## DEBATE ON THE TARIEF.

Speech of Mr. Bryan, of N. Carolina. The House in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Unidn, the motion of Mr. Sprague. to strike out the duty on molasses and hemp, being under consideration-

Mr. FRYAN addressed the Chair, & said that nothing but an overruling sense of du ty to his constituents could have impelled him to intrude upon the patience and tax the politeness of the Committee.

I know, (said Mr. B.) that we are a! mearied-I will not say worried-nut and by the long continuance of the debate, but also by its statistical and calculating character many of the speeches of gentlemen. resembling arithmetical computations, rathen than discussions of great cardinal measures of policy. I do not make this remark, sir, disrespectfully, because I know that this character arises, in a great measure, from the nature of the subject, and is often necessary to sustain the views and arguments of gentlemen on both sides.

I know very well Mr. Chairman, that many of my friends, with whom I am hapny to act on this occasion, deem silence a more politic course; at least until the friends of the Tariff can agree ; but, sir, as I should nave felt myself compelled to vote for striking out this additional duty upon malasses, on account of the great and peculiar injury which it would inflict upon my constituents, and the whole Eastern section of the State which I have the honor in part to represent, I trust I shall stand justified for endeavoring to assign the reasons of my vote to the Committee.

The honorable gentleman from Pennsy vania (Mr. Buchanan,) who has just resumed his seat, has ascribed to my honorable friend from Maine (Mr. Sprague,) a spirit of harshness and denunciation against the Committee of Manufactures, who reported this bill, and a disposition to degrade them. in this House and this Nation. The honorable gentlemen is very well able to defend himself ; but, sir, I must say, as a member of this House, that I did not conceive his remarks to be insulting to that Committee, or to have been so intended. I trust I should feel as sensibly as any mem ber a violation of the respect due to this House, by any imputation of improper motives to one of its standing committees .-To my understanding the honorable gentleman from Maine has made no such imputation, and I believe he would be one of the last members of the House to do so. The honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania has said that hemp and molasses is a miserable theme for eloquence- Sir, I readily admit that it does not appear to be a theme for rhetorical flourishes, and beautiful imagery, nor am l ambitious of investing the subject with artificial dignity or splendid decorations. My object, sir, will be more satisfactorily attained, if I can impress upon the committee " plain matters of fact," and such inferences from them as common sense must make. The honorable gentleman, according to my ap prehension of his remarks, has treated the additional tax proposed on molasses as a small business, and seems to wonder that it should produce excitement. Sir, if it be such a small affair, I am sorry indeed that the Committee on Manufactures should have stopped to notice it. I can assure the gentieman that it is a matter of serious importance to my constituents, as well as to the citizens of the Eastern States. The honorable gentleman from Maine seems to suppose that the State which he represents, in part, so ably, is more interested than any other in the Union. I am glad that he thought so. as it inflamed his ardor & animated his zeal in a good cause : but I can assure that gentleman that the State of North-Carolina has also a most important interest af stake, and I am happy to have his able assistance, or rather to cooperate with him in defending the interests dependant upon the West-India trade, however humble they may seem. The only foreign trade of North Carolina is, and long has been, with the West-India Islands : while the shallowness of our waters forbid our participation in the European trade, the nature of our productions-our contiguity to those Islands-their wants and their produce, early invited an intercourse with them, which has been maintained and persevered in under great discouragements. Indeed, this intercourse being founded upon the only true basis of all commerce, mutual wants and mutual demands, has been sustained as it were by the efforts of Nature herself. North-Carolina produces, in great abundance, the materials for such an assorted cargo as is most desired in those islands. We can export in almost any quantity lumber of all kinds, staves, shingles, purk, bacon, corn, peas, beans, nawal stores, fish and live stock. The principal trade, however, sir, is, I believe, in the various kinds of pitch pine, lumber, staves and shingles. We receive in return, from various islands, molasses, sugar, cuf fee, rum and salt, and to a much greater amount than is required for the consumption of our own citizens. Many of our merchants make extensive shipments of lumber, &c. and order the return cargoes to New-York, or other Northern ports, to pay for goods bought of the merchants of those cities ; and this is found to be a mutually advantageous mode of making remittances. or, in other words, of paying their debts. This trade, sir, is also very convenient to Northera ship owners. Numbers of their vessels crowd our ports in the fall of the year, and find employment till the spring, in freighting our lumber, &c. to the West-Indies, while others carry out cargoes of their own products to the Islands. and there barter them for West-India produce, which they bring to North-Carolina and exchange for lumber. &c. or corn, and thus procure successive cargoes, continually increasing in value, and furnishing aliment to an enterprising traffic.

This frade from North Carolina is, The-It is essentially a barter tracle. We are one thousand feet of lumber, that is \$12 or not allowed to export sugar, coffee, or spe- 13 per thousand, or if reduced to barrels. cie from a French island ; molasses is therefore received of necessity as a return carcertainly cannot bear an additional burthen ; quainted with shipping business, that the I question, sir, whether the colonists are and, Mr. Chairman, I cannot believe that this house would consent to impose the ad ditional burthen contemplated by this bill, with a full understanding of the subject in all its bearings and operations. As the trade is now conducted, it barely sustains itself; its great value consists in the employment which it yields to a numerous class of our citizens-many, especial y of the poorer classes, are employed in the various operations of getting lumber and the different kinds of timber for the West-India market. The winter season is most advantageously devoted by the farmer to these occupations, and he is thus enabled to procure the groceries for his fa mily, which are now deemed the ordinary. if not necessary comforts of life.

I think I may sav, sir, that about seveneighths of the tonnage of North-Carolina is employed, in this trade, and about forty vessels from the port of Newbern alone .-suppose upon an average, about four or five West India voyages may be made in the year.

The House will readily perceive, sir, that if this vent for our products is closed. great and general distress must ensue. have said, sir, that the trade cannot bear this additional burthen. This assertion, sir, I think may be incontrovertibly sus tained.

The average sales of lumber, at the French Islands, for the last twelve months, may be estimated, I understand, at \$32 per thousand, payable in molasses at an average price of 21 cents per gal, adding to this the price of the hogshead, \$3 50, and 5 per cent. for difference or loss on guage, & by the present impost of 5 cents per gallon, the cost to the importer is enhanced to \$1 or \$2 cents per gallon, without any allowance for freight or insurance. The average cargo sales of molasses in the U States, for the last twelve months, have not exceeded 271 cents per gallon, thus allowing a loss of 21 or 31 cents per gallon. In the trade with Hayti, the price of lumber does not vary much from the price obtained at the French Islands, payments in that island are uniformly made in coffee, on which a loss is sustained of 10 or 12 per cent. In the Datch, Swedish, & Danish Island-, the sales of lumber average about \$25 per thousand, but this decrease of price is compensated by lower port charges, and better payments than in the French Islands, sales being usually made for cash, or for colonial produce, at much lower prices than are exacted at the other islands. As gentlemen, in the course of the debate upon other sections of this bill, have offered nomerous statements and calculations, made by respectable manufacturers. I trust it will be in order for me to offer to the consideration of the Committee a statement, exhibiting an invoice of a cargo of lumber, for a vessel of 100 tons, with an account of sales of the same, in a French Island, and in a Danish, Dutch, and Swedish Island, which has been furnished me by a ship owner, for whose integrity and intelligence I can youch to the Committee :

The fesult of vieve, principally with the French Islands. of seven or eight hundred dollars on sixty- of the ship 15 per thousand, or if reduced to barrels. of 75 or 80 cents per barrel; which will meet the American shipper on neutral but little more than defray the expenses of ground with his colonial produce, and it make us tributary to our northern and The condition of this trude at present the voyage, and must convince any one ac- requires both parties to make a bargain .-additional burden proposed must crush not convinced by this time, that the mother this trade. Sir, in estimating the profits country has sacrificed their interests to of commercial operations conducted from state policy, & to the desire of building up the poits of North-Carolina, the heavy burdens which nature has already imposed upon us by the shallowness of our waters, especially the consuming expenses of lighterage and detention at the shoal called the Swash in Pamilico Sound, to which all the nav gation of the State which seeks the ocean by Ocracock Inlet (comprehending) about three-fourths of the whole) is subjected, should never for a moment be out of view.

this deplorable state of our commerce. I beg leave to read an extract from the mrmortal of a Convention of D legates from the ports dependent upon the Ocracock Inlet, assembled to devise some means of removing these evils, or mitigating their almost intolerable severity :

"Your memorialists believe that the annual exports of the products of our country through Ocracock are not overrated when estimated at five millions of dollars, requiring for their transportation, and actually employing two hundred thousand tons of shipping.

They find from calculations carefully made and compared, that the charge of these vessels for lighterage and detention at the Swash, averages one dollar per ton. and amounts, annually, to two hun dred thousand dollars ; that the additional rate of insurance, because of the risk and and detention at the Swash, averages three quarters of one per cent. and amounts, or the exports and imports, to seventy-five thousand dollars, and on the vessels, to sixty thousand dollars per annum. This annual tax of three hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars upon the navigation of our section of the country, independently o the minor evils, the vexations and difficul ties which will be readily perceived, cannot but enhance the freight or cost of conveyance to market. The price of freight from Norfolk, and Wilmington, N. C (the latter but 120 miles distant from Ocracock) to the West Indies, is from 20 to 25 per cent. less than from the ports dependent on Ocracock Point, which difference on bulky articles, such as lumber, staves and shingles, amounts to between 30 and 40 per cent. of their original value. This freight and charges on articles shipped coastwise for reshipment to their places of consumption, amounts on naval stores, to 25 per cent. on cotton, to between 10 and 15 per cent. and on staves, to 50 per cent. of their original value." These charges are all borne by the industry of the country-they are discerned "in the low price of the products of N. Carolina industry, in the ports dependent upon Ocracock Inlet, compared with those where the costs of detention and perils of lighterage are not to be encountered.-While at Suffolk, in Va- pipe staves command 40 dollars per thousand, at Murfreesboro' and Winton, (about thirty miles distant) they are sold at 25 dollars. Red Oak staves, which at Washington, N. C. Newbern and Edenton, scarcely command on for 18 and 20 dollars." oal was examined by a board ates Engineers under an act of passed about two years ago .e in their report that " The preof the navigation at Ocracock is in the extreme." It must be the Committee from these facts, nposition of this additional duty te as a complete interdict to our ia trade : and that will be in efwhole foreign trade. The Conprohibits a tax upon exports : be such a tax upon their substisentatives, that is, the commowhich they are exchanged, as to prohibit their exportation. with great justice, it seems to chairman, before this additional imposed on us, call upon Congress us on an equal footing with the es engaged in this trade, by ree obstructions to our commerce, ight be equally qualified to hear ise the greatest injury must refrom the peculiarly oppressive of the tax upon us. I trust, Mr. that the brief review which of the navigation and commerce Carolina will acquit me of being er upon the time and patience of As I have the floor, sir, I will attention of the House for a few to the commerce of the United erally, with these Islands. e official statements which have to this House from the Treaartment, it appears that our exe West Indies for several years aged about sixteen millions of id that our imports have been asame amount. Our exports to of Cuba alone, for the year 1826, six millions of dollars, and our mounted nearly to eight millions. ig of the ports of the British ainst us does not seem to have affected the amount of our d imports. The enormous port the English islands, and their ection, frequently rendered nous to the adventurer. I have ibly informed, that at Jamaica, sel of 125 tons, carrying about es, the port charges, duties, cominspection, &c. amounted to conmore than the first cost of the wards of \$1,000.) There being to the leeward of this island, fier, and, too frequently, this

of the shipper, than the value of his cargo; there was but one party to this bargain.----Now the British merchant is compe the Canadas, and her other American provinces, at their expense.

ted States during the year 1826, from the Danish West India islands, was nearly equal to that from the British West Indies. as the Treasury document referred to will show. The import of Molasses for 1826. from the West Indies, amounted to 13,-651,155 gallons, of which only 1,785.938 gallous were from British islands. This As a clear and foreible illustration of importation, estimated at the cargo price of 27% cents per gallon, amounts to nearly four millions of dollars. From this brief general view of the West India trade, it certainly, Mr. Chairman, is sufficiently important to demand the deliberate consideration of the House, before they adopt a measure which must so seriously affect ic-which must destroy it in some sections ducts. This is the natural and most efof the Union -And why, Mr. Chairman, shall this flourishing trade, a\*trade, sir. which I repeat is so natural, so convevient, and conducted upon such fair terms ments laid upon our tables show, that of of reciprocity, (I exclude the English islands of course,) why, sir, shall it be so grievously oppressed ? It paid into your Freasury, in 1826, more than six and a half millions of dollars in duties; it rears receives a greater amount of our grains for the defence of our country, a hardy than all the world besides ; and this marrace of seamen ; it supports an industrious population on land; it employs many thousand tons of shipping which must o- grains. Molasses, alone, although deemed therwise rot at the wharf, to the ruin of a small business, yields a revenue of about the ship owner. The united exertions of \$700,000. However great an aversion these classes of our citizens convert our dreary forests into articles of comfort and subsistence, and make substantial additions to the wealth of the nation.

recommend this additional duty, state that a large quantity of the molasses imported some of the money thus derived to be into the Eastern States is distilled, and brought to him. and applyingit to his nose, that the spirits thus distilled interferes told his courtiers that it really did not

effection to them and North-American Provinces, whi is now very considerable. In neither of these can we participate-they operate additional burthens upon us, because they eastern brethren.

I know, Sir, that it has been customare to consider the State which I have the ha nor in part to represent, as but little inte. rested in commerce, and it is true, that we have but little European trade. Yet, sir upon examination of the Treasury records. The value of the imports into the Uni- it will be found that our aggregate tonnage of every kind, is very little inferior to that of Virginia, and is actually greater than that of any State south of us. We have many little ports where vessels are owned. which are employed in the coasting and West India trade ; and the amount of our exports appears, from the memorial to which I have referred, to be very considerable, Is this incerest, sir, and the great agricultural interests connected with and depeadant upon it, to be sacrificed, to try the experiment of making the American perple consome whiskey ? I repeat, sir, what has been before arged, that it is with our agricultural products, and the products of the forest, that we buy West India profectual way of encouraging agriculturecommerce here acts as the servant and handmaid of agriculture. The Treasury docu. the exports to the West Indies in 1826. amounting to \$16.766.262, about fourfifths (\$13,329,843,) were of American produce. Here is a market, then, which ket is to be destroyed, to promote the manufacture of whiskey from rye and other gentlemen may have to the article, yet the money derived from it, I hope, does not partake of their dislike. I have read some where, that the Emperor Vespasian, on he-The Committee on Manufactures, who ing reproached with deriving revenue from a source really contemptible, commanded

## Invoice of a Cargo of Lumber for a Vessel ten dollars per thousand, usually sell a

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with the domestic spirits distilled from grain. The Committee state, that "they hazard nothing in the assertion that the that article, gentlemen will be reconciled, coarse grains are now grown in these states in sufficient quantities to furnish them a full supply of ardent spririts, if the demand | tleman from Pennsylvania, should succeed, was in no other manner supplied ; and that and this trade should be destroyed by it, the testimony before them, among other as we believe it will be, will that gettlethings, shows "that the quantity of these | man promise this House that the whiskey grains can be increased, &c. to answer any demand if demand could be created"- the nation ? Will he promise for his con-They, therefore, recommend an additional stituents? I presume not, sir. The genduty of five cents on molasses, and of ten tleman has said, that the citizens of Penncents on all foreign spirits, without regard to quality or proof. They further inform our Eastern brethren, use brown sugar in us in another part of the report, " that the its place, and that agallon of molasses conwhiskey of this country has become very palatable and very fashionable, &c."

It seems then, sir, that we are in the first place, to create by legislation, a demand for whiskey, and by excluding for- would not be unfair that molasses should eign spirits and molasses, to compel its use. | pay 24 cents, as those who use it, derive I would here pause, and ask this House to as much benefit from it, as his constituents reflect upon the character of such a propo- do from eight pounds of sugar. Sir, this sition. It seems to me, sir, monstrous, is a strange argument. I always though both in a political and moral point of view. The materials and industry of numerous not so much from choice as from necessiclasses of our citizens, by the operation of the West India trade, are exchanged for but because it was cheaper. If the genmany millions of gallons of molasses, which [ tleman's constituents are so well off as to is largely used as an article of diet by all use sugar, where my constituents and those classes, and especially by the poor, and is of the gentleman from Maine, are compellundoubtedly very wholesome & nutritious ; led to use molasses, it surely is a strong besides, it yields a large and increasing argument against our constituents being revenue to the government. I would respectfully ask, sir, why the fruits of their | tleman from Pennsylvania. industry and capital is less worthy of protection, because it appears in the shape of molasses, than if it appeared in the more trade, which gives us the benefit of expe-" fashionable" garb of whiskey ; it is also a strong recommendation to mulasses, that it can be taxed by the impost duty ; whiskey can only be taxed by an excise, and | Tariff system, for the benefit of the grainthat it seems, is a hazardous experiment and not to be resorted to in time of peace. mine the results. They are such, sir, at So far, from this government attempting to create a demand for whiskey, I had the notion of creating an artificial market hoped the proposition from the Committee | for their produce, by destroying a natural on Commerce to reduce the duty on wines, one. By a report of the Committee on would have met a favorable reception from | Commerce, it appears, that with the island the House ; it is strongly recommended by of Madeira, we once had also a valuable its tendency to substitute the use of pure barter trades We exported flour, Indian and wholesome liquors for that of ardent | corn, peas, beans, pork, lumber, staves, spirits, thus promoting eminently the mo- fish, &c .- and as we are informed by the ral and physical health of the nation.

Sir, I do not intend to enter into a for- been permitted to carry these articles there mal contestation of the assertion of the free of duty. The average annual value Committee that whiskey is very palatable of our exports to that island, from 1801 to and fashionable, because I know, sir, there 1807, was about \$600,000. The duty on is no disputing tastes ; but on behalf of my | Madeira wine was then from 50 to 58 cls constituents, I must protest against such a per gallon. From 1819 to 1823, the du doctrine going abroad to the world as the ty has averaged 100 cents per gallon, and sense of this House-my constituents have our exports have averaged little more that not yet become, so fashionable as to dis- \$200,000; at present, I believe, they but card Madeira. (when they can get it,) for little exceed \$100,000. If experience d whiskey. "Madeira is good enough for this kind does not convince us of the imthem," as was said by one of our worthiest policy and futility of the Tariff. or forcing citizens and most respectable merchants. system, in "creating a demand" for agri-But, Mr. Chairman, to return to the so- cultural products, I would respectively ber consideration of this matter. This bill ask, what can ? is intended, we are told, as a compromise between the two great contending parties: merchants are enabled, under the operation the manufacturers and the growers of wool of the present system, to assort their carand grain in the middle and northern goes for the West Indies, with our pro-States-the interests which cannot arrange duce, which is a great advantage " themselves under the banner of either the that trade, and is precisely the state of one or the other, are to be trodden down things must beneficial to them, and most in their march to what they deem their mu- detrimental to us. It is what they have tual advantage. I hope, sir, they may not been petitioning the mother country, arrive at a Moscow, where, when they have the last fifteen years. They have now the seized the prize, they will find nought but long voyage to the West Indies, and the ruin and desolation. Sir, what possible Eastern States, a miserable little coasting benefit can the State which I have the ho- trade with their ports. Their fisheries, nor in part so inadequately to represent, onderstand, sir, have received a new inderive from this bil ? What compen- pulse from this extension of their trade sation for the annihilation of her West In- as they are enabled to ship their her dia trade ? None, sir, burthen is added to to the West Indies, advantageously, will burthen. The northern and eastern States an assorted cargo ; whereas, an entire car may derive some compensating benefit go of fish would rarely be a profitable ship

smell of the article-so I hope, that as the revenue from molasses does not taste of and permit the trade to exist. If the proposition advocated by the honorable geni substituted for it will pay an equal tax to sylvania, not being so fond of molasses as tains as much sacharine or sweetening matter, as eight pounds of brown sugar, which pays a duty of three cents per pound, amounting to 24 cents, and therefore, that molasses was used as a sweetening. ty-not because it was preferred to sugar, taxed for the benefit of those of the gen-

Mr. Chairman, there is a view of this case, derived from the history of the Madeia rience, which, in questions of this kind, is certainly entitled to great consideration. This trade has been operated upon by the growing States, and let us attentively erto make the agricultural class deprecate report of the Committee, we have always The New Brunswick and Nova Scotta ing impossible to get to one to from protecting and building up their ma- ment- By reference to the Treasury de stever price the British merchant be speedily transferred—they have also our exports to the British American Colo-