

AND NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

"OURS ARE THE PLANS OF FAIR DELIGHTFUL PEACE, UNWARP'D BY JARTY RAGE, TO LIVE LIKE BROTHERS."

val. MXXIV

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> SPEECH OF MR. WM. B. SHEPARD,

out, and charged accordingly.

On a motion to strike out that section of the Tariff Bill imposing a duty on Tes and Coffee, m de in the House of Representatives on the 29th

Mr. Chairman : I moved last night that the Committee should rise, not because had any thing to say, that could not be as well said then as now, or that I had not as lief say then as now, but because I had not the physical ability, after a session of six hours, to give coherency to the few disposing of this tedious subject, without more debate; none can be more tired of the tariff laws.

t than I am. definitions which have been given by phispeeches. The definition would undoubtthe United States, more particularly on difficulty. It's peculiarly at this time a for its adjustment, all this House possess-Sir, I most solemnly believe the times require each man should speak out candid- of such legislation.

the subject of this protective policy, that

a great responsibility rests upon the mem-

bers of this House, a responsibility which,

he high trust committed to our care. The United States exhibit, arthis time. a spectacle hitherto unseen and unknown upon earth, one that for the credit of humanity, it is to be hoped will never occur again; a people endowed with all that Reaven or earth can bestow to make them happy and contented, abounding in every thing escential to prosperity, and even grandeur, among the nations of the world me) and yet, amidst all these blessings. is called, by an admiring world, the beau

I thing should be done without caution a d deliberation, and after a careful insir, whon the man who would dissever

condition of poor human nature!

obviate it, no sagacity can foresee it. for each subsequent publication: those of tariff party, that all free governments people of Georgia, and bearing among that two-thirds of them are clad in their greater length, in the same proportion. If should interfere as little as possible with others the signature of a gentleman on own domestic manufactures: I have known the number of insertions be not marked on the domestic arrangements and industry this floor. (Mr. Clayton) containing the many planters; the owners of large famithem they will be continued until ordered of its citizens, that all material changes following words; "The character of the act lies of slaves, who purchase nothing from by that bill, was of vast importance. But lies as they may deem necessary for the six nours, the given the side of the side grouble the Committee. I am well aware parties. It was upon such principles of the people of Georgia, is evidently intend- it presents a splictacle of substantial com- were devotedly attached to the union of that every gentleman here is desirou- of general reasoning, that Lam now, and al- ed for the whole South, and conveys an fort and sturds independence, not to be these states, as the last hope of liberty

an animal that makes exchanges, he has suits as were most congenial to his habits be attached to any vote of mine to gratify homespun average legislating in your halls be such resistance as freemen should make nity, of such vast magnitude, upon what an animal that the battles of with arms in their hands, and not a petti- articles the revenue of the country is raiswere I permitted to add one to the many the people advanced more slowly in the ty whatever. Upon the subject of this the revolutions So long as the Federal fogging chicanery, through the courts. losophers of that singular creature, I should nore virtuous, less exposed to the temp principles, and upon those same princi- the toors of this worthy class of society, ly wrong, the same objections apply to the metaphysicians, say, he is an animal that makes Tariff tations of extraordinary wealth, a state of ples, I intend to continue to act. edly characterize him, as he is known in publican institutions. I thought likewise, address published by the South-Carolina way," they are happy, unmolested by the store the credit system, it does not rethat if the policy of protective laws was delegation shortly after the close of the visions of avaring, for the dreams of ambi- store the false valuation of the pound sll speak on this subject; I shall, there- judged and inexpedient, it attempted too throughout the southern country. These cessities and locuries were substantially ties, it only carries out the principle of circumstances of the case, and considertore, make no apoing to the House for the House for the student of the government. Is32, was a great and valuable conces-I am not, however, one of those gentle- upon the same thing, shewing, as has been eye of friendship, some of those names march of civili amon and make a part of partial character than any bill ever pre- alleged grievances of the minority. For stinct; it is to me, viewed in any way I would have been a wiser course to wait them, among two-thirds of the people and elevate mai in the scale of animated while cotton goods, a manufacture nearly law should not be wantonly destroyed by In fact, sir, the Tariff of 1828 was not in- necessary that even small errors, such as est individual it society? es of intelligence, integrity and patriotism. of manufacture except that of a President, say, that the tariff bill of 1832, recog- will not take unthe Tariff bill of 1832, swer, should it amount to thousands; and nally reported, contained a clause giving

ly and freely, his real sentiments upon if we fail now to meet, we basely abandon

The question now, however, is not one ted to repeal it, in compliance with the themselves have furnished. are enquiring how we shall provide for morial of the southern people. the will and dominion of one man; some sisting temptation, by whatever standard sure.

from alleviating the bardens of the South, sumers, is literally true.

Congress upon the subject of the revenue, few discursive remarks which I intend quent harangue. It may have been said, would by the other, without any reference forward to the period not far distant, making on this subject, I hope the com- in the furioso language of the day, that whatever to his own consumption." mittee will pardon me, if in following the grinding, cruel, and unrelenting majority Here is a dect and unequivocal ad- quired, the dates on those acticles of im- the eve of an enlighten-d pullosophy, these two spection of our commercial, agricultural examples of others, I talk about that sub- of Congress, insensible to the miseries mission that the consumer of an article as portation, which cannot come in compe-& unufacturing situation, as upon our de- ject most interesting to myself. It way and sufferings of an oppressed people, such, has no offerest at all in the duty tition with our productions are the first lied voting their eagital and labor, to the pure this ra of this question rests the prosperi- very properly be asked, why this inordi- have had the unprecedented, enormous, paid by that at igle; it is therefore of an that should engage the attention of Conty of every man in the community. I look, nate desire at this session of Congress, to and daring effcontery to grant to a high importance to him whether the duty is gress in the monitorion of the tarif. Of the igency of piou his and horses, what hurry through the House's bill of such toned and chivalrous people, their tea and ten, fifteen or thirty per centum, nor from these, tea and coffee are the most promit the Northern States in mufacture by the agency these three great interests, indissoluble vast importance as this evidently is? coffee without tax. Haribie as this what article the revenue is collected, neat; they enter largely into the coa- of machinery," &c. The whole ingenity of the presperity of every great nation, as a just operation, no man can tell its prehere endiric, a political quack, whose cise effect upon the revenue of the coun- show that it comes with a very bad grace growers of rice, cotton and tobacco, which fore of the existing daties will be felt as is occasionally the rite of many at ingenious

its friends in reducing the revenue? I hle to the state of things in the South,

into the body politic, but eventually leave will trouble the committee with a few has little or ne foundation. It is diffi | rican productions exchanged for foreign | gislation connected with commerce, to be it haggard and depressed. And unless words in relation to that measure: I am cult in a country so prosperous as every goods, pay two-thirds of the gross amount efficacious and not injurious, it should the fickle legislation of Congress is to be more inclined to do so, because I perceive part of the United States is, to draw a of duties charged on foreign importations, be gradual and certain." In compliance the reproach of our institutions, and the it is about to be murdered in the womb, distinction between luxuries and necessa- for as has been estimated forty per cent. with this executive recommendation, the curse of the people of this country, we and before the final blow is struck, I will ries, in every community, they are mere- somewhat below the true amount, let us chairman of the committee of Ways and ought to place this matter on such a basis, do it an act of passing justice. Having ly correlative terms, in rude and savage apply this rule to the reduction of duties Means of that day, (Mr. McDuffie.) rethat hereafter, every man may rest secure, voted for that bill, in company with a states of society necessaries are such ar- by the tariff of 1832, to ascertain the re- ported a bill to this House, reducing the himself and his property being under the large majority of my colleagues, and a ticles as sustai. existence; as society lief yielded to the rice, cotton and tobac- duty on tea and coffee, which became a laws. For, if there is a tyranny more pecu bill to reduce the revenue of the govern- iv a luxury becomes a necessary. I would by the bill of July, 1832, amounted to pleasure. scribing, o subsequently, give notice of their liarly hard to bear, more harrassing to the ment, and to relieve the people from the here remark, that the argument of the hon \$5,187,078, as was estimated by the wish to have the Paper discontinued at the ex spirit than any other, it is that of fluctuating pressure of the tariff system, I am sur- orable gentleman near me (Mr. Choate) treasury department, the relief to those tion, of Southern people, assembled in nitation of their ear, will be presumed as de- legislation; its oppression is more severe prized to find endeavors very industrious- that the souther people, in proportion to individuals exclusively, was \$2,074,831. Philadelphia, in 1831. likewise admits from being unexpected, no industry can be made to circulate a belief, that so far their wealth and population, are non-con- Is this no relief to this class of society if the constitutionality of a tariff. for inci-

When the Tariff laws of 1824 and 1828 they are aggravated by that bill. I saw It is perfectly well known to every gen. estly believe they bear so large a share of have been written by one of the gentlman. were under discussion, it was contended an article in the Telegraph, of this City, tleman familiar with the domestic arrange. with great force and justice by the anti- published a few days ago, addressed to the ments of the mass of the southern people, in the policy of a nation, the object of which of 1832 is distinctly marked. Its diminished the stores but igon, sale tea, coffee, sugar sir, what becomes of this oppression on purposes of revenue, and within these liwas the transferring capital from one oc | credits, its requisition of cash payments, and a few other trifling articles of luxury | the poor the grovers of mits so to arrange these duties as incidentcupation to another, should be made with its increase of the value of the pound or convenience; Nov. is it not more im- rice, cotton and tobacco, or was it intend- ally and to that extent to give protection to great caution, and only on great emergen- sterling, its descriminating duties, will portant to these men that they should pur- ed as a mere figure of speech, a pathetic the manufacturer." cies. If these propositions are true, of show, that the burdens imposed upon you chase such afficles as tea and coffee appeal, such governments generally, they are still are decidedly increased, yet you are told cheaply, which are of daily and constant more worthy of attention in a government that this act is a concession- an effort use, than the Broad cloths of England; like ours, which is of strictly enumerated to moderate the burdens of the South. the latter surely are not so essential to powers, and lependent for its stability on that like the travelled dove, it comes their comfort, and the want of them is this modern doctrine, I should have felt public opinion -- in a government where with the olive branch to give you future not depriving them of an article upon myself bound, as a consistent man, to have the fashion of to-day may be reprobated security. The treacherous kiss of Judas which they set much value? They pre- gone home and told my constituents that by to-morrow, and an investment of capi- is not more deceptive; a concession with fer their own dianestic manufactures, and a proposition was made in Congress to retal made under the sanction of the nati- the odious principle of protection retained I hope the day never will arrive when the lieve them from two millions of their buronal legislature, may be prostrated by a as the permanent policy of the govern- loom and the spinile are to be silent a- dens, which I had rejected with scorn, fickle legislation, influenced by the whim ment ! No, it is no concession, its ob- round the hear is of our fathers; to me but that I had brought them the glorious and caprice of the moment, or the vary- ject is rather to full you into false securi | there is no sight more cheering, than that remedy of nullification. I knew the temways have been, opposed to the policy of imputation upon the intelligence or integ- surpassed in any quarter of the globe. I upon earth, and they were not inclined valuable interest in the nation, for by one rity of Southers anti-tariff gentlemen who confess I never visit such scenes, with- to jeopard it, upon a doubtful point of po- process you injure the sugar planter, I thought such a system ought not to be voted for the bill of 1832. As one of out returning firm them elevated and pu- litical economy. Whenever, sir, I per- without communicating a benefit to any forced on the country, but that every man | those individuals. I am not disposed that rifled in feelings I go back in imagina- suade the people whom I represent to re- interest whatever. If it really makes should be be permitted to follow such pur- the slightes' taint of inconsistency shall tion to other imes, when the men of sist the laws of this government, it will any difference to the mass of the commuaccumulation of property, they would be tariff, I have acted upon but one set of Government's 1 as gatherer does not cross | But sir, if the bill of 1882, was radical- presume it is only visible to our political they are independent of its legislation ; bill on your table, it has also the mark of things but little congenial with plain re- This is a repetition of a charge in an secure in the congenial with plain re- This bill does not re-

excitement in one portion of the south the discussion on that subject, I watched ticles to market in an untaxed vessel. the present posture of affairs, our nation. Another source of lamentation is, "the against the Ta iff, and which I presume the scene with a great deal of anxiety : Did I believe it essential to the prose al debt is about to be paid off, we shall increased value of the pound sterling." is believed by all those who condemn the I was desirous of seeing a deliberate ex- perity or welfare of the Southern States. have upon our hands a large surplus reve- By the law of 1799 regulating the value act of 1832, if we include the ultra tariff pression of opinion between the two great that the manufactories of the North should nue, how shall we relieve the country of foreign coins, the pound sterling of men, who by heir associations in that antagonist principles in the country, pro- be levelled with the dust, it would be an (if the term is not offensive to some around from the anticipated danger of this alarm- England was estimated to be worth \$4.44 vote, illustrate the truth of the proposi- tection and no protection,' or if there unpleasant duty to vote a benefit to mying plethora? We are told by some of of our currency; owing to the fluctuation tions " that the extremes are sometimes were a third principle that would satisfy self, which would be the entire ruin of we daily hear it proclaimed in high places, our statesmen-I beg pardon of the shades in the relative value of gold and silver its nearer togethe; than the means," is thus all parties. I listened in vain for the lat- another. A few summer's ago, while flywe using near it proctatined in ingli places. of the illustrious men who once bore real value had become \$4.80 cents. I expounded by the of its ablest supporters, ter principle: I heard, day after day, ing from the demon of ill health. I visitwe are on the eve of Revolution. A re- that name, I meant some of our politici- voted to put it at its true and real (report Committee of Ways and Means, speeches upon crude and ill digested the ed New-England, I found her towns and er living on the vitals of the community? ans, that the national legislature cannot value, because I like to call things by by M. McDoSe. February 8, 1832.) ories, but heard nothing more practicable villages crowded with an industrious and Some conqueror revelling on the spoils of be trusted with one dollar more than the their proper names; I have, however, a .. As the respections imposed upon the than the mode of concession proposed in enterprising population, her hills and valvanquished provinces, snatching from bare necessities, the stern exigencies of still better reason, when I vote for a productions of southern industry are af. the bill of 1832. wealth its abandance, from penury its pit- the government require. Bargain, intrigue bill laying a duty of 10, 15, or 25 per fected by the agency of indirect taxes. The principle of collecting the revenue contentment: every mind seemed to be hance, to swell the pride, the pomp and and corruption, we are told, will staik cent. when I assist in publishing to the planting of the government from one set of articles intent, every hand was occupied; the power of an individual? No, sir! a re. barefaced and uncovered throughout this world that such a duty has been laid. I States by the princeding system, are not in order to give incidental protection to world does not contain a more flourishing volution to put down the power of the ma- hall, unless speedily prevented. I have am desirous of dealing candidly and fairly very inaccurately measured by the amount the manufactures of the country, estab. community. There the advantages of jority of the people themselves-a revolu- not yet, sir, lost all confidence in re- with the public. I would not assist in of taxes levied upon their productions. lishes nothing new in our legislation, it is education are extended to the poorest intion which I can compare to nothing in publican institutions; I do not believe granting a boon in the first part of an in- And when the frequently of the govern- a doctrine as old as the Constitution, and dividual in society, and that society rethe history of the madness and folly of the people of this country are yet suffici- strument, and insert a condition in the ment disburse ights are added to the in- in 1816 when this matter of the tariff first ceives its remuneration in his sober, indusmankind, but the infidel fury of the anar- ently corrupted to send members to this latter part rendering the grant valueless. equality of cor tributions exacted by im- began, it was distinctly admitted by the crious and economical habits. If the dichists of France, who desecrated the tem- House, base enough, either to barter away To have pursued a different course port duties, it may be confidently af- auti-tariff party. When the tariff of 1816 vine Plato, were alive, he would no lonple of the only true God, to erect what they their liberty or squander their money, might have evinced more political cunning. firmed, that they burthens imposed upon (the cause of all our woe.) was under dis- ger draw upon his imagination for a specalled the statue of reason in its stead. The when I do believe it, I shall think repre- but would not have added much to the planning stress by the taxation, pro i- cussion, Mr. Telfair of Georgia, a strennations of Europe are now contending for sentative governments a mere delusion. reputation of the American Congress; as bition and dish sements of the federal uous opposer of that bill, said "he would "The allusion will be anintelligible to those self government; we seem to be getting I have, however, no objection, that gen- one of the humblest of its members, I am government are not deny that in the imposition of duties, persons who have not attended to the discovefired of it; they are contending against tlemen should estimate their power of re- willing to share the odium of that mea- amount of taxes levied upon those imports for the purpose of revenue, it is wise to ries which have been made in political science which are obtained in exchange for the select your objects; that while the origi- very gravely contended in the Report of the The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree complain of the dominion of many. they please.

What on the other side of the Atlantic. It is impossible at this period to dismakes discriminating duties; it releases to become and rive. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration. The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agree to the consideration and the consideration are the consideration are the consideration and the consideration are the consideration and the consideration are the consideration and the consideration are th The bill of July, however, it is said, three great agricultural staples of cotton, nal intent is secured, the interest of the Commutee of Ways and Means abovem nationed, cuss this matter of the tariff exclusively luxuries from taxation and throws the bur import is equivalent to the same amount tal consideration." It is not, however, ideal of liberty, I have heard on this floor on its own merits, it has become so inter- den of supporting the government upon of duty upon the export which has been necessary to go so far back in our history pronounced the perfection of despotism. mingled with all the political questions the necessaries of life, it oppresses the exchanged for it, is but a self-evident for a legislative recognition of this prin-Such, alas, is the unhappy, the miserable of the times, has been the cause of so much poor, "this is pitiful, 'tis wondrous piti- proposition to the wind have been purchised by the agricultural excitement, that it is thrust into every ful," and doubtless has been the toundar hend its import. The planter is as inju- ted States, in his message to this House, staples of this country, are foreign product ons. Whatever may he the final action of question and relation in society. In the tion of many a moving address and elo- mously affected by the one duty as he of December 8th, 1829, said "looking They are as strictly and exclusively the produc-

the burden ; and if we take into conside- who signs this Georgia manifesto against ration the small class of individuals even the act of Jalv, 1832, (Mr. Berrien) couproduction of these articles, the relief to er of Congress (speaking of the opinion in

Spargere ambiguas voces

In vulgum. Had I voted against the bill, believing

of laying on, but of taking off duties; we unanimous wish as expressed in the me- The theory which has produced such sufficient for the occasion. During all ingenuity, be permitted to carry these ar-

when a sinking fund will no longer be re- a the pranting and manufacturing States, with tostrums may momentarily influse vigor try. Has that bill been found to deceive from the source it does; and as application the Ame. a common benefit, but like all other le-gentleman.

protection of equal, just, and permanen majority of the southern delegation, as a advances in refi ement, what was former- |co men ; if the reduction of the revenue law, and which I voted for, with great

The address of the anti-tariff convert-They must know otherwise, if they hon- dental protection. That address, said to in the south, directly interested in the tains these words: "They admit the pow" them, under this view of their case and the South, to lay and collect such du-

> It seems to me, if we are to raise a revenue by imposts, it is a matter of but lit-

tle consequence to the community generally, upon what articles it is raised, take for example sugar and coffee. Can it make any difference to the consumer of these two articles, (I take it for granted he is the only person concerned) whether he pays 21 cents a pound on sugar, and a. half cent on coffee, or three cents on sugar and nothing on coffee ? I contend it does not; the drinker of a cup of coffee neither feels or cares upon which of the two articles he pays the duty. It makes however a vast difference to a large and ed. I confess I cannot perceive it, and P

"Who have optics keen,

Enabling them to see things not to be seen. One assertion, I presume is as good as another in this matter, I have therefore less doubtful, the tariff of 1828 was ill- last session, and circulated very generally tion. If this distinction between the ne- sterling, it has likewise discriminating du- no hesitation in saying, that under all the fore, make no apology to the House for much, it embraced subjects of opposite loving appeals to one's constituents, are true, who has a typically the bill of 1832, and reduces the revenue ing the situation of the country, the act of sin for /a man to labor in his vocation." bounty, with the other it imposed a tax cism, they are intended for the partial of social existence; if they follow in the Its discriminating duties are of a more sion of the majority of this House, to the men who believe that all knowledge on justly observed by the anti-tariff memori- attached to these statements are, however, it, why, in a government of equals, should sented to this House; it protects some if there was a principle which should be this subject is derived, like Fallstaff's al, that where there was a principle which should be the subject is derived, like Fallstaff's al, that where there was a principle which should be knowledge of the true Prince, from in want of information on the subject, it matter, that they carry great weight with natures, to smath the asperities of life, of the tariff.) by a duty of 76 per cent. try, it is that an interest created by the am capable of viewing it, a subject of great until that information was obtained." - south of the Potomac, it therefore becomes beings, be placed within reach of the poor- acclimated, are protected by a duty of the law. If, moreover, the bill of July 20 per cent. When however, the contest was not as beneficial to the South as it subject of fearful interest, and requiring tended by many of those who assisted in great minds inadvertedly make, should Having disputed of the morality of this is for principle, I will not do any one the might have been, it was in some measure making it. to aid peculiarly any species at once be corrected. It is very idle to matter, let us the logic. I injustice to suppose that money will and the fault of the South. The bill as original and we are now reaping the bitter fruits nized the principle of protection; it re- and comparing it with the act of 1828, unless that principle is yielded nothing partial relief to the shipping interests of cognized it no more, and no less, than lask gentlemen if a reduction of the du- has been gained. I do not know how gen- the country, from the excessive burden. The act, however, has passed; it was every act for reducing revenue, or reising ties on iron, or cotton goods, on sugar, themen will vote on the final passage of laid on that interest by the tariff of 1828, imposed on the country for weal, or for revenue has done since the organization on woollen clot is, on negro clothing, on this bill; all that I am anxious about is, this clause was struck out by Southern woe: It has disappointed in some measure of the government, the allegation thereof blankets, &c. (as not a reduction on the that if hereafter there should be any votes. It requires, I should suppose, no the hopes of its friends and the predicti- is merely gratuitous. As regards "di- necessaries of fe, this would be confu- charge of inconsistency, it may rest pre- argument to prove, that a free trade peoone of its enemies; it is recorded among minished credits and cash payments," ting them by the plain rule of subtraction, cisely where truth and justice demand. | ple ought to encourage the shipping interour laws, and no human power can place the impolicy of the existing law was a species of algument utterly beneath This act of 1832 was no favorite of mine: est, and if the people are, as we have the country in the same situation it was so satisfactorily shown, by the memorial gentlemen, who deal in the sublimes of I was satisfied it would not answer the been told, industriously engaged in manuof the anti-tariff convention, that I vo- metaphysics : Levill take the rule they purpose for which it was intended, and facturing British woollens out of Southern that it did not extend its own principle cotton, they ought, as a reward for their

levs redolent with health, prosperity and

upon the production of the planter. There cannot be a more palpable and delusive error than the vulgar notion that imported manufactures, factured in the United States. Looking; then, great divisions of the Union must be regarded market. The Southern States munifacture by