

Western Carolinian.

It is even wise to abstain from laws, which however wise and good in themselves, have the semblance of inequality which find no response in the heart of the citizen, and which will be evaded with little remorse.
The wisdom of legislation is especially seen in grafting laws on conscience.
Dr. Channing.

[BY BURTON CRAIG.]

SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C., MONDAY MARCH 14, 1872.

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FROM THE BANNER OF THE CONSTITUTION.

For the benefit of such of our readers as may find Political Economy and Constitutional Law too dry a study, we publish the following story, leaving the reader to make his own application of its contents:

THE THREE TRAVELLERS.

Some forty years ago, three young friends set out together upon a distant journey, in order to better their condition in life; and, having heard that a famous town, called Union town, held out the most encouraging prospects for new beginners, they resolved to pay it a visit. Upon enquiring the road, they were told that the most direct one, and, indeed, the only one that could bring them speedily to their journey's end, was that in which they then were—that it was a straight road, and one having very few impediments or obstructions, and so easy to find, that nobody, who possessed common sense, could fail to keep it. With this plain and simple direction, and under a mutual agreement that they would follow it, they proceeded onward harmoniously and with perseverance, and made great progress during many days. The road was a fine well-made highway, enlivened by the numerous travellers who passed along it, and presented, every where, the appearance of general prosperity amongst the inhabitants whose farms and villages it passed through. In some places it ran near the margin of a noble river, whose surface was whitened by the sail-boats and craft which frequented the market of Union Town; and thus did prosperity appear not to be confined to those who were laboring on the land, but equally extended to those who were occupied on the water.

After journeying, for some days, along this beautiful route, an occurrence took place, which proved a most unfortunate one for our travellers. Having arrived at a point where a new road struck off from the highway, in a diverging direction, one of the party, who was a native of New England, stopped the others short, and, pointing to the new road, insisted upon it, that that was the true and best road. Another one of the three, who happened to be born in the Southern States, expressed a different opinion upon the subject. He said he had studied geography, that he knew precisely where the best lay, that a continuance in the straight road would carry them directly to it, and that taking the new route would most unquestionably occupy a longer time, as the distance would be greater and the fatigue consequently increased. Besides, he said that the new road was full of stumps, and hills and hollows, which would impede their progress, and perhaps endanger their limbs, and what was worse, they would not fare as well as on the old road, would have to pay dearer for their meals and lodgings. To all this apparently sensible reasoning, the New Englander replied, that there was no soundness in that geography was a mere theory, and might not be put along side fact—that he was well assured that the new road was the shortest, and the best, and the cheapest to travel on, and he was not to be convinced by such flimsy arguments as those brought forward by the Southerner. The latter then took out of his pocket a small folded map, containing the geography of the country; and, marking the spot at which they were then holding their discussion, and pointing to the locality of the town, he clearly showed that the new road would be two sides of a triangle, whilst the old road was but one—then, with a triumphant air, such as mathematicians have a right to use, followed up his demonstration of what he thought could no longer admit of a doubt, with this incontrovertible axiom—"Any two sides of a triangle are greater than the third."

The Yankee, who had been well educated and was as familiar as his antagonist with Euclid's Elements, finding that he could not accomplish his purpose by argument, resorted to the only expedient which remained for him. He was determined that the party should go by the new road, and, as he could not compel the Southerner to go with him unless he could win over the third man, who had listened to both arguments, and was rather inclined to favor the views of the Southerner, he began to appeal to his prejudices. The third man was a native of the Middle States. He was altogether ignorant of geography, and, in fact, was of that class of people who always think by proxy, and are very happy and content to pin their faith upon the sleeves of those who will flatter their vanity and minister to their notions of patriotism. So, work Johnathan goes "You see," said he to the Pennsylvanian, "this fellow from the South wants us to pursue a road which at one point actually crosses over the Canada line. For my part, I have no idea of being tributary to foreign countries. I love my own country, and I would not be taken to Canada for the privilege of travelling. I am for being independent of foreign nations for roads, and will never consent to travel this road; for, how do we know how soon the Canadian Government may shut it up?" This poison soon began to work, and the Southerner, finding that he was

likely to be left in a minority, endeavored to counteract it by administering the antidote of reason. "It is true," said he, "that this old road touches for a short distance upon the Territory of Canada, but, as we are permitted to travel it without molestation, there is certainly no good cause why we should refuse to enjoy what is clearly an advantage. It is not the interest of Canada to shut up this road, for she gains by the travelling that takes place upon it, but, should she ever be so unwise as to do it, it will be time enough then for us to travel a new route—and even then a much shorter cut can be found than the one now urged upon us by our friend from New England. Let me ask, would either of you agree to give six dollars for a yard of domestic cloth, now and forever hereafter, of the quality as a foreign one which you could buy for three dollars, merely because there was a possibility that, at some future day, the foreigner would be such a fool as not to trade with you?"

The Pennsylvanian listened attentively to this argument which he no doubt thought had much weight in it; but no sooner was this perceived by the Yankee, than he followed up his appeal to the patriotic prejudices of his dupe, by crying out that the Southerner was in the interest and pay of Canada. This settled the question, and the Pennsylvanian hesitated no longer to unite in opinion that the new road was the shortest, the best, and the cheapest; and these two, now constituting a majority, told the Southerner, that, if he would not go along with them by fair means, they would make him go by foul. Upon this they threw a cord around the neck of the Southerner, who continued refractory and pulled him along.

They had not journeyed many days before the Southerner began to discover the reason why the New Englander was so anxious that the party should follow the new route. Johnathan was no stranger to the difference between the two roads, but he had lately bought a tract of land on the new route, and had built a tavern upon it, for which custom was wanted; and, besides this, a number of his relations and friends had settled upon the new road, and had hired him, as a shrewd acute fellow, to assist them to put money in their pockets, by inducing travellers to pass by their doors. This was the whole secret of the business; and, as soon as the Southerner was convinced of it, by finding Johnathan extremely anxious to stop at every tavern, to urge his companions to call for something to eat and drink, for which they were charged about half as much again as they had to pay on the old road, he broke no longer contain himself, and he broke out into a terrible passion. He charged the others with a combination to plunder him of his property—with having deprived him of his rights as a free man—with having violated the contract under which they had announced the journey, by which it was agreed that they were to keep the straight road—and he finally concluded by declaring that he would not go a step further with them.

At this stage of the business, the Pennsylvanian himself began to have some doubts about the advisableness of dragging the Southerner any further. He began to discover that what this latter had predicted of the new road was true enough—it was rough in many places and so many in others, that it was difficult to get along, and, after travelling for a couple of hundred miles, he found upon inquiry, that they were just as far from their journey's end as they were when they left the forks of the road. He also began to find that his purse had become much lighter, and was almost inclined to join the Southerner in a short cut across the country, to get back into the old road. No sooner, however, did the Yankee perceive this leaning of the mind of his victim, than he began to play off upon his credulity, in the following language: "Have we not," said he, "advanced at the prodigious rate of ten miles a day since we struck into the new road?" Here the Southerner interrupted him, by saying, "that on the old road, they could have travelled forty." "Have we not," continued he, "kept money in the country, that would otherwise have been spent at taverns in Canada?" "Yes," retorted the Southerner, "but you have left less money in my pocket than there would have been had we gone the old road, and even had we given a portion of our funds to the Canadians in exchange for an equal value of provisions." "Have we not," proceeded the New Englander, affecting not to hear the knockdown answers of the Southerner—"have we not witnessed, on this new road, unexampled improvements? Has not the wilderness been made to blossom as the rose? Have not farms and villages sprung up, as if by magic?" "All very true," retorted the Southerner, "but at whose expense?" "At the expense of other parts of the country, from which the population has been withdrawn, and at the expense of travellers, who, like myself, overpowered by numbers have been forced to travel this road, against their consent, at a sacrifice of their time, comfort, and money."

In all these replies there was too much slyness not to make an impression even upon the stupid Pennsylvanian, who

began to waver, much to the annoyance of Johnathan, who, finding no hope left him but to keep alive the prejudice which had thus far kept him on his side, abandoned all idea of accomplishing his end by argument, and proceeded thus: "This Southerner pretends that we have dealt unjustly and unlawfully with him, by compelling him to come this road. Ought not a majority always to govern? What right has one of the parties to a contract to demur against the interpretation given to it by a majority? None whatever. A contract, unwritten or written, is nothing to the world but what a majority for the time being will it to be. I, therefore, pronounce this Southerner to be disaffected to the good society, because he will not submit to the will of a majority—a nullifier, because he insists upon it that he has a right to judge for himself whether the contract be or be not violated—and a disunionist, because he says he will not go one step further with us. Now, I have no idea that two small give way to the will of one and I am, therefore, for binding him tighter than he has been before, and forcing him to continue united with us." The charge of nullification and disunion settled all the doubts of the Pennsylvanian, who lending a hand, they put fresh bonds upon the Southerner, and pulled him along.

[At this point the story stops short. What was the sequel is not known. Perhaps at a future day we may become possessed of it, in which case, it shall be laid before our readers. It is clear, however, that Union Town could never have been reached by the route the Southerner was dragged.]

National Independence.—There is no subject to which the sensibilities of the American People are more alive, than that of their National Independence. The recollection of our former state, and of the impositions practised upon us by the mother country whilst we were dependent colonies, still clings to the bosom of the patriot, and nothing is more revolting to him than the idea of being dependent upon foreign nations for any of the blessings he enjoys. So far as this feeling originates in a love of political independence, so far it is a noble and high-minded sentiment. No man amongst us would consent to receive the laws from a foreign land, or to be subject to the mandates and government of a foreign Power. But, whilst this is the case, let us be cautious not to suffer this glorious term to be perverted, and to be employed as an instrument to decoy us into national folly. Let us not imagine that, to be independent of a foreign country, requires us to renounce the opportunity we may enjoy of promoting the happiness and prosperity of our own country, by commercial intercourse. Let us not delude ourselves into the belief, that, because we will not submit to the yoke of a foreign Government, we are bound to reject the favors which her people are willing to confer upon us. Let us not, because we do not choose the King of England to reign over us, commit the folly of refusing to sell his subjects our cotton, if they will give us more things for it, than we want, than any body else.—And yet this is the sort of conduct which is preached up, by certain modern philosophers, as constituting independence. A way with such absurdity, fit only to cajole the ignorant.

What would be thought of a man, in our community, who should be so independent in his spirit that he could not brook the idea of being dependent upon any body else for the supply of any of his wants? He would have to be his own tailor, shoemaker, and hatter, his own baker and butcher, and, by undertaking to supply all his wants himself, he would not be half so well off as his neighbors who should be so poor-spirited as to consent to be dependent upon other people. Now, where is the difference between the case of an individual and a nation? We challenge the production of a shadow of difference. In truth, the error consists, in both cases, in representing that as a dependence on one side, which, in reality, is a mutual dependence. There is no one-sided dependence between two people or nations who exchange equal values. Commercial intercourse can only lead to mutual dependence. Is the farmer, who sells his grain to the merchant, willing to admit that he is dependent upon the latter, any more than the merchant is dependent upon him? Is the mechanic, who labors for his employer, prepared to say that he alone, of the two, is dependent? Is the man who employs a lawyer, any more dependent upon him, than the lawyer is dependent upon the man who gives the fee? We think no one will answer in the affirmative. Then let the difference be pointed out between those cases and that of the mutual dependence which exists between nations. Are not the West Indies as much dependent upon us for our flour, corn meal, beef, pork, butter, and lard, as we are dependent upon them for sugar, molasses, and coffee? Is not France as much dependent upon us for cotton, rice, and tobacco, as we are upon her for wines, silks, and fancy goods? Is not Great Britain as much dependent upon us for cotton, as we are upon her for woolen goods and ironmongery? Why, then, is it said that dealing with foreign

countries is discreditable to us? If so, it is equally discreditable to them.

But, in truth, there is nothing discreditable about it, if any more than there is in a farmer's selling his wheat for the most he can get, and buying, with the proceeds, as many store goods as the merchant will give him. This mutual dependence is a part of the design of the Creator, in the constitution of the human race. Man is born a dependent being; he is brought up a dependent being; and, unless he becomes a hermit, he continues all his life a dependent being. And this very dependence it is which lies at the bottom of all parental, filial, and conjugal ties. Without it, man would be immersed in selfish passions; would care for nobody; would respect nobody; would love nobody; and would be less social than the brutes, whose mutual dependence leads them to congregate for mutual safety. Of the truth of this position we conceive every individual has evidence within his own breast. And, that the same mutual dependence is designed, by the same Creator, to be extended to nations, is manifest from the facilities to intercourse which have been conferred upon man by the science of navigation, from the variety of soils and climates with which the earth has been enriched, and from the multiplicity of products peculiar to these. Had a mutual dependence between nations never been designed, it is quite probable that the quadrant and compass would never have been invented, or that the law of propelling forces would never have been so modified as to enable a ship to make way against an opposing wind.

Some people may perhaps reply, that the facility of intercourse between nations is only designed to enable each to procure, from the others, commodities which it cannot itself produce. But even here there would be established a mutual dependence, no less discreditable than any other: for, after all, it is only for articles of comfort or luxury that nations are mutually dependent upon one another. For the actual necessities of life no nation ever has been, or ever can be, dependent upon a foreign country. The bulk of the food necessary for the support of men and cattle, and of the materials necessary for the clothing and fuel of the former, is too great to bear the expenses of a distant transportation; and hence we find that there is not a country on the face of the globe that does not produce the ordinary food and materials for clothing its population. In some countries, the bread of the people is wheat, rye, or corn; in others it is rice; in others, fruits; in others the mandioc root. This last substance furnishes the bread of four millions of people in Brazil—a few only of whom are acquainted with wheat-flour, and with that only as a luxury. In some countries the ordinary clothing is of wool; in others of cotton; in others of flax or hemp; in others of skins; and in others of the bark of trees—and there is no nation that ever has imported any very material portion of its clothing. Notwithstanding all the clamor about foreign dependence, the United States has never, in any one year, exclusive of fine and high-priced goods, imported an amount of cotton and woolen clothing sufficient to cover one-twentieth part of her population; and it is very doubtful whether she would import a quantity equal to a tenth of the consumption of the country if all duties were abolished, and for the simple reason that the household manufacturers of the farmers, which have always prospered without protecting duties, can, as they always have done, carry on a successful competition, in the home-market, with foreign goods.

We trust, that, in the foregoing remarks, we have shown that, whilst a love of political independence is a commendable virtue in every patriot, a desire for commercial independence is a selfish, misanthropic, and anti-Christian passion, at variance with the dictates of common sense, and at war with the true interests, happiness, and prosperity, of a country.

A witty writer, under the signature of "Johnathan Swift," in the "Village Record," attempts to crack a joke upon Free Trade, and thinks he has the whole world in a nut-shell, as he triumphantly asks, in relation to the long-erased System—

"Do not the citizens of Chester County get their iron cheaper than ever before? Is not the price of sugar reduced one-half? Were they ever able to purchase cotton goods so low? Are not woolen cloths as reasonable as they were ever purchased? And, if these things are so, where is the tax?—where is the burden?"

If brother Jonathan will not take it amiss, we will ask him some questions: Do not the inhabitants of Chester County get their tea cheaper than ever before? Is not the price of coffee reduced one-half? Were they ever able to purchase spices so low? Are not wines as reasonable as they were ever purchased? Are not plants of Paris, chocolate, figs, raisins, lamp-oil, raisins, saltpetre, and every article consumed in their families, with scarcely a single exception, and though produced in countries as far out of the reach of the American System as if they had come from the moon, cheaper now than they ever were before?

If he answers in the affirmative, and this he must do if he be an honest man, then let him point out some law, of nature or commerce, which should have exempted iron, sugar, and cotton and woolen cloths, from the common fate of all commodities in the known world. If he cannot do that, let him show how it is proved that one class of commodities has fallen by the operation of low duties or no duties at all, whilst another class can only be conceived as having fallen in price in consequence of high duties.

But, after, all brother Jonathan is thought of as a wizard as he is thought himself; and, if he wishes to know the why and the wherefore, we will let him in to the secret.

The price of iron in Europe is \$22 40 per ton, and it is here at \$20 because the iron masters want \$22,40 to \$27 per ton for their iron more than it is worth.

The price of brown sugar in the West Indies is from 1 1/2 to 2 cents a pound, and it is here 6 to 9, because the sugar planters want three cents per pound more for the sugar they raise than it is worth.

The price of common book and mill muslins, and calicoes, in England, is 8 1/2 cents a square yard, and it is here 20 cents, because the cotton manufacturers want 8 1/2 cents per sq. yard more for their fabrics than they are worth.

The price of coarse woolen cloth in England is \$1 a yard, and here it is \$2 and upwards because the woolen manufacturers want from 45 per centum to 111 per centum more for their cloths than they are worth.

Does Jonathan want to know where is the tax? We tell him, upon all the iron, sugar, and cotton and woolen goods, imported, it goes into the Treasury, and precisely to the amount we have stated; and upon all the iron, sugar, and cotton and woolen goods, of the same description, of domestic manufacture, consumed, it goes into the pockets of the monopolists, and either increases their wealth, or saves them from loss—and here consists the burden. Is Jonathan answered?

From the Salem Gazette.

Had Mr. Clay been seriously disposed to bring the adigating question of the Tariff to an end by an equitable compromise, he would have proposed an equalization of duties on all articles whatever. But he has taken his stand "on the brink the very verge" of despotism, for that system is but little removed from despotism which would inflict a burthen on the country of perhaps sixty millions annually to accrue principally to the benefit of a comparatively insignificant number of individuals. It is time, then for the Free Trade Party to take their stand; and they should take a stand that will be sanctioned by the purest principles of political economy, that will bear the test of experience, and become more extended where good common sense dissipates the clouds of delusion which speculators and demagogues have thrown over this subject. It should be based on precisely the same course of reasoning and the same rules by which every intelligent citizen conducts his own private concerns.—These are, to avail ourselves of the cheapest market for supplies, and to arrange the burthens which may be necessary, so as to be least onerous to the burthened. To carry out these principles, the advocates of Free Trade must take a directly opposite position to that of Mr. Clay; for the mode by which our supplies will be most cheaply obtained and our burthens of taxation most alleviated will be by abolishing all duties on every article which is, or can be produced in this country, and by levying the whole revenue necessary to the support of Government on foreign luxuries that cannot be produced here. All the requirements of the Treasury may be readily supplied by a very moderate duty on silks, apices, brandies, and the better kinds of wines, linens, laces, &c. It is perfectly evident, that all that would be paid on these articles, would be what was actually paid as revenue, and would therefore be paid for the good of all. But as we have seen in the case of woollens, whenever duties are paid on articles which are also manufactured at home, the country pays the same amount on the same quantity to the manufacturer as to the Government, and may therefore be loaded with five or ten times the amount of the nominal import.

By adopting the mode of raising a revenue exclusively from foreign productions, we place every interest in this country on an equal footing—we look for protection only to our own enterprise and industry and skill, and to God and nature. If we have natural or physical advantages, that is, advantages of position, of soil or climate, there is intelligence enough among us to avail ourselves of them; if we are but equal in these respects, our own extraordinary exertions will ensure us extraordinary success—if we are inferior, we shall not be guilty of the folly of attempting to force our way against the irresistible power of natural causes.

Nor should the advocates of Free Trade despair of success. The views of the majority may not yet be sufficiently extended to embrace this doctrine—a portion of the people may not as yet be able to look beyond the immediate interest of the day,

to that grand national benefit of which all would be sharers and the share to such greater than any temporary inconvenience he might experience. But with the advantages we now possess in this country, freedom from debt and therefore well situated to make the experiment, abundance of schools, and therefore the certainty of more enlightened views, and extended commerce and therefore the cultivation of more liberal intercourse, and feeling, as regards foreign countries, the opponents of restriction and monopoly have every thing to hope. Their surest pledge of final success, however, will be found in the very system which the Tariff party seems determined to force on the country, for it will not succeed, either in its object of revenue or protection. The smuggler will be the only importer—he will pocket the first and in connection with the undue competition which the establishment of the system will induce, will destroy the last. Their plans being thus defeated they will see at last that the true interest of manufacturers of every branch of business is best promoted by being left to its own resources, and to the skill and industry of those who undertake them.

A FRIEND TO EQUAL RIGHTS.

A short pithy Memorial to Congress is now in circulation in this city, in favor of an equalization of the duties upon all goods not now free. It has received the signatures of a number of respectable citizens not heretofore known as the friends of Free Trade; and it is the opinion of the gentlemen who have taken the trouble to procure signers, founded upon the indications which have appeared, that the friends of Free Trade are more numerous in this city than either friends or foes have heretofore imagined. The following is a copy of the MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Memorial of the Subscribers, citizens of Pennsylvania, respectfully sheweth: That the approaching extinction of the Public Debt renders it necessary, in their opinion, to reduce the revenue to the exigencies of the Government upon the following principles:

1st. That all duties shall be estimated upon the actual cost of commodities, and not upon any minimum or other assumed valuation.

2dly. That the rate of duty on all articles, not now duty free, shall be equal—so that luxuries and other expensive articles, consumed only by the rich, shall not be admitted at a less rate of duty than those commodities that are necessary for the comfort of the poor.

3dly. That the new Tariff shall take effect on the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three.

Your Memorialists believe that an adjustment of the Tariff, on the foregoing simple principles, would harmonize these interests which seem now to be in conflict—would re-place all branches of industry upon a safe and permanent foundation—and, by equalizing the burdens of the people, would perpetuate the blessings of our Union.

Ben. Con.

The Boys and the Frogs.—Every body remembers the wise and sensible speech which the spokesman of the frogs made to the boys who were pelting them in the pond: "What is sport to you is death to us." The moral of this fable appears to be lost upon the great body of the American People. The interests of the consumers of goods are as different from those of the monopolists, as were the interests of the frogs and the boys—and yet, instead of looking upon the pelting as all the frogs, as the enemies of their comfort, they regard them as benefactors. The frogs claimed the right of protecting against violence—the boys usurped the power of maltreating the frogs.

In the New York Tariff Convention Address, there is observable throughout, from one end to the other, a steady watchfulness of the interests of the monopolists. It speaks of "the unequal competition" of foreign nations as an evil to this country, because the effect of it may be to enable ninety-nine consumers to get articles cheap. It calls the legislative favor, extended to a dozen branches of industry, the protection of the industry of the whole nation; and it never enters into their views, that, what is sport to the monopolists, is death to the consumers.

The speech of Mr. Dickerson, in the Senate, commenced on our second page to-day, contains two of the most important admissions which the friends of Free Trade could have desired. One is, that duties are taxes—and the other is, that so great were the natural advantages of this country for manufactures, during our colonial state, that they required the legislative aid of the British Government to keep them down. And yet we are now told that protecting duties are requisite to sustain branches of industry; at this time firmly established, which, in our infancy, required a force to keep them from growing up.