

## Western Carolinian.

actions may not be urged against it upon this ground.

"On the final question in the House of Representatives, all Members from the Southern States (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,) voted against the bill, except three Members from Virginia, and three others from that State who were absent. All the Members from the South western States (Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana,) voted against the bill. All the members from the Western States (Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri,) voted for the bill, except one from Missouri, who voted against it, and one from Ohio, absent from indisposition. Of the Delegations of the middle States, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New York, fifty six voted for the bill, and eleven against it. Seven were absent on the final question, and there was one vacancy from death. Of the eleven dissentients, five were from Maryland, and six represented commercial districts in New York. The Delegations of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, whether absent or present, were unanimously for the bill. Only one of the Delegates from Maryland voted for the bill; but it is believed that those who were absent approved of the principle, and only objected to the details. Maryland lying between Virginia and Pennsylvania, is naturally divided on every sectional question. The New England Delegation stood fifteen for the bill, and twenty eight against it. They brought forward the measure, and then opposed its adoption, because it did not take exactly the form most conducive to their sectional interests."

Can anything better prove, than the votes on this important occasion, that this was purely a question of compromise and sectional interests of the minority were wholly disregarded? And what can have a more certain tendency to corrupt and overthrow our institutions, than the exercise of such irresponsible power against the dearest rights and interests of the minority? It was the exercise of irresponsible power which broke into fragments the great nations of the earth. Look to Rome, whose conquering eagles overshadowed the remotest countries of the known world; and what produced the dissolution and consequent downfall of this empire? It was the exercise of irresponsible power. The governors of the provinces were not responsible to the people over which they ruled, and their tyranny was intolerable.

What but the exercise of some kind of irresponsible power caused the emancipation of the United States? Did not the colonies deny the right of the British Parliament to tax them, unless through the medium of their own responsible Representatives; and even if a small representation had been allowed them in the British Parliament, still they would have been entirely unprotected on all subjects relating to conflicting interests between the colonies and the mother country, for their representation would ever have been in a minority?

Are not these circumstances, then, well worthy of the gravest consideration of the majority, and sufficient to make it pause in its career? Do they not open to our view the very exposed condition of minorities in our country, and the absolute necessity for the utmost forbearance and circumspection on the part of majorities? A majority in our country, no matter when and how formed, should ever bear those things in mind, and recollect that there are some features in the absolute rule of a majority, even worse than the power of a monarch or an aristocracy. In the first place, a sectional majority is impervious to the true public opinion of the minority; then the majority and minority are peevish and consequently, there is no room for relief for the latter; and lastly minorities are peculiarly liable to be governed by narrow and selfish considerations.

We concur in the sentiment of the moral respecting the duty of acquiescence in the will of the majority, if it be restricted, as we suppose it must be understood, to acts within the limits of their constitutional powers. It does not derogate from a majority, or from any earthly power, to suppose them liable to error. It is the condition of humanity. Men err from ignorance and weakness, and are misled by their interests and passions; and no passion more universally accustoms men, than the desire of power, and to free themselves from the restrictions which limit its exertions. If, when an Act supposed by a party of the people to be unconstitutional, has once passed, opposition to it must cease, then usurpation is consecrated by the very fact of having been committed. Divine right is to be attributed neither to kings nor majorities.

The sentiment of passive obedience has been thought to degrade the subjects of a monarch; it is still less becoming an American freeman, and would be ill addressed to an American Congress. We agree that such opposition should be made by the most peaceful and constitutional means, and we hope and believe that the forms of a free and popular Constitution will always afford a remedy when there is just cause to complain of abuse or usurpation of power.

We beg the indulgent consideration of your honorable body to the views we have thus submitted.

WILLIAM HARPER, for himself and THOMAS R. DEW.

### EXTRACTS

FROM MR. GRUNDY'S SPEECH.

A cause of the complaints which are raised and discussed is that they are the hand of oppression bearing heavily upon that portion of our

countrymen who are now urging their claims for relief! They believe a system of taxation, unjust, unequal, and oppressive in its operations, is to be continued and fastened upon them; not for the support of the government, which is the only legitimate object of taxation; but, in order, that a particular class of men may be benefited by their labor; that their prosperity is to be checked, and their labor rendered unproductive to them, that capital vested in manufacturers may be rendered more profitable to the owners.

Enteraining this opinion, they are surely right in requiring Congress now to take this subject into consideration and to grant relief, so far as they are entitled to it. No time can be so proper as the present, when we are about to establish a system of finance suitable to a nation *free from slaves* and all incumbrance. It seems to me, that it is likewise the interest of the manufacturers, that this controversy should be brought to a close. There is one kind of protection, which they certainly need; that is, some security against frequent legislative changes on this subject. Stability and permanence in the system, is of more importance than any protection you can extend to them, when that protection is held by an uncertain and precarious tenure. In order to give this security, the taxes upon the community must be reasonable; if they be not, nothing can be more certain than that a period will arrive when a change will be effected, under circumstances and feelings least favorable to their interests. If the community, or any great portion of it, be oppressed, and no disposition manifested by those who profit by that oppression to alleviate their sufferings, but little regard will be paid to their welfare. This is the natural course of things, and no class of men can claim an exemption from it.

To the argument, that Congress ought not to reduce the taxes on protected articles, because existing laws have induced men to employ their capital in these establishments, the answer is a plain one. Every man who has thus invested his money, must have looked to the probability of a reduction of taxes and imposts whenever the public debt should be discharged, and the government should no longer need the money accruing from high duties. In addition to this, those upon whom this taxation has operated with most severity, have at all times insisted upon its injustice, and avowed their determination never to relax their efforts until they obtained redress. This argument, therefore, loses much of the force to which it would be entitled under different circumstances. I cannot myself consider the manufacturers as authorized to claim a continuance of the present duties on the ground of any pledge expressed or implied, given by the government. Still these establishments exist and should be regarded as a portion of the public interest, and of course the same attention should be paid to them as the other great interests of the country, in any adjustment which may be made upon the subject.

Mr. President, why was this protection thro' the medium of high duties claimed by the American manufacturers? It must be owing to one of two causes: Either the articles can be manufactured much cheaper in other countries, or the American manufacturers desire unreasonable profits. That many articles can be made cheaper abroad than in this country, there is no doubt. Labor is cheaper. In Russia and Sweden the wages of an able-bodied labourer are only 9 or 7 cents a day; in Great Britain the price of labor is very little higher. In the latter country, with a population of one hundred and sixty-five to each mile square, more people are found ready to starve and of course are willing to labor for a subsistence than in the United States, which does not contain 7 for each mile square. This inequality in the price of the production of articles, arising from the difference in the price of labor can only be obviated in one of two ways. You must either reduce the price of labor by compelling the people of this country so far as to compel them to labor for a bare subsistence, or you must tax the community to make up the difference in favor of the American manufacturers. The first mode I hope has no advocates here or elsewhere. The second mode is unjust and oppressive, as I will now endeavor to show.

**It is unjust.** The Senate will indulge me in illustrating this in a plain way, which is my habit of conducting arguments on all subjects. Suppose ten men engaging in agriculture, and you by your enactments of your laws, cause five of them to abandon that and adopt some other pursuit—manufacture; if you please; and you at the same time require that one third of the products of the five remaining agriculturists shall be given to them, all men would at once exclaim, this is plainly palpable injustice. Now Sir, where is the difference between this and compelling the agriculturists to give one third more for all the articles for which they exchange the products of their farms? Or when you compel them to give one third more in the money for which they have sold their crops, and this for the benefit of those who have abandoned their former pursuits? For instance, a planter in the neighborhood of Nashville, where I live, sends his three bales of cotton to New Orleans to purchase, or exchange for imported articles for the consumption of his family. Now the government takes no part of his cotton from him; his agent exchanges the whole of them for the articles ordered; but in fixing upon the price of the articles received in exchange, one third is added on account of the duties imposed. It seems to my mind very evident, that one third of the man's cotton is none so certainly and effectually as if the people would be the constitutional remedy; but where powers are assumed, which

have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy; that every State has a natural right in cases not within the compact, [*exclusus non facit locum*] to nullify, of their own authority, all assumptions of power by others within their limits; that, without this right, they will be under the dominion, absolute and unlimited, of whomever might exercise this right of judgement for them: that, nevertheless, this commonwealth, from motives of regard and respect for its co-States, has wished to communicate with them on the subject: that with them alone it is proper to communicate, they alone being parties to the compact, and solely authorised to judge in the last resort of the power exercised under it. Congress being not a party, but merely the creature of the compact, and subject, as to its assumptions of power to the final judgment of those by whom, and for whose use itself and its powers were all created and modified.

Again, towards the conclusion of the same resolution, after the words "and will each" (add) "take measures of its own, for providing that neither these acts, nor any others of the General Government, not plainly and intentionally authorised by the Constitution, shall be exercised within their respective territories."

"**9. Resolved,** That the said committee be authorised to communicate, by writing or personal conferences, at any time or place whatever, with any person or persons who may be appointed by any one or more of the co-States, to correspond or confer with them and that they lay their proceedings before the next session of Assembly."

The above will give the whole of the MSS. omitted in the first Kentucky resolutions.—The variations in those resolutions are merely such as would occur in copying or printing. You will perceive the sentence containing the word "nullification," nearly resembling an expression in the second resolution, and that many of the ideas are the same.

### From the Huntsville Democrat.

At a meeting of the citizens of Madison County, Ala. at New Market, on the 13th of February, (1807.) for the purpose of memorializing Congress on the subject of the Tariff, &c. Benjamin Wofford, was called to the Chair, and James Childers, chosen Secretary. William H. Glascott, Joseph Rice, Nathan Smith and Henry Rigny, were appointed a Committee to draw up a suitable Memorial on the occasion, who retired, and in a short time returned with the following, which was unanimously received.—

Your memorialists viewing the crisis close at hand, involving principles of paramount importance with any that have occurred in our political history, have taken the liberty not as subjects; but as free men of expressing their sentiments upon some of those points which they deem of vital importance to our common country, and to the cause of liberty throughout the world. Our brave fathers who valiantly fought, who freely spilt their blood; who pledged their fortunes and their sacred beings to establish our liberties—for which purpose they had to create a great and pressing debt; and we, as their legitimate sons, felt the force of the honorable obligation; and although it pressed with great violence upon us, patiently submitted to taxation, however unequal, duty upon duty and impost after impost, until at last the sum is paid; the work is finished; it is done.—And we now felicitate ourselves and our countrymen, upon being spectators of this rare and sublime sight of beholding a great Republic rise from beneath the shackles of debt. It will more than ever attract the admiration of the world. But, sirs, they are sorry to state that they see an imperfection in your legislation, which if continued, must necessarily blight the bright prospects of this happy land—they have always viewed the present Tariff as unequal, unjust and oppressive in its operations, bearing with peculiar force upon the poorer classes of people—the valiant and hardy yeomanry of the country—the very people who fought your battles, and defended your wives and your children, and who keep your property secure in the hour of danger. The necessity of a continuance of these great burdens being now done away, they appeal to your magnanimity to serve them in turn; they appeal to the distinguished Representatives of free people; they appeal to the Senators and Representatives of the great American Congress, the pride and boast of all republicans throughout the world, to relieve them from an abiding evil. The lever is placed in your hands, and you may screw down or screw up, or let me remain stationary. But, sirs, there is a redeeming spirit in the land, which will ever be restless till equal justice be dispensed unto all such a spirit which obtained those seats of your honors, which are now so ably filled, around which the graces of Oratory hang in such rich profusion; such an one as did defend you and your country, at a second great peril of your existence, and such an one as will ever be willing to defend you if you do not drive us to black despair by the imprudence of your own way—it is the spirit of '76 handed down to us, not by tradition, but by the law of entails. You yet have our hearts, and we want them still to repose in you; and you now have a glorious opportunity of proving to the world your humanity and your gratitude to the great mass of your constituents—the poor plebeians of America. To prove more plainly the claims of the poor upon justice and your humanity; and the peculiar pressure of the tariff upon them we will suppose a case by way of illustration. Suppose 5 wealthy capitalists to own a factory of 10,000 spindles, which will clothe a moderate calculation 40,000 persons. Suppose 5,000 of them to be poor men, 50 to their wives, and the remaining 30,000 to be their children. Now it is clear

that those 40,000 persons have to be educated out of the effective labor of those 5,000 men. To take the effective labor of 5,000 men on clothing sufficient for 40,000 persons, to increase the wealth of five capitalists, is incompatible with justice, and at variance with the genius of a republican form of government. And when we consider that those 40,000 persons are the poorest class of people, and have their sugar, and their salt, and their iron yet to pay for, we mourn for humanity's sake. We look around for gratitude—but, sir, she is beyond the reach of human eye—she is wrapped up in a dark mantle and securely laid away. We once more appeal to your magnanimity for relief from an evil that has been long resting upon us. We claim as a right; we demand it at your hands—and sir, we shall persist in our demands. Come forth then at once the champions of liberty and of equal rights and discharge a conscious duty regardless of the frowns of the rich and influential—Save your country from impending ruin. We claim a reduction of the general revenue down to the indispensable expenses of the government—for which expenses we claim an equality of taxation; confining in your State governments and individual enterprise for the balance. We then ask to be let alone, and we will be happy—and you will ever find us royal constituents. We think the evidence given in two wars—one for independence, and the other for its maintenance—of American patriotism and bravery, is a sufficient guarantee that should such another occurrence take place, we will not be found wanting, but we will rise and gird on our swords, and march to the line of defence, and say tax again.

1. Resolved, That the President and Secretary sign the memorial.

2. Resolved, That a copy be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and that they be requested to read the same before each body, at some suitable time.

3. Resolved, That these proceedings be published in the Huntsville Advocate and Democrat.

Be it further Resolved, That the members of this meeting, viewing ANDREW JACKSON, as one of nature's great men, with native powers of genius, tempered by sound experience, devoted in heart to his country, fearless alike in defence of the Constitution as of our common country; and approving highly of his administration, do most heartily concur in the numerous recommendations of him for a re-election to the Presidency of the United States.

BENJAMIN WOFFORD, Pres't.

JAMES CHILDERS, Sec'y.

O-O-O-O-

We have occasionally given specimens of the great difference between American and English prices. We take the following from a free trade paper, which states that they are copied from London advertisements, with ten per cent added for exchange.

Good wide Welsh Flannel, yd.	12½ cts.
Extra stout do. full yard wide,	13
Blankets 2 yds. long, pair.	\$1.25
Extra stout do 1½ yds. long,	1.62
Large size counterpanes, col'd.	37½
Large worsted do	25
White do. 2½ yds wide,	87½
Good stout Scotch linens, for shirts, yard wide,	12½
Full yd bleached linen sheeting,	12½
2½ yds wide do requiring no seam,	25
Stout cotton bedtick, yd	7
Wide and stout lined do	10
All the newest patterns dark Chinis,	12½
500 pieces of blue & other prints.	6
Superior stout Colicoes full yd wide,	7
Ell wide common Calicoes, 25 yards for	1.00
Yard and a half wide damask, for table cloths, yd.	25
300 pieces double width Mariano, all colors,	84
The very fine French do.	1.15
Striped furniture glazed,	8
Good large cloth coats, each	2.10
Large Camblet and plaid do.	2.00
Mad's stout lamb's wool stockings, do.	3.25

The following advertisement is copied from the Westminster Review.

**TO NOBLES & GENTLEMEN.**

SMITH, CROSS & WESTERLY, Tailors, &c.

15, New Broad street, submit their cash prices for the best goods that can be produced.

A Saxony black or blue dress coat,	\$16.31	
Olive,	do.	14.43
Saxony black or blue frock, lined with silk,	18.64	
Olive or Mixt. do.	17.81	
Black or blue trowsers,	7.54	
Drab or mixt cassimere do.	6.66	
Waistcoats,	3.33	

The vast difference between the above, and the protected manufactures of the United States presents a picture which to the advocate of Free Trade in this country is mournful; and to the monopolist must be absolutely appalling.

**The Tariff—Nails.**—Many of our readers will probably be as much surprised as we were on ascertaining the fact, that wrought nails are so much cheaper in England than cut nails are here, that the imported article could be sold for from 5 to 5½ cts., were it not for the enormous duty of 5 cents a pound, which is more than one hundred per cent. on the original cost. Even as it is, great quantities of English wrought nails are imported.

In the face of such facts as this, we are told the effect of high duties is to make manufactured articles cheaper. What very disinterested being these manufacturers must be, when they are striving to destroy their own profits by keeping up, and even increasing, high duties!

**U. S. Telegraph.**

John Randolph is a candidate for the House of Delegates of Virginia, and is opposed by Paul Carrington, Esq.