

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 regarded with little remorse.
Dr. Channing.

(BY BURTON CRAIG.)

SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C., MONDAY SEPTEMBER 17, 1832.

[VOL. VIII NO. 611.]

ADDRESS

Of M. FISHER, to the Anti-Tariff Meeting held in the Court-House on Thursday of August Court.

(continued.)

But, Fellow-Citizens, this tariff system, not only forces us to pay more for all that we buy, it also makes us take less for all that we sell. How is this? It is by cutting up our trade,—by destroying commerce. What is commerce, but an interchange of the surplus products of human industry? Using to causes, physical and moral, we know that some countries cannot produce certain things as cheaply as others; for example, England cannot raise cotton, tobacco, rice, and many other things, that we can produce;—her climate forbids;—but then, her immense beds of coal,—her accumulations of capital,—her dense population, enable her to manufacture more cheaply than any other people on the globe: this being the case, common sense, says, let every nation, follow what suits them best, and let them interchange with each other their surplus productions. This interchange is commerce. How can we expect the people of other countries, to take our cotton, and other articles, if we refuse to take the productions of their labour in return; indeed, they cannot take them however much they may want them, but in exchange for what they have to spare—how else could they pay for them? Now, it is very clear, if the Tariff system did not restrict our trade with England, she would take more of our cotton, and other articles, and, in exchange we would receive what things we need, 50 to 100 per cent cheaper from them, than we now pay to the North;—and the demands for our products, growing out of free trade, would necessarily raise their prices; then we would be able to sell higher, and buy cheaper, whereas the reverse is our present condition.

For the purpose of proving that the "protective policy," is destroying commerce, Mr. Fisher stated several statistical facts, among others the following. In 1817, after so many of our sailings had been captured by the enemy, even then as appears from Treasury statements, our shipping amounted to 809,724 tons, engaged in foreign trade. In 1829, as appears from the same source, our shipping had fallen off to 650,142 tons,—showing a decrease of 159,582 tons; that is, in 1817, with a population of nine millions of souls we had twenty five per cent more shipping than in 1829, with a population of 17 millions.

During the same period the coasting trade has only increased about 3 per cent. These facts speak volumes; they show that our trade is declining, and with the decline of our commerce, it is certain that our naval power must go down; above all agriculture must suffer, for commerce is only the handmaid of agriculture.

Fellow Citizens, what would you think, if Congress were to pass an act in direct terms declaring that one half of all the cotton, rice, tobacco, and other exports of the southern States, should be taken and paid over to government, for the purpose of being distributed among the Tariff States, as bounties to them? You would certainly think such an act, oppressive and tyrannical in the highest degree; and yet, the Tariff system, in its effects on the south, amounts to the very same thing. It is now well understood that there is no difference between a duty laid on our staples as they go out, and on the articles as they come in, for which these staples were exchanged. For example,—here are A and B,—each has 100 bales of cotton which they are about to ship to Liverpool to exchange for English goods. When they reach Wilmington for the purpose of embarking, A agrees to pay the duty as he goes out, and to be done with it; he accordingly delivers over to the custom House office 50 bales, that being the amount of the duty; but B says, the constitution forbids an export duty, and therefore refuses to pay as he goes out. They both embark on board of the same vessel, A with 50 bales, and B with 100; they reach Liverpool and exchange their cotton for goods,—a bale of cotton for a bale of goods; and they both start back in the same ship, one however with 100 bales, and the other with only 50 bales of goods. When they arrive at Wilmington, A as he went out, having paid the export duty, now enters without any further exaction;—but B, who refused to pay the export duty on the cotton, now has to pay an import duty on the goods;—accordingly 50 bales of his goods, are taken by the officer,—that being the amount called for by the Tariff,—now which of the two has come off best? It is clear that B, who paid the import duty has no more goods than A, who paid the export duty! But, I have heard it said, instead of exchanging this cotton for goods, let them sell the cotton for money, which pays no duty, and bring back the money. What, I ask, would they do with the money?—they can neither eat, drink nor wear it; money is useful only as an agent in exchanges, and as soon as you begin buying goods, whether from the importing merchant in New-York, or from the manufacturer in Rhode Island, that instant you commence paying the taxes; so, that in the end it amounts to the same whether you exchange your cotton for goods in the first instance, or whether you sell it for money, and with the money buy goods.

Mr. Fisher continued, I will now state another case to show that the Tariff system taxes the laborer of the south, while it exempts the laborer of the north. This case with some variations as well as the preceding one, has heretofore been presented by a distinguished member of Congress. We will suppose that there are two men, one at the north, and the other at the south, who wish to go into the business of procuring goods to sell again. The southern man on examining his affairs, finds that his capital consists of lands, coal, &c. farming tools, and negroes which he finds it impossible to take into money. He further considers that the climate of the country is well suited to cotton; and, on the whole, he concludes at his best plan will be to turn in and make cotton, and then send his cotton to other countries and exchange it for the kind of goods he wishes to procure; the northern man now consults on the best plan to obtain the goods. He says that he has no land, nor horses, nor negroes, to make cotton, and that his climate is not well suited for it; but his capital consists in money, and therefore he concludes his best plan, is to put up a "Factory," fill it with machinery, and manufacture the goods he wishes to procure. Accordingly, they both go to work each in his own way, and each with about the same amount of capital, though invested in different kinds of property. The southern man makes 100 bales of cotton, and the northern man makes 100 bales of goods;—the southern man now sends off his cotton and exchanges it for 100 bales of goods, but when his goods come to hand, the government steps in, and takes away from him 50 bales of the product of his labour, and he now goes into the market with only 50 bales,—when he goes there, he meets the northern man with his whole 100 bales, which pays no tax at all. Now, are not the 100 bales of goods obtained by the southern man in exchange for his cotton as much the fruits of his honest labor, as are the 100 bales of goods manufactured by the northern man, the product of his labor?—and yet, the one has half taken away from him, while the other retains all; but this is not all. The southern man having been deprived of half of his bales, must now, to make up for the loss get as much for the remaining 50, as he would have taken for the whole 100, he now asks \$2 a yard for his cloth instead of \$1; and the very fact of his doing so, enables the northern man to ask, and get \$2 for his cloth. So, that the Northern man is not only favored, but the tax on the Southern man, enables him to get double price for all his goods.

Now, Fellow-Citizens, this is the system we complain of. Look at it,—look at its effects on the north, and on the South.

There, is not in existence at this time, a more prosperous people, than the Northern, and manufacturing States;—their cities, and towns are growing with unparalleled rapidity; the country

flourishes,—improvements of all kinds are going on,—rail-roads, canals, fine houses, and a thousand other things that spring up wherever money abounds. But turn to the South, and what do we see? Every thing in the decline! Towns, villages, farms,—the whole country in a state of decay! The price of property, and more especially, that of land, sink down to a more nominal value. Go into your court-yard, and offer to sell your land; you find no bidders, but go, and proclaim that you wish to buy, and every other man in your hearing will offer you his. This shows a most wretched condition of things; it shows that every thing is unsettled; that the people feel the evil, and wish to flee from it; hence the emigration that every year flows out from amongst us; but the emigrant, can no more escape the Tariff by going West, than they can escape death itself.

Nature indeed, has been kind to the South, in many things; She has given us good land and a pleasant climate; we can grow whatever we please; But, LEGISLATION, has thrown a blight over the fair prospect;—the Tariff has come, and every thing withers under its influence. Like the NIGHT-MARE, it sits on the bosom of trade; our limbs benumbed; a weight pressing on our breasts; the blood in our veins, growing chill; we breathe with difficulty, and, when by a convulsive effort of nature, we awake, we tremble through every nerve, to find that we have been struggling with a monster of the South, and paralyzes all her energies! we find ourselves prostrate of desolation!

Fellow Citizens, this being our condition, the question now arises, what shall we do to obtain relief? We may put off answering this question for a short time, but we cannot evade it long. Circumstances will force us to meet it. By assuming now a prudent attitude, we may be instrumental in saving the Union; by putting it off, we may be too late.

What shall we do? shall we sit here with folded arms, and not even raise our voices? This is what the Tariff men would advise. They may, be still, be quiet; a MAJORITY of Congress, has passed these laws, and therefore they must be right;—Does power give right? "A MAJORITY!" Have a majority, a right to plunder you of your hard earnings, and trample on you at pleasure, and you no right even to complain! What, was the constitution made for, if not to restrain the majority and to protect the minority? The Constitution, itself, provides, that no alteration or change of it, shall be made except by the consent of two thirds of the States; had yet the Tariff-men, contend that Congress, may do as they please,—may trample on the Constitution, plunder you of your property, by unequal and unnecessary taxation, and, it is all right, because a MAJORITY has done it.—Was this the doctrine of our great forefathers who fought for Liberty? A majority, of the British Parliament, passed the stamp act, and the tax on tea, but our forefathers threw them off, and with them the British yoke. If a majority of Congress have a right to do as they please, without limitation of power, what have we gained by the revolutionary war? Why, we have only exchanged KING GEORGE for KING MAJORITY. This doctrine of the omnipotence of the majority, is precisely the doctrine of divine right, and passive obedience, once claimed by the Kings of England. About two centuries ago, a race of Kings sat on the English throne, called the STUARTS, they claimed, that they were KINGS by DIVINE RIGHT OF HEAVEN, and that the people must yield passive obedience, to all their acts. Did our British ancestors quietly submit to this? No! they resisted it; and in the end not only got rid of the doctrine, but of the STUARTS. They cut off the head of one of these Kings, and drove the others out of the realm. Who would have thought, that after the lapse of 200 years, in the 32nd year of the 19th century, to hear this doctrine of passive obedience again preached up, and, that too, in REPUBLICAN America. It was for Liberty, for equal protection, and equal rights, that our forefathers fought; for these blessings, they poured out their blood, as free as water. Did they do right? If they did right, in procuring these blessings, can we do wrong in procuring them? But what shall we do? Shall we go to war? No! God forbid! May the day long be distant, before we hear the beat of the hostile drum, in our land, or, see the banner of strife, waving over our heads. There is no danger of this, thank Heaven! But what then shall we do? Shall we "NEUTRAL?" No! None of these, who called this meeting, wish to see North Carolina adopt the remedy of Nullification. We know, that the FRIENDS of the Tariff, have been very active in their endeavors to make an impression on the people, that this was to be a NULLIFICATION meeting; they have called it so, and circulated it, wide and far, at the very moment when our public address, and printed notice, were before them declaring what the object of the meeting was; but, they have not succeeded in deterring the people from assembling, nor will they succeed in their scheme to prevent them from acting. No; we propose no nullification. For myself I can truly say, if every other man in North Carolina, were in favor of nullification, and if I myself entertained no doubt about its being the "rightful remedy," as Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Madison call it, yet, as things now stand, I would most decidedly be opposed to the STATE going into it; but it does not follow from this, that I am for quietly submitting to the iniquitous Tariff. The scheme of the Tariff party, among us is very plain to be seen; they know that "Nullification," is but little understood, and is unpopular, among the people; and, they wish to seize hold of this circumstance to prevent any steps from being taken against the Tariff. If you open your mouth against this system, which is grinding you to dust, you are immediately called a nullifier—if you say, it is unjust and oppressive,—you are for disunion; and, if you say, that the south cannot, and, will not submit to it, then, you are for, "nullification disunion, and bloodshed." The truth is, these men, are for the WHOLE Tariff, and, they think by the cry of "nullification and disunion," to prevent the people from making an expression against it; but are the people to be deterred from asserting their rights by these miserable artifices? if so they are no longer free men! But, what is it, we propose to do? I will tell you;—it is to do what the federal constitution itself, and our own bill of rights, secure to us; it is for the people to meet in primary assemblies, and speak to Congress; and in their own language, you are oppressing us,—you are destroying us,—we cannot stand it,—you must give us relief. Let us appeal also to our northern brethren, the PEOPLE of those States; and remind them of our common origin, and common blood;—let us, bring to their recollections the scenes of the Revolution, when their fathers, and our fathers stood shoulder to shoulder and fought the battles of LIBERTY, let not alone THIS MEETING, but all the PEOPLE of NORTH-CAROLINA, thus speak out, and we will be heard!—Even the MAJORITY in Congress in the plenitude of their power, like the unrighteous FELIX, will tremble on their throne!

But, it may be said, others have done this and, were not heard; no, matter, let NORTH-CAROLINA speak, let us do our duty;—We are a plain, steady, unassuming people, and, many at the north think that we are for the Tariff; if we speak out, and correct their mistake, it will not fail, it cannot fail, having a most powerful influence.

There is another reason in favor of this course. If we turn to the South, we see the clouds of discontent lowering; Let North Carolina assume a mild, but firm and dignified attitude; and it may have some influence in calming the rising storm,—it may act like oil on the troubled waves of the ocean? But if all fails, then, we will have the consolation to know that we have performed our duty, to ourselves, to our Brethren of the north, and to the UNION, which is so justly dear to us all.

After an interval of a few moments, Mr. Fisher, read to the meeting the Resolutions, which were finally adopted, and which were published in the proceedings of the meeting.

FROM THE HALIFAX ADVOCATE.

Hon. Samuel P. Carson.—The following letter of invitation to the Hon. S. P. Carson to partake of a public dinner, together with the reply, has been handed us for publication. We regret that unavoidable circumstances prevented Col. Carson from accepting the invitation tendered him by the citizens of our county.

Halifax, June 4, 1832.

Hon. SAMUEL P. CARSON:—The undersigned, on the part of a portion of the citizens of Halifax County, anxious to testify their approbation of the able and independent manner in which you have discharged your duties as a Representative, respectfully invite you to a public dinner on your return from Washington.

Be assured Sir, your patriotic services in the cause of constitutional liberty have been properly appreciated by your fellow citizens in this section of the State. And, while too many of the Southern delegation, in their zeal for party and their adherence to men, have lost sight of the best interests of their country, it is with pride and pleasure we have ever found you fighting on the side of principle, and zealously advocating the cause of an injured and oppressed community.

We believe that upon a repeal of the present Tariff, and an entire abandonment of the protective system, depends the purity and vitality of our republican institutions,—perhaps the very existence of the Republic itself. We are fully prepared to defend the Constitution and the Union, but it must be that UNION and THAT CONSTITUTION WHICH OUR FATHERS FORMED.

With sentiments of the highest consideration and respect,

Your fellow citizens
Mark H. Pettway, Thos. McGrawell,
Whit. J. Hill, Robt. C. Bond,
John Crowell, Henry S. Haynes,
Elisha H. Eure, T. W. Lassiter,
Benj. S. Long, R. J. Hawkins,
Martin Road, John H. Harwell,
L. Morgan, J. L. Simmons,
M. T. Ponton, Thos. Osby,
H. Garrett, S. J. Baker, Jr.,
W. W. Brackell, B. J. Spruill,
Colin M. Clarke, Carey Whitaker,
M. L. Wiggins, S. H. Gee,
M. Ferrall, Geo. W. Gary.

WASHINGTON, 14 June, 1832.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your polite invitation in behalf of a portion of the citizens of Halifax County, N. Carolina, to partake of a public dinner, on my return to that State, from the discharge of my duties as one of its Representatives in Congress. Known to that portion of my fellow citizens, whose good opinion has been thus signally indicated, only through the medium of my public acts, the testimonial of their approbation which they have been pleased to afford me, is highly gratifying, and cannot fail to inspire additional confidence in the views I have heretofore taken of the great and important interests of our country. The crisis demands the united efforts of the people to redeem the Constitution from false interpretations, fatal to the purity, and menacing to the very existence of the happy form of Government transmitted to us by the Patriots of the revolution. To equalize taxation, and relieve the Southern States from the heavy burdens by which they are oppressed, and objects of deep solicitude and anxiety with every real friend to equal impartial justice and to the integrity of the Union, on the principles by which alone it can be preserved. To this end my best exertions have been directed as a member of the National Legislature, and if my opinions and reasonable expectations shall be over ruled and disappointed by a majority, reckless of the consequences which may flow from unmitigated wrongs inflicted on a free and enlightened people, I repose, with confidence, on the valor and patriotism of the sons of Carolina to vindicate the great cause of equal rights, liberty and the constitution, in which I shall have labored without success.

I accept, gentlemen, your friendly invitation, and shall give you the earliest information of the day on which I hope to mingle with my fellow-citizens of Halifax, and partake of their kindness and hospitality, so politely tendered and communicated by you as their organ.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, with sincere respect,
Your friend and fellow citizen,
SAM. P. CARSON.

To Messrs. M. H. Pettway, Thos. M. Crowell, and others.

FROM THE BANNER OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Short answers to Tariff arguments.

1. If a Tariff man says it is advantageous for a country to protect its domestic industry tell him so it is, & that it is for that reason you advocate Free Trade, for that, as there are three sorts of industry, agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing, you are opposed to any system which grants any special favor to one branch, at the expense of the rest.

2. If he says that manufacturing industry, which clothes the people, is alone entitled to the appellation of domestic industry, tell him, that the industry of the farmers, which feeds the people and gives them the raw materials for their cloths, is

also domestic industry, and entitled to as much consideration from Government as any other.

3. If he says that manufacturing industry can be protected, by high duties, without injuring agricultural and commercial industry, tell him he has not examined the subject.

4. If he says he has read Niles' Register and the Address of the Tariff Convention, tell him he must read Adam Smith and the Free Trade Memorial.

5. If he has read them, ask him if he has any manufacturing stock, or is concerned in iron mines or sugar plantations, or is determined to have Henry Clay for President *nolens volens*.

6. If he says that Political Economy is a theory, tell him the most mischievous theory in the world is the one which supposes that Congress can regulate the trades and occupations of the people better than they can do it themselves.

7. If he says that a Tariff is not designed to compel people to follow particular trades, tell him that, whatever it may be designed for, it has the effect of driving people out of commerce and agriculture, into manufactures, and that in no other way can the forced manufactures be supplied with labor and capital.

8. If he says that the labor and capital employed by manufactures is not withdrawn from agriculture or commerce, but constitute a dormant stock which would, without the stimulus of the Tariff, have been idle and unproductive, tell him there is no dormant capital or labor in this country.

9. If he demands of you to prove this, tell him that Banks have no where at any time had any difficulty in lending their capitals at six per centum—that if a city capitalist has more than he can lend at home, let him send it into the Western and South-western country, where the demand for capital is so great that all the merchants purchase their supplies of foreign and domestic store goods in our cities upon credit thereby demonstrating that there is full employment for tens of millions of dollars at a higher rate of interest than six per centum—for, if there were not the case, the merchants would pay cash for goods and avail themselves of the discount allowed by the merchants for prompt payment, which is never less than 6 per centum per annum. In relation to dormant labor, tell him that you can prove there is no such thing, except when laborers are asleep, by the simple fact that there are, no where in this country except occasionally, in a few overgrown cities; any able-bodied persons who have not at all times supported themselves by labor of some kind or other. The very limited lists of able-bodied paupers in our poor-houses, exhibit the true extent of dormant labor; and in nine cases out of ten as regards these, no stimulus would set the American industry in motion, but that of the iron mill.

10. If he says that foreign commerce encourages foreign industry, tell him that it cannot possibly do this without affording an equal encouragement to domestic industry, and for this very simple reason, that we cannot import a foreign article without paying for it with a domestic article.

11. If he says we may pay for the foreign article with specie, tell him that we could not get specie but in exchange for some domestic article, and that, although the exchange of flour for broad cloths may not be direct one, it is, nevertheless, as real an exchange as takes place in nine out of ten transactions,—which every day occurs in individual life. For example, when he sees a farmer sell his grain, when he goes to the miller, and sees him give money to the miller, and sees him give money to the store goods, that the store goods, really received in exchange for his grain. So unquestionably is this transaction one of exchange, that had it not been for the knowledge of the merchants, that this farmer would have grain to sell, and would want store goods; he would not have laid in a stock.

12. If he admits it to be true, that, for every dollar's worth of foreign goods brought into the country, there must be sent out an equal value of domestic goods, but insists that this operation only gives employment to one domestic capital whereas, had domestic articles been produced, in the place of foreign ones, every exchange would give employment to two domestic capitals, tell him that a man cannot live any more of an eat than her skin—that a child cannot eat its cake and have it too—that the same capital and labor which furnish seventy millions of exports, cannot furnish seventy millions of domestic manufactures besides to be exchanged for them—that seventy millions of exports represent the quantity of products left after feeding and clothing thirteen millions of people—and that together surplus of seventy millions, to be exchanged by them would require another population of thirteen millions of people.

13. If he says that manufacturing industry, which clothes the people, is alone entitled to the appellation of domestic industry, tell him, that the industry of the farmers, which feeds the people and gives them the raw materials for their cloths, is

also domestic industry, and entitled to as much consideration from Government as any other.

SOMETHING CURIOUS.

The opposition to...

thing so outrageous... ident Jackson... could not... opinion...

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CHOLERA PREMONITORIES.

Good evening Mrs. Simpkins—glad to see you! but, ever since the cholera, I've not been a step out of the house except to market.

Mrs. Simpkins. La! do you go to market—why do you know that Doctor Scarecrow says, even looking at cucumbers is bad for the cholera! I would at go to market for a hundred dollars.

Mrs. Talley-talk. Well now, I can't conceive how that can be, Doc. Eatemp, next door, says if you put plenty of onions and vinegar in them, they are as wholesome as tomatoes.

Mrs. S. Tomatoes! Oh mercy, don't mention 'em! Why Mrs. Doolittle's maid, died yesterday, from smelling one, as it passed the window, in the market basket. Tomatoes! indeed, I would as leave eat green corn!

Mrs. T. Green corn! don't you eat corn? Why Doc. Calamus eats it three times a day: morning, noon and night, and has't had even the premonitory!

Mrs. S. Does he?—Then he's an immoderate man; and when he dies, which he must soon, his epitaph will be to that effect.

Enter Mrs. Doct. Catchup, who, after a little premonitory conversation, inquires after Mrs. Simpkins and the children.

Mrs. S. Quite well, thank you, except little Sic. She's had the premonitory all day; and where she got it I cannot conceive, for not a particle of fruit has enter'd the house these six weeks!

Mrs. C. That's the very cause. Doct. Catchup lets us eat as much fruit as we want, except peaches. Our children eat plums, apples, and melons, just as they used to, but they hav't touched a peach, and have of course escaped!

Mrs. T. Not eat Peaches! Why Doctor Gingerbread says they eat a peck of peaches every day, but are careful to smoke it, as a safeguard.

Mrs. C. Well, I declare how people differ. I listened this morning at Dr. C's office door, and heard him and Dr. B. in a high dispute about cantaloupes. Dr. B. declared they were poison; while Dr. C. insisted they were medicine, and were the best thing to prevent premonitory!

Mrs. T. Well, I declare I don't believe they would hurt any body. I've a great mind to send next door, and get a couple, just to try.

Mrs. T. Rings the bell—enter the maid, who receives orders to purchase two ripe cantaloupes.—Mrs. T. prepares the table;—enter the cantaloupes and two peaches.—Mrs. Doct. Catchup draws sick at the smell of the peaches, and retires to one corner of the room. Mrs. S. and Mrs. T. taste the melons, and pronounce them anti-cholera.—Enter Mr. T., who is horror-struck at the sight of the fruit, and pitches the whole, plates and all, into the street.

Next morning the cook is found to be ill;—sent to market; she smuggled a damson plum, which caused her to have the cholera. She is dead before night. What are we to conclude? The only reply is, that we know nothing about the causes which produce cholera,—except that those who are most uniformly careful are the most uniformly healthy, at all times, and more especially now.

Bulletin.

We are concerned to state, that serious accident, on Friday last, while on his way from this city to Surry county, to commence the duties of his Circuit. About nine miles above Hillsborough, his silken orestel, by which his right shoulder was dislocated, and his right arm fractured slightly, between the shoulder and elbow. Surgical assistance having been procured, the dislocation was readily reduced and the arm set. He was at the latest accounts, doing well, and will, it is believed, be sufficiently recovered to attend Barke's, fourth Court.

Rail Register.

In the recent work of Bell and Condie, on Cholera, it is stated, that between the years 1245 and 1250, it was estimated that one-half of the whole human race was destroyed by pestilential diseases. In Spain, during a period of only three or four months, one-third of the population perished of it. There, one sixth of the world lived in filth and poverty, which, at that day, as now, render individuals peculiarly obnoxious to disease.