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BY GEORGE HOWARD,

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DOMESTIC.

[In order to give as early publicity as possible to the favors of our correspondents, we deferred publishing the following Address to the people of South Carolina, recently issued by the Congressional delegation of that State, with the exception of Messrs. Drayton, Blair and Mitchell. We invite an attentive perusal of this document. The facts set forth, taken in conjunction with the late movements in South Carolina and Georgia, present subjects meriting the deepest consideration not only of the other Southern States, but of every State in the Union.]

ADDRESS

To the People of South Carolina.

The undersigned, a portion of your Representatives in Congress of the United States, feel it to be their painful, but indispensable duty, in the present extraordinary crisis of your affairs, to submit, for your grave and solemn consideration, the following brief views of your present condition and future prospects, as they are affected by the unconstitutional legislation of Congress. Whatever hopes may have been indulged at the commencement of the session, that a returning sense of justice on the part of the majority would remove or materially mitigate the grievous load of oppression under which you have so long labored, and of which you have so justly complained, the undersigned are now reluctantly constrained to declare that these flattering hopes, too long deferred, and too fondly cherished, have finally and forever vanished. A dispassionate review of the history and progress of the protecting duties and of those kindred measures, which, in their combination, constitute the "American System," has brought their minds to the deep and deliberate conviction, that there is no principle of re-action in the system itself which will warrant the belief that Congress will ever voluntarily grant to the planting States a restitution of those sacred rights, without which property has no value and liberty itself is the mere mockery of an empty name. On the contrary, experience has conclusively demonstrated that the system is essentially progressive, each successive advance creating additional motives and supplying additional means for future acquisitions. There is no principle of human action more steady in its operation and more boundless in its desires, than the thirst of pecuniary gain, not even excepting ambition. And it would be just as rational to suppose that a military conqueror would voluntarily arrest his own career of conquest, and retreat before his quailing adversaries, as to hope that the irresponsible majority who control the legislation of Congress on this subject, will voluntarily arrest their career of legislative exaction, urged on as they are by the instinct of self interest, under the guise of patriotism, and subject to no human restraint but their own will.

In the history of the protecting system, there are three distinct eras, each of them unequivocally marked by the extended combination and increased strength of the manufacturing interests, and not less unequivocally by the increased protection of those interests. In 1816, at the close of war which gave an unnatural stimulus to domestic manufactures, the liberality, the gratitude, and the patriotism of Congress all conspired to recommend, that in reducing and adjusting the revenue duties of the war to the require-

ments of a peace establishment, the manufacturing interests, which had generously sustained the Government while other interests had deserted it, should be saved from the ruinous shock of a too sudden transition, by making the reduction gradual and progressive. Accordingly the duties upon cotton and woollen manufactures were placed at the ad valorem rate of twenty-five per centum, with the provision that no cotton fabric should be estimated as of less value than twenty-five cents per square yard, that being about the existing price of the coarse cotton manufactures then usually imported. The duty on hammered bar iron was fixed at the rate of forty-five cents per hundred weight, which did not exceed twenty-five per centum on the existing value of that article, and the duty on all manufactures of iron was placed at twenty-five per centum ad valorem. In fact, it may be stated generally, that the average of the duties imposed upon the protected class of articles by the Tariff of 1816, was not more than twenty-five per centum, on their value having reference to the then existing prices, of such as were subjected to minimum or specific duties; while the mere revenue duties upon coffee, tea, and wines, averaged at least fifty per centum. The principle was here distinctly assumed, that the unprotected articles were the more appropriate subjects of taxation, and ought to pay higher duties than the protected articles, for the obvious reason that the protection given by the duties on these latter articles to one class of American producers, necessarily imposed an equivalent burthen upon another class.

But even these rates of duty upon cotton and woollen manufactures, were temporary upon the very face of the act which imposed them, it being expressly provided that, in three years, they should be reduced from twenty-five to twenty per cent. ad valorem. So far, therefore, from being placed at this rate, for the exclusive purpose of protection, those duties were actually lower than others which were exclusively designed for revenue; and, so far from giving an implied pledge that they should be retained and extended, without reference to the fiscal wants of the Government, the act of 1816 contained an express declaration, that even the incidental protection of the revenue rates should not continue above twenty per cent. for more than three years. Instead, however, of acquiescing in the provisions of the act of 1816, the manufacturing interest was the first to disturb them, by procuring the repeal of the clause which provided that in three years, the ad valorem duties on cotton & woollen manufactures should be reduced from twenty-five to twenty per cent.

But, still unsatisfied with the protection so generously yielded to them, the manufacturers continued to clamor for a yet greater increase of the duties, until they succeeded, in 1824, in having them raised on woollens from 25 to 33½ per cent.; on iron to 90 cents per hundred; while, on cotton manufactures, the minimum was raised from 25 to 30 cents the square yard, being equivalent to an average increase of 10 or 15 per cent. ad valorem; and, on most other manufactures, a very considerable addition was made to the duties. The tariff of 1824 was passed with the almost unanimous opposition of the representatives from all the Southern States; and nothing induced the people of the South, at that time, to acquiesce in it, but the solemn assurance of its leading advocates that no further call for protection would ever be made in behalf of the manufacturing interest. This pledge was distinctly made in Congress during the discussion of that measure. But this was soon forgotten or disregarded, and, in 1826, renewed efforts were made to extend the protecting duties, particularly on wool and woollen

manufactures, efforts which were perseveringly prosecuted until 1828, when they were crowned with complete success by the enactment of what has been appropriately denominated a "bill of abominations." This act increased the duties on woollen manufactures on an average, more than 20 per cent. and most of the protecting duties to a considerable extent, though not quite so much.

Such is a brief history of the progress of the protecting system since the late war—a history which the people of the Southern States can contemplate with no other than the most melancholy reflections. They cannot but perceive that what was modestly solicited and generously granted as a temporary protection against the disasters of a sudden change, produced by the act of the Government itself, is now imperiously demanded, with a more than two-fold increase, as a matter of right, and as a measure of permanent policy. They cannot fail to perceive, also, that, after the progress and improvements of forty years—sixteen of them under a protection of from twenty-five to fifty-five per cent.—during which our manufactures have had full time to reach their maturity, a rate of protecting duties is now established as the permanent policy of the country, four times as high as that which was recommended by Alexander Hamilton; when those manufactures were in their infancy. Upon every principle of reason and justice, and upon the avowed principles of Mr. Hamilton, the author of the protecting system, no manufacture can have any claim to protection which cannot dispense with it after a few years of probation. But these principles are entirely disregarded and reversed by the present advocates of this system. The experience, maturity, and improvements which, according to those principles, should induce the manufacturers to dispense with even the original protecting duties, have had no other effect than to increase their demands. The infant was generously nourished in its feebleness, now grown up to maturity, proves to be a gigantic monster, which turns upon its benefactors and devours their substance, with an appetite increasing with its stature, and which nothing can satiate.

Adverting to the several steps by which this system has attained its present dimensions, it will be seen, that, by the act of 1824, the protecting duties were only raised, on an average, about ten per cent.; and even this increase was carried in the House of Representatives by a meagre majority of five votes only; whereas, in 1828, the amendments of the Senate, which raised the duty on woollen manufactures from 33½ per cent. to an average of more than 50 per cent. estimating the effect of the minimums, and other protecting duties in proportion, were carried in the House of Representatives by the overwhelming majority of 117 votes to 67! It is thus apparent that the system is not only progressive, but that each successive advance has been greater than the preceding, and that the number of its supporters has steadily increased at every successive struggle in Congress.

Considered in reference to the condition of the country, and the wants of the Government, the recent struggle, and the measure which has resulted from it, form no exception to this remark. Indeed it may be affirmed, with confidence, that the system is, at this moment, stronger than it ever has been at any former period.

In 1816, with a vast public debt to discharge, it was necessary to provide an annual revenue of \$24,000,000. It is not now necessary to provide more than half that sum. If, therefore, in 1816, the protecting duties did not average more than 25 per cent. when it was necessary to provide twenty-four millions of revenue, it clearly follows that, upon the principles of the act of 1816, without reference to its prospective reductions, the

protecting duties should now be reduced to 12½ per cent. when it is not necessary to provide a revenue of more than twelve millions.

Yet, what are the provisions of the act recently passed? The burthens of the protecting duties are decidedly increased, estimating the cash duties and diminished credits, and they now actually stand at an average of more than fifty per cent. while the duties on the unprotected articles, which, upon every principle of equality and justice, should sustain the principal part of the burthens of taxation, are, with a few inconsiderable exceptions, entirely repealed. Upon those manufactures which are received in exchange for the staple productions of the Southern States, the aggregate increase of the burthens of taxation beyond what they were under the tariff of 1823, is believed to be upwards of one million of dollars; while the reduction or repeal of the duties on those imports which are received in exchange for the productions of the tariff States, and are principally consumed in those States, amounts to about four millions of dollars. While, therefore, the aggregate burthens of taxation are diminished four millions of dollars by this bill, the positive burthens of the Southern States are not diminished at all, and their relative burthens are very greatly increased. The relief which those States will derive, as consumers, from the reduction and repeal of the duties on the exchanges of the North, will not be more than equivalent to the increased burthens imposed on the exchanges of the South. On the other hand, those increased burthens on the exchanges of the South operate as bounties to the manufacturing States to the amount of more than a million of dollars, and the reduction and repeal of duties on their exchanges and consumption operate as a relief to them of at least three millions more. It results from all this that the manufacturing States are relieved and benefited, by the provisions of the new tariff, to the amount of four millions of dollars annually, while the unequal and oppressive burthens of the planting States are not only undiminished, but greatly aggravated by their increased inequality. Their burthens are precisely the same now that the Government requires only twelve millions of revenue, that they were when it required double that amount. The extinguishment of the public debt, to which they looked forward with the most cheering anticipations, brings them no relief. On the contrary, it gives them the most unequivocal assurance of their hopeless condition and final destiny, so far as these can be fixed by Congress. It may be said, with perfect truth, that even "hope which comes to all," comes not to them. There never will occur again a period so propitious as that which has just gone by for urging upon Congress the claims of the planting States to be relieved from the burthens of unconstitutional and oppressive taxation. Yet those claims have been urged in vain upon an interested and irresponsible majority.

They have now made their ultimate concession, and even that was yielded with great reluctance, and accompanied by the declaration of their leading advocates that the protecting duties would be hereafter increased, particularly on woollen manufactures, if fifty per centum should be found an insufficient protection, with cash duties, that are equivalent to ten per centum more. What, then, is the boasted compromise offered to the Southern States by this new tariff? It is nothing more nor less than such an artful arrangement of the duties upon imports as throws the entire burthen of federal taxation upon the productions of these States, while the tariff States are not only exempted from any portion of that burthen, but actually gain more than they lose by the entire operation of the system.

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