

ple of the Northern States, either for other foreign merchandise imported by them, such as East and West India produce, or for their own manufactures. But this is precisely the same thing as if the Southern people consumed the very articles obtained abroad, for their own produce.—What does it matter to the planter, whether he consumes the very cloth for which his cotton is exchanged, or the tea, and coffee, and sugar, imported by the people of the North, in exchange for their productions and industry, or the manufactures of the North? These foreign productions and domestic manufactures, are enhanced in price, quite as much as the cloth imported by the planter, in consequence of the duties.—Thus far, then, the Southern people pay the whole amount of the imposts laid upon their productions, regarding them as consumers merely. But it has been said that we exchange some three millions of our imports, for the live stock of the Western States, which is not enhanced in price by any duty. But even here the planter is not entirely relieved from his burthen.—Can he purchase as much live stock with sixty pieces of cloth, as he could with a hundred? It would be absurd to maintain such a proposition; and yet this is the only way in which he could relieve himself from the whole burthen of the impost. The fact is, that he would be able to purchase but little more than half the quantity of live stock from the Western people, than he could have purchased if no duty had been laid upon his imports. In this way, undoubtedly, the burthen would be seriously felt by the Western people. But this would not mitigate the suffering of the planter. You deprive him of the means of purchasing live stock to a very great amount, and so that extent cut off the market for the productions of Western industry. By this process, as in all cases of prohibition, you destroy two values; that of the planter to the extent of the imposts, and that of the grower of stock to the extent that he is injured by losing a market for the productions of his industry.

Upon a general survey of the condition of the United States, it will be perceived that, owing to causes intimately connected with the restrictive system, production is every where overruled consumption. When to this circumstance we add the fact that the consumers of those articles of which you propose to enhance the price by your high duties, have so many other resources, and can resort to so many substitutes, to avoid paying the duties, every gentleman must be satisfied of the utter impossibility of throwing any thing like the whole burthen of the impost duties from the producers, upon whom they are actually laid, to the consumers, upon whom they are not laid. The consumers of manufactured articles in the United States, are very differently situated, thank Heaven, from the consumers of grain in Great Britain. The enormous burthen of the corn laws, falls almost exclusively on the consumers. Corn is an article of absolute necessity, for which no domestic substitute can be obtained. The miserable British laborer, therefore, is obliged to consume the grain of the lordly land owner, at double the price it could be imported, or perish. But it is not so with the American consumers of cotton and woollen manufactures. Before they will consent to pay an enhanced price, proportioned to the duties imposed, they will clothe themselves in home-spun.

Upon the whole, then, the only means which the producer has to throw the burthen of a tax from his shoulders, is to diminish his production of the article taxed; and the means which the consumer has to avoid having it thrown upon him, is to diminish his consumption of that article. In this contest the consumer has a decided and obvious advantage. It may be very confidently assumed, therefore, that at least one half of the burthen impost duties laid upon the return productions of the planter, would be sustained by him as a producer, even if he consumed no part of those productions. But it cannot be doubted that the people of the Southern States consume, of the articles imported in exchange for their staples, of other foreign articles subject to pay duties, and of domestic manufactures, equally enhanced by the tariff, to the amount of three-fourths of the entire return which they receive for their exports. It follows that the direct operation of the impost duties, throws upon the people of the staple growing States, a weight of taxation very nearly proportioned to their exports.

But, Sir, there remains to be presented a view of this subject, very little considered heretofore, either in this country or in Europe, which will exhibit the unequal and oppressive operation of this government in a most striking light. When this is taken into the estimate, the committee will perceive that I have been quite within the mark, in assuming that the staple growing States are burthened in proportion to the amount of duties levied upon their commerce. Next to the unequal exactions of government, nothing can be more distressing to a country of such vast extent, than the unequal disbursement of its revenues. Great as I have shown the inequality to be, in the

contributions exacted from the different sections of the Union, the inequality of the disbursements of the Federal Government is still much greater. South of Norfolk—through the entire region extending thence South a Southwest along the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico—a region which contributes two thirds of the revenue of the whole Union—there is not annually expended an average sum of five hundred thousand dollars! Now, Sir, I do not mention this unequal disbursement for the purpose of complaining of it, so much as with a view to explain the actual injury and suffering which result from it. I do verily believe, then, that a tax of ten millions of dollars, expended among those by whom it is contributed, would not be more burthenome and oppressive than a tax of five millions of dollars expended in a foreign country or a distant portion of the Union. In other words, I believe any States, Pennsylvania for example, would find it an advantageous pecuniary speculation, to pay a million of dollars to the Federal Treasury annually, upon the condition that the Federal Government should annually disburse two millions of dollars among the people of that State, in the purchase of grain, iron, manufactures, and such other productions as are there made for market. It is obvious that a new demand would be annually created for a million of dollars' worth of the productions of Pennsylvania, and a new value thereby given to those productions. It would of course give the highest possible stimulus to productive industry, and at the end of the year the aggregate wealth of the State would be increased more than it would be diminished, by this fiscal operation, of paying one million in disbursements. The most striking example of the influence of government disbursements, of which history has kept any record, and that which first drew my attention to the subject, is that exhibited by Great Britain in the war against the French Republic and the French Empire. The extraordinary financial resources of Great Britain, in that execrable struggle, have excited the wonder and admiration of the world, scarcely less than the unparalleled military achievements and extensive conquests of the Emperor Napoleon. The spectacle of a nation annually expending some two hundred millions of dollars, and yet flourishing almost beyond any former example, seemed almost to baffle the profoundest speculations of political philosophy.

But the mystery is completely unraveled when we advert to the fact, that she annually borrowed, during fifteen years, one hundred millions of dollars. By this operation alone, the annual disbursements of the government were made to exceed the annual amount of the taxes, very nearly one hundred millions. We have, therefore, almost the very state of things I supposed, in regard to Pennsylvania.—The government levied an annual tax of \$100,000,000, and made an annual disbursement of \$200,000,000. Great Britain was never so flourishing; and, if the same operation could have lasted forever, she would have continued to flourish on to the end. But it was not in the nature of things that it could last much longer than it did. Great Britain was acting the part of the prodigal, who converted his inheritance into an annuity for fifteen years, and then expended his whole annual income. She was living upon the resources of posterity, and if she had gone much further, she would have exhausted them. But when peace was restored to Europe, the picture of British prosperity was reversed. When superficial observers were expecting an increased prosperity from the cessation of war and its expenditures, a scene of distress and ruin ensued not more astonishing and apparently unaccountable than the former prosperity. But the one was just as natural as the other. The sudden withdrawal of the disbursements of the government, to the amount of more than \$100,000,000, without any corresponding reduction of the taxes, was like withdrawing his accustomed stimulus from a man, who habitually took his bottle of wine a day. A paralysis was thrown over the industry and prosperity of the nation, from which no one can predict when she will recover.

Now, Sir, when you have looked at this picture and then looked at that—when you have compared the distress and suffering of Great Britain since the peace of Europe, with the prosperity which preceded it, you have, on the one hand, an exemplification, and only a faint one, of the blighting and withering influence of enormously unequal taxes levied in one portion of the Union, with scarcely any return in the form of government disbursements; and on the other, the animating and invigorating influence of large disbursements in portions of the Union, that make scarcely any contributions, comparatively speaking, to the public revenue.

(To be continued.)
Change.—A sailor looking serious in a certain Chapel in Boston, was asked by the Clergyman, if he felt any change; whereupon the tar put his hand into his pocket, and replied—"I have not a cent."



Man, in the moment, when he sees or hears that, which at first view, he looks upon, as detrimental to his, or his friend's interests, is sure to give vent to the feelings which are excited in his bosom by a sight or a sound of what he so considers mischievous and injurious matter. It was in a moment when something unpropitious to the party which it is so well known the Editor of the Courier and Enquirer is preparing to play in the approaching political drama, was said or acted to the South that his jealous mind was aroused, and its secret workings displayed to public view, before he had fully considered the consequences which such a disclosure would inevitably beget. He did think, (and we should do him injustice to say that he was not sincere in his conclusions) when he declared, in an article which appeared in the Courier and Enquirer some weeks back, that South Carolina was on the verge of insurrection, and that Virginia and North Carolina would frown upon her, and discountenance every attempt to resist lawful authority, we repeat, when such a sentiment escaped the Editor of the Courier and Enquirer he thought it could not fail to be responded to in the two States, which he wished thus to conciliate. He was widely mistaken, however, in the effect which he thought the character of that print would not fail to produce upon the public mind in Virginia and N. Carolina, when the Editor thought proper to promulgate any views relative to national policy.

He has discovered, I suppose, that Virginia and N. C. will support and protect S. Carolina in the rights which are precisely the same as theirs; and the public sentiment in Virginia has been the frequently expressed, to be doubted at this peculiar crisis, in the sovereignty of the States. In making this discovery, the Editor of the Courier and Enquirer, fearful that his misrepresentation of Southern feeling might prejudice his favorite political scheme, which will shortly be brought to work upon the Union, has thought it necessary, in order to save that grand design from perdition, to make some atonement, for his false and unfounded charge upon South Carolina, to the Mercury Journal of Charleston. Upon a close examination of this explanation of what he has heretofore said of South Carolina, and the manner in which he excuses himself for the language used upon that occasion, the drift of the wily Editor is at once penetrated, and we do not hesitate to pronounce his present language, *hypocritical and insipid*. He pretends now to have great confidence in the patriotism of the South, when a few weeks since, he declared his belief that South Carolina was preparing for insurrection, and he knew Virginia and North Carolina would not give their support to any such unloyal design.

We have often said, and we will again declare that the people of S. Carolina harbor no rebellious intentions, and that we do, in the sincerity of our hearts, applaud the course which we believe that State will pursue in relation to the many manifest violations of the Federal compact, and Virginia and North Carolina will most cordially lend their aid in support of any measures she may adopt. Every movement of the Southern States, one and all, will be provable, unless the tyrannical and imperious people of the North should force the South to defend herself from invasion. The Courier and Enquirer cannot make an impression upon Virginia and North Carolina. The character of that print is too well understood in those States to produce any revolution in public sentiment. The apology to the Mercury will receive from the people, whose feelings it represents, its full and merited estimate. The following language cannot be looked upon in any other light than as deceptive and fraudulent.

"But we are the friends of the South, and shall continue to be so. Our faith shall never be shaken in their devotion to the Union, and we shall take the freedom to speak in plain language to the South, whenever we conceive that they are on the wrong track. We never will allow the New England federalists and Tories to say—'look at the acts of your patriotic South? Look at the birth place of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Pickney, Rutledge, Sumpter, &c. &c. did we do worse in organizing the Hartford Convention?'"

In the Mercury of the 31st we find the publication of the transactions at the dinner given to Gen. Hayne and Col. Drayton, attended solely by friends to the constitution and State rights. We will forbear to make any further mention of the interesting proceedings at that dinner, save that the patriotism which every sentiment breathes, delivered upon that occasion, is of the most ardent and unexampled character; the eloquence of those who addressed the meeting is impassioned and moving beyond description. We will not fail to gratify our readers with a perusal of as much as we can crowd in our next paper.

Appointment.—Mr. James McLaughlin has been appointed Post-Master at Miranda Post-Office, Rowan county, N. C. in the place of John McConaughy, resigned.

Public sentiment South of the Potomac.—Upon examination we find the public sentiment South of Mason and Dixon's line, decidedly favorable to the sovereignty of the States. There have been but few toasts drunk at the recent celebrations of the anniversary of our Independence throughout the Southern country which do not speak a language strong and terrible against transgressors upon that safe-guard of our political security and independence.

The people of the United States, have of late acquired a more intimate acquaintance with the features of the government under which they live. We have not yet to learn that, an error to the present confederation of the States of this Republic, they were sovereign and independent—free to act each State for itself, as might best comport with their several political purposes—that in uniting themselves together to ride down one or more of them with unequal taxation and profligate expenditure of the public revenue. But they have long since learned that they did not, in the formation of the Federal constitution, relinquish any other powers than those which are expressly granted, and forbidden to be exercised by the State governments—that in the charter upon which is inscribed the powers of the national government, no clause is to be found on its pages, recognizing the right of the national legislature to tax the Southern planting interest, to make improvements in the Northern and Eastern States.

Not a community of freemen will not recognize a right either human or divine which can justify one people to tax another for their special advantage and profit without the consent of the taxed. It was the promulgation of such unnatural doctrines, in the shape of parliamentary edicts, which gave the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution. The people, in submission to such iniquitous exactions, could see in conclusion nothing short of absolute slavery and degradation. Has not a similar course marked the progress of legislation in the Congress of the United States? Is not the Southern portion of the Union made to bear all the burthen of taxation whilst the revenue created thereby is expended in testing the efficacy of splendid schemes of a commercial, mental and social nature for the individual improvement of a quarter of the Union which has no opportunity of friendship, sentiment or action with us?

How are we to act in this emergency when our dearest rights are assailed by a foreign foe? We feel the embarrassing nature of our situation, and bend with us in poignant sorrow to the awful crisis which is approaching, indeed we may say it is already big with the face of this so much good feeling when the Union was established, and who thought so valiantly for those rights which they have now invaded themselves, less forbearance and moderation? We would recommend it to them in the strongest terms.

Is it one State alone which has manifested displeasure and protested against the policy of the government? Is the opposition to the tariff and the American system confined to South Carolina alone? No—it pervades all the Southern and Western States, and the final overthrow of the party which now sustains the existing policy of the General Government is looked upon, among them, as the only event that can possibly restore harmony in the councils of the nation, and preserve the Union of the States.

How then it is gravely asked, is to be done in order to be accomplished, when the two parties whose divisions endanger the Union, are a determined spirit to stand, each on its ground, and not yield to the other? We reply let us unanimously agree among the people who have been wronged. Let their attention be once benefited, let the medium of their Representatives in Congress, and it cannot fail to bring about a redress of their grievances. Let the people make a pledge in the candidate that he will vote down the tariff and Internal Improvement systems, the one portion of his election.

Then will the arrogance of power and superiority be reduced to its proper level, and the blessing of a free government once more restored. Then will the resolutions of our national legislature have the sanction of the people, which alone can render the will of a government decisive and energetic. Then will the Union be cherished with all the ardor of patriotism and the regulations by which its concerns are directed will no longer be viewed as despotic and lawless.

We will refer Mr. Wilson as well as the Fayetteville Observer to our paper issued two weeks since, for the publication requested by the former, denying the authenticity of the charge made against him, that he had murdered his wife by hanging her to a tree. We took occasion at the same time to say that the fugitive Editor of this paper had been imposed upon by his informant, whose name we do not know. If Mr. Wilson does not consider what we say now, and what we have before said, a sufficient denial of the charge, we can only say to him, our columns shall be open to admit any communication he may think proper to send us, relative to that affair. No farther answer was requested to Mr. Wilson's letter, than the publication he requested to be made. We never refuse to do justice to any individual, whose character has been injured by false and unfounded accusations, more particularly when that injury has been done through the agency of this paper.

It must be a source of regret to all those who have any regard for the purity of the English language to find so many innovations, or to speak more critically, such numbers of new words added to our vocabulary. Possibly we might not be so much concerned, if the additions thus made consisted of words which were legitimate, and accorded with our symphonious sounds, but we find words of the most outlandish origin introduced into our language, thereby rendering it more obscure and far less classical.—We observe the Argus has fallen into the way of "word making" which is truly "the besetting sin of the times."

He wishes to introduce "immigration" into common use, since he has been unable to find any word, which expresses its meaning so clearly. We can point him to the word "migration" which expresses the idea he would convey by the word "immigration" even more clearly. The word "migration" without the addition of the "in" means to move from one place to another, which is precisely the idea the Argus would wish to convey by the word "immigration." The Argus says it is "English, chaste and unalloyed," as any of the "King's English," and quotes Webster's dictionary as authority. We have not yet seen that valuable work, and will not attempt to controvert the dictum of the Argus. But we may be permitted to express the idea we had entertained of the compilation of that dictionary, and what the views of the Editor were in giving it to the world. Mr. Webster saw, with noble's bitterness of reflection, that it had become fashionable in Washington to introduce exotics into the discussions which took place on the floor of Congress to supply the place of plain English, such as the people generally could understand. The great complaint that the speeches of the members could not be properly understood, without correct ideas of the meanings which were to be affixed to many phrases of foreign extraction, induced Mr. Webster, a man of known learning and ability, to undertake the task of explaining the meanings of various words, which had been thus foisted into our language and which did not properly belong to it. Mr. Webster did not thereby admit that these words were pure and genuine English, but his reasons for publishing his dictionary would induce a contrary belief.

But if the word "immigration" is good English, yet some will deny that its sound is rather unharmonious and grating to the ears of Americans, who have been habituated to use the word "migration" to convey the same idea. It is the beauty of our language that we have not numerous words, to convey the same meaning, merely for the sake of our speech concise and energetic. We have the opportunity of our tongue whenever French and Spanish or other than American phrases are used either in writing, public speaking or common conversation, if the Editor of the Argus punts them we cannot.

John Randolph.—A dinner was given to John Randolph of Roanoke, the day previous to his departure for the Court of St. Petersburg, by the citizens of Norfolk. In thus honoring this distinguished Republican citizen, the people of Norfolk not only evinced their high sense of his long and faithful services in the councils of this nation, but clearly indicated their decided approbation of the selection of Mr. Randolph to represent his country at that illustrious Court. No man in our estimation, is better capable of maintaining the dignity and character of this nation, and none could do us better service by a firm and faithful adherence to the interests of his country than Mr. Randolph.

We also have submitted extracts from the following address, as edited by Mr. Randolph, which we deem it our duty to publish, in order to give our readers a full and correct view of the opinions of this distinguished citizen on the subject of the tariff and the American system. (Mr. Randolph's address, says the general, is a brief but full address, which he gave the true friends of his own people, and our recollection does not lead us to believe that he ever delivered an address of less than an hour's duration. We do not remember, however, that he speaks of the history of the States (and it is likely, we presume, the States) and so on, in connection with the tariff and the American system. We do not recollect him to say, in substance, that his motion was a very important one, and that it was acted upon by the votes of a majority of the members in an undivided body, which he had originally given his support, and by the guilty consideration of an avowed. He concluded by expressing in very handsome terms, his thanks for the distinguished honor conferred on him by the company, and gave the following (and):

By Mr. Randolph:—Prosperity and success, now and forever, be the constant blessing of South.
By L. W. Tazewell, Nathaniel Nelson: The solemn duty of the people, has ever illuminated the prospects of this nation.
By John Randolph of Roanoke: The memory of Mr. Randolph Jones, Editor of the "Examiner," in the reign of terror, is a bright spot in the annals of the old Republican party in the darkest day that I ever saw since the invasion of Arnold and Phillips.
By John A. Nelson: The ultimate operations of the "American System," seeming splendid and actual war. Slaves starving in the prison house.
By John Randolph: Answered by Mr. Randolph.
By John Randolph: Answer. The patriot's heart and only comfort. Call on our nation's God and our country's God.
By W. B. Cunningham: The 24th day of Thomas Jefferson may be the day of our nation's redemption and the day of the government to the principles of '06.
(Remark by Mr. Randolph: It will require stronger phrase to do that.)
By J. G. Brantley: John Randolph, the hero of the nation, whose will shall be the will of the people, in which, Mr. Randolph's 25th of July, was added, to the list of his friends.

It has been objected to the addition to the above list by Mr. Randolph, that it was egotistical. We cannot view it in that light. It is no more than the honest expression of a fact which looks as well where it is placed, as though it had been appended to his speech. We are sure that more self-flattering things are said every day in dinner speeches. Besides, the manner and the time are entirely characteristic, and give additional force to the expression.
By John Randolph of Roanoke: The People! may they live to vindicate the rights of Freedom, for the sake of the true, and if successful, in the struggle, let the world know that it is the 25th of July.