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SPEECH

McDuffie, Mr. Evans, in reply to riff. Deliver-Carolina, on the ed in the Senate of the Un uary 22 and 23, 1844.-10

her point of these nanufactures that, out o ctures more anufacturers Who does two hundred and sixty militers. not see that the great solicitude of her manup prices a ufactorers, must be to keep home? It we are to depend mainly on her for our supply, when prices are high there, in her greatest and best tracket, we mus

When they are low, we stall be inundated with the surplus of her proceetions. Prices perpetually fluctuary But, sie, fear I have wearied the Searchy dwelling discuss it as it ought to be iscussed, would require much more time toan it would be proper for me under any cirricumstances, and especially now, to exat from the Senate; and I proceed, therebre to another

The Senator from South Carolina, attri and unjust ope butes to the fariff an unequaration on different sections of the country He says: While it impose burdens on the people of the whole country it imposes them on the people of the South in a undue degree, that he cannot and to such an unequal exte but look on this Government as more iniquid that section tous, unius, and disastrous of the Union, and to its commerce, than all the pirates and plunderers that ever infested

the act of 184; and the policy can only affect the two ways. It can only opearticles they consume, or by diminishing the they sell. Mr. McDuffie The honorab s Senator says both. I will endeavor to show the reversethat it does not operate injuriously in either If the price of acticle purchased has been enhanced, point us to the instance. When and where, and of wast commodity, has this been the ease? E hibit the proof. Show us the prices curren It is quite notorious that the great majo ity of imported merchandise has declined in price. Whether the act of 1842 has occas aned it or not, in point of truth and fact a recognion in almost all articles of consum tion, whether imported or made here, has sine taken place. The grievance is not, therefore, in the enhance price of commodities which the South has to buy. On the other band, the price of the staple export of the South has also increased I give the fact. Look at the price A newsparer published at New Orleans has been harded to me this morning, giving the price current at this time, and in January last year

Prices of Jan 1843. Prices of Jan 1844 71 to 72 to 44 Inferior to Si 41 to 5 Ordinary 84 to 83 5 10 5 Middling Middling fair 51 to 61 to 91 10 64 91 to 97-8 04 to 103 61 10 7 Good fair to

the inferior qualities, prices have advarged at New Or- the revenue was raised by a duty on exports leans since last January, 75 or 80 per cent. 50 per cent, differnce. The article upon which he duty is formed that at this mom of some of the duty and naturally sinks in price and it is bet manufacturers in Massachusetts are paying ter that the article which you buy should sink. 50 per cent more than the paid last year; than that which you sell. If the honorable so that it will not be extracrimary if there Senator exports cotton, and imports cloths ally taken place. If so, I lope it is not to and to purchase rloths which are thus debe set down to the prohibitary character of pressed, than to sell low and pay high. It the act but to the true cat se the increase in the price of cotton. The same is true also, though not to so great an extent, in re

gard to tobacco. IMr. E. read the prices at New Orleans, in January, 1843, and January, 1844] The advance is small to be sure, but it something-four or five per all events to show there has been no such falling off as the honorable Senator suppos-

New, if these facts he so, and I do not see how they can be controverted, how can it be said that the act of 1842 has been ruinous to the South? They buy cheaper; they sell dearer. Is that injurious ? The Senator no doubt will say, so far as this result has been brought about, it is very good; but it is not the consequence of your act; if that had not passed, we should have done better still: it prevented us from buying still lower, and selling still higher. That can never be known. It is a mere speculation, I must be allowed, very strongly to doubt. The honorable Senator's theory, to be sure,

"BE JUST, AND PEAR NOT! LET ALL THE ENDS THOU AIM'ST AT, BE

VOIL 10

The honorable Senator's great purpose is

to increase the price of cotton, and to dimin-

sh the price of manufactures. These are

ator suppose that if he can enhance the price

of cotton, other things are not to rise also?

Are they to decline while cotton goes up?

He sells higher, but he pays higher. How

will not be imported; and if not imported,

The honorable Senator argues that the

He assumes that there is no difference

Southern States are the great exporting

between levying the duty upon the exported

falls upon the exporter. I hardly know wheth-

argument that the South is the great expert-

ing section of the country. That it produces

upo i its soil, and beneath its genial skies,

much the largest portionof our exported pro

ductions, I freely admit. It furnishes the ar-

for and exported by agents of foreign man-

them. Well, sir, if this he so I do not know

upon the Senator's own argument that there

is any ground of complaint. He contends.

as a universal principle, if a duty be levied

upon any article, its price is raised exactly

by that amount. What is it to the planter

or the exporter, then, if you do levy a tax

upon his export? When it reaches Liver-

pool or manchester, it goes into market en-

hanced in price. The purchaser pays the

duty, and nobody but he can complain. So

of the imports; if you levy a duty of forty

per cent., according to the Senator, you en-

hance their price forty per cent. What can

the importer complain of? Nobody but the

person who purchases of the importer is

taxed, if the honorable Senator's doctrine

be sound. In other words, the burden falls

on the consumer. If so, does the burden of

our revenue fall on the South? Do they

consume beyond their proportion of the du-

tiable imports of the country? Certainly

not, sir; and considering the character and

wants of a considerable part of its popula-

tion, probably the South does not consume

an equal proportion according to its numbers.

I admit, if the South were the exporters of

all that we send abroad, and were the im-

porters of all that we bring home, and were

moreover the consumers of all that is import-

ed, the burden would fall upon them, and

it would make very little difference whether

or on imports. There is still, however, some

laid, goes to the market burdened with that

in exchange, it is far better for him to sell

his corton at prices not depressed by doties.

imports which

and the imported articles; in either case,

place of domestic productions.

not consume the whole. The eighty bales such conclusion. go to market, and, upon the Senator's own those I They are all the other way. showing, are worth as much as the one hun.

dred would have been. [Mr. McDurrie: We consume more what he desires. Does the honorable Sena-

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than we import] That may be so. So does every other section of the country. The foreign imports entering into the general consumption of the in the first place, it is evident that manufac- country, are a mere fraction of the whole tares of cotton must sise. The fabrics with Do not the North and the West consume which cotton manufactures come in competi- more than they import, and far beyond the ion will rise also; woolens, silks, linens, value of all their exports? If any such test

and other manufactured articles. What as this be applied, it will be found that the loes the bonorable Senator gain by that? South pays much less than its proportion

the revenue. The horable Senator has said, that the s the consumer benefited? In the honorable Senator's theory, these commodities are imports, which are the returns of our exports chiefly to come from abroad. Our own pro. are as really and truly the products of American labor, as the same amount and descripducers are to have none of the benefit of this tion of articles which are manufactured it improvement in prices, because if they supply the demand the additional forty millions this country-and hence, that it is altogeth er a fallacious idea, that there is any competition between American labor and foreign cotton will not advance. That is to be effectlabor in the production of them. There can ed only by increased importations, taking the he, he says, no competition between the manufacturers of Manchester and the manuacturers of Lowell. The competition tales place only when the foreign fatric has be States, and hence that the burden falls upon come American property by being excha ed for American productions, and that it is a competition entirely between American la hor employed in the manufactures and A merican labor employed in planting-he er it is worth while to stop to consider the ween one kind of industry and another kind This is more specious than solid. In order to obtain eighty bales of foreign merchandise, the honorable Senator is obliged to em ploy, a considerable amount of foreign labor He hires and pays the laborers of another ticles of export, but who exports them? At country, instead of his own. It is true they whose risk? For whose profit? No incontake the fruits of his industry, which they siderable proportion is purchased and paid want, in exchange. The operation is highly beneficial to them. But if he would obufactprers and foreign houses themselves. tain the same amount of American produc-If every hale is slipwrecked on the voyage, tions, in exchange for the faults of his indusdoes the South lose it? But I omit that try-if he would hire and pay American lamatter. The honorable Senator says, prachorers for the same work, would be not bentically the exports of the South pay the duthe competition really between the

turers of Lowell and the manufacturers of Manchester, who shall do the labor which is required, and who shall be paid for it? If employ a tailor in London to make my coats or a boot maker in Paris to make my hours instead of the mechanics of my own village do I not really and truly give them employment in preference to my neighbors? Do they not feel the inconveniences of that preference? I may answer them indeed, as the honorable Senator has answered-these clothes and boots are my own-the fruit of my own industry. They are really and truly American productions, because they have heen received in exchange for American pro ductions-there is no competition therefore, between you and the foreign mechanic. is between you and me. quite likely to reply to this : we do not dispute that the coat and the hoots are your own property, but you hired strangers to

pay them their wages, which they carry tion for the whole. South Carolina has home to expend in advancing their comforts. shared largely in the securities of this Condle. They have earned nothing; and if in shaping the policy which the Government they complain to me, I say to them, there has pursued. Sir, it is too late now to rehas been no competition between your labor | pine; she cannot be let alone, to pursue her and foreign labor. These crops are my own seperate policy, in relation to matters property, paid for by my industry, and the which she has confided to the General G. vonly competition is between you and me. It ernment. The very object and purpose of the foreigners have carried off my money, I forming this Constitution was, that no State have got their labor in exchange. I doubt should be left alone to pursue a system of whether they would be perfectly satisfied, measures injurious to other States. She that they were just as well off as if they had came into the Union for weal or for woe .done the labor, and obtained the money, or | She came into it to share in the administrathat they would believe there is no competi- tion of the Government of the whole Union. tion when they were starving, and the for- She has that right; but she must submit eigner was feasting. If there be no compe- to the restraint, voluntarily assumed, as tition, why are foreign nations so anxious to others submit, a'ro for the common good. do our work? Is it not because it is valua- The interests of the whole are lengthened; ble to them? Does it not add to the com- and the stubility, the happiness, and the reforts, the advantages, the gains of their la- nown of each are interwoven with those of borers, and the wealth of the nation? But a the others. The establishment of this Govword or two more in regard to the effect of ernment was with a view to prevent the the act of 1842 on the price of cotton. How does that act diminish the demand for this to accomplish. It was to prevent the State, staple, or what is the same thing, the consumption of cotton fabrics in all the countries | commodities on terms different from the othof the world? The price of cotton, like eve- er States. It was to establish one uniform ry thing else, is governed by the demand policy, one system, one regulation of trade, which exists for the manufactured article, binding on the whole. The want of the genand the supply of the raw material. So far eral controlling power, had been attended as the policy of that act promotes our own with the most mischlevous consequences.industry, and rewards our own laborers, it Therefore it was, sir, that no State was to adds to their ability to consume, as I have be left alone, as the honorable Senator now already shown, and a portion of this increas- desires. Great Britain, at that day, was not ed capacity will be exercised in the consump- regarded as the natural market, of South tion of cotton. This country consumes al- Carolina. A very different feeling then ex. ready. I think about one-quarter of all the isted in the bosoms of her patriotic chizensproductions of the planting States-or nearly a feeling of union and attachment towards so. The annual product is about two mill- their brethren of other sections-fellow la-

2,400,000 bales. Senator from South Carolina proposes, instead of retaining this quantity to be manumand? Any considerable addition to that supply must inevitably reduce the price, unless the increased demand for the manufactured article keep pace with the supply .-What has reduced the price in Liverpool so pool at the last dates from England.

[Mn. Sevier

would soon over supply the wants of the will be obliged to retain his lands at the ag- to do from other causes-to become a manugravated price which he paid for them. His facturing State herself. Her planters will be you can increase the demand and consumpthese be increased, any advance in it will be temporary, and will be followed by a disas-

South desires in this matter is, to be let a- can do to stimulate the production of more cotself; in that case, his consumption will, of another illustration. Suppose I am residing lone; to be allowed to manage their own of

In the meantime, my neighbors have been stitution, and participated in no small degree

very thing which the Senator says he seeks or any other State, from admitting foreign borers and fellow-sufferers with them in the

great cause of freedom and independence.

No, sir; if South Carolina, and the other Perhaps so. The average, however, of a planting States, are laboring under oppression few years past, is not fur from two millions. and grievances, there are abundant causes for The exports last year were 1,600,000 bales. If it independent of the act of 1842, or the policy the Senator from Arkansas is right as to the of protection, upon which it is supposed to be quantity produced, it would leave for home founded. I have already alluded to one of them consumption 800,000 hales, which is not -the over production of cotton. That was ocprobable. We probably consume from 400,- casioned, in a great degree, by the very state 000 to 500,000 bales .- from one fifth to one of things which the honorable Senator wants quarter of the whole product. Now, the to bring about again-a large increase in its price. New and more fertile lands were bro't into cultivation, and sold for enormous prices. factured here, to send it abroad, to Liver- Speculation ran high; credit was stretched to ool and Manchester. What is to be the ef- the utmost. The production of cotton was imfect on prices there? Does he not see that mensely increased. This was a state of things an export of 1,600,000 hales has very fully which could not last; and in calmly surveying supplied, if not over supplied, the foreign de- the wrecks which it left behind, who can perceive that the South has been, in the smallest degree, benefitted by the high prices which cotton attained in those years of enormous speculation? Who does not see that it is infinitely worse off? But, besides this cause, which ap low at the last dates, but an over supply, plies to the South, generally, South Carolina and the expectation of a large crop in this and the older of the cotton-growing regions, lacountry, yet to be received there? The bor under another grievance peculiar to themprice in New work is quite as high, and I selves; and that is, that they cannot come in believe higher, in fact, than it was in Liver- competition, in growing cotton, with the more productive and fertile soils of Alabama and Now, although they anticipated a crop of Mississippi. These latter States, by reason of do that ;] she will probably 1,800,000 hales only, yet they did not expect fresher fields, and a more genial climate, can ing to sell it where she finds much increase in the price, from the lact that raise this great staple very considerably cheap- ket and best price. But, so large a supply was still on hand, equal to er than South Carclina or Georgia can, and of England do? Why, sir, near four months' consumption. The stock course South Carolina and Georgia must sell best she can. The honorable Senator, I will suppose, in Liverpool in Decemper, was 450,000 bales their productions, not at their own cost, but at meet all the difficulties which sends abroad one hundred bales of cotton to against 230,000 bales, the corresponding pe- the cost of growing them in more favored spots. and to surmount them. N riod of the preceding year. If the honora- At the present prices of cotton, Alabama and had acquired some little of ply there, and he will do something towards 1835 and 1836. If they had obtained their lands of no inconsiderable extent, enhancing the price. But if the honorable and laborers at any thing like reasonable rates, Senator should be successful, if the price of compared with present prices, they would now cotton could be enhanced to what it was in be accumulating wealth, even when South Car-1835 and 1836, how is the South to be perma- olina and the older States are scarcely mainnently benefited? What will be the final re- taining themselves. And how far is this prosult? In the first place, production would be cess of increasing the production to be carried? largely stimulated; price of lands and labor- What new regions are to be opened for its culers would rise, as well as the prices of every tivation? If the United States are to stretch ton. The planters might obtain more, but he for any thing I know, to the equator, in this

> capital remains fixed. There can be no compelled to emigrate to more productive soils, permanent benefit or security in increasing or to apply their labor to other and better pursuits. They can no more raise cotton in competition with their Southern neighbors, than tion of the fabrics made from it; for unless the Northern States can now raise it in competition with them. These, sir, are the true causes of the depression of industry in South Carolina, if industry is depressed there, as the hon-The honorable Senator says, that all the orable Cenator affirms. Any thing which he rival in manufacturing.

It found the revenue of

much of the mischief I hear the duty of Congress, in some plish what has, in fact, been Whether it is attributable to 1 not, the revenue of the Gover restored-commerce has reviv it has been placed on a firm value of labor and of property ced-confidence prevails- and may which overshadowed th lispersed. These things have done in some way since the ac We attribute it mainly to the act. We predicted such wo quences. We enacted the la such results. And we now turbed-let it work out its full still further experience, and our confident anticipations, i nough to repeal it when that in are shall be-The honorable Senator from

admonishes the manufacturer

this policy too far. They will the victims of their own destr they persevere in it any long es himself to the manufacturer that they have had the adjoit measure upon Congress-the the provisions of the act. No, s It was forced upon us by the tion of the country-by the r credit-by the bankruptcy of The manufacturers indeed! principle, if I recollect aright, ced in the act of 1816, wh ator, (Mr. Calhoun,) and as I posed was in no small degre his agency. But the honoral it is time this question was se monishes the manufacturers n further. Sir, they wish it sel the Senator or any body else pose it is settled. Who distu news agitation? It is settled main settled if the honorable ? he and they will allow it the three years' experience, he w to general acceptance and sati it, but do not obstruct it. L Look to experience. If it be let it be settled by the new light from these sources. It can ne agitation-by controversy-b

lacts-by experience-by kno The honorable Senator inc England will do, if South outh should become manu and should refuse to sell find it for her interest to refus ion to anythody who will pay lieve New England has hithe South Carolina raised one She had some population in wealth. She had commerce one of the most elegant statesman of Great Britain. and deserved eulogium. She bega at a very early period. It veers from the landing of the rock of Plymouth, notwith disasters attending their se that infant colony had forts affoat. There was no dottor lina then. New England in ir, perulation and wealth withou

not only to sustain herself, but to fight the battles of the mother country against her ancient enemy, and to'conquer for her no inconsiderable possessions on this continent. The blood of New England was roured cut on the heights of Mount Abraham, and on many a battle field besides, in the war of 1756. between France and England. Considering all that she did in her infancy, and contrasting her ability now in her maturity, I do not know but she might survive the great calamity which the Senator supposes would overtake her, if South Catolina should become a

Sir, I believe it would add considerably to ton, will only add to the depression which it the wealth and prosperity of Bew Englands If by manufacturing or by any other means

enhanced price which she receives. The turned increased in value ten fold. His la-Senator says, if he imports one hundred bes is but one-tenth and foreign labor ninebales of merchandise, and you stop twenty tenths of its present value. If the work had of them at the custom-house for duties, you been done at home instead of abroad, the leave him but eighty for his consumption. whole would have been the produce of Amermuch in the market as the one hundred merican shuttle's and looms, and the whole

heads that way, but I know of no facts, no course, be diminished. But, the South does upon a farm. In order to gether my crops, fairs, in their own way; to seek their natural now suffers.

make them instead of us, You paid them in articles which we needed for ourselves and our families, and should have been glad to have obtained in exchange for our workwe wante I the employment and the profits of it, but you have given it to others, and notwithstanding all you say, we cannot help feeling that it is foreign labor, and not Amer-

ican, which has come in competition with our own. I think, Mr. President, they would have rather the best of the argument.

be manufactured, and the value of it is to he returned in the fabric which is made from it. ble Senator wishes to raise the price of cot- Mississippi would be most prosperous and flour-Is he aware of the mmene amount of human ton in Europe, the best mode of doing so is to ishing States, if it were not for the heavy inlabor which must be employed, before it is keep back a portion of the crops, instead of debtedness which they incurred for lands and state, had employed the laborers in his in this process of increase-if he had hired it spun into yarn, and exported in that state.

returned in the finished form? It is increas- sending more. Let him diminish the sup- labor during the period of excessive prices in ed in value ten fold, twenty fold, and in some instances one hundred fold or more. Now if the Senator, instead of sending it in the raw neighborhood in advancing it only one stage would be easy to illustrate the difference to he would have added greatly to its value-he the exporter, whether the duty is laid upon would have incorporated with the value of or e or the other, but I have not time to pursue it. The question is, whether the South the raw material, the value of the labor of thing else necessary in the cultivation of cot- their boundaries, not only to the Pacific, but.

hundreds of his neighbors, giving them empays an undue proportion of the revenue derived from the custome. Let it be granted, playment, remunerating them for their labor, would be compelled to pay more. He would growing lust for dominion and territory, what if the Senator pleases, that the South does enabling them to buy and consume more and buy his lands and negroes at greatly aug- boundless regions for the growth of cotton will comes of them? The South does not con- ges upon the laborers of other nations. Besume the whole. A large portion is sold and tween whom is the competition? Is it not world, and rapid decline will be inevitable; fields? No, sir; she will be obliged to do what consumed in other sections. If then, by im- between the spinners in South Carolina, and while his productions are thus falling, he the Senator supposes she may soon be driven posing duties on them, you add to their cost, the spinners in Manchester? He exports the as the Senator contends, when they are raw material, the very smallest part of the sold the South obtains full indemnity in the value of the manufactured article. It is re-

So you do; but if this eighty will sell for as ican labor, American spinning wheels, A would, where is the injury to him? None, profit would have gone into American pockunless he intends to consume the whole him- ets. Pray where is the competition? Take