

the force of our republican experiment; yet I believe that our Government is capable of achieving all the great objects for which it was designed, and settling this matter.

If, in the revolutionary contest, when the blood and treasure of this country were profusely poured forth to establish the rights and liberties of mankind—to give self-government and to abolish unjust taxation—any one of our ancestors who were engaged in this glorious struggle, had predicted that in less than half a century afterwards we should be engaged in the consideration of a bill to compel a portion of the people, at the point of the bayonet, to pay taxes when the Government had six millions of dollars more than it needed, they would not have believed him; credulity itself at that time would not have believed such a prediction.

If they could have credited the story, it would have enervated the arm which struck for liberty—would have damped the bosom which glowed with patriotism. But what has been the practice of our Government heretofore? I beg leave to recur to another case distinguished in the history of our Government, and which I overlooked at the time I was remarking on the various instances of forbearance shown by our Government. In the late war, when a large majority of the people of the United States believed the pride of the country to have been wounded—when the constituted authorities of the land believed the national honor to have been trampled upon by the British Government, and considered it the sacred duty of all to assist them in resenting the insult, we found many on that occasion, yes, even pending the gloomiest period of the war, resisting every bill which went to give the Government of the United States men and means to prosecute that war. They resisted it on the ground, that peace might be obtained; and, I believe, because they deemed the war to be unjust, and, while our villages were smoking and our country invaded by a large body of hostile troops.

We find at that moment a large body of men in Connecticut, whose patriotism I do not call in question, far be it from me to do so—a powerful and talented respectable body of men, even at the darkest periods of that war, voting against giving men and money to carry on the war. Great Britain had trampled on our commercial rights—had insulted us on the high seas for six years before war was declared. Notwithstanding all this we found a powerful body who said that no army or money ought to be voted to the Government. Now, if that spirit of forbearance, great as it was, could be shown to an enemy whose cry was, *Delenda est Carthago*—if that spirit could be exercised *bello flagrante*—certainly some little patience is due to our brethren of the south. Surely some forbearance ought to be shown to our own countrymen. If there were many at that time who thought the sword should not be unsheathed against those who would trample us under foot, is it to be supposed that we are now to plunge it into our fellow-citizens without some little examination into their cause?

I wish to be distinctly understood on one point. I do not intend to justify South Carolina; I am not her advocate, but she has a right to have justice done her. I do believe, however, that this question may be settled; and that by acting in a spirit of conciliation—a spirit not only due to her, but the vast portion of the north and south, the question might be put at rest. As regards the Union of these States, there is not a member in the Senate and I trust I shall not be considered egotistical when I say that there is not, in the whole Union, one in soul and heart more deeply devoted to it than my humble self. I believe that all the advantages of liberty and of a free government, are at issue in this matter, and it is for that reason I urge a pacific course. Even the Greenilles and the Norths, arrogant as they were, even they brought forward their measures—even they repealed some of their odious laws to satisfy the desires of the colonies. And shall it be said there is now a spirit more inexorable, more inaccessible to the voice of justice than that which prevailed under the British Monarchy? If so, the blood of those who achieved the Revolution was shed in vain, and the hopes of the friends of free government are forever put at rest. If that inexorable principle, that there is to be no regard paid to the feelings and wishes of the minority, he would say that this would change the whole principle of our Federal compact, depriving it of all its republican and benignant features, and converting the Federal into a Consolidated Government.

In every portion of the Union there is a set of great primary interests. He wished to be distinctly understood on this point. He did not mean to say that the Government of the United States should yield to every rash requirement of a State—far from it; but he did intend to say that whenever any of those great primary and leading interests made just remonstrance against any obvious oppression, it was our duty, in the true federative spirit of our Government, to forbear; otherwise the Government must effectually change its character. The west has her primary interests and sensibilities in reference to the great land question, and he (Mr. B.) would always be disposed to do ample justice to her as well as to every other section of this country. He would not feel power and forget right. New York, has great interests in a commercial and manufacturing way; he, therefore, would do nothing that would trample them down. He would let them be free as they are, and give them all the privileges they require. With regard to the manufacturing interests of the country, he believed that the Constitution did not tax the interests of one portion of the people to benefit another. He would bear and forbear. And, as to a specific measure for the reduction of the revenue, he declared that he was not one of those who would give a deadly blow to the manufacturing interests, by a thorough and too rapid reduction, in that revenue point. He would do it gradually, in that spirit of forbearance, which is due to the whole Union. Having glanced he would now advert to those of the southern States. Their interests consist in producing as much as possible—selling at the highest prices, and buying as low as possible. But that natural course of things had been interrupted by the Government of the United States for many years past. But he did not subscribe to

that doctrine which is maintained by some, that there are not essential interests common to a large portion of the Union, north, south, west, and east were inseparably connected. There was no such thing as an adverse interest. It was true that an artificial state of things had grown up.

There was no difference between the great natural interest which God and nature had given us; if there were any difference, it arose from an unjust dread of legislation. Unjust legislation had produced it, and not the diversity of soil, habits, and pursuits. The true doctrine was, extend equal protection to all in their various habits and pursuits, and leave the path free for a generous and beneficial competition of all.

He begged leave to read a short extract from the speech of Mr. Bayard, a man of eminent ability—a republican, a patriot; and he (Mr. B.) believed that the sentiment would and ought to have its weight. It was at a particular period of the embargo, and the remarks were made in the course of a speech on the question; and in reading this, he intended to make no special reference to that portion of the Union; they had a right to express what they felt; he merely referred to it as illustrative of the principles of our Government. In the course of that gentleman's remarks on the repeal of the embargo law, Mr. B. said as follows:

"We all know that the opposition to the embargo, in the eastern States, is not the opposition of a political party, or of a few discontented men, but the resistance of the people, to a measure which they feel as oppressive and regar as ruinous. The people of this country are not to be governed by force, but by affection and confidence. It is for them we legislate; and if they do not like our laws, it is our duty to repeal them."

"If they do not like our laws, it is our duty to repeal them"—so said he (Mr. B.) It was right and proper that the other members of the Union should respect their feelings; nay, even their prejudices. Supposing that our Government had pursued a different course; had steadily refused to repeal the embargo law; and determined, in the language of the present day, to make an experiment to test the strength of the Union, and that our fellow-citizens of the east should have been coerced at the point of the bayonet; what, in all probability, would have been the consequence? He believed there would have been blood shed, and that the consequence would have been the dissolution of the Union; and that the prospect of a free government would have been destroyed; that all the States of the Union would have become separate governments, and civil war would have resulted. The calamitous consequences which would result from a dismemberment of the confederacy, none could doubt. Each of the great divisions seeking to strengthen themselves against the aggression of the other, would give large powers to their executive authorities, which would most probably terminate in the establishment of a military despotism in each.

Proud as he was of the achievements which had been performed under the star spangled banner—proud as he was of the stars and stripes which have fluttered in every sea and every clime; anxious as he was for the glory of the country; yet God forbid that those stripes and stars which had heretofore been the rallying point of heroism, should now float over the mangled corpses of our bleeding countrymen. God forbid that our country should undergo this sad and disastrous revolution; for he believed, whenever that should take place, not only the liberties of this country, but the best and brightest hopes of the civilized world, would be destroyed forever.

CONGRESS.

IN SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

Mr. CLAY said he had on the preceding day given notice that he should ask leave to offer to the consideration of the Senate a bill to modify the act of the 14th July 1832, and the other acts of Congress imposing duties on imports—and that with permission of the Senate he would make some explanation of its provisions. In taking this step he had no personal views to gratify—his course had been exclusively governed by a deep sense of the duty which he owed the country in its present distracted condition. When he surveyed the face of the country, evidence of the highest degree of prosperity was every where to be seen—and yet throughout its whole widespread extent, great dissensions and divisions of opinion prevailed. In introducing the proposed measures to the House, he had two great objects in view. The first related to the Tariff policy. He would express the opinion which had not been hastily formed, that the policy of protection was in the most imminent danger. If it should be preserved for the present session, it must inevitably fall at the next session of Congress. The causes which had produced this state of probability he would not now go into. He was fully satisfied that the existing tariff could not be preserved but by the application of forcible measures. Recourse to such a policy could not fail to be attended by the most calamitous consequences. When he looked to the vast extent and importance of the interests protected by the Tariff policy, he could not contemplate its sudden overthrow without terror. History furnished no example of such ruin and destruction as would be brought upon the country by a sudden repeal of the protective system. The revocation of the Edict of Nantz was nothing to it. The complaints which now divide and distract the American people are on the one hand, that they are ground down by a system of unjust taxation which paralyzed their industry—on the other that the vacillating, vibrating policy of Congress in relation to the protection of our own products, afforded no certain means of calculation. Before a law had gone into operation—a law, too, passed with extraordinary research and deliberation, it is now to be repealed before its operation has been tested by any experience of its provisions. For the purpose of taking away the occasion of these complaints on the one side and the other, he had sought for some principles of mutual accommodation, which might be satisfactory to both

parties—to afford, on the one hand, the assurance that the rates of duty should at a future day be brought down to a bare revenue standard—and to promise on the other stability and permanency to our policy. The basis upon which the principle of accommodation, which he should propose, was founded, was time. The extent of time which would form the ingredient of the bill, was long compared with human life—but it was short—very short, in reference to the measures of a wise government. With these preliminary remarks, he would beg leave to call the attention of the Senate to the provisions of the proposed bill.

By the 1st section it was provided that in all cases where the duties proposed by the act of 14th July, 1832, or any other act which should be in force after that act went into operation should exceed 20 per cent., the amount of that excess shall be gradually reduced by deducting one-tenth on the 30th September, 1833—one-tenth on the 30th September, 1835—one-tenth on the 30th September, 1837—one-tenth on the 30th September, 1839—one-half of all that remains exceeding 20 per cent. to be taken off on the 30th Sept. 1841, and the other half on the 30th Sept. 1842—leaving the duties on all articles whatever, on which a greater rate of duty is now imposed than 20 per cent. after the expiration of nine years and an half at that rate of duty.

Mr. C. illustrated the operation of this principle by stating its effect upon woollens, which by the act of 14th July were subjected to a duty of 50 per cent. The excess subject to gradual reduction is 30 per cent. This would be reduced by tenths biennially until 1839 when the duty would be 38 per cent—of this 9 per cent. being one half of the excess will be taken off in 1841 and 9 per cent more, the other half in 1842, leaving the permanent duty at 20 per cent. afterwards.

By the 2d section of the proposed bill it is provided that so much of the act of the 14th July as fixes the rate of duty upon plain kerseys and Kendal cottons at 5 per cent. should be repealed and these articles subjected to the same rates of duty with other woollen goods. It would be recollected these articles were separated from the mass of woollen manufactures as being peculiarly burdensome to the South in order to produce a feeling of acquiescence in the other provisions of the law. As this discrimination had failed of producing that effect, they should be placed with the other woollen manufactures and be subjected to the same scale of reduction.

By the 3d section it is provided that the present mode of payment of duties shall be continued until the 30th September 1842. After that period all duties shall be paid in ready money, and the whole credit system abolished.

By the 4th section it is proposed to be provided, that in addition to the list of articles exempted from duty by the act of 14th July, the following to be added—bleached and unbleached linens, silks imported from countries this side the Cape of Good Hope, worsted stuffs, shawls and all other manufactures of silk and worsted. This provision had been introduced for the purpose of guarding against any accumulation of surplus revenue. If the land bill which had passed the Senate, and the gradual reduction of duties proposed by this bill be carried into effect, the present Congress will have settled two, if not three of the most agitating questions which have ever convulsed the country. The revenue which might be received into the Treasury beyond the immediate wants of the Government, before the rate of duties came to its minimum in 1842, would be sufficient to finish the works already commenced. He had been greatly astonished by the disclosure of the process by which the Secretary of the Treasury proposed to keep the revenue down to the wants of the Government. That officer had supposed that a reduction of the rates of duties, would reduce the revenue in the same proportion. If there was any truth in the principles of political economy, this would not be the result. It was a maxim, that consumption increased in proportion to the reduction of price. The duty composes a part of the price. If the duty is reduced, the consumption is increased, and of course the relative amount of revenue is also increased. This was probably not the design of the Secretary. But he must be permitted to say, that the plan that had been elsewhere presented for the reduction of the Tariff, was the most artfully devised scheme that could be imagined. It assumed a certain basis for the future expenditure of the government, which it was absolutely impossible to fix with any degree of certainty. He would proceed to the other provisions of the bill after briefly explaining the ground of the proposed discrimination between the silks of China and those of France. Its object was to encourage our commerce with that power which had become one of the most important customers for our great Southern staple. The consumption of cotton from the South of France had tripled within fourteen years—and it was generally understood that without discrimination in their favor the low priced silks of France could not meet those of China in the market.

By the 5th Section of the proposed bill, it was provided that after the 30th September, 1842, raw cotton, indigo, quicksilver, opium, and a great variety of drugs and small articles used principally in manufactures, may be imported free from duty.

The sixth and last section of the proposed bill, repeals so much of the act of the 14th July 1832, and of all other laws, as are inconsistent with its provisions.

Mr. CLAY, then went into an elaborate argument, in defence of the provisions of his proposed bill, in anticipation of the objection which might be urged against it by the friends of the protective system. He contended at length that it did not yield the principle of protection, but only proposed a forbearance of its exercise. He for one was willing to sacrifice every thing to peace and Union. The State of South Carolina was engaged in making experiments for the purpose of ascertaining whether she could not disable the General Government from executing its laws within her limits. That State must inevitably fail in those projects. It was a special pleading business utterly unworthy of her. It was impossible for her citizens ingenious as they undoubtedly were, to devise laws which could not be counteracted by the General Government. If she should put her threats of secession from the Union in execution, what would be her situation? She has a population of about half a million of souls—of what description a

large part of this population was, he would not inquire. For her protection, she must maintain fleets, armies, foreign ambassadors, and all the expensive establishments of an independent nation. How are they to be maintained? Will she not be compelled to impose a tariff infinitely more onerous upon her citizens than the present? What will be the condition of a great portion of the property of that State—which now alone gives efficiency to her resources—and the value of which is governed by the price it bears in the Southwestern States? It would immediately lose a great portion of its value, if no worse consequences resulted. The failure of that State in her present schemes, was inevitable. But however misguided and rash her conduct had been, he was unwilling to disgrace her. He could not forget that her citizens valiantly fought side by side with those of the other States in those hostile battles which had secured the glory and the independence of the nation. Mr. C. concluded by moving for leave to introduce the bill modifying the provisions of the act of July 14th, 1832 and all other acts imposing duties on imports.

The CHAIR stated the question on granting leave.

Mr. FORSYTH said the avowed object of the Senator would undoubtedly meet with universal approbation. In his opinion such a proposition could not come more appropriately from any source whatever, for we were indebted to none so much, for the universal discord which prevailed throughout the country on this subject. But a few months since, it had been in the power of that Senator to have settled this agitating question forever. He would not now go into any discussion of the details of the proposed bill—it would not be in order. Although portions of them met his approbation he could not see in this proposition brought forward at this time, and under such circumstances the elements of success. It was too near the close of the session to take up an original proposition of this character in the Senate. In his view it would be better to wait the action of the other House upon the bill now before them. There was now but 14 days left of the session. If the whole of both Houses were unanimous in the wish of passing this bill excepting twenty members gifted with ordinary power of lungs, they would have it in their power to prevent its becoming a law at this session.

Mr. POINDESTER said he should give his vote in favor of leave to introduce the bill. We had arrived at a most singular state of things. Here were gentlemen loudly denouncing all tariffs—who were yet perfectly willing to vote fleets and armies for enforcing them. The olive branch of peace had been offered by the patriotic Senator from Kentucky—shall we refuse him leave to introduce it, because forsooth the bill which contains it must, like most other bills, be amended? If one of its provisions could not constitutionally be adopted here is it worse than a precious bill now under discussion which violates the Constitution from beginning to end and ought to be kicked out of the Senate? He hoped the proposed bill which looks to a state of peace and concord would be heard. The Senator from Kentucky had his thanks for proposing it. He regarded it as a more salutary panacea for the disorders which now pervaded the nation, than gunpowder, balls and cannon. He was willing to accede to any proposition which approached towards conciliation rather than clothe the Executive with the whole physical force of the nation.

Mr. CALHOUN said he entirely approved of the object of the bill proposed by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Clay]. Every man who loved the Union must ardently desire to see this distracting question terminated. Until this was done there never could be peace and harmony among its several members. He verily believed that the present degraded political condition of the country was principally owing to the discord, which had arisen out of this subject. The principle upon which the proposed bill was based, met his entire approbation. If the tariff was ever adjusted it could only be by giving time upon the one side; and coming down to a general system of *ad valorem* duties on the other. For himself he would say that he occupied a position as hostile to the protective system as any man in America—but he would never agree to the passage of any bill which would destroy the capital and skill which had grown up under it in the Northern States. At last we must come down to the system of *ad valorem* duties; but he hoped not so suddenly as to impair the value of the vast amount of skill and capital now engaged in manufactures. It would not be in order to advert to the details of this bill; but he would repeat that its general principle met his entire approbation, and under it, he hoped this vexed question would be settled forever.

Mr. WEBSTER said that, according to parliamentary usage, nothing but the title of the bill was now before the Senate. The bill had not been introduced. The question was, shall a bill to modify certain acts of Congress be received? The object of the bill was not stated in the title, and no objection as to the constitutionality of its provisions could be taken until the measure was in possession of the Senate. He could not forbear making a remark or two upon the principles of the measure, as they had been explained by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Clay]. Considering the importance of the proposition—the sensation it would produce throughout the country—and the relation in which he stood to it, he should be pardoned for saying a few words upon it, though not strictly in order. He felt bound to declare, lest his views might be misunderstood, that great and substantial objections existed in his mind, both to the principle and to the details of the proposed bill. It entirely surrendered the power of imposing discriminating duties for the purpose of protection. In direct contradiction of the whole system of protection as established by the uniform legislation of Congress, for a long series of years it proposes that the present duties shall be reduced at an equal rate percent. biennially—and the end of this process is the establishment of one uniform rate of duty upon all articles subject to impost. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Clay] supposes that the doctrine of affording protection in a moderate degree to the productions of American industry is now in imminent danger. He had seen nothing which went to destroy the force of the opinion expressed by that Senator at the last session, that public sentiment throughout the nation would fully sustain such a degree of protection. If such was not the fact he had been greatly deceived. He was content to leave the result to the good sense of the people of the United States. He should ask leave tomorrow, to lay upon the table resolutions expressive of his opinions upon this subject.

The question was then taken upon granting leave to introduce the bill—which was carried without a division. The bill was read and ordered to a second reading.

ADVENTURERS ATTEND! GODDESS OF FORTUNE, BEAR THIS GOODLY NEWS FAR AS OUR FAME EXTENDS. Drawing of the VIRGINIA STATE LOTTERY, For the Benefit of the Monongalia Academy, Class No. 7, for 1832.—Drawn at Richmond, on Friday, December 21st, 1832. 40 45 65 34 58 7 46 48 61 44 Comb. 7 34 58 a prize of \$10,000, Was sold in a Package of Half Tickets, No. 601, "by the ever fortunate" S. Y. L. VESTER! BALTIMORE, Md.

PETER & GEORGE LORILL RD. SNUFF AND TOBACCO MANUFACTURERS, No. 41 Chatham street, New-York. Have constantly for sale the following articles, FINE BROWN SNUFF.

- Genuine Maccoboy, } Rose flavored.
Imitation do. }
Sicily do. }
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Demigros, }
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- YELLOW SNUFF.
do. Half Toast, } Fine.
do. High Toast, }
Irish Blackguard, } Coarse.
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- SWEET SCENTED FINE CUT CHEWING TOBACCO.
Small papers, labelled I. A. L. }
do. do. do. P. & G. }
do. do. do. P. & G. }
1 lb. papers, labelled P. A. L. }
1-2 lb. do. do. P. A. L. }
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—Extra Superior, manufactured only by P. LORILLARD, Jr.

FIN. CUT SMOKING TOBACCO. Spanish, Kitefoot, Canaster, Common, Stems, in 1-4, 1-2 and 1 lb. papers. All articles sold at the above store can be returned, if not approved, and the money will be refunded.

N. B.—A liberal discount made for Cash by Wholesale.

Brown snuff packed in 1-2 and 1 lb. bottles, and 3, 6, 12, and 18 lb. Jars.

Yellow do. in 1-2 and 1 lb. bottles and small and large bladders.

Cut tobacco packed in 1- barrels, barrels, and tierces.

The Genuine Maccoboy Snuff, is manufactured only by P. & G. LORILLARD, who have also the imitation do. from 20 to 30 per cent lower, the same as manufactured in many places and sold under various names.

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BEWARE OF DECEPTION.

Several persons are in the practice of using a Label on their snuffs in imitation of the subscribers' which they have used upwards of 30 years, and can be for no other purpose than to deceive.

Some are also in the practice of mixing inferior Snuff with their Genuine Maccoboy Snuff and selling it as first quality.

Others are also in the practice of filling empty jars with the subscribers' label on them with inferior Snuff, and selling it as their manufacture.

Their motive in making this publication is to guard their customers against the deception practised upon them. P. & G. LORILLARD. February 20, 1833—6m.

NEWBORN PRICES CURRENT. (CORRECTED WEEKLY.)

- BEEFWAX, lb. 16 a 18 cents
BUTTER, do. 20 a 25
CANDLES, do. 12 a 15
COFFEE, do. 13 a 15
CORDAGE, cwt. \$ 15 a \$ 16
COTTON, do. 80 a 9
COTTON BAGGING—Hemp, per yd 15 a 20 cts.
Flax do. 10 a 15
FLAX, per lb. 10 a 15 cts.
FLOUR, bbl. \$ 6 a 6 50
Corn Meal, bushel, 50 a 60 cents
GRAIN—Corn, bbl. \$ 2 40 a 2 50
Wheat, bushel, \$ 1
IRON—Bar, American, lb. 5 a 6 cents
Russia and Swedes, do. 6 a 7
LARD, lb. 10 a 12 cents
LEATHER—Sole, lb. 15 a 25 cents
Hides do. 12
LUMBER—Flooring, M. \$ 12
Inch boards, do. 8 a 9
Sanding, do. 8 a 9
Square Timber, do. 17 a 18
Shingles, Cypress, do. 150 a 2
Staves, W. O. bbl. do. 16 a 20
Do. R. do. do. 10 a 12
Do. W. O. barrel do. 8
Heading, hhd. do. 18 a 22
Do. barrel, do. 8 a 10
MOLASSES, gallon, 32 a 34 cents
NAILS—Cut, all sizes above 4d. lb. 6 a 6 1/2 cts
4d. and 3d. do. 9 cents
Wrought, do. 15 a 20 cents
NAVAL STORES—Tar, bbl. \$ 1 a 1 10
Turpentine do. 1 75 a 1 85
Pitch do. 1 40
Rosin do. 1
Spirits Surpentine, gallon, 25 cents
Varnish, gal. 25 cents
OILS—Sperm, gal. \$ 1 a 1 20
Whale & Porpoise do. 35 a 40 cents
Linseed, do. \$ 1 20 a 1 30
PAINTS—Red Lead, lb. 15 a 18 cents
White Lead, ground in oil, cwt. \$ 10
PEASE—Black eyed, bushel, 60 a 65 cents
Gray eyed, do. 45 a 50
PROVISIONS—Bacon, lb. 6 a 8 cents
Beef, lb. 3 a 4 cents
Pork, mess, bbl. \$ 14
Do, prime, do. 11 50
Do, cargo, do. 9
SALT—Turks Island, bushel, 50 a 55 cts
Liverpool, fine do. 60 a 70 cents
SHOT—cut, \$ 8 a 10