

CAROLINA WATCHMAN.

BY HAMILTON C. JONES.

SALISBURY, N. C. SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1833.

VOL. I—NO. 32

TERMS.

THE CAROLINA WATCHMAN, is published every week at Three Dollars per year, in advance where the subscribers live. Counties more than one hundred miles distant from Salisbury, and in all cases where the account is over one year standing, the price will be \$4.

No subscription will be taken for less than one year. Advertising will be done at the usual rates. No subscription will be withdrawn until arrears are paid, unless the Editor chooses.

Six subscribers paying the whole sum in advance, can have the Watchman at \$2.50 for one year, and if advanced regularly, will be continued at the same rates afterwards.

All letters to the Editor must be Post paid or they will not be attended to.

Persons addressing the Editor on the business of the Office, will address him as Editor of the Carolina Watchman—Those that write on other business can direct to H. C. Jones.

N. B. All the subscriptions taken before the commencement of this paper, it will be remembered, because due on the publication of the first number.

JEWELRY WORK, AND WATCH AND CLOCK REPAIRING.

JOHN C. PALMER

STILL carries on the above business in its various branches, in the house formerly occupied by James B. Hampton, one door above Murphy's store; he is confident by his long experience, that he has acquired a practical knowledge of his trade, and thinks that his work will be done as well, as by any Mechanic in the State. He has on hand a small assortment of Jewelry and Silver ware, which he will sell cheap.

He is thankful for past custom and will solicit a share of the custom of those who have use for his trade. He will warrant his work to do well for twelve months; if it fails no charge will be made.

Salisbury, Feb. 1833.—28—31.

Entertainment

The Subscriber respectfully begs leave to inform his OLD CUSTOMERS and the Public generally, that he continues to keep that

LARGE AND SPACIOUS BUILDING, NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE COURT-HOUSE SQUARE, AND DIRECTLY IN THE CENTRE OF THE VILLAGE, where he will, at all times, be happy to receive company.

His TABLE and BAR are as good as the Market affords. His ROOMS and BEDDING, inferior to none. His STABLES, large and convenient; well supplied with Provender, and every attention paid to horses. Newspapers from different parts of the United States, are taken at this ESTABLISHMENT, for the use of the Public; and no exertions will be spared by the Proprietor to render his guests comfortable.

Wadesboro, N. C. ?

Oct. 1832. ? T. WADDILL, Jr.

Persons travelling through this place, in either of the Stages, will find at this House, prompt attention, comfortable accommodations, and moderate charges.

J. W. Jr.

FEMALE Seminary in Statesville.

IN consequence of Mr. Caldwell's death, the exercises of the Female Seminary in Statesville, will be suspended until the first Monday in January.

TERMS AS HERETOFORE.

Instruction on the Piano Forte, by Miss E. J. Baker, \$20. Some difficulty has always been found in procuring boarding for so large a number of young Ladies as attend this School, consequently it would be highly gratifying to the Teachers, if some Gentleman of strict morality would open a private Boarding-House for their accommodation.—It is probable a commodious House could be obtained for that purpose this Fall.

M. A. CALDWELL, E. J. BAKER, Teachers.

Statesville, Nov. 14—1832

NOTICE.

THE Co-partnership, heretofore existing between the Subscribers, in the town of Morganton, Burke County, in the Mercantile business, is dissolved by mutual consent.—All claims due the said firm, are transferred to Robert C. Pearson, with whom it is desirable that the same should be liquidated and settled, either by payment or note as soon as practicable.

JOHN CALDWELL, R. C. PEARSON.

* Robert C. Pearson, thankful for past favors, intimates his friends and the public, that he will continue to carry on the business in Morganton, that he has just received, and is receiving a general assortment in every branch of his line of business, and by his unremitting attention to his business, and cheapness of his Goods, he hopes to ensure the continuance of a liberal share of the patronage of a generous public.

Dec. 29—1832

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA:—

SHAW-WOOD COUNTY.—Superior Court of Law October Term, A. D. 1832.

William Green

vs. Petition for Divorce.

Keziah Green

Is this case having been made appear to the satisfaction of the court, that the defendant Keziah Green resides without the limits of this State, so that the ordinary process of the law can not be served on her.—It is therefore, ordered by the court that publication be made in the "Carolina Watchman," and in the "North-Carolina Spectator and Western Advertiser," for the term of three months, advising the defendant to be and appear at a Superior Court of Law to be held for the County of Haywood at the Court-House in Waynesville, on the second Tuesday after the fourth Monday in March next, then and there to plead answer or demurrer to the petition of the petitioner, otherwise judgment pro confesso, will be entered against her and decree made accordingly.

And, it is further ordered that the Editors of the said papers, be requested to forward their papers to this office during the said three months.

Test,

JOHN B. LOYE, Clk.



THE WATCHMAN.

Salisbury, Saturday, March 2, 1833.

Congress of the U. States.

Tuesday, February 12.

IN SENATE.

Modification of the Tariff.

Mr. Clay rose and addressed the Senate to the following effect:—

I yesterday, sir, gave notice that I should leave to introduce a bill to modify the various acts imposing duties on imports. I at the same time, added that I should, with the permission of the Senate, offer an explanation of the principle on which that bill is founded. I owe, sir, an apology to the Senate for this course of action, because, although strictly parliamentary, it is nevertheless, out of the usual practice of this body; but it is a course which I trust the Senate will deem to be justified by the interesting nature of the subject. I rise, sir, on this occasion, actuated by no motives of a private nature, by no personal objects; but exclusively in obedience to a sense of the duty which I owe to my country. I trust, therefore, that no one will anticipate on my part any ambitious display of such humble powers as I may possess. It is sincerely my purpose to present a plain, unadorned, and naked statement of facts connected with the measure which I shall have the honor to propose, and with the condition of the country. When I survey, sir, the whole face of our country, I behold all around me evidences of the most gratifying prosperity, a prospect which would seem to be without a cloud upon it, were it not through all parts of the country there exist great dissensions and unhappy distinctions, which if they can possibly be relieved and reconciled by any broad scheme of legislation adapted to all interests, and regarding the feelings of all sections, ought to be quieted; and leading to which object any measure ought to be well received.

In presenting the modification of the Tariff laws which I am now about to submit, I have two great objects in view. My first object looks to the Tariff. I am compelled to express the opinion, formed after the most deliberate reflection, and on a full survey of the whole country, that, whether right or wrong, the Tariff stands in imminent danger. If it should even be preserved during this session, it must fall at the next session. By what circumstances, and through what causes, has arisen the necessity for this change in the policy of our country, I will not pretend now to elucidate. Others there are who may differ from the impressions which my mind has received upon this point. Owing, however, to a variety of concurrent causes, the Tariff, as it now exists, is in imminent danger, and if the system can be preserved beyond the next session, it must be by some means not now within the reach of human sagacity. The fall of that policy, sir, would be productive of consequences calamitous indeed. When I look to the variety of interests which are involved, to the number of individuals interested, the amount of capital invested, the value of the buildings erected, and the whole arrangement of the business for the prosecution of the manufacturing art which have sprung up under the fostering care of this Government, I cannot contemplate any evil equal to the sudden overthrow of all those interests. History can produce no parallel to the extent of the mischief which would be produced by such a disaster. The repeal of the Edict of Nantes itself was nothing in comparison with it. That condemned to exile and brought to ruin a great number of persons. The most respectable portion of the population of France were condemned to exile and ruin by that measure. But in my opinion, sir, the sudden repeal of the Tariff policy would bring ruin and destruction on the whole People of this country. There is no evil, in my opinion, equal to the consequences which would result from such a catastrophe.

What, sir, are the complaints which unhappily divide the people of this great country. On the one hand, it is said by those who are opposed to the Tariff, that it unjustly taxes a portion of the people and paralyzes their industry; that it is to be a perpetual operation; that there is to be no end to the system; which, right or wrong, is to be urged to their inevitable ruin. And what is the just complaint, on the other hand of those who support the Tariff? It is, that the policy of the Government is vacillating and uncertain, and that there is no stability in our legislation. Before one set of books are fairly opened, it becomes necessary to close them, and to open a new set. Before a law can be tested by experiment, another is passed. Before the present law has gone into operation, before it is yet nine months old, it is under circumstances of extraordinary deliberation, the fruit of nine months labor, before we know any thing of its experimental effects, and even before it commences its operations, we are required to repeal it. On one side we are urged to repeal a system which is fraught with ruin; on the other side, the check now imposed on enterprise, and the state of alarm in which the public mind has been thrown, renders all prudent men desirous, looking ahead a little way, to adopt a state of things, on the stability of which they may have reason to count. Such is the state of feeling on the one side and on the other. I am anxious to find out some principle of mutual accommodation, to satisfy, as far as practicable, both parties; to increase the stability of our legislation; and at some distant day—but not too distant, when we take into view the magnitude of the interests which are involved—to bring down the rate of duties to that revenue standard for which our opponents have so long contended. The basis on which I wish to found this modification, is one of time, and the several parts of the bill to which I am about to call the attention of the Senate, are founded on this basis. I propose to give protection to our manufactures, adequate protection, for a length of time, which, compared with the length of human life, is very long, but which is short, in proportion to the legitimate discretion of every wise and parental system of government—securing the stability of legislation, and allowing time for a gradual reduction, on one side, and on the other, proposing to reduce the rate of duties

to that revenue standard for which the opponents of the system have so long contended. I will now proceed to lay the provisions of this bill before the Senate with a view to draw their attention to the true character of the bill.

Mr. Clay then proceeded to read the first section of the bill, in the words in which it will be found below. According to this section, he said it would be perceived that it was proposed to come down to the revenue standard at the end of little more than nine years and a half, giving a protection to our own manufactures, which he hoped would be adequate, during the intermediate time. Mr. Clay recapitulated the provisions of the sections, and showed by various illustrations how they would operate.

Mr. Clay then proceeded to read and comment upon the second section of the bill, as recited below. It would be recollected, he said, that at the last session of Congress, with the view to make a concession to the Southern section of the country, a low priced woolens, those supposed to enter into the consumption of slaves and the poorest classes of persons, were taken out of the general class of duties on woolens, and the duty on them reduced to five per cent. It would be also recollected that at that time the gentlemen from the South had said that concession was of no consequence, and that they did not care for it, and he believed that they did not now consider it of any greater importance. As, therefore, it had failed of the purpose for which it was taken out of the common class, he thought it ought to be brought back again, and placed by the side of the other descriptions of woolens, and made subject to the same reduction of duty as proposed by this section.

Having next read through the third section of the bill, Mr. Clay said that, after the expiration of a term of years, this section laid down a rule by which the duties were to be reduced to the revenue standard which had been so long and so earnestly contended for. Until otherwise directed, and in default of provision being made for the wants of the government in 1842, a rule was thus provided for the rate of duties thereafter, Congress being in the mean time authorized to adopt any other rule which the exigencies of the country, or its financial condition, might require. That is to say, if, instead of the duty of 20 per cent, proposed, 15 or 17 per cent, of duty was sufficient, or 25 per cent, should be found necessary, to produce a revenue to defray the expenses of an economical administration of the government, there was nothing to prevent either of those rates, or any other, from being fixed up; whilst the rate of 20 per cent, was introduced to guard against any failure on the part of Congress to make the requisite provision in due season.

This section of the bill, Mr. Clay said, contained also another clause, suggested by that spirit of harmony and conciliation which he prayed might preside over the Councils of the Union at this trying moment. It provided (what those persons who are engaged in manufactures have so long anxiously required for their security) that duties shall be paid in ready money—and we shall thus get rid of the whole of that credit system into which an inroad was made, in regard to woolens, by the Act of the last session. This section further contained a proviso that nothing in any part of this Act should be construed to interfere with the freest exercise of the power of Congress to lay any amount of duties, in the event of war breaking out between this country and any foreign Power.

Mr. Clay having then read the fourth section of the bill, said that one of the considerations strongly urged for a reduction of the Tariff at this time was, that the government was likely to be placed in a dilemma by having an overflowing revenue; and this apprehension was the ground of an attempt totally to change the protective policy of the country. The section which he had read, Mr. Clay said, was an effort to guard against this evil, by relieving altogether from duty a portion of the articles of import now subject to it. Some of these, he said, would, under the present rate of duty upon them, produce a considerable revenue; the article of silks alone would probably yield half a million of dollars per annum. If it were possible to pacify present dissensions, and let things take their course, he believed that no difficulty need be apprehended. If, said he, the bill which this body passed at the last session of Congress, and has again passed at this session, shall pass the other House, and become a law, and the gradual reduction of duties shall take place which is contemplated by the first section of this bill, we shall have settled two (if not three) of the great questions which have agitated this country, that of the Tariff of the Public Lands, and, I will add, of Internal Improvement also. For, if there should still be a surplus revenue, that surplus might be applied, until the year 1842, to the completion of the works of Internal Improvement already commenced; and, after 1842, a reliance for all funds for purposes of Internal Improvement should be placed upon the operation of the Land Bill to which he had already referred.

It was not his object, Mr. Clay said, in referring to that measure in connection with that which he was about to propose, to consider them as united in their fate, being desirous, partial as he might be to both, that each should stand or fall upon its own intrinsic merits. If this section of the bill, adding to the number of free articles, should become law, along with the reduction of duties proposed by the first section of the bill, it was by no means sure that we should have any surplus revenue at all. He had been astonished indeed at the process of reasoning by which the Secretary of the Treasury had arrived at the conclusion that we should have a surplus revenue at all, though he admitted that such a conclusion could be arrived at in no other way. But what was this process? Duties of a certain rate now exist; the amount which they produce is known; the Secretary, proposing a reduction of the rate of duty, supposes that the duties will be reduced in proportion to the amount of the reduction of duty. Now, Mr. Clay said, no calculation could be more uncertain than that. Though, perhaps, the best that the Secretary could have made, it was still all uncertainty; dependent upon the winds and waves, on the mutations of trade, and on the course of commercial operations. If there was any truth in political economy, it could not be that the result would be a surplus; for we are instructed by all experience that the consumption of any article in proportion to the reduction of its price, and that in general it may be taken as a rule that the duty upon an article forms a portion of its price. Mr. Clay said he did not mean to impute any improper design to any one; but, if it had been so intended, no scheme for getting rid of the Tariff could have been more artfully devised to affect the purpose, than that which substituted the revenue, and in addition, assumed that the expenditure of the Government every year would be so much, &c. Could any one here say what the future expenditure of the Govern-

ment would be? In this young, great, and growing country, can we say what will be the expenditure of the Government even a year hence, much less what it will be, three, five, or five years hence? Yet it had been estimated, on assumed amounts, founded on such uncertain data, that of income and expenditure, that the revenue might be reduced to many millions a year!

Mr. C. asked pardon for this digression, and returned to the examination of articles in the fourth section, which were proposed to be left free of duty. The duties on these articles, he said, now varied from 5 to 10 per cent, and valued; but low as they were, the aggregate amount of revenue which they produced was considerable. By the bill of the last session, the duties on French silks, was fixed at five per cent, and that on Chinese silks at ten per cent, ad valorem. By the bill now proposed, the duty on French silks was proposed to be repealed, leaving the other untouched. He would frankly state why he made this distinction. It had been a subject of anxious desire with him to see our commerce with France increased. France, though not so large a customer in the great staples of our country as Great Britain, was a great growing customer. He had been much struck with a fact going to prove this, which accidentally came to his knowledge the other day; which was, that within the short period of fourteen years, the amount of consumption in France of the great Southern staple of cotton had been tripled. Again, it was understood that the French silks of the lower grades of quality could not sustain a competition with the Chinese without some discrimination of this sort. He had understood, also, that the duty imposed upon this article at the last session had been very much complained of on the part of France; and, considering all the circumstances connected with the relations between the two governments, it appeared to him desirable to make this discrimination in favor of the French product. If the Senate should think differently, he should be content. If, indeed, they should think proper to strike out this section altogether, he should cheerfully submit to their decision.

After reading the fifth and sixth sections, Mr. Clay said, he would now take a view of some of the objections which would be made to the bill. It might be said that the act was prospective, that it bound our successors, and that we had no power to thus bind them. It was true that the act was prospective, and so was as to every act which we ever passed, but it could repeat it the next day. It was the established usage to give all acts prospective operation. In every tariff law, there were some provisions which go into operation immediately, and others, at a future time. Each Congress regulated according to their own views of propriety; their acts did not bind their successors, but created a species of public faith which would not easily be broken. But, if this bill should go into operation, as he hoped even against hope, that it might, he had not a doubt that it would be adhered to by all parties.

There was but one contingency which would render a change necessary, and that was the intervention of a war, which was provided for in the bill. The hands of Congress were left untied in the event, and they would be at liberty to resort to any mode of taxation which they might propose. But, if we suppose peace to continue, there would be no motive for disturbing the arrangement, but, on the contrary, every motive to carry it into effect. In the next place, it will be objected to the bill by the friends of the protective policy, of whom he held himself to be one, for his mind was invariably fixed in favor of that policy, that it abandoned the power of protection. But, he rejoined, in the first place, that a suspension of the exercise of the power was not an abandonment of it; for the power was put there by its framers, and could only be dislodged by the people. After the year, 1842, the bill provided that the power should be exercised in a certain mode. There were four modes by which the industry of the country could be protected:

First, the absolute prohibition of rival foreign articles. That was totally unattainable by the bill; but it was competent to the wisdom of the Government to exert the power whenever they wished. Second, the imposition of duties on such a manner as to have no reference to any object but revenue. When we had a large public debt in 1816, the duties yielded \$7 millions and paid so much more of the debt, and subsequently they yielded but eight or ten millions, and paid so much less of the debt. Sometimes we had to trench on the sinking fund. Now we had no public debt to absorb the surplus revenue, and no motive for continuing the duties. A man can look at the condition of the country, and say that we can carry on this system, with accumulating revenue, and no practicable way of expending it. The third mode was attempted last session, in a resolution which he had the honor to submit last year, and which in fact ultimately formed the basis of the act which finally passed both Houses. This was to raise as much revenue as was wanted for the use of the Government; and no more, but to raise it from the protection and not from the unprotected articles. He would say that he regretted that deeply that the greater part of the country would not suffer this principle to prevail—and the day, in his opinion, would come when it would be adopted as the permanent policy of the country. Shall we legislate for our own wants or that of a Foreign country? To protect our own interests in opposition to Foreign legislation was the basis of this system. The fourth mode in which protection could be afforded to domestic industry was to admit free of duty every article which aided the operations of the manufacturers. These were the four modes for protecting our industry; and to those who say that the bill abandons the power of protection, he would reply that it did not touch that power; and that the fourth mode, so far from being abandoned, was extended and upheld by the bill. The most that can be objected to the bill by those with whom he had co-operated to support the protective system, was that, in consideration of nine and a half years of peace, certainty, and stability, the manufacturers relinquished some advantages which they now enjoyed. What was the principle which had always been contended for in this and in the other House? That after the accumulation of capital and skill, the manufacturers would stand alone, unaided by the Government, in competition with the imported articles from any quarter. Now give us time; cease all fluctuations and agitations for nine years, and the manufacturers, in every branch, will sustain themselves against foreign competition. If we can see our way clearly for nine years to come, we can safely leave to posterity to provide for the rest. If the Tariff be overturned, as may be its fate next session, the country will be plunged into extreme distress and agitation. I said Mr. Clay, with harmony. I wish to see the restoration of those ties which have carried us triumphantly through

our wars. I delight not in this perpetual contest. Let us have peace and business as usual as a band of brothers.

It may be thought that the interest involved, not unless under a twenty per cent, ad valorem duty. His reply was, "sufficient for the day, the evil thereof." He would leave to the day when the reduction took effect, to settle the question. When the reduction takes place, and the finger cannot live under it, what will he do? I will tell you, said Mr. Clay, what he ought to do. He ought to try it—make a fair experiment of it—and if he cannot live under it, let him come here and say that he is bankrupt, and ruined. If then nothing can be done to relieve him—Sir, I will not pronounce the words, for I will believe that something will be done, and that relief will be afforded without hazarding the peace and integrity of the Union. The Confederacy is an excellent contrivance, but it must be managed with delicacy and skill. There were manifold varieties of prejudices and local interests to be regarded; but they should be made to yield to the Union.

If the system proposed cannot be continued, let us try some intermediate system, before we think of any other dreadful alternative. Sir, it will be said, on the other hand—for the objections are made by the friends of protection principally—that the time is too long; that the intermediate reductions are too inconclusive, and that there is no guaranty that, at the end of the time stipulated, the reduction proposed would be allowed to take effect. In the first place, should be recalled the diversified interests of the country—the measures of the government which preceded the establishment of manufactures—the public faith in some degree pledged for their security; and the ruin in which rash and hasty legislation would involve them. He would not dispute about terms. It would not, in a court of justice, be maintained that the public faith was pledged for the protection of manufactures; but there were other pledges which men of honor are bound by, besides those of which the law can take cognizance.

If we excite, in our neighbor, a reasonable expectation which induces him to take a particular course of business, we are in honor bound to redeem the pledge thus tacitly given. Can any man doubt that a large portion of our citizens believed that the system would be permanent? The whole country expected it. The security against any change of the system proposed by the bill, was in the character of the bill, as a compromise between two conflicting parties. It should be taken by common consent, as we hope it will be—the history of the revenue will be a guaranty of its permanency. The circumstances under which it was passed will be known and recorded—and no one will disturb a system which was adopted with a view to give peace and tranquility to the country.

The descending gradations of which we proposed to arrive at the minimum of duties, must be gradual. We never would consent to any precipitate operation to bring distress and ruin on the community.

Now, said Mr. C. viewing it in this light, it appeared that there were eight years, and a half, and nine years and a half, taking the ultimate time, which would mean an efficient protection, the remaining duties would be withdrawn by a biennial reduction. The protective principle must be said to be, in some measure, relinquished at the end of eight years and a half. This period could not appear unreasonable, and he thought that no member of the Senate, or any portion of the country, ought to make the slightest objection. It now remained for him to consider the other objection—the want of a guaranty to there being an ulterior continuance of the duties imposed by the bill, on the expiration of the term which it prescribes. The best guaranties would be found in the circumstances under which the measure would be passed. If it was passed by common consent; if it was passed with the assent of those who had directly and indirectly supported this system, and by a considerable portion of those who opposed it—if they declared their satisfaction with the measure, he had no doubt the rate of duties guaranteed, would be continued after the expiration of the term, if the country continued at peace. And, at the end of the term, when the experiment would have been made of the efficiency of the mode of protection fixed by the bill, while the constitutional question had been suffered to lie dormant, if war should render it necessary, protection might be carried up to prohibition; while, if the country should remain at peace, and this measure go into full operation, the duties would be gradually lowered down to the revenue standard, which had been so earnestly wished for.

But suppose that he was wrong in all these views, for there were no guaranties, in one sense of the term, of human infirmity. Suppose a different state of things in the South—that this Senate, from causes which he should not dwell upon now, but which were obvious to every reflecting man in this country—causes which had operated for years past, and which continued to operate. Suppose, for a moment, that there should be a majority in the Senate in favor of the Southern views, and that they should repeal the whole system at once, what guaranty would we have that the repealing of the law would not destroy those great interests which it is so important to preserve? What guaranty would you have that the thunders of those powerful manufacturers would not be directed against your capital, because of this abandonment of their interests, and because you had given them no protection against foreign legislation. Sir, said Mr. C., if you carry your measure of repeal without the consent, at least, of a portion of those who are interested in the preservation of manufactures, you have no security, no guaranty, no certainty that any protection will be continued. But if the measure should be carried by the common consent of both parties, we shall have all security; history will faithfully record the transaction; narrate under what circumstances the bill was passed; that it was a pacifying measure; that it was well poured from the vessel of the Union to restore peace and harmony to the country. When all this was known, what Congress, what Legislature, would dare to repeal the law? What man who is entitled to deserve the character of an American statesman would stand up in his place in either House of Congress and disturb this treaty of peace and unity?

Sir said Mr. C. I will not say that it may not be disturbed. All I say is, that here is all the reasonable security that can be desired by those on the one side of the question, and much more than those on the other would have by any unfortunate concurrence of circumstances. Such a repeal of the whole system should be brought about as would be cheerfully acquiesced in by all parties in this country. All parties might find in this measure some reasons for ob-

jection. And what human measure was there which was free from objectionable qualities? It had been remarked, and justly remarked, by the great Father of our country himself, that if that great work which is the charter of our liberties, and under which we have so long flourished, had been submitted, article by article, to all the different States composing this Union, that the whole would have been rejected; and yet, when the whole was presented together, it was accepted as a whole. He (Mr. C.) would admit that his friends did not get all they could wish; and the gentleman on the other side did not obtain all they might desire; but both would gain all that in his humble opinion was proper to be given in the present condition of this country. It might be true that there would be loss & gain in this measure. But how was this loss and gain distributed? Among our countrymen. What we lost, no foreign hand gave; and what we gain has been no loss to any foreign Power. It is among ourselves the distribution takes place. The distribution is founded on that great principle of compromise and concession which lies at the bottom of our institutions, which gave birth to the Constitution itself, and which has continued to regulate us in our onward march, and conducted the nation to glory and renown.

It remained for him now to touch another topic. Objections had been made to all legislation at this session of Congress resulting from the attitude of one of the States of this Confederacy. He confessed that he felt a very strong repugnance to any legislation at all in this subject at the commencement of the session, principally because he misapprehended the purposes, as he had found from subsequent explanation, which that State had in view. Under the influence of more accurate information, he must say that the aspect of these things since the commencement of the session had, in his opinion, greatly changed. When he came to take his seat on the floor, he had supposed a member of this Union had taken any attitude of defiance and hostility against the authority of the General Government. He had imagined that she had arrogantly required that we should abandon at once a system which had long been the settled policy of this country. Supposing that she had manifested this feeling, and taken up this position, he (Mr. C.) had, in consequence, felt a disposition to huri off back again, and to impress upon her the necessity of the performance of her duties as a member of this Union. But since his arrival here, he found that South Carolina did not contemplate force, for it was denounced and denounced by that State. She disclaimed it—and asserted that she is making an experiment. That experiment is this: By a course of State legislation, and by a change in her fundamental laws, she is endeavoring by her civil tribunals to prevent the General Government from carrying the laws of the United States into operation, within her limits. That she has professed to be her object. Her appeal was not to arms, but to another power, not to the sword, but to the law. He must say, and he would say it with no intention of disparaging that State, or any other of the States—it was a feeling unworthy of her. As the purpose of South Carolina was not of force, this at once disarmed, divested legislation of one of the principal objections which it appeared to him existed against it at the commencement of this session. Her purposes are, all of a civil nature. She thinks she can oust the United States from her limits; and unquestionably she had taken good care to prepare her judges beforehand by swearing them to decide in her favor. If we submitted to her, we should thus stand but a poor chance of obtaining justice. She disclaimed any intention of resorting to force, unless we should find it indispensable to execute the laws of the Union by applying force to her. It seemed to him the aspect of the attitude of South Carolina had changed—or rather the new light which he had obtained, enabled him to see her in a different attitude—and he had not truly understood her until she had passed her laws, by which it was intended to carry her Ordinance into effect. Now, he ventured to predict that the State to which he referred must ultimately fail in her attempt. He disclaimed any intention of saying any thing to the disparagement of the State. Far from it. He thought that she had been rash, impetuous, and greatly in error; and to use the language of one of her own writers—made up an issue unworthy of her. He thought the verdict and judgment must go against her. From one end to the other of this Continent, by acclamation as it were, nullification had been put down, and put down in a manner more effectual than by a thousand wars or a thousand armies—by the irresistible force, by the mighty influence of public opinion. Not a voice beyond the single State of South Carolina had been heard in favor of the principle of nullification which she has asserted by her own Ordinance; and he would say, that she must fail in her law suit. He would express two opinions, the first of which was, that it is not possible for the ingenuity of man to devise a system of State legislation to defeat the execution of the laws of the United States, which could not be counteracted by federal legislation.

A State might take it upon herself to throw obstruction in the way of the execution of the Federal Government; but Federal legislation can follow at her heel quickly, and successfully counteract the course of her State legislation. The framers of the Constitution foresaw this, and the Constitution has guarded against it. What has it said? It is declared in the clause enumerating the powers of the Government,