the most fortunate results. This consistent with himself, cannot enforce two system commenced, and is continued, by petiopposite laws without producing a monster. Itions for RELIEF. Mr. Chairman, has any All that could be contended for, by the Gene- | one ever considered where relief comes from ral Government, is so much of the right, and No one will be so credulous as to believe that no more, as the laying of duties on foreign im- | relief is manufactured in this Hall, and sent out ports conveys "incidentally," and 'only inci- to the supplicating sufferers; if not, where dentally. This has never been denied. But I does it come from? Certainly from some other it is not every incidental power that confers the | quarter of the country that does not complain. right to use that power directly. For instance, Now, does not every one perceive, that whencethe General Government has the power to de- soever the relief is taken, just precisely in clare war, and, as incidental to that power, it proportion to the amount withdrawn must that may demolish houses and enclosures to affect | part suffer ! And would they not have a right, an enemy; but no one would be so idle as to and be entitled to respect, too, to turn round, contend that they could exercise this right in and petition for relief also? What right has time of peace, or declare war merely for the Congress to rob one portion of country to hush sake of destroying private property. There- [the mouths of another? If the north suffers, is fore, whatever consequence flows from a direct it right to make the south, against her will, repower, will not make the incident a substan- lieve that suffering? No; the truth is, when tive power, to be acted upon in like manner | the south petitions for relief, they are told, with the one of which it is a consequence. The | "you lie," you do not suffer, or, if you do, it intended object of the direct power should is greatly less than you imagine; at all events, alone he honestly consulted, and then all inci- you must submit to the will of a majority; and, notwithstanding the Federal Government was These reflections are intimately connected framed to take care of the interest of the whole, that, from the meaning of the term "to regu- | trovert, I wish to hear from him before I proin relation to that subject, the right not only to I free man work for another without his consent. test the legality of a power is to carry it out in and he of the east should be a ship-builder; of honester and legitimate construction of the | do, but you are a man of capital, and therefore from the spirit and true intent of that in- one else for that article. Your bill says also to

read, and I found it proposed to lay a duty of The most rational way to consider the ex. 25 per cent. on all foreign articles, I a ked myutensils. I shall, then, for the sake of easy But there is a view of this branch of the ques- | calculation, place it at 50. This point being for the protection of her commerce would be man, instead of the Atlantic Ocean, a straight, narrow river, running from Maine to Mobile, dirided us from the old world; and suppose all

stead of being clustered in groups in the north- in putting down the burthens of the couling 1 stream; imagine similar ane corresponding fac- | truth, when I say the capital doubled itself in tories on the other side, exactly opposite to two years. From these facts, permit me to those on this, and that a convenient bridge | draw a few inferences as to the great imposition leads from one to enother: here, then, we have | which this whole system inflicts upon the plantpresented not only two similar places of sup- | ing interest of the country. plies, but two markets for the produce of the lat. It is acknowledged that machinery expes planters. Instead of sending their produce to I manual labor to a mast enormous extent. The these markets, as is usual, through the agency | gentleman from Pennsylvania says that the maof merchants, each planter becomes his own chinery of England, with one million of hands, merchant. Now, Sir, suppose one presents performs the labor of two hundred and lifty milhimself with his cotton at a woullen factory, lions. What a fact! I know this to be true, for and desires to purchase a bale of blankets, he each of the small hands which was carried into is told the price is lifty dollars, but that, on the the Georgia factory, had his labor immediately other side of the stream, a precisely similar multiplied forty fold; and yet, Mr. Chairman, bale can be had for twenty-five. Having an will you believe it, the tariff system makes my easy and convenient bridge, every one per- | neighbors, who are left in the fields to work in ceives be would have no hesitation in selecting | rain and sunshine, with nothing but the muscles this cheaper market. But when he arrives at | which the God of nature has given them, conthe foot of the bridge, he is met by a custom | tribute to my labor, increased as it is, forty fold house officer, who informs him that if he buys by the aid of machinery. I, who have multihis blankets on the other side of the river, he plied my force to so great an amount, cannot will have to pay one-half of them to the Go- | get along without aid, and therefore must cry vernment, so that he might as well lay out his help, more help, or I perish! The people that money with the factory man on this side. He can bear this, can bear any thing; and if they inquires why it is that I have to pay half my do not rise in their majesty and put down this produce to the Government' He is answered, I system of legalized robbery, they do not deserve all the owners of factories, strung up and down the blessings of freedom. this river, have united, and made their poor 2d. If the capital invested by the company to workmen believe they ought to be protected which I belong, say somewhere about thirty by Government, and they have been artfully | thousand dollars, has doubled itself in two years, put up to clamor for relief, until the Govern- what is the consequence? The gentleman from ment has compelled you to pay half your Tennessee, (Mr. Brit,) who so eloquently blankets to me for her use, or half your money | painted the exactions and influence of wealth, to them, and now you may take your choice. and the misery which the sudden and rapid ac-Of course he puts himself to no further trouble, | cumulations of money must create in any comreturns, makes the purchase, and loses twen- munity, spoke truly when he said some one laty-five dollars, which the manufacturer pock- [ses when another gains. Now, Sir. apply this ets. That this is the precise operation of the truth to the fact I have related. Thirty thouturiff system upon every article which a plant. | sand dollars in two years have been soaked up, er purchaves, is as certain as death; and I defy as with a sponge, within a certain circumferany one to detect a fallacy in the statement. | ence. While we have gained it, our neighbors And, Sir, here is the proper place to exhibit have lost it; and though they are too generous the effect which this system has upon our pro- to complain of us, knowing that neither our duce. Admit, for the sake of argument, as motives nor feelings so enter into the system as stated by the gentleman from South Carolina, to desire its continuance at the expense of prin-(Mr. Drawton,) that a repeal of the tariff ciple, yet this is its true effect throughout this would not affect the price of cotton, yet is it not | whole country. And notwithstanding it must obvious that if the price of cotton is eight dol- | be helped from the hard handed labor of our lars per hundred, and half of that amount is | honest planters, to whose fruits all other trades paid in tax, whenever laid out it cannot be and professions must look for support. worth but four dollars to the planter. Now, 3d. The moment our factory went into opetake off this tax, and though the price might | ration, there was a small circle around it which

al necessaries which it will command. tion, that the man, woman, or child, that is who does not peceieve that all these interested the means of clothing and support, are com- | may. pelled, I own, improperly to give more for 4th. Suppose when I changed my planting their necessaries than those whose money or into a manufacturing interest, I had left three exchangeable commodities enable them to pur- | of my neighbors, who had just the same kind of chase where they please. The people of the land, and exactly the same amount of capital, south make immense quantities of produce for and our crops had been precisely the same, still expertations they are the most valuable staples | employed in that business. And, suppose, in the world; and, as every one knows, consti- which is true, that I make not only what I made tute the wealth and exports of this country, before, and, consequently, as much as my aand which cannot be consumed at home. The foresaid neighbors but fifty per centum more, people of the north are divided into two labor. is there any reason that these same neighbors ing classes, those who till the soil, and those | should contribute to my new and more profits. who work at the factories: the first produce, | ble busidess? This must, beyond all question, doubtless, valuable agricultural articles, which be the case, if the system is kept up, and the are intended to supply the last. The manu- south is forced to manufacture. For every man facturing system was gotten up for the ex- cannot become a manufacturer, and those who press purpose, first, of enabling capitalists to | are left to till the ground, except that class who vest their immense wealth in profitable em- furnish the factories with supples, must become ployment, and to live upon the labor of the hewers of wood and drawers of water to the pour, and, second, to afford a market for the monopolizing lordling. Down, down with this agricultural productions. It follows, then, that system of taxation for the benefit of a layored the farmer, who gets a market for his pigs and | class, or, depend upon it, down goes your lipotatoes, his onions and leeks, and a thousand | berties. If all the factories of the United States other things that cannot be carried to Europe, | belonged to one person, and that person was a is well able to bear the tax upon consumption | monarch, (and what is wealth but a monarch, a on what little he does not make himself, be- cruel, tyrannical monarch?) and he was solecause he has an increased means of supply, by ly deriving all the advantages of the system reason of this market, erected immediately at | at the expense of the sweat and labor of the his door. It follows, also, that the laborers at | people, every body would see it in all its horrithe factories can willingly bear the tax of con- | ble odiousness, and it would be demolished by sumption, because, without this employment, the fury of an indignant people. Yet, because they would be cut off from the means of sup- it is in the hands of a few who have contrived port. Without this business, they would have to delude their hirelings into the belief that it to fall back upon the agricultural pursuits; and, | has been founded purely for their benefit, this having no market for their productions, they abominable scourge is permitted to exst. The would have to experience finally a loss of labor | day is coming, and I trust, rapidly, when it will from a glutted, country. Indeed the whole have to undergo a reckoning before the tribusystem is an artfully devised plan to find a nal of a long abused and insulted community, market for small productions, and employment | whose award will consign it to its merited infor paupers. Well may they cry out for more famy. Does any man so abuse his own understanding, mised to speak, and which rise superior to all or reflect upon the understanding of others, as law, and would, of themselves, though they to suppose that if the northern people paid as | violated no written principle of the Constitumuch tax as the southern, by consumption, tion, justify a people, "in the pursuit of life, duction as to say "a million of musket-bearing | previous part of this argument, that an admis either feel, or were not benefitted by them? of the burthens, and that it rested upon the are willing to bear the taxes for the sake of the tax, or that the coincidence between the benefits derived from the system; and yet, producer and consumer is so little variant as to though their profits may be greater, their in make no sensible difference in the two characters terest is precisely like that of the other two | I shall show it in three relations, first, in that

classes I have just described. and demanding their continuance for the rea- | ticles they consume.

the different fucturies in the Voited States, it., believing and hoping it might be Waltermental 1 ern and middle States, were strung, at suitable | did so, and found it to succeed Beyond all exintervals, all along on this side of this dividing pectation. I believe I am within the bounds of

not rise, yet no one can doubt the cotton is became immediately identified with its interworth four dollars more to him, in the addition. ests, those who supplied us with such articles of food as we wanted, such mechanics as were ne-But it is said the northern people consume | cessary to the establishment in various branches as much as the southern, and consequently pay of business, such supplies of materials as were as much tax as they do. Now, Sir, this is very | needed for buildings and repairs, and, finally, faliacious doctrine, and I hope to prove it by such laborers as were required to conduct the a variety of arguments. I lay down this posi- internal operations of the institution. Now, without employment, and has to depend upon | individuals, as well as myself and the rest of the his or her daily labor for support, as a hireling, company, were better able to pay the tax of is often driven to the necessity which no man consumption than our surrounding neighbors, laments more than I do, of giving more for er- | not within the circle I have just mentioned? It ticles of consumption than those whose means | matters not, whether the factories are in Georenable them to make a choice of markets. | gia or Massachusetts; this is a fair picture of Those who exchange their immediate labor for | their effect and influence, be them where they

taxes, for more taxes, give them more bread. These are all the oppressions of which I prothat they would so repeatedly clamor for an in- liberty, and happiness," to provide themselves crease of taxes, and so violently oppose a re- with new forms of Government. I stated in a freemen" will keep up the taxes at the risk of sion, on the part of our adversaries, that the every consequence? Who ever heard of a consumer pays the tax, would be sufficient for whole country's crying out for burthens, if they | my purpose in establishing the great inequality As to the manufacturers themselves, and they | southern people. I think I have made out the constitute an immense class of wealthy con- case. I will now attempt to show, what is sumers, no one I presume will doubt that they | very much disputed, that the producer pays

of an individual, secondly, as a family, and, Permit me, Sir, to present the difference be- | lastly, as a whole country; and I shall select the tween a southern and northern consumer, by an | article of cotton for the illustration. If all the apt illustration drawn from the case I have al. cotton of the south, which is said to be one ready supposed. Imagine a southern planter | million of bales, was made by one individual, and a northern day laborer entering one of those and he were to carry it to Liverpool, sell it for factories on the stream I have before mention- | cash; say \$30,000,000, lay it out in goods, and ed, at one and the same time, the first with a bring them to this country, he would have to bale of cotton, the other with nothing. The pay one half in duties. This, however, it is first understands that he can get goods cheaper | said, returns to him when he sells out his goods on the other side; he carries over his produce, I to the various consumers. But as money, which and trades as he pleases; the other having no- is the only free trade article in the world, is as , thing to export willingly engages to labor for much property as goods, and as liable to taxawhat he wants, and gives the price demanded tion, suppose instead of bringing back goods, on this side. is not the reason apparent for this the individual should bring back the proceeds outery for taxes? Does not every one perceive of his cotton in each, and should find a duty that this day laborer now becomes identified in | upon that as well as goods; does not every one interest with this factory; and if he can compel perceive that his fifteen millions of taxes would the southern planter to trade there, and there | go into the public treasury without the hope of alone, his prospect for continuance in business, any future recovery; and consequently, as proand an increase of wages, are almost inevitable? | ducer, he will have paid the tax on the whole This, Sir, is the true reason why consumers at of that article? Now, that came result would the north do not suffer like the southern consu- | run through the sales of all the planters if they mers. While, however, there are certain cir- sold their cotton themselves, and paid the tax cles around these factories that are flourishing, on their money, instead of paying it on the ar-

sons stated, there are intermediate spaces be- 2. I contend that the consumption of a family, tween them that are as withering as famine, and whose head is a producer, extends to all percold as the grave, and will, like the south, one | sons that draw upon his produce for any serday or other, rise to redress their wrongs. The vices rendered him. That is to say his black. word American industry has been repeated up- smith, tailor, carpenter, schoolmaster, shoeon this floor until I am heartily sick of it. No- maker, physician, and indeed all whose labor thing I shall hereafter dread so much as an in he has employed, are as much his family as if dustrious man, for fear he may be just fresh from | they had lived in the same house with him, and a northern manufactory, or from one of the to the extent of their several demands against pumpkin gardens that surrounds those famous him, are with him, not only consumers, but establishments; for those avocations seem to producers, for his production constitutes a part possess the true and only claim to the title of of their production, and with it they purchase American industry, while all the immense plant | their articles of consumption. By reason of ing staples, constituting the great exports of the this connection, unless the producer has a country, are regarded as matters of no conse-| balance left after defraying the expenses of his quence. But, Sir, I, too, am a manufacturer, family, he is the payer of all the taxes to which and have some precious facts to communicate his crop has been applied. And who, I would through this Mouse to the nation. What kmay, ask, in any part of the south, is able, under may, perhaps, like all southern testimeny, he such a burthen of duties, to meet all his enconsidered untrustworthy, but the people of gagements! I know I am as economical and the couth will believe it, and believing it, will saving a planter as any of my neighbors, and I ect upon it in throwing off the roke of the declare to this House, if it were not for other manufacturers. Mr. Chairman, finding that resources, which it has been my good fortune the tariff system had completely sapped my) to enjoy, my planting interest would not have planting interest, I resolved to transfer the ca- supported my family, and this, I can safely say, pital there employed in a cotton manufactory, is the condition of thousand upon thousands.

Ciple that the northern manufacturer cannot labor as chean as the English manufacturer. And what is thought to be the difference! Surely this is indicated by the average per cent. of duties laid upon the articles which the last fabricates, and that we have seen is fifty per cent. Then we say the difference between manufacturing labor in the north and in Eng. land, is fifty per cent. Every body perceives the American manufacturer cannot compete with the European. What is to be done? The former looks away to the south, and there finds a people who make the raw material that sun. plies the latter, and for which they receive his manufactures. The northern manufacturer immediately sets about a contrivance to cut off the trade between these two parties. What is it? By the artful device of legislation, he im. poses a duty of fifty per cent. on the foreign manufactures: this at once raises them to the price of his own. Now, what is the effect nay, what is the real motive of this measure? Is it not, first, to divert the trade from the European, and, second, to direct the raw material to the American manufacturer? Suppose then, it should succeed to the extent of the wishes of the triends of the turiff, that the trade with Europe should cease altogether, and every pound of cotton should go to the north. is there any man so blind as not to see that the producers of this article have not only lost their former market, where they were in the habit of getting what they wanted at half price, but have been compelled to exchange it in another market, at a loss, by way of bounty, of half its exchangeable value? By this process, the English manufacturing labor is raised to the price of the American, and actually done at the expense of the southern planter. Then, 23 producers of the article of cotton, they do most unequivocally throw into the lap of the northern, the fifty per cent, which raises the labor of the English manufacturer. Then I have shown, as an individual, as a family, and as a country, the producer pays the taxes of imports. But I will repeat, it is enough for us. and more than we can bear, to pay it as con-

3. The tarisf system proceeds upon the prin-

It is needless for me to say that this is the effect produced upon all our valuable staples in the south; and we have now a new article of production which will be subjected to its ravenous appetite, -I sllude to the immensely valuable gold mines stretching from Virginia to Alabama. Every dollar that is raised by the gold digger-and surely no one works harder for his money-will be immediately divided with the rapacious manufacturer. Because it is gold, and almost money itself, it will not escape the fate of cotton, rice, and tobacco: for they are taken from the earth by the same hard labor, and quite as convertible into money. Little does the hard-working miner dream. that, while standing in water to his knees, with a scorching sun blistering his back, every stroke which is applied to the unyielding rock, presents a case in which one is for himself, and the other for a northern master.

Before I proceed to consider the other

ground of expediency, it is proper that I notice

an argument or two advanced from the opposite side. The gent'eman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. STEWART,) whose whole speech was cordially approved by the gentleman from Massa. chusetts, (Mr. Adams,) advanced the singular notion that high duties made cheap prices. I hope, Mr. Chairman, I may be permitted to answer this chimera-for surely it is nothing else-from the report of the gentleman who has thus approved this doctrine by approving the speech. I find in that report the following position: "the doctrine that duties of impost cheapen the price of articles upon which they are levied, seems to conflict with the first dictates of common sense." I am sorry that the particular case in which I am compelled to use this remark, makes it not less severe than true; but, coming from the opposite side of the question, it may rest where it properly belongs. But this same report continues: "the duty upon the article imported from abroad, enabled the domestic producer to enter into competition with the importer from abroad. So long as this competition continues, the duty operates as a bounty or premium to the domestic manufacturer. But by whom is it paid? Certainly by the purchaser of the article, whether of foreign or domestic manufacture. The duty constitutes a part of the price of the whole mass of the article in the market. It is substantially paid upon the article of domestic manufactore as well as upon that of foreign production. Upon one it is a bounty; upon the other, a burden; and the repeal of the tax must operate as an equivalent reduction of the price of the article, whether foreign or domestic. We say so long as the importation continues, the duty must be paid by the purchaser of the article." This doctrine is further confirmed by much better authority; it is none other than that of Doctor Franklin. In his examination before a Committee of Parliament, previous to the revolution, he stated that "an external tax is a duty laid on commodities imported; that duty is added to the first cost, and other charges, on the commodity, and, when it is offered for sale, makes a part of the price." It is, indeed, amusing to see authority like this attempted to be overturned, at this day, merely to justify, or rather to cover over the villainous frauds of the American system. But I feel a disposition to examine this argument of the gentleman. He says, by way of proving his position, "see how low cotton goods are." Now, Sir, this is exactly the way the great mass of the people have been deceived. It is true, cotton goods have fallen, but the tariff is no more the cause of it than that it is the cause of the fall of coffee; one grain of which is not made in the United States. Has the gentleman forgotten that coffee used to sell at fifty cents a pound, and can now be got for fifteen? Has he forgotten that almonds and raisins once sold for the same, and now sell for twelve cents! Does he not know that every thing which is not produced in this country has had a corresponding fall with those things that are? Why has this secret been kept from the people? No, that would be the truth; and that is an article which enters into no part of the American system. Imposition, both of duties and falsehoods, belongs entirely to that matter. If its friends had have caudidly told the people that goods have fallen, but it is owing to the increase of specie, the still greater increase of food and laboring facilities, the improvement of machine nery, and many other causes, now not necessary to be mentioned, instead of ascribing it to the tariff, they would have dealt fairly with them; but they have essayed to filch from them their rights through an ungracious appeal to their

The gentleman has said such has been the improvement of michinery in England, that one million of hands can perform the labor o 250 millions. Then, Sir, just mark the conse quence; if labor is multiplied 250 fold, an article must be cheapened almost in the same

But, Sir, if high dutice cheapen articles, there must be a point to which, if the duties are raised, the goods will come at nothing; if the gentlemen will set down, and, with his immense powers of calculation, just demonstrate that exact point to my satisfaction, from that moment I am a tar ff man, I give up my opposition, and fall into the ranks. I greatly fear, however, that it will turn out like the case of the stores. You have all heard of the Yankee, who, in describing the great advantages of his stores to an Irishman, said, among other things, (not trat high taxes cheapened the article,) but that they saved half the firewood; then, card the Irishman, "I will take two of them, and save the

Why is it, Mr. Chairman, if high duties cheapen articles, that so many letters from different manufacturers have been read upon thi floor, stating that their business will be utterly ruined if the duties are reduced? That must be a bad rule that don't work both ways. One would suppose that, if you raised a duty from