

RALEIGH REGISTER,

AND NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

"OURS ARE THE PLANS OF FAIR DELIGHTFUL PEACE, UNWARD BY PARTY RAGE, TO LIVE LIKE BROTHERS."

TUESDAY, MARCH 12, 1833.

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THE REGISTER

By Joseph Gales & Son,
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MR. SHEPARD'S SPEECH, CONCLUDED.

It is contended by some of those persons who complain the most of the operations of the general government (Mr. McDuffie's speech, May, 1832) "that it could no longer be disguised that under the unjust legislation of Congress, and without any agency of Providence, a radical hostility of interests existed between the two great sub-divisions of this confederacy." Now, sir, I deny, that such hostility exists, or that there is any fair reason for presuming, it can be made by any legislation of Congress to exist; and the great father of our institutions foreseeing this state of things, has told us, that upon this rock we were likely to split; he implored us, in his last advice, to resist such an impression, to scout such an idea. We are daily becoming more and more the same people, in our habits, pursuits and interests, and travellers have already remarked the sameness of American life and manners. The constant and daily communication among our people is wearing away, by the friction of social intercourse, the petty prejudices of situation. Mountains interposed, no longer make enemies of nations." I knew that there was a party in this country, dating their origin from the adoption of the constitution, who have always been endeavoring to persuade the people of the different States, that they have contrariant interests—a party composed of restless ambitious spirits, who had "rather be the first man of an Alpine village than the second man at Rome." I did, however, hope that this sect was gradually dwindling into insignificance. I firmly believe, the interests of the different sections of this country so dependent on each other, that it is impossible, for one part permanently to flourish, without communicating its prosperity to those around it; this fact has been satisfactorily attested by the astonishing results of the Internal Improvement of the country. Who has not heard of a new World brought into existence in the western part of New York by the genius of Clinton? With a mind soaring above the miserable economists of his day, he penetrated the mysteries of nature, dissipated the prejudices of the weak, the fears of the timid, and, like Columbus, opened a new World to the enterprise of his countrymen. Why then should I, or any man, wish to cripple the prosperity of two-thirds of this Union, with the vain or illusory idea of benefiting the other third?

This question of the tariff has been discussed repeatedly, and very properly, as one peculiarly interesting to the south; I will consider it for a few moments, as it affects that portion of the country. In doing so, I shall consider it entirely as a question of compromise; I have not that contempt for compromise which some gentlemen seem to entertain. If we were legislating for a horde of savages, who chased their daily food over the neighboring hills, and in case of accident, depended upon plunder or roots of the forest for subsistence, we might dispense all compromise; but in legislating for a highly refined and artificial state of society, we should remember, that civilization is the result of compromise. Our Constitution is itself the result of compromise; and the history of the very clauses under which we are now acting (with which I will not trouble the House) is a strong illustration of its general character.

It is very common, in the political maneuvering of this country, to start a theory, and by way of giving it currency, and outwitting the prejudices of an artful people, to call it the *Southern Doctrine*; and I shall support no doctrines and no theories my understanding does not teach me are correct and proper. Although I am opposed to the tariff system in general, I do not think it that "monstrum horrendum" some gentlemen seem to suppose it; I neither think it produces the bilious fever at Charleston, nor the yellow fever at New-Orleans; it has sins enough of its own to bear; I will not saddle it with those of the imagination.

The great doubt originally entertained of the capacity of this country to manufacture for itself, caused many persons to oppose the system. It was thought pre-

sumably a tax on any part of the community, (although the converse of the proposition is paradoxical at first sight) I do not think has been satisfactorily maintained. Take, for example, the articles of salt, coffee and molasses; on these three articles the Congress of the United States have been reducing the duties, with the view of reducing the price of them to the country; and yet such has not been the result. We find that when we took the duty off of salt, the article rose in the West Indies; the truth is, the possession of the American market is so essential to the producers of these articles, that they are obliged to have it at all hazards, and consequently whenever Congress lays a heavy duty, their profits are reduced down to the lowest ebb that will sustain the business, their situation compels them to follow.

And yet these facts, curious as they appear, are but fallacious grounds for a government to lay heavy duties; although the consumers of the country, as such, may be but little interested in the matter, the commerce of the country is vitally interested. In proportion as we cultivate an intercourse with those nations, who by position or by natural advantages in the production of such articles are necessary for our comfort or pleasure, are disposed to trade with us on fair terms of reciprocity, we promote the general welfare of society, and give a stimulus to the commerce of the country, which, next to agriculture, should be the favorite of the nation. Should it be true, therefore, that the consumer of coffee would be in no wise interested, whether there is a duty on it or not, still the shipowner, who transports the article, the corn planter and the lumber getter, whose productions are exchanged for it, are interested; that the trader should be on the most liberal footing. I will not, therefore, as a representative of a portion of this interest, assist in laying a burden on it, not required by the policy of the government, or essential to its revenue.

I have no doubt, sir, this tariff matter can be adjusted, if we will approach it candidly and fairly, divesting it of its political bearings, without producing injury or showing unjust partiality towards any portion of the country. In laying a revenue duty so as to give incidental protection, let us select those manufactures whose interests are deeply rooted and widely spread throughout the country, viz: cottons, woollens and sugar.

It is said, and admitted here generally, that we manufacture coarse cottons in this country as cheaply as in any part of the world, the price being less than the duty, therefore cannot possibly be a burden on any one. The memorial of the anti-tariff convention says, "the duty is nominal in reference to most of the goods under 15 cents, which not only are afforded as cheap by the American manufacturer as the foreign article, but compete with this in foreign markets." Why then disturb it, is it not the part of wisdom to let well enough alone?

The amount of cotton made in the United States, in the year ending in October, 1831, was 575,925,303 lbs. in 1810—87,397,645 lbs. there is now manufactured this country more than one-fifth of what Great-Britain manufactures at the present time. The manufactures of cotton has increased 100 per cent in the last four years, an increase greater than ever took place in Great-Britain in the same space of time; these facts manifest beyond all doubt, that this country is well adapted both by situation and capacity, to sustain such a manufacture, as well as any other country; and therefore, it deserves the attention of the legislature. We now produce 150,000,000 lbs. more of cotton than Great Britain consumes of all sorts; where is this large surplus to find a purchaser? Shall we prefer to build up the manufactures of all countries to our own? I think when it is so very convenient and advantageous to ourselves, there is no great sin in permitting charity to begin at home. The cotton manufactured in this country, amounts to about 214,882 bales, capital employed \$44,914,984, annual value \$32,056,760, aggregate of wages of hands employed \$12,153,723; employing about 50,000 men and women. Does not this benefit the grower of cotton? I have heard it so very vehemently denied, that I am indisposed to hazard any opinion of my own; I will, therefore quote one that will be respected by all parties. During the summer of 1831, a Convention was held at Philadelphia of persons opposed to the tariff; that convention was composed principally of Southern men, they appointed a Committee to draft a memorial to Congress, pointing out the burdens of the tariff laws. That memorial was written by Mr. Gallatin, and as might be expected, is incomparably the ablest exposition of the evils of the Tariff, these prolific times have produced. In it are these words,—"Whatever impulse may have been given to the production of American cotton by the domestic manufactures of that material, is therefore a clear gain to the community. This, for the very reason that the amount cannot be calculated with precision, has undoubtedly been a greatly exaggerated. But it cannot be doubted that the consumption of

cotton goods in the United States has, to a certain extent, been increased by the establishment of domestic manufactures, and that the fluctuations of price are lessened by having a greater number of markets, in this case nearer, and so considerable, even though the aggregate of sales was not materially increased." The cause of the fall of the price of raw cotton is thus accounted for, "the reduction of the price of the raw material was solely due to the increased supply compared with the demand." These admissions of the Convention are very unequivocal, they are the "unkindest cuts of all," the greatest of known rebukes is, "out of their own mouth I will condemn thee." If therefore we are to believe the cotton planters' memorial, and not their advocates on this floor, they are decidedly benefited by the tariff. It is not the least curious part of this matter, that while this House was listening day after day to the most pathos descriptions of the miseries and suffering of the cotton planters, from the tariff a memorial was lying on our tables entreating almost exclusively from this interest, admitting themselves benefited.

Let us now examine what claims the article of Sugar has to a slow death. When Louisiana was purchased from France, the cultivation of sugar had commenced in that country; common justice requires that we should not unnecessarily cause the planter to regret that he had ever exchanged the yoke of the Spanish or French monarchs, for the free government of America.

At the close of the war in 1816, Congress added half a cent to the duty as a part of a general system, which has given a great stimulus to the cultivation of sugar in Louisiana, which country now produces two-thirds of the sugar consumed in the United States. I presume it will not be doubted that the duty is essential to the prosperity of the plantations, and without it, the cultivation of sugar must cease. The present price of sugar is about 53 cents in New-Orleans. The whole expense of producing sugar, I am informed, is about 33 cents per pound; leaving about 20 cents per pound to the planter; which two cents are his means to purchase slaves and increase his cultivation—if, therefore, you diminish his profits one half cent, you diminish his capacity to purchase slaves. The consumption of sugar in the United States amounts to about 15,000,000 bushels; the crop of Louisiana to about 1,000,000. Any increase, therefore, of one half the present number of slaves in that country must take place before the domestic consumption of sugar can be supplied. And when we take into consideration, the astonishing increase both in numbers, and the means of consumption of the northern, middle and western States, it is but fair to suppose that Louisiana will for many years to come, furnish a market for the surplus slave labor of the South. The present number of slaves in the United States, is about 2,153,370, worth \$430,674,000; the destruction of the sugar cultivation would undoubtedly depress the price of slaves in proportion as the impetus, has hitherto given, has increased it, which has been estimated, and is very moderately, at \$2 a head. An enormous depression of the value of property for no conceivable benefit. The bill on the table does not propose to reduce the revenue by it, for it proposes to take half a cent off of sugar, and put a cent and a half on coffee; now, if the revenue is really wanting, why make this absurd exchange? if not, it must share the fate of every thing. There is no State in this Union whose prosperity is so closely interwoven with the welfare of the others, as Louisiana; she is a great consumer for her size; her labor is drawn from the old Southern States to cultivate her fields—her clothing from the North, and her food from the West. It is worthy of attention, to remark the gradual reduction in the price of sugar, even under the duty of 3 cents per pound. During the last twelve years, sugar has been gradually declining in price, until it has reached a depression somewhat below half its price in 1819 and '80, nor is it altogether certain, that if the duty were entirely removed, the consumer would derive any immediate benefit, although ultimately the article would be cheaper. The price of an article is regulated by the proportion of supply to demand; unquestionably, therefore, if the duty were suddenly removed, prudence would dictate to the Louisiana planter, to contract immediately his operations, in order to avoid ultimate ruin; unless therefore, the reduction of supply at home were relieved by the increase from abroad, the price would rise, which state of things would at all events, produce great fluctuations in the market. The production of sugar is not like that of cotton, or woollen goods; this article is annually produced in a limited section of country, and cannot be increased or diminished at will; the winds and the rains of Heaven must be consulted.

If there is any part of the tariff system more peculiarly unjust and indefensible, it is the duty on iron; this is an article absolutely indispensable to every class in society, and yet it is more highly taxed by it than any thing else, and without a corresponding benefit. Upon rolled bar iron, the duty is 75 per cent on sheet and hoop iron 93 per cent. Were it disposed to appeal to the most unbiassed passion that actuates the human mind, the passion of envy, it is personal appetites as every thing—the sufferings of others, the glory and independence of the country as nothing, it would be an easy matter to produce an excitement against this just preference of one interest to another. There is no article in the whole catalogue of human wants, so essential to man as iron, no one that so immediately contributes to his well-being. It is the marks the first step from barbarity to civilization; and yet it is more highly favored by the bill than any thing else. Why is this? Has Pennsylvania deserved a better fate than any other State in the Union? Did she bring to the South in 1828 "in her utmost need," one solitary vote? No! she went in a solid phalanx for the "bill of abominations"; and she is to be spared, that lightning glances over her, illumined by the personal appetites of happy Pennsylvania, she has thirty electoral votes, and no candidate for the Presidency.

It is said by Mr. Gallatin, that "the iron works of west Pennsylvania were, and still continue to be protected against foreign iron, and that made within one hundred miles of the sea shore, by the expense of transportation, which is still forty dollars a ton." There certainly then can be no propriety in taxing so greatly the whole sea board from Maine to Louisiana, to sustain a manufacture which cannot flourish under these natural advantages. The mountains of North-Carolina are full of iron ore, and yet no reasonable man would think that the government justifiable in plac-

ing a duty upon iron, sufficient to compensate the owners of those mines for making rail-roads and canals to bring their iron to market. Sir, I believe if the duties on iron and hemp were removed, the much abused tariff bill of 1832 is preferable to the bill on your table.

It requires, as has been said by an ingenious writer, a great deal of philosophy to observe that which is seen every day; if this were not true, it would be impossible to account for the discrepancy of opinions upon the practical results of this protective system. Every one sees that the country is generally prosperous, for which different causes are assigned. I do not think the prosperity of the people of this country dependent upon the action of the government, nor is it desirable it should be. I believe there is an elasticity and vigor in the American character, that will adapt itself to any system, the wisdom or folly of this House may adopt; that the Tariff compels the consumers of many articles to pay more for them than they otherwise would, is true, but that it produces one-half of the evils or benefits charged to it, is a position that has no existence except in the heated imaginations of partisans.

It is said, all this may be true, but by some gentleman not yet explained, although we have heard repeated attempts, the whole burden is thrown upon the South, the tax-paying South. It is extraordinary that any section of the country should claim the exclusive privilege of paying the taxes of the government, the idea results from a species of egotism as absurd as that of an actor, mentioned I think, in the Spectator, who had studied the aspect of the heavens with such intensity of zeal, that he at length believed himself master of the winds; and would very graciously, and with extreme condescension, offer to a friend going a journey, any wind he might have a fancy for. There is, however, we are told, a self-denying proposition, that explains the matter. It has been said, (Report of the Committee of Ways and Means by Mr. McDuffie) "as the restrictions imposed upon the productions of the Southern industry, are affected by the agency of indirect taxes, the burdens imposed upon the planting States by the protective system, are not very inaccurately measured by the amount of taxes levied upon articles exchanged for those productions," or, in other words, a duty on imports, is equivalent to a duty upon exports. I regard this as the most pernicious dogma that ever has been started in this country—its direct and inevitable tendency is a destruction of the Union; for if their portion in the tax, collect what amount of revenue you may, whether twelve per cent. or fifty per cent. the greater part of the revenue must be paid by that portion of the country, producing articles best adapted to foreign markets. I will not say, sir, as was said by a gentleman from South-Carolina (Mr. Davis) during the last session, "he doubted whether any government, except the State Government, was worth the taxes the people paid for it"; but this I will say, that on those terms, or that if this theory is true, the Federal Government never can sustain itself. Could I believe, by the inevitable acts of your legislation, I was made a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the rest of the Union, I should feel myself degraded. Were I to come here to debate the matter, I should feel myself impelled by every principle that ever nerve-d the arm or swelled the bosom of an American freeman to resist such oppression. I am not therefore surprised that sections of our country are maddened almost to phreny under the operation of this doctrine.

To have believed it, and borne it so long, is a proof of their great patriotism and most eminent discretion. This theory, however, confines its operation to the growers of rice, cotton and tobacco; it is of course of no importance to persons not connected with the production of these articles, what the tariff may be, their portion of the burden being thrown upon their more substantial neighbors. I have shown by an extract from the Memorial of the cotton planters, that they conceive themselves benefited by the system in some measure; I shall therefore, trouble myself no more with the subject, than to make a few remarks upon a corollary that has been drawn from it.

We have been told by the same document, that the fairest portion of this great continent, and of the western, the most favored region of the earth, is literally undergoing a silent but irresistible process of decay, produced by the gross perversion of the very power, which is under the highest of human obligations to prevent it. I admit that the South is not as flourishing as some portions of this confederacy; but I do not believe that its depression is to be attributed to the action of the general government, and I am much astonished that any person, could overlook the plain and palpable causes, there existing, sufficient, (without simulating the natural prejudices of the people against the general government) to account for all the horrors of even warmer imaginations.

The peculiar character of the emigration alone from the old Southern States, an emigration which carries off both the labor and capital of the country, leaving nothing to supply its place, is sufficient to account for many of our miseries. Does not that labor find the tariff as grinding and oppressive in the south-west as in either of the Carolinas? Why then should it abandon its native soil to waste and desolation, because a fresher and more fertile soil invites it? There are two other causes operating unfavorably on the Southern sea-board, one a moral, the other a physical cause. I will not however, Sir, dilate on this subject; to me it is an unpleasant one. I love the south with all her misfortunes—I love her—"my own, my native land" tecum vivam tecum obeam libens," it is from the affection I bear her, I am induced to speak thus plainly to her.

There is another cause operating to the serious disadvantage of the best portion of the South, & I admit, of Heaven the most favored region. I regard soil, climate and situation—I mean the interior of the southern country, particularly of North-Carolina and Virginia. Why is it that this section is not as flourishing as the interior of New-York, and Pennsylvania? The climate is equally, if not more, congenial to the cultivation of the white man, and the soil is more productive in every thing that can contribute to the subsistence of the people. Why is it, that a silence, as of death, pervades their thousand hills—there we find no busy hum of men, no throng of flocks or herds? Is because the hostility of the south to the improvement of the country, leaves every thing to nature. We complain that the revenue of the country is collected at the south and expended at the north; if this is true, it is our own fault. Is there a proposition made to remove a sand-bar or deepen a river in any part of this country, that does not encounter a soil-phalanx of hostility, (with a few exceptions) from the whole southern delegation on this floor? During the last session, an honorable friend of mine (Mr. Carson), when the annual appropriation bill, for the improvement of the harbors of the country was before the House, proclaimed it an imposition on the people.

Does any one propose to appropriate a few thousand dollars from an abundant treasury, to open a road through our beautiful interior, that may communicate with the markets, and civilization of the rest of the world, we are immediately told of violated constitutions, and all the slang which has been current on this floor for the last twenty years about state rights, is repeated in due and seasonable? It seems as if some gentleman supposed every thing which was calculated to promote the prosperity, to enlarge the sphere of action of the mass of the people, was a violation of the constitution.

At the last session of Congress, a bill came to this House from the Senate; proposing to settle the policy of our public lands—a bill whose object was to prevent them from being given ultimately to the west—a bill to restore to the old Atlantic States some portion of the treasure they had so liberally spent in purchasing that vast region, and to remunerate them in some measure for the constant drain upon their resources, produced by emigration. Was that bill lost by Southern votes? Let your journals answer.

This Government may spend millions upon millions on its army or its navy; it may pave the road of the Indian beyond the Mississippi with nuggets of gold; it may squander the enormous amount of our public lands, to purchase a little personal popularity in the West, and all well,—but if it attempts to spend one dollar of the public treasure for the public welfare, we are told of violated Constitutions. Sir, should the South be come, in the process of decay, what one portion of it has been threatened with, a howling wilderness, there is scarcely a moment when we have governed it, to prove to the industrious and enterprising that it had ever been trod by the foot of civilized man. There might be found some barren and blasted fields, as if the fabled land of the desert had passed over it, but there would be no Arabian way, resisting the efforts of the barbarian, or the decay of time. I did suppose, when I first entered these walls, something might be done to revive the stagnant and waning energies of the South; but when I heard, what on this floor are proclaimed as Southern doctrines and Southern principles, I felt that sickness of the soul, which awakes no hope deferred. Perhaps it was the result of a retired life, that led me to believe that some higher duty was assigned a member on this floor than a mere vote for the annual bills to pay the salaries of the government officers, and it may be fully to suppose that a legislator should be, or could be, a benefactor of mankind. I am, however, now satisfied, that a new generation of politicians must arise, after the present one has fretted a little hour upon the stage, before the Southern part of this Union can derive its full share of the benefits of the liberal institutions of the country.

I have often been asserted in the two Houses of Congress, that the South in particular would be a gainer by the system of direct taxation, a false position, which has been too currently circulated through the country, although there has been a very satisfactory refutation of this notion. I take it for granted, that the only correct theory, is that the man who buys and consumes an article, is the one upon whom the tax, of any class, ultimately falls. It is said, that in Louisiana, a plantation producing a crop of cotton worth about ten thousand dollars, consumes in the production of that crop, about two thousand eight hundred dollars worth of articles, not made on the plantation. On this consumption, one-fourth, about seven or eight hundred dollars of taxed articles. This is a very favorable calculation for all the planters north of Louisiana, particularly for those who make their own supply, as will be told us they do. Let us apply this rule to south-Carolina. South-Carolina exports about \$8,000,000 worth of cotton, one-third of which sum, \$2,666,666, is the amount of articles consumed, and not produced by the plantations, one-fourth of which, viz: \$666,666, are articles upon which the general government levies a revenue. Now supposing the duty constitutes half of the price of an article, an extravagant supposition, the enormous burden which is now weighing South-Carolina

in spreading their thin disputing abilities, the means of the Constitution, instead of devoting their energies and resources to the improvement of the country, I think must be applied to the whole man who will dispassionately view the whole ground. It is impossible, in this age, for any people to stand still, they must either advance or recede in the scale of importance among nations. The human mind is now so active; so intensely bent on developing all its resources, that those nations which like Spain or Portugal, with a blind bigotry, shut out every ray of light, must either relapse into barbarism, or the prey of military despotism, or sink in an insignificant obscurity.

The desire manifested by many, of increasing the hostility to the improvement of the country, by connecting it with the tariff, is an unjust and untenable view of the subject. There is no necessary no more natural connection between the tariff and internal improvement, than any other modes of policy which produce great national benefits. With as much propriety may it be said, that the surging and settling of the public lands should be arrested, for fear of furnishing, in future times, a valuable market to our domestic manufactures. These manufactures must, in process of time, reduce the revenue; the policy, therefore, that would unite these two interests is rather shortsighted, if it is supposed that one is to become a permanent fund to aid the other. While this temporary swell in the treasury produced by the American System, exists, sound policy demands that a surplus, unavoidably remaining in our coffers, should be applied to the improvement of our country.

There is another reason for this view of the subject, which I wish to address to the South in the words of Mr. McDuffie, in his Letter on the subject of Internal Improvement, published in the Newark Advocate, of March 15th, 1828, are these words: "I think the South and Western States are the natural advocates of a system of internal improvements, and I regret that the constitutional scruples of a heavy majority of the Southern people should prevent a hearty co-operation. This is the only form in which the Southern States can be indemnified for the tax levied upon them, to sustain the manufactures of the Eastern States." That a power of this character may be abused is very true, such is the fate of all human undertakings; it has, however, as yet, never been much abused, and from the conflicting interests always found on the floor of Congress, it is not very likely to be—the whole sum ever expended by the government of the United States, in drawing forth the resources of the country, or aiding works purely intended for that purpose, does not yet amount to the expenses of the army and navy for one year.

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