

# N. CAROLINA FREE PRESS.

Whole No. 417.

Tarborough, (Edgecombe County, N. C.) Tuesday, August 28, 1832.

Vol. IX—No. 1.

The "North Carolina Free Press,"

BY GEORGE HOWARD,

Is published weekly, at Two Dollars and Fifty Cents per year, if paid in advance—or, Three Dollars, at the expiration of the subscription year. For any period less than a year, Twenty-five Cents per month. Subscribers are at liberty to discontinue at any time, on giving notice thereof and paying arrears—those residing at a distance must invariably pay in advance, or give a responsible reference in this vicinity. Advertisements, not exceeding 16 lines, will be inserted at 50 cents the first insertion, and 25 cents each continuance. Longer ones at that rate for every 16 lines. Advertisements must be marked the number of insertions required, or they will be continued until otherwise ordered, and charged accordingly. Letters addressed to the Editor must be post paid, or they may not be attended to.

## COMMUNICATIONS.

FOR THE FREE PRESS.

Mr. Howard: As you seem disposed to take a neutral stand, in regard to the Vice Presidency, and only offer your columns to "original productions," I am unwilling to interrupt your repose, or to ask a departure from your original determination—provided you can find a neutral spot to rest your foot upon; for I very much believe you will find long before the month of November next, that there are but two sides to the question—and, "he that is not for us is against us." But to the point—as you have declined publishing extracts from other papers upon the question of the Vice Presidency, you certainly will not deny me the right of making extracts from the opinions heretofore expressed by those whom we advocate; and as I am not in the habit of troubling you much, I take the liberty of requesting you to publish this communication. My object is to represent Mr. VAN BUREN'S opinions in regard to the Tariff, in its proper light. I see from the New York Evening Post—Extract from a speech delivered at Albany, July 1827, by Mr. Van Buren, Senator in Congress from the State of New York, before the meeting to appoint delegates to the State Convention. Mr. Van Buren said:—

"He should, he hoped, be excused if he did not occupy their time in professions of friendship for the domestic manufactures of our country. They had no enemies among our own citizens: it was only when the question was presented, whether that interest, like most others, should be left to its own exertions, or fostered by legislative aid, that a difference in sentiment arose. Those who receive are the friends of protection, and those who pay oppose it.

"In 1824, upon the often repeated solicitations of the manufacturing interests in several parts of the Union, the whole subject of protecting duties was laboriously revised, and the duties upon the various productions of the country—raw materials as well as manufactured articles—carefully, and as was supposed judiciously adjusted. The law embraced almost all our manufactures, including the raw materials—wool, cotton, iron, hemp, lead, glass, &c. grain and provisions. He had then the honor of a seat in the Senate of the United States, and gave to the tariff of that year his decided support. It was then said and believed, that the subject would be at rest for a long time—but these expectations were not realized.

At the last session (spring 1827) applications to Congress for a still higher duty on woollens were renewed by the woollen manufacturers, and a bill was reported applicable to that subject only. The first question which naturally presented itself was, why woollens were selected from the mass of more than ninety different articles upon which the tariff of 1824 acted? Why was Congress asked to pass over all those and derange the adjustment of 1824? The reason assigned was, that the evasions of the tariff of 1824 were so extensive as to defeat the protection intended for the manufacturer. Several amendments were proposed to the bill by members from New York, but they were all rejected or superseded by the use of the previous question; and a bill passed one branch, without containing a single new provision to prevent the frauds complained of, but seeking to prevent them by increasing temptation to commit them. He had seen a statement in which it was stated the rate of duties proposed by the bill would range from 2½ to 139½ per cent.

He had seen many conflicting statements of the rate of duties prescribed by this bill, made by very sagacious gentlemen, who could not brook even a question as to their accuracy. He confessed his faith had been much shaken in the speculations on this subject generally, and he feared that the instances in which those not honest imposed upon the credulity of those who

were, were not few in number.

One great objection to this bill, said Mr. Van Buren, and one which he would make no apology for presenting very distinctly and fully to the meeting, was, its injustice to the wool grower. It was the decided opinion of the most intelligent wool growers he had consulted on the subject, that as to them the benefit proposed was to say the least, altogether illusory. The disproportion between the protection proposed by the bill to the manufacturer and to the wool grower could not fail to strike the mind of every one who possessed the slightest knowledge upon the subject. Whilst upon the great body of coarse woollens, the duty was to range from 37½ to 139½ per cent. making an average increase of 15 to 92 per cent. the annual increased duty on raw wool was but 5 per cent. for two years, making only 10 per cent. in all, and the duty on wool was not to go into operation till one year after the duty on woollens; the consequence apprehended from this was, that the foreign wool grower would glut our markets with the raw material, and thus enable the manufacturers to lay in a stock of wool upon their own terms, for a long time to come, whereby the condition of the American wool grower would be made worse than it is at present. The tenacity with which this provision of the bill was adhered to and the sensibility manifested upon the subject since by the manufacturers, had confirmed him in the truth of these conclusions.

In the House of Representatives a motion was made by a very intelligent member from this State, to make the duty on raw wool go into operation at the same time with that on cloths. He supported the strong claim which the farmers had upon Congress for that measure, in a speech that did honor to himself and to his State; but the motion was evaded by a resort to the previous question.

After the bill came into the Senate, a motion was made by a western Senator to raise the duty on raw wool to the same rate as those upon cloths. Mr. Van Buren had voted for that motion, but it failed. To his surprise and regret he had seen that even the little which the bill proposed to do for the wool grower had given great offence to some of the eastern manufacturers. At their meeting held at Boston to appoint delegates to the Harrisburg Convention, the agents they had sent to Washington were publicly charged with having betrayed their trust, in not having successfully resisted any increase of duty on raw wool. He (Mr. Van Buren) desired to know why protection should not be given to the American farmer, as well as to the manufacturer? What good reason could be given why one should be made secure, and the other left to all the contingencies of trade?

Some instruction might be derived from the course of things in England. There, as has already been stated, the duty on foreign wool had been reduced—thus benefitting the manufacturer at the expense of the farmer. What had been the consequence? If they would look at the papers of the day, they would find Parliament was beset with remonstrances against the act, and petitions for relief—it was (said Mr. Van B.) not to be wondered at that manufacturers should thus every where get the better of the farmers. They generally operated through large and wealthy companies, between whom a concert of action was easily established; but the wool growers were scattered over the country, and took but little part in the matter. The agents sent to Washington, were generally very intelligent men, and had vast influence in what was done, were mostly appointed by the manufacturers, and what was of no less consequence, paid by them too.

It was far from his intention to excite any prejudices against the manufacturers. He felt none himself and had no desire to cause any in others. But if he should be driven to make his election, he could have no hesitation in electing the farmers of America as the objects of his admiration and respect over any other class of men on earth.

Mr. Van Buren said—that having now stated his general views upon the subject, of affording legislative protection to the manufacturing interests by wise and temperate laws, and his readiness to aid in the passage of all such laws, he would submit some ideas of the mischief to be apprehended from extravagant and ill-advised measures. He then adverted to the facilities for smuggling afforded by our widely extended Atlantic and inland frontiers—pointed out their demoralizing effect on the public mind—and stated that in Europe all the marine and army of Custom House officers could not keep out articles upon which great profit could be made.

Mr. Van Buren said—that in maintaining temperately the great interests contended for, reason, policy, and justice admonished us to remember that the manufacturers and wool growers are not the only classes in the community entitled to the protection of a good government.

Of the great community in which we live, how small is the proportion of those who hold stock in factories, or sell wool, compared with the great number of those who pay taxes imposed by way of protecting duties without receiving any immediate advantages from them.

If, said he, (which he did not believe, and which he prayed heaven to avert) the manufacturers of this country should suffer themselves to be marshalled into a political band to be attached as a body to this or that party, or to follow the fortunes of this or that individual, and thus expose themselves to the imputation of rendering personal fealty, in return for high dividends, they would expose their dearest interests to ultimate and certain destruction.

He had now done with the subject. His situation with reference to the wool growing interest was well known to most of them; he had farms devoted, and which he meant to devote, to that business; and whilst he would not feel himself at liberty to withhold his aid from the support of a great and salutary public measure, because he might be benefitted thereby; he would forever despise himself if he could be found capable of availing himself of his official station to secure his own advantage at the unjust expense of others."

It was this speech, in which Mr. Van Buren declared, "he could have no hesitation in selecting the Farmers of America as the objects of his admiration and respect, in preference to any other class of men on earth"—and that "the manufacturers and wool growers, are not the only classes in the community entitled to the protection of a good government"—which led to the instructions of the New York Legislature, requiring Mr. Van Buren to vote for the tariff of 1828.

YOUNGHICKORY.

FOR THE FREE PRESS.

To 'The Campbells are coming.'

As you do not deny the first position of 'A Voter,' in the 'Address,' viz: the constitutionality of the power to tax, being vested in the magistrates, it would be needless to controvert about the second, the abuse of that power. But as you are much more civil than 'Q,' and as I suspect a Justice yourself, I will endeavor to treat your arguments for fire-proof, rat-proof, flea-proof Court Houses, churches and hospitals, with a little more respect. I cannot deny, but that a late act of certain commissioners in your county to get the Tarborough bridge built, was a "necessary" and inimitable economy, for it saved the county much money, by holding forth the idea, that cash enough would be had, although the box was empty; and the poor deluded contractor believed as soon as the work was done, he would get his pay: but surely you will not dare to say, that the conduct of your Bench, was not a "miserly" and detestable economy, when they impaired the obligation of the contract, and took the bridge in possession too; thus leaving the honest laborer, who had undertaken the work for four or five hundred dollars less on the faith of the county, to suffer still greater loss at the hands of the shaver. But if the magistrates of your county have discovered that their Court House, in which the Legislature of the State condescended to sit two or more sessions, has become so infested with "rats, fleas and spiders, and so old and crank-sided," that no proud Justice can sit in it and "live," and there is no one patriotic enough to "die" there, I hope the "good people of your county" will be wise enough to see, that the Bench ought first to be purged of all such "screech-owl, cat and other vagabond intruders," as delight to domineer and tyrannise over such vermin subjects.

If it be economy, to reap the most possible advantage from the smallest expenditure, and I believe Dr. Franklin tho't it was; with all due deference to the superior judgment of your Worships' united deliberations, I would enquire if a transcribing clerk, to copy all documents, and keep the original in a separate and distinct small office (fire-proof if you like) at a remote corner of the public square would not be a cheaper and safer measure, than the present fire-proof Court House, even with the addition of having every document converted into asbestos; and as a reason I will urge that all copies might be kept at hand in the Court House in the present Clerk's office, and the Register or an additional transcribing clerk might, after copying all the proceedings

of the Court and all other documents necessary to preserve, such as wills, deeds, guardian bonds, &c. keep all the originals in the distant office—both offices would seldom if ever be burnt at the same time, and moreover if any paper should be lost or mislaid in one office, perhaps it might readily be found in the other, or else of what advantage is it to record wills, deeds, &c.

I am not a man of great reading, but I am not sure but you libel the British Parliament, when you say, "Parliament levied a tax on the colonies to benefit themselves," for I no more believe the members of Parliament intended by the stamp act to put the money in their private purses, than I believe your Worships designed to pocket the taxes you lay on the citizens. But I believe the stamp act was for revenue—your levy is also for revenue. Parliament had not in it a single representative of the colonies—the Bench has not one single representative of the people on it. Parliament was alone to be judge what taxes the colonies should pay, and when and upon what those taxes should be expended—the Bench must judge what taxes on the citizens are necessary, and on what that tax may be expended. When Mr. Grenville proposed to enlarge the plan of taxation, by raising a direct revenue from America, Sir Robert Walpole declared, that in all the plenitude of his power, he dared not attempt such a thing as to levy a direct tax on those that were not represented in the body that imposed the tax—a very lean minority in the House of Commons contended against the policy, and but one solitary man, viz: General Conway, denied the right to Parliament. In Nash county a lean minority of five or six only dissented to principle or policy—in Edgecombe, I believe, not one member tho't or cared a fig for either—it required no stretch of conscience or sheepskin authority, to obtain the unanimous vote of the Bench, to tax and appropriate for a fire-proof Court House, tis but a Court House at last. And cannot that same Bench tax and appropriate for all that part of the Rail Road in Edgecombe? tis but a road at most, and the law gives the Bench the power to make, cut, and cause to be made and cut, all necessary roads; and does not say where, or what kind, except dimensions and quality.

That great political economist, Fenelon, asked his pupil the Duke of Burgundy, "Which is preferable, a city proud of its marble, gold and silver, with an untilled and barren country, or a well cultivated and fruitful country, with a city that is modest in its buildings and manners?" and asserts that the former resembles "a monster, whose enormous head bears no proportion to its starved and meagre body." "There are," said he, "two evils in government hardly ever cured. The first is an unjust and too violent a power in the prince; he accustoms himself to know no law but his own absolute will, he curbs not his passions, he may do any thing; but by being able to do any thing, he saps the very foundation of his power. He has no certain rule of government; every one strives to flatter him most; he has no subjects left him; all are slaves. Every thing gives way; the wise fly, hide themselves, and mourn in private. Nothing but a sudden and violent revolution can reduce this overflowing power into its natural channel, and the measures which might circumscribe, often irrecoverably destroy it. Nothing is so near a fatal fall as authority stretched too far." "The other is luxury. A whole people look on the most superfluous things as the necessities of life, which were unknown thirty years before; it is called a good taste, the perfection of art and the politeness of the nation. Every one lives above his circumstances; the rich through ostentation, and to glory in their riches; others through a false sense of

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