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for each subsequent publication: those of greater length, in the same proportion. It out, and charged accordingly.

THE TARIFF.

on this perplexing, and lately threatening question) to publish his Speech also; it being the only sketch, the Editors of the Intelligenthe Session, which underwent his correctionders in future a greater variety of matter.

sideration-

called upon to make. I have long, with pleasure | cific mode of protect on, but it must be preservand pride, co-operated in the public service with ed in some other more acceptable shape.

a he admits, in conformity with numerons pre- and dormant. cedents on our statute book. He does not obit can be accomplished. The bill assumes, as sylvania.

and articles essential to manufactures, free of with the entire South.

thems they will be continued until ordered is perfectly free to exercise that power at any class of northern politicians, professing friend- that session. All fill be quiet in the South for Ofall the modes of protection which I have enu-After giving Mr. CALHOUS and Mr. WEBSTER a merated, it affects only the third; that is to say, full hearing on this subject, we think it is due the imposition of high duties, producing a revein justice to Mr. CLAY, (the efficient Mediator nue beyond the wants of Government The Senator from Massichusetts contends that the policy of protection was settled in 1816, and that t has ever since been maintained. Sir, it was settled long-before 1816. It is coeval with the from an unexpected quarter. cer say, of what he said on any subject during present Constitution, and it will continue, under some of its various aspects, during the existence of the Government. No nation can exist, no naed to its own industry. The direct and neces-The Bill to modify the Tariff being under con- sary consequence of abandoning the protection as much as I can the observations which I am republic, may require the modification of a spe

the Senator from Massachusetts; and have All that was settled in 1816, in 1824, and in found him faithful, enlightened and patriotic - 1828, was that protection should be afforded it. I have indeed, cherished it with parental eyes, and persu de pimself that he is secure from There not a particle of doubt as to the pure and elevated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. Under revenue which they might yield. During that whole levated motives which actuate him. these circumstances, it gives me deep and last- period, we had a public debt which absorbed in the hands of the Philistines, who would stran- If we adjourn, without any permanent settles ing regret to find myself compelled to differ from all the surpluses beyond the ordinary wants of gle it. I fly to its rescue, to snatch it from their ment of the fariff, in what painful suspense and im as to a measure involving vital interests, and Government. Between 1816 and 1824, the reperhans the safety of the Union. On the other venue was liable to great fluctuations, vibrating hand. I derive great consolation from finding between the extremes of nineteen and thirmiself, on this occasion, in the midst of friends thirty-six millions of dollars. If there were more with whom I have long acted, in peace and in revenue, more debt was paid : if less, a smaller war, and especially with the honorable Senator amount was reimbursed. Such was sometimes from Maine, [Mr. Holmes] with whom I had the the deficiency of the revenue, that it became happiness to unite in a memorable instance. It necessary, to the ordinary expenses of Governwas in this very chamber, that Senator presiding ment, to trench upon the ten millions annually in the committee of the Senate, and I in the set apart, as a sinking fund, to extinguish the committeee of twenty-four of the House of Re- public debt. If the public debt remained unpresentatives, on a Sabbath day, that the terms discharged, or we had any other proper and were adjusted, by which the compromise was practical mode of appropriating the surplus reeffected of the Missouri question. Then the venue, the form of protection, by high duties, dark clouds that hung over our beloved country might be continued without detriment. It is were dispersed; and now the thunders from the payment of the public debt, then, and the others not less threatening, and which have been arrest of internal improvements by the exercise longer accumulating, will, I hope, roll over us, of the veto, that unsettle that specific form of protection. Nobody supposes, or proposes, that The Senator from Massachusetts objects to we should continue to levy, by means of high the bill under consideration on various grounds. duties, a large annual surplus, of which no prac-He argues that it imposes unjustifiable restraints | tical use can be made, for the sake of the incion the power of future legislation; that it aban- dental protection which they afford. The Sedons the protective policy; and that the details cretary of the Treasury estimates that surplus, of the bill are practically defective. He does on the existing scale of duties, and with the other not object to the gradual, but very inconsidera- sources of revenue, at six millions annually. An ble reduction of duties which is made prior to annual accomulation, at that rate, would, in a the year 1842. To that he could not object, few years, bring into the treasury the whole

This view of the condition of the country has ject so much to the state of the proposed law impressed every public man with the necessity prior to 1842, during a period of nine years; of some modification of the principle of protecbut, throwing himself forward to the terminati- tion, so far as it depends on high duties. The on of that period, he-contends that Congress will Senator from Massachusetts feels it; and hence then find itself under inconvenient shackles, in the resolutions which he submitted, he proimposed by our indiscretion. In the first place, poses to reduce the duties, so as to limit the awould remark, that the bill contains no obliga- mount of the revenue to the wants of the Govtory pledges ; it could make none ; none are at- ernment. With him, revenue is the principal, tempted. The power over the subject is in the protection the subordinate object. If protection Constitution; put there by those who formed cannot be enjoyed after such a reduction of du it, and habe to be taken out only by an amend- ties as he thinks ought to be made, it is not to be ment of the instrument. The next Congress, extended. He says specific duties, and the pow and every succeeding Congress, will undoubted | er of discrimination, are preserved by his resoluly have the power to repeal the law whenever tions. So they may be under the operation of they may think proper. Whether they will ex- the bill. The only difference between the two deed, they have wished to preserve it, they have morable Schator from Massachusetts, as in that of ercise it r not, will depend upon a sound dis- schemes is, that the bill, in the maximum which cretion, applied to the state of the whole coun- it provides, suggests a certain limit; whilst his try, and estimating fairly the consequences of resolutions lay down none. Below that maxithe repeal, both upon the general harmony and mum, the principle of discrimin ation and specific the common interests. Then, the bill is found- duties may be applied. The Senator from Penned in a spirit of compromise. Now, in all sylvania [Mr. Dallas] who equally with the Sencompromises there must be mutual concessions, after from Massachusetts, is opposed to this bill, The frien Is of free trade ins st that duties should, would have agreed to the bill-if it had fixed thirbe laid in reference to revenue alone. The ty instead of twenty per centum; and he would riends of American industry say that another, if have d spensed with home valuation, and come of paramount object in laying them, should be down to the revenue standard in five or six years. duminish the consumption of foreign, and in- Now, Mr. President, I prefer, and I think the rease that of domestic products. On this point manufacturing interest will prefer, nine years of e parties divide, and, between those two op- adequate protection, home valuations, and twen muste opinions, a reconciliation is to be effected, to per cent. to the plan of the Senator from Penn-

are resident, I want to be perfectly understood and printed cottons, liable to minimums of 30 and the measure; I would not speak in its behalf.— On say to their apponents, we are willing to take me to offer this measure. I repeat what I said maintain the extravagant theory of null-fication; that great progress has been made, and is making 35 cents. and subject to a duty of 25 per cent. these of nine years, with the long chapter of on the introduction of it, that they are, first, to they are not confined to one State; they are co- in machinery. There is a constant tendency to ad valorem; and how is it to be estimated in accidents beyond that period, including the classe of specific duties? Sir, it is very probaclasse of war, the resonation of concord, and condly, to quiet the country.

I believe the Adong with it a conviction, common to all, of the merican system to be in the greatest danger; the Senator from Massachusetts, that, if we leg-nication, must co-dinue to lower it. The successmility of protection; and, in consideration of it, in 1812, none of the second greatest second greatest this session, than at the next, law being realized, we are willing to submit, as I heard, with surprise, my friend from Massa. the last six months to increase its hazard. I entourned to below it, cash duties, home valuated to the process that opinion. Is it correct?

The process of the process o to the best of the manufacturing interest; and that house is strongly inclined to think that 20 per cent. with ought to govern; and consequently the 20 per strongly inclined to think that 20 per cent. with ought to govern; and consequently the 20 per strongly inclined to think that 20 per cent. with hefe of the magnificturing interest. To these of the highest officer of the Government, no. tion should be made. But he who regards the the other advantages secured in this bill, may do cent. should be exclusively deducted from the conditions the opponents of protection are ready thing? Is the explicit recommendation of that ofaccede. The measure is what it professes to ficer, in his message at the opening of the session, sustained, as he is, by a recent triumphant ed. There is a sympathy of feeling and interest ose no restrictions upon the will or power of election, nothing? Is his declaration in his produtire Congress. Doubtless great respect will clamation, that the burdens of the South ought he ad, as it ought to be paid, to the serious to be relieved, nothing ? Is the introduction of condition of the country that has prompted the a bill into the House of Representatives during as-age of this hill. Any future Congress that this session, sanctioned by the head of the Trea ght disturb this adjustment would act under sury and the Administration, prostrating the high responsibility, but it would be entirely greater part of the manufactures of the country, within its competed cy to repeal, if it thought nothing? Are the increasing discontents, nothing ? Is the tendency of recent events to unite It is far from the object of those who support the whole South, nothing? What have we not his bill, to abandon or surrender the policy of witnessed in this chamber? Friends of the adotecting American inclus ry. Its protection ministration bursting all the ties which seemed compagement may be accomplished in vari- indissolubly to unite them to its chief, and with ons ways. 1st. By an unties, as far as they are few exceptions south of the Potomac, opposing, within the constitution al power of Congress to and vehicinently opposing, a favorite measure of Can doubt that the suspension will be made.

licy, gentlemen should understand perfectly sion to the number of the dominant party. How, be the only remaining appeal.

arrogated to myself any such intimate relation to like children, to it row the counterpane over his ing to it, unmanufactured cotton was to be a free hazard of the die.

And the other leading object which has prom; ted the introduction of this measure, the tranquilple of the United States upon this interesting be again threatened with conflagration? upon national than sectional grounds.

pectable section of the Union, stimulated by po- such as fuel, iron &c. I do not think the honorand dang rous aspects. They have been cher- the state of this a nearly, and its relative state to cific duties may also be imposed, provided they ished by the course and hopes inspired during other countries. We know that, in all human do not exceed it. this administration, which, at the very moment that the that it threatens and recommends the use of the addition of one hard, at least, to their present the improvement that the execution of it will be increased by an addition of one hard, at least, to their present the improvement that the execution of it will be improved to the improvement to the improvement to the improvement. injustice of the system which it would enforce. We have reason o believe that our capital will above 29 per cent. to be ascertained on coarse I have always thought. I could not vote against to danger of any kind than my fellow men are turing houses it this country assures me, is a ing, by way of exception to the general ad valolina alone, takes a view of it much too contractthroughout the whole South. Other Southern that our country may profit by their occurrence. States may differ from that as to the remedy to be now used, but all agree (great as in my humble judgment is their error) in the substantial those who think in common will sooner or later act in concert ! Events are on the wing, and hastening this co-operation. Since the commencement of this session, the most powerful Southern member of the Union has taken a meisequences. She has deputed one of her most distinguished citizens to request a suspension of measures of resistance. No attentive observer for them. 2d. By probabilions, totally exclusions, which three short months Well, sir, suppose it takes place, and Congress by the tereign rival tricle. So. By high du- ago they contributed to establish! Let us not de- should tail at the next session to afford the redress which will be solicited, what course would

ties; without regard to the aggregate amount of ceive ourselves. Now is the time to adjust the every principle of gonor, and every consideration necessary, can it be doubted that, in some form | tion shall be discovered, there will be more time revenue which they produce. 4th. By discri- question in a manner satisfactory to both parties. of the interests of Virginia, as she understands or other, it will be applied? Our misfortune then than we have now to supply them. Let us minating duties, so adjusted as to limit the reve- Put it off until the next session, and the altern- them, exact from her? Would she not make has been, and yet is, that the public mind has on this occasion of compromise, pursue the exnue to the economical wants of Government.— ative may, and probably then would be, a speedy common coise with South Carolina; and, if she been constantly kept in a state of feverish ex-And 5thly. By the admission of the raw material and ruinous reduction of the Cariff, or a civil war did, would not the entire South eventually become parties to the contest? The rest of the Conventions, elections, Congress, the public tion of the United States, determined to ratify it, duty. To which may be added cash duties, home It is well known that the majority of the domi. Union might put down the South, and reduce it press, have been for years all acting upon the and go for amendments afterwards. valuations, and the regulation of auctions. A nant party is adverse to the tariff. There are to submission; but a say nothing of the uncer- tariff, and the tariff acting upon them all., Preperfect system of protection would comprehend many honorable exceptions, the Senator from tainty and hazards of all war, is that a desirable judices have been excited, passions kindled, and chose its, that this interest, and that and the most, if not all these modes of affording it. New-Jersey [Mr. Dickerson] among them. But state of things? Dught it not to be avoided if mutual irritations carried to the highest pitch of other cannot be sustained under the protection There might be, at this time, a prohibition of for the exercions of the other party, the tariff it can be honorably prevented? I am not one exasperation, insomuch that good feelings have beyond 1842, I repeat the answer that no one certain articles, (ardent spirits and course cor- would have been long since sacrificed. Now of those who think that we must rely exclusively been almost extinguished, and the voice of reatons, for example) to public advantage. If there let us look at the composition of the two branch- upon moral power, and never resort to physical son and experience silenced, among the members period will provide for itself. But I was surwere not inveterate prejudices and conflicting es of Congress at the next session. In this body force. I know too well the frailties and follies of the confederacy. Let us separate the tariff prised to hear my friends a glorg out from as an wish to have the Paper discontinued at the exopinions prevailing, (and what statesman can we lose three friends of the protective policy, of man, in his collective as well as individual from the agitating politics of the country, place article that would be most injuriously affected niration of their year, will be presumed as de. totally disregard impediments of that character?) without being sure of gaining one. Here, judg- character, it upon a stable and firm foundation, and allow by the operation of this bill. If I am not missuch a compound system might be established. ing from present appearances, we shall, at the playment of force; but I do think, that when our enterprising countrymen to demonstrate to taken in my recollection, he opposed and voted Now, Mr. President, before the assertion is next session, be in the minority. In the House resort of to, especially among the members the whole Union, by their skilful and success-

made that the bill surrenders the protective po-Sot exceeding sixteen lines, will be inserted what it does not, as well as what it does not, as well as what it does not, as well as what it does not as well three times for a Dollar; and twenty-five cents It impairs no power of Congress over the whole numbers, against the whole will make, silently, more converts to the policy, navigation of the country, he would have sup-

the number of insertions be not marked on er of Congress in regard to them, and Congress it, but that is too uncertain to rely upon. A certain carry into effect by ordinance until the end of time; it expressly recognises discriminating ship to the tariff, have been coarged with being the present. The resident, in his opening mes duties within a prescribe I limit; it provides for secretly inimical to it, for political purposes. sage, will urge that justice, as he terms it, be cash duties and home valuations; and it secures. They may change their ground, and come out done to the South fand that the burdens imposa free list, embracing numerous articles, some open and undisguised supporters of the system. ed upon it by the driff be removed. The whole of high importance to the manufacturing arts .- They may even find in the measure now brought | weight of the administration, the united South, forward, a motive for their conversion. Sir, I shall and majorities of the dominant party in both rejoice in it, from whatever cause it may pro- branches of Congress, will be found in active cocoed. And if they can give greater strength and operation. Will the gentleman from Massachu durability to the system, and at the same time setis tell me how be are to save the tariff against quiet the discontents of its opponents, I shall re. this united and irrigistible force? They will acjoice at Il more. They shall not find me dispos- cuse us of indifference to the preservation of the ed to abandon it, because it has drawn succor Union, and of being Willing to expose the country to the dangers of civil war. The fact of S. No, Mr. President, it is not destruction but Carol no postponing her ordinance, at the in- they will terminate in a closer and more affection- provides is absolutely necessary to some interests, pres rvation of the system at which we aim. If stance of V.rgim'a, and once more appealing to ate union than ever. And how much more esti- what is to be done? Regarded as a pledge it dangers now assail it, we have not created them. the justice of Con ress, will be pressed with mable will be a system of protection, based on does not bind Congress for ever to adhere to the This done, we shall endeavor to give our rea. tion, perhaps, ever existed, without protection and common conviction and common consent, and spec fic rate of duty contained in the bill. The in some form, and to some extent, being appli- est convictions of its expediency. They are en- impossible that we can prevent a most injurious planted in the bosoms of all, than one wrenched most, in that view, that it exacts, is to make a tirely unaltered. Had others, who avow attach- modification of the wriff at the next session; and sary consequence of abandoning the protection ment to it, supported it with equal zeal and that this is the five able moment for an equivable loss?

of its own industry, would be to subject it to the straightforwardness, it would now be free from arrangement of it. I have been subjected to an.

The restrictions and prohibitions of foreign Powers; embarrassment; but with them it has been a madversion for the admission of the fact, that at be necessary for the period of time subsequent tions of the Union would be sacrificed, and they Mr. Clar rose, in reply to Mr. Webster, and and no nation, for any length of time, can endure secondary interest. I utter no complaints—I the next session or opponents will be stronger, to 1842, I will not doubt. But, in the scheme exposed to ruin, Congress will be competent to said: Being anxious, Mr. President, that this an alien legislation, in which it has no will. The bill should pass, and pass this day, I will abridge discontents which prevail, and the safety of the self-now, as heretofore, againt unjust assaults. I have been represented as the father of this And is it not the direct of every man who aspires tion of fraternal feelings, the return of reason, some will be devised that may preserve the har system, and I am charged with an unnatural ato be a statesmen, and I am charged with an unnatural ato be a statesmen, and a sense of justice. That scheme contained mony and perpetuate the blessings of the Union. bandonment of my own offspring. I have never really are? Must be suppress them? Ought he, an appeal to the interests of the South. Accord-

> custody, and to place it on a bed of security and terrible uncertaint; shall we not leave the manrepose for nine years, where it may grow and ufacturers and bas ness men of the country? All strengthen, and become acceptable to the whole eyes will be turn; I, with trembling and fear, to people. I behold a torch about being applied the next session. Operations will be circumscrito a favorite edifice, and I would save it, if pos- bed, and new erterprises checked, or if othersible before it is wrapt in fl mes, or at least pre- wise, ruin and bankruptcy may be the conseserve the precious furniture which it contains. quence. I believe sir, this measure, which oftics of the country, that business men may go to stability, will be sailed by practical men with work with secur ty, with some prospect of stabi- pleasure. The 'alitical manufacturers may be ity in our laws, and without every thing being against it, but it ill command the approbation stak d on the issue of elections as it were on the of a large majorit of the business manufacturers of the country.

But the object ins of the honorable Senator from Missachuser sare principally directed to izing of the country, is no less important. All the period beyon, 1842. During the intermediwise, human legislation must consult in some de- ate time, there is overy reason to hope and begree the passions and prejudices, and feelings, lieve that the bill scures adequate projection. as well as the interests of the people. It would Allimy informatic assures me of this; and it is be vain and foolish to proceed, at all times, and demonstrated by see fact, that, if the measure of under all circumstances, upon the no ion of ab- projection, segur I prior to the 31st December, solute certainty in any system, or infalibility in 1841, were percament, or if the bill were any dogma, and to push these out without re- silent beyond that period, it would command the gard to any consequences. With us, who en- cordial and unaningus concurrence of the friends tertain the opinion that Congress is constitution- of the policy. What then divides, what alarms ally invested with power to protect domestic in- us? It is what my possibly be the state of things dustry, it is a question of mere expediency as to in the year one the dand eight hundred and forthe form, the degree, and the time that the pro- tv-two or subsequently ! Now, sir, even if that because it is a species of prospective provision, currency of the country, to lie there inactive tection shall be afforded. In weighing all the should be as had a fine most vivid imagination or considerations which should control and regulate the most eloquent tongue could depict it, if we the exercise of that power, we ought not to over have intermediate safety and security, it does opposite opinions to large masses of the commu- present evils, because of these which, admitting nity, and to deep, long-cherished, and growing their possibility, are very remote and contingent. prejudices. Perceiving, ourselves, no constitu- What! Shall we forgestinguish the flome which tional impediment, we have less difficulty in ac- is bursting through the roof that covers us, becommodating ourselves to the sense of the peo- cause, at some fittire and distant day, we may

> subject. I do believe that a majority of them is I do not admit that this bill abandons, or fails in favor of this policy; but I am induced to be- by its provisions, to secure reasonable protection lieve this almost against evidence. Two States beyond 1842. I fannot know, I pretend not to in New-England, which had been in favor of the know, what will then be the actual condition of system, have recently come out against it. Other this country, and of the manufacturing arts, and States of the North and the East have shown a re- their relative condition to the rest of the world. markable ind flerence to its preservation. If, in- I would as soon confide in the forecast of the honevertheless placed the powers of Government any other marrin this Senate, or in this country in hands which ordinary information must have but he, nor any gie else, can tell what that conout some direct and considerable indirect, inter | youd 1842, depe ds upon the reduction of wages, est in the system, we have supported it more the accumulation of capital, the improvement in Meantime the opposition of a large and res- ening of the pair s, at home, of essential articles,

convulsions & revolutions in Europe, if any should cottons generally are liable; and the biennial arise, produce ! I am far from desiring them, Her greatness and glory rest, I hope, upon a more solid and more generous basis. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that our greatest manujustice of the cause. Can there be a doubt that facturing, as well as commercial competitor, is undergoing a momentous political experiment,

> ufacturing arts Suppose, in t'e progress of gradual descent towards the re knue standard, for which this 1842, than the which it contemplates, may be

Great Britain ca , exercise towards us in the man-

subject; it contains no promise or pledge what. nistration, against the united South, and against m what condition is friends will find themselves than would be made during a long period of anxious por ed that act. Of all the articles to which proever, express or implied, as to bounties, prohibitions, or auctions; it does not touch the pow. There is, indeed, one contingency that might save po tponed the execution of the law passed to all, I count upon the good effects resulting from factures of iron, enjoy the highest protection. ple, upon their good sense and their love of just from the duty are not such as seriously to impair that there will be a disposition throughout the dy has been already indicated. Let me supwhole Union to render ample justice to all its pose that the anticipations wich I form upon the parts? Who will believe that any section of this restoration of concord and confidence shall be to the prostration of the interests of another sec- effection nor common justice, nor even common cardless alike of the welfare of us all? No, sir; the tariff beyond 1812. Let me suppose that per I have no fears beyond 1842. The people of riod has arrived, and that the provisions of the bill the United States are brethren, made to love and shall be interpreted as an obligatory pledge upon respect each other. Momentary causes may the Congress of that day; and let me suppose also seem to all chafe them, but, like family differences, that a greater amount of protection than the bill

> That such a system will be adopted, if it should regement of the tariff, the interests of large porarticle after 1842. Gentlemen from that quarter under the operation of this bill. I feel confident different to the duty of three cents per pound contingencies are carefully provided for in the on cotton, and that they feared no foreign competion. I have thought otherwise; but I was tection of cotton, but believing that a few cargoes | sed, in regard to the Tariff, and is approved by

the few articles which may then require it. interest, and no one State, by an unjust sacrifice look what is due to those who honestly entertain not seem to me the to rush upon certain and of others. It deals equally by all. Its basis is careful and thorough investigation, and long deliberation, continued through several months. Although it may not have been perfect in its adjustment of the proper measure of protection to each article which was supposed to merit it, it is not likely that even with the same length of time before us, we could make one more perfect. Assuming the justness of that act, the bill preserves the respective proportions for which the act provides, and subjects them all to the same equal but moderate reduction, spread over the long space of nine years. The Senator from Massachusetts contends that a great part of the value of all protection is given up by dispensing with specific duties and the principle of discrimination. assured them were rather a hazardous depository. dition will then je. The degree of protection But much the most valuable articles of our do-With us in the West, although we are not with- which will be re bired for domestic industry be- mostic manufactures (cotton and woollens, for example) have never enjoyed the advantage of To that bill, if I had been present, on the final specific duties. They have always been liable voic, I should have given my assent, although skill, the perfect on of machinery, and the cheap- to ad valorem duties, with a very limited applica- with great reluctance. I believe this Government tion of the minimum principle. The bill does not only possessed of the constitutional power, intical success, has increased, and is increasing, able Senator can the whimself forward to 1842, mode of laying duties. Discriminations are ex-Discontents are multiplying and assuming new and tell us what, in all these particulars, will be pressly recognized below the maximum, and spe-

The honorable Senator also contends that the tenths should be subtracted from the excess of five per cent. With regard to specific duties, it will perhaps, be competent to the Secretary of the Tresaury, in the execution of the law, for the sake of certainty, to adopt some average value founded upon importations of a previous year. But if the value of each cargo, and every part of the issue of which, is far from being absolutely it is to be ascertained, it would be no more than what now is the operation in the case of woollens. ing nine years, and show what, at their termina- silks, cottons above 30 and 35 cents, and a varietio, will be the degree of competition which ty of other articles? and consequently there would be no impracticability in the law.

To all defects, however, real or imaginary, which may be supposed will arise in the execution of the principles of the bill, I oppose one conclusive, and I hope satisfactory answer. Concome evident hat further protection, beyond gress will be in session one whole month before the commencement of the law; and if in the when both parties, however un qual, have armean time, omissions calling for further legisla-

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If they can have, what they have never yet en- perhaps the duty on hemp,) which he then cona restoration of the harmony of this divided peo- During the term of nine years, the deductions tice. Who can doubt that when passions have those great interests, unless all my information subsided, and reason has resumed her empire, deceives me; and beyond that period the remegreat confederacy would look with in lifference all fals find; that neither the sense of fraternal ion, by distant and selfish foreign nations, re- interests, will lead to an amicable adjustment of by power from reluctant and protesting weak. fair experiment. If, after such experiment, it should be demonstrated that, under such an ar-

It has been alleged that there will be an augmentation, instead of a diminution of revenue, of the reverse; but it is sufficient to say that both

The gentleman from Massachusetts dislikes willing, by way of experiment, to take them at the measure, because it commands the concurtheir word; not that I was opposed to the pro- currence of those who have been hitherto oppoof foreign cotton introduced into our Northern the gentleman from South-Carolina Mr. Calhoun ports, free of duty, would hasten our Southern as well as by myself. Why, sir, the gentleman friends to come here and ask that protection for his teld us that he is not opposed to any contheir great staple, which is wanted in other sec- promise. Will he be pleased to say how any tions for their interests. That feature in the compromise can be effected, without a concurscheme was stricken out in the Select Committee, rence between those who had been previously out not by the consent of my friend from Dela- divided, and taking some medium between the ware [Mr. Clayton,] or myself. Still after 1842, two extremes? The wider the division may have the South may want protection for sugar, for to- been, so much the better for the compromise. bacco, for Virginia coal, perhaps for cotton and which ought to be judged of by its nature and other articles, whilst other quarters may need it by its terms, and not solely by those who hapfor wool, woollens, iron and cotton fabrics; and pen to vote for it. It is an adjustment to which these mutual wants, if they should exist, will lead, both the great interes s in this country may ac-I hope to some amicable adjustment of a tariff for | code without either being dishonored. The trithat distant period, satisfactory to all. The lumph of neither is complete. Each, for the sake theory of protection, supposes, too, that, after a of peace, harmony and union, makes some concertain time, the protected arts will have acquired such strength and perfection as will enable them vestige of protection should be eradicated from subsectiently, unaided, to stand up against for the statute book, and the revenue standard forthreign competition. If, as I have no doubt, this with adopted. In assenting to this bill, it waives should prove to be correct, it will, on the arrival that pretension-yields to reasonable protection of 1842, encourage all parts of the Union to con- for nine years; and consents, in consideration sent to the continuance of longer protection to of the maximum of twenty per cent. to be subsequently applied, to discriminations below it. The bill before us strongly recommends itself cash duties, home valuations, and a long list of by its equity and impartiality. It favors no one free articles. The North and West have contended for the practical application of the principle of protection, regulated by no other limit the act of July last. That act was passed after than the necessary wants of the country. If they accorde to this adjustment, they agree, in consideration of the stability and certainty which nine years duration of a favorite system of policy affords, and of the other advantages which have been enumerated, to come down in 1842 to a liunit not exceeding twenty per cent. Both purties, animated by a desire to avert the evils which might flow from carrying out into all their consequences the cherished system of either. have met upon common ground, made mutual and friendly concessions, and I trust, and sincerely believe, that neither will have hereafter, occasion to regret, as neither can justly reproach

the other with what may be now done.

This, or some other measure of conciliation is now more than ever necessary, since the parsage through the Senate, of the enforcing bill. not, however, even after 1842, surrender either but to be bound, by every consideration, to ly regretted the necessity which seemed to me to require the passage of such a bill. And I was fir from being without serious apprehensions as to the consequ aces to which it might leid. I felt no new born zeal in favor of the power of the who! Union, proclaims aloud the amount, and the may materially reduce wages. be impracticable. He asks how is the excess present administration, of which I now think as triends of the administration and to others, who night feel themselves particularly called upon. to defend and sustain a strong measure of the administration. With respect to the series of acis to which the Executive has resorted, in resigned it, I think it contains some ultra doctrines. which no party in this country had ventured to ussert. With these are mixed up may sound principles and just views of our political systems. If it is to be judged by its effects upon those to whom it was more immediately addressed, it must be admitted to have been ill-timed and unfortunate. Instead of all ying the excitement which prevailed, it increased the exasperation in the infected district, and afforded new and unnecessary causes of discontent and dissatisfiction in the South generally. The message, subsequently transmitted to Congress, communicate ing the proceedings of South-Carolina, and co ing for countervailing enactments, was characterised with more prudence and moderation .---And, if this unhappy contest is to continue. I sincerely hope that the future conduct of the anministration may be governed by wise in lead? trous counsels, and a parental forbearance. But when the highest degree of animosity exists.