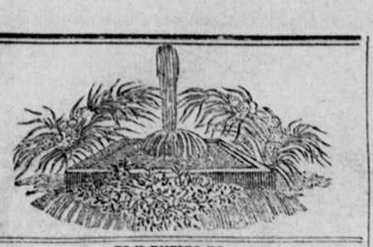

## POETRY.

"MUCH YET REMAINS UNSUNG."

[From an Ohio Paper.]

A SERIO-COMICO BALLAD,

On Mr. Clay's *motion in the Senate of the United States, directing the President to order a* National Fast day.

"But, for my own poor part, I'll o'en go pray."—Hamlet.

What wond'rous wonders still we see
In this our mundane sphere—
What varied changes, all agree,
Take place within a year!—
And fickle as th' inconstant wind
Is man's erratic breath,
All things uncertain here we find
But misery and death.

To-day we freeze in Alpine snows,
As frozen turnip cold,
We blow our fingers, blow our nose,
In swathing flannels rolled;—
To-morrow comes, and lo! the Sun
Pours down his hottest fire,
And roasts us all, as 'twere in fun,
To raise our mortal ire.

To-day, the river's like the stream
From filthy gutter sent—
We grumble then, but do not dream
Of it's most dire intent—
For soon it runs its wond'rous rigs,
Anon, no land is found—
Barns, cattle, bridges, men, and pigs
Promiscuously are drowned.

To-day the preacher prayed for rain
To wet the farmer's crop,
But, if umbrella's scarce, again,
He wishes it would stop.
Some hate the rain—the dust some hate,
Some wish it would not blow—
And some, who bless'd with marriage state,
Wish much it were not so.

E'en Politicians sometimes change
From what they were before—
But this is not so passing strange,
Nor must we it deplore—
For Mr. Clay, that pious man,
Religious turned at last,
Now recommends that all the land
Should hold a General *Fast*.

He says he's lived in mickle sin,
Will not do so again—
Will join a church, and straight begin
To walk with pious men:*
For Jackson vile, with wrong intent
Won't *make* the people pray,
But leaves it to their own consent
To act just as they may.

Long time ago did Mr. Clay
A blessing pure invoke,
(Which is remembered to this day.)
Then pious thus he spoke—
"War, pestilence, and famine great
Send over all our shore—
Should I be not elected straight,
Their vengeance I implore."

But now he's grown so changed of late,
So pure and meek withal,
Says, Pray'rs must be ordain'd by state,
Or they're no pray'rs at all:
Though learned Tazewell tells him plain,
And conscience tells him, too,
Religious rites *he* can't ordain
As all good churches do.

Religion pure and undefiled
Needs not the potent sway
Of Law to make its precepts mild,
The good man still obey.
'Tis in the heart, and, *there* confessed,
If sacred feelings glow,
It owns no law of man's behest,
Or any power below.

* "A single word, Mr. President, as to myself. I am a member of no religious sect. I am not a professor of religion. I regret that I am not. I wish that I was, and I trust that I shall be."—*Vide Mr. Clay's Address in the Senate.*

## CONGRESSIONAL.

[From the Globe.]

The following remarks on Mr. Poindexter's motion to postpone the Tariff Bill indefinitely, were made by Mr. King. They have been furnished since the publication of the debate in this paper:—

Mr. King said, at the close of a most protracted session, and at this late hour, when I am aware, Mr. President, that Honorable Senators are greatly exhausted, I rise with reluctance to address them. But, Sir, I cannot consent that the question should be taken on the indefinite postponement of this Bill, particularly after the observations of the Senator from Kentucky, without briefly stating the reasons for the vote which I shall give. Sir, that gentleman has labored hard to prove, with what object, I shall not stop to enquire, that we of the South cannot give our sanction to this Bill, without sanctioning at the same time, the principles of a protective Tariff. Sir, I deny the conclusion—for myself, it is well known to all who hear me, that I have ever resisted the exercise of the power by this government, to impose duties except for revenue—that individual protection may thus be afforded to the domestic industry of the country I admit, but it must only be incidental; all beyond that is is a palpable violation of the spirit of the Constitution. Sir, I voted, as is well known, against every provision of the protective tariff of 1824—that unjust, oppressive and abominable law of 1828 under which we are now suffering, and which threatens to sap the foundations of this government, received no support from me, nor from the friends with whom I act. Sir, we have never lent ourselves to the building up of this favorite system of the Senator from Kentucky; this protective, this American System, as he is pleased to call it,—this system, which plunders one portion of our country, to enrich another—which draws from the pockets of the great agricultural class of our citizens, the hard-earned profits of their labor, to place it in the pockets of a favored few, called manufacturers.

Mr. President, when this Bill was before under consideration I voted against it, because the amendments made in this House, had rendered it so very objectionable, as effectually to preclude me from giving it my support. I then stated that had the Bill, as it came from the House, remained unchanged, I should, although it fell far short of what we had a right to expect have given my vote in favor of its passage.

Sir, the amendments being rejected, and the bill again restored to its original shape, I shall do so now; not because it is a protective tariff; not because it properly arranges the reduction of duties upon the protected as well as the unprotected class; for none can fail to see, that while there is an entire abolition of duties on most of the unprotected articles, the protected articles are subjected to a very small reduction. Yet, Sir, there is a reduction, and to that extent the burthens which press so heavily upon our people will be relieved. I feel constrained, therefore, to separate from my honorable friends from South and North Carolina, with whom I have usually acted on this subject. I cannot array myself against the relief proposed, although it falls far short of what we had a right to require from the justice of Congress—from its liberality I have expected nothing; for, Sir, I am not such a novice as to expect liberality from the reckless politician, or the mercenary capitalist.—Sir, I take it as a lesser evil than the tariff of 1828; but I assure the Senator from Kentucky, (Mr. Clay) that with me, there shall be no compromise of this question, other than that of *bringing down the revenue of the Government to its actual, reasonable demands*, not until the old republican doctrine is rigidly enforced, of drawing no more money from the pockets of the people, than the wants of the Government clearly require; not, Sir, until a just, equitable and harmonious system shall take the place of *the unjust, unequal and distracting protective system* of the honorable Senator. Sir, he shall not fail to find me, session after session, arrayed with my friends, struggling to free ourselves, and those we represent, from injustice and oppression.

Mr. President, I only rose to say that I should vote against the postponement of this bill; but before I take my seat, I must be permitted to express my astonishment at the manner in which my honorable friend from Pennsylvania has been treated by the Senators from Kentucky and Massachusetts; and what, I would ask, Sir, has drawn upon him the sneers, sarcasms, and almost abuse, so liberally bestowed by those gentlemen. Why, Sir, the having discharged a most important duty, in a manner which should, and will procure for him, the approbation of every uninterested and patriotic man, throughout this widely extended country. Sir, my honorable friend and myself uniformly voted in opposition to each other, while this bill was under consideration; he advocated an increase of duties on woollens, sugar, cotton bagging, and on other articles, and on most of them his vote decided the question. The amendments thus made were rejected by the House of Representatives by considerable majorities:—my honorable friend, true to his principles of protection, honestly, but I think mistakenly entertained by him, asked a conference with the House, supposing that something might be yielded on its part, and a portion at least of the increase duties preserved. I sir, was opposed to a conference, because I was well advised that should the Senate be brought to a direct vote upon the amendments, a decided majority would recede from them; and that without the aid of the Senator from Pennsylvania.—The conference was, however, granted. Those appointed by the House determined to adhere absolutely to their rejection of the amendments made by this body. In this state of things, my honorable friend actuated by the most patriotic desire to harmonize the country on this great subject; believing as he did that the passage of this bill would produce that effect; and seeing clearly that it must be lost if the amendments were persevered in, determined to do, what I conceive every honest and virtuous man, viewing it as he did, would have done; he consented to recede from the amendments. And for this act, so creditable to his head and his heart, the vials of wrath have been poured upon him, and language used which no gentleman should apply to another on this floor. But sir, I have done—I repeat again, that, however reluctantly, I must separate from my friends, and vote against the indefinite postponement.

*Speech of* Mr. McDuffie, *of South Carolina, on the bill proposing a reduction of the duties on imports, delivered in the House of Representatives, May* 28, 1832.

Mr. McDuffie rose, and said: I propose, Sir, to submit some explanations, in addition to those already presented, in a different form, of the views and principles which induced the Committee of Ways and Means to report the present bill as an adjustment of the great subject of the tariff. I must, however, in the outset, candidly acknowledge that I have not the least glimmering of hope that any thing I may utter at this time, or which any human being can advance in this Hall, will induce the majority to adopt the measure now proposed or any other measure founded on similar principles. Nay, Sir, I am reluctantly compelled to go still farther, although I have been disposed to hope even against hope, that some Providential coincidence of circumstances might yet intervene to incline the hearts of the majority to justice, and lead their deliberations to some propitious result; yet the developements and the experience of every day have rendered it more apparent that all such expectations are utterly vain and delusive. As to any adjustment of this great question, therefore, which shall give tranquillity to the public mind, and restore the broken harmony of this Union, "my final hope is flat despair." Under these circumstances, it may seem singular, but it is nevertheless true, that it is precisely because I do not hope to produce conviction upon the minds of this committee, and have no expectation that this great question will be adjusted here, that I am more particularly anxious to set forth, in the clearest and most distinct manner, the principles which will govern me, and, as I believe, those who are associated with me, as well as the States we in common represent, in all the vicissitudes of this great contest for our unalienable rights. Sir, it is vain, it is worse than vain, to attempt to put by, to evade, or to palter with this question. It can no longer be disguised, that there does exist, under the unjust and oppressive legislation of Congress, and without any agency of Providence to that effect, a radical hostility of interests between the two great subdivisions of this confederacy. And if the power of the majority, and not their sense of justice, is to decide the present controversy, it will be impossible ever to reconcile these conflicting interests. Such being the case, God only knows what is to be the end of this great political drama. One thing is certain; an eventful political era is at hand, and whether it shall be signalized by the civil triumph, or by the catastrophe of constitutional liberty, history will record that triumph or that catastrophe, and posterity will pronounce judgment on the authors of it.

That my views and principles may be understood and appreciated by that august tribunal, and that the record which history shall make up, may present the true issue between the two great contending parties, the oppressors and the oppressed, I will attempt, before I take my seat, to demonstrate how grievous are the wrongs we have too patiently endured, and how vital and sacred are the rights for which we are contending.

But, before I proceed to examine the inequality and gross injustice of this combined system of taxation and protection, I shall ask the attention of the committee to a brief exposition of my views as to the amount of revenue, which, under existing circumstances, I deem it expedient to provide for defraying the necessary and proper expenses of this Government.

In deciding this question, there is no better criterion to which we can resort than the average expenditures of a former period, which all must acknowledge to furnish a proper basis for such a calculation. In 1821, our army was reduced from a war to a peace establishment. From the year following this reduction to the close of Mr. Monroe's administration in 1824, inclusive, I have made a calculation of the average expenses of this Government for all objects, both permanent and contingent, and the result is, that these expenses amounted, annually, to a less sum than ten millions of dollars. Many of those who hear me will bear me out when I say, that, when I first took my seat in this body I was regarded as very extravagant in my notions, in regard to the public expenditure, because I justified the expenditures of that administration. Sir, Mr. Monroe's administration was denounced by a large party in this country for its extravagance. It was accused of preparing the way for a great and splendid Government, instead of regarding those principles of economy laid down by the fathers of our political church. I did not think so then, and I do not think so now; and I shall hail the day when the present or any future administration shall bring back the expenses of the Government to the annual sum of ten millions, which I believe to be an ample provision for all the exigencies of the country. But, Sir, so far from wishing to dismantle our fortifications, suffer the navy to rot upon the docks, and leave the nation entirely defenceless as has been suggested in a report recently offered to the House, I am for maintaining all the institutions of the country on a respectable footing, and am willing, and have ever been willing, to raise whatever amount of revenue may be necessary for that purpose, though I am aware that the burthen will be very unequally distributed, even by this bill.

The essential institutions of the country are the army, the navy, and the civil establishment. These I regard as indispensable; I hold them to be necessary at all times, in peace and in war; for I fully recognize the truth of the maxim, that the best way to preserve peace, is to be prepared for war. Now, sir, during the last three years of Mr. Monroe's administration, it was denounced, as I have said, for its extravagance; and yet the total annual expenditure for the army, the navy, and the civil list, amounted during those years, to less than seven millions of dollars. I repeat it, sir, emphatically, that when our army was more efficient, its ranks better filled, and its officers as numerous and competent as they now are, the annual expenses of the Government for these three objects was less than seven millions of dollars. When you add to this the expenditure of the Indian Department, and for other objects of a miscellaneous kind, each amounting to a little upwards of half a million, it will be found, that, exclusive of pensions, the whole average expenditure of the United States, during those years, amounted to but little more than $8,000,000.

Assuming this as a basis, and I am satisfied that the amount will be more than sufficient, especially as our fortifications are nearly completed, (and I hope never hereafter to see more than $500,000 annually expended upon them;) and as the improvement of our navy yards also are nearly completed; I affirm that more than eight millions of dollars will not be annually required for objects of a permanent nature.

Then, as to pensions, I shall confine my views, in the first place, to the laws as they now stand, and not as it has been proposed to extend them.—During the three years I have mentioned, the pension list was very large; since then, however, the number of pensioners has been rapidly diminished by death. So that, whereas, in 1822, the sum expended on this object was nearly two millions, it is now less than one million, notwithstanding the great number of pensioners since put on the roll, by special acts of Congress, and the relaxed rules of the War Department.

It may fairly be presumed, calculating upon the probable mortality among men; none of them less than seventy years of age, that in the course of some five years, this branch of expenditure will be reduced to a very inconsiderable sum.

It is to be remarked, that, after paying off the public debt, there will be a large surplus, not less than eight or ten millions, of the income of the year 1833, because the income of that will be principally derived from duties which accrued during the present year under the existing tariff. Moreover, as the proposed reduction of the duties will be gradual—and I am willing to make it still more so, by extending the period of final reduction to three years—it is obvious that the surplus revenue must be considerable during all these years, and that the sufficiency of a revenue derived from average duties of 12 1-2 per cent. will not be brought to the test in less than four or five years. Even if we suppose that the pension bill, now pending, should become a law, it is not probable that the whole pension establishment, four or five years hence, will require an expenditure of more than two millions. But be that as it may, eight millions will be amply sufficient for the permanent institutions and ordinary expenses, and all the revenue over that sum will be applicable to pensions and other objects.

The next inquiry in order, is, what amount of revenue a duty of 12 1-2 per cent. upon all imports will bring into the Treasury? If we assume, as the basis of our estimate, the average amount of the merchandise imported for consumption during the last seven years, we shall have something less than sixty-nine millions as that average. The revenue from this amount of imports, at 12 1-2 per cent. duty, would be something less than nine millions of dollars. But we are inquiring what will be the amount of the revenue, four or five years hence, after all the surpluses shall be exhausted; and I think it may be very safely estimated that the amount of the dutiable imports, under this bill, will not be less than eighty millions. There will be at least fifteen millions now annually applied to the payment of the existing duties, that will be disengaged from that object, and will be applicable to other purposes.—It is a reasonable supposition that this amount, at least will be applied to the purchase of foreign imports, in addition to the sum now thus applied.—According to this view of the subject, making all proper allowances, it follows that the amount of the imports for consumption will be more than eighty millions the very first year the 12 1-2 per cent. duty goes into operation; and from the natural progress of population and wealth, that amount must increase considerably every year afterwards.

We shall have, then, an income of ten millions from the imposts; and even if we estimate the income from the public lands at one-half its present amount, that and the bank dividends will yield two millions more.

Having shown that only eight millions will be required for the ordinary and permanent expenses of the government, it follows that, with a revenue of twelve millions, there will be an annual surplus of four millions applicable to pensions and other objects of a contingent nature.

In presenting this brief view of the future income and expenditure of the government, I will take occasion to remark, that if I should ever return to this body, I intend to propose a general system of retrenchment and economy; a system not founded on an indiscriminate hostility to our existing establishments, but on a deep conviction that these establishments can be maintained in purity and vigor only by the observance of a strict but judicious and liberal economy.

I am fully satisfied that, without reducing either the Army or the Navy, and without injuriously curtailing the salaries of any of the officers of government, a saving may be effected of at least one-half a million of dollars. Without going into details, I will barely suggest, that the Treasury Department alone opens a field in which retrenchments and reform may be employed with very great advantage to the country. Sir, under the complicated system of high minimum duties, the expenses of collecting the public revenue have increased enormously within the last ten years. At a former period, when our revenue from the imposts was equal to what it is now, the whole annual expense of collecting it did not amount to more than $700,000. Now, Sir, it has swelled up to nearly double that amount.

The proposed reduction of the duties will enable the department to dispense with the greater part of that host of custom-house officers which almost darkens our coast; and in this item alone several hundred thousand dollars may be annually saved. Upon the whole, Sir, I am well satisfied that the amount of revenue which this bill will produce, with that derived from other sources, will be amply sufficient for all the exigencies of the country, and that considering it a revenue measure, no one can justly take exception to it.

I will here remark, Sir, that the people of the South, (whether correctly or not, I will hereafter consider,) are firmly impressed with the belief, that under any system of duties, while the revenue is derived almost exclusively from imports, their proportion of the burthens imposed by federal taxation, will be much greater than it ought to be according to the principle of the Constitution which regulates the apportionment of direct taxes. Under these circumstances, they think they have a right to insist that the aggregate burthen of taxation shall be as light as possible, and that not a dollar shall be expended by the government that can be avoided by a rigid economy.

Having now disposed of these preliminary questions, I shall proceed to consider how far the provisions of this bill have been dictated by a due regard to the principles of justice and equality in the fiscal operations of this government.

With the exception of certain articles admitted free of duty, nearly all of which are the imports and the consumption of the northern States, all imported merchandise will be subjected to the moderate and equal duty of 12 1-2 per cent. Now, Sir, I desire to know whether any objection can be justly urged against this scheme, on the score of inequality?—Regarding it as a southern measure, can any other portion of the Union allege, with the semblance of truth, that it will be subjected to an undue share of the public burthens? I put the question emphatically, and desire that it may be fairly met and fully answered, is there a manufacturing state, or a manufacturing county in the Union, that will be compelled to pay a larger portion of public burthens by this bill, than justly and equitably falls to its share?

Let us examine this matter. Our imports of foreign merchandise may be divided into two great classes. The first consists of articles which are exclusively produced in foreign countries; the second, of articles partly produced abroad, and partly in the United States. The former are usually denominated the unprotected, and the latter the protected class of articles. Now, as to the former class, comprising teas, coffee, silks, wines, and a variety of other imports, I will assume, that from these, one half of the federal revenue will be collected, though, in point of fact, it would be more correct to say one third only.

As to this portion of the revenue, no one has ever pretended that the burthen is not equally distributed over the Union in proportion to the consumption of the articles from which it is derived. It must be apparent that the manufacturing states have no grounds for alleging that the duties upon silks, wines, tea and coffee, expose them to an unequal or oppressive burthen. Will a solitary voice be raised to denounce this part of the bill under consideration? Assuredly there will not. What then remains?—What is the subject of complaint against this bill, and who are they by whom the complaint is made? The part of the bill which is obnoxious to the denunciation of the manufacturing states, is that which imposes a duty of 12 1-2 per cent. and no more, on cotton and woollen manufactures, on iron and iron manufactures, and on all the other articles that fall within the scope of the protecting system. Yes, sir, this is the source of the complaints against the proposed measure. And who, do you suppose, are the persons that make them?

If an impartial foreigner, just arrived in our country, should be informed that a very deep and threatening excitement existed in relation to this part of the proposed tariff, he would very naturally suppose, that as the excitement was against a tax bill, it was the indignation of those who were called upon to pay the taxes, or upon whose productions the duties were proposed to be levied. Upon being informed that the productions of the southern States furnished the exchanges for this class of imports, he would take it for granted that these States were clamorous against so unequal a scheme of taxation. But how would this impartial foreigner be astonished, on discovering that the excitement was confined to that part of the Union which paid no part of the taxes in question; and that the cause of the excitement was, that the taxes proposed were not forty or fifty instead of 12 1-12 per cent. upon the value of the imports!! In other words, how great would be the astonishment of this impartial "looker-on" from Europe when he learned that the complaint against the proposed duty on cotton, woollen and other manufactures, proceeded exclusively from the domestic manufacturers of these very articles, on whom the duty would operate, not as a burthen, but as a bounty. He would be apt to exclaim,—"What an extraordinary people the Americans must be! In Europe, governments are shaken by the complaints of the people who pay the taxes. Here, the Union seems likely to be shaken to its very foundations, by the clamors of those who receive them. In Europe, the people cry out that the taxes are too high; here, they seem to be regarded as a great blessing, and the cry is, that they are about to be reduced too low."

Sir, in the spirit of peace and harmony, and I will add, in the spirit of magnanimity, the people of the south now say to you—"We know that it is very unequal and oppressive upon us, that the productions of *our* industry should pay even 12 1-2 per cent. to support the Government, while the very same productions of *your* industry pay no contribution at all; but receive on the contrary, a beneficial bounty from the tax levied upon our productions. But if you will limit the burthen to the necessary expenses of the Government, we are willing to submit to it as a revenue measure, unequal as it obviously is, and will cheerfully consider the pecuniary loss we shall sustain as a peace-offering at the shrine of the Union." And what do the people of the north say to this generous and liberal overture?

"We will not accede to your terms. We have calculated the value of this tax upon your productions; and we have ascertained that a tribute of 12 1 2 per cent. is not enough to keep up our establishments in the high state of profit and prosperity which we desire. We cannot let you off with a less tribute than 45 per cent., and it follows that you will have to pay it."

Sir, language cannot convey, nor imagination conceive any thing that would exhibit the horrible enormity of this system more clearly than this simple statement of the real condition of the interests involved, and the true point of the controversy. Now, Sir, I will put this matter to a very plain test. If my views are not correct, the whole tariff question can be soon settled between the gentleman immediately on my right, (Mr. Appleton) who, as I understand, is one of the largest manufacturers in the United States, and myself. I turn to this gentleman, then, and I say to him, "Sir, I will make a bargain with you for the adjustment of this difficulty. You admit that one-half of this bill is perfectly just and equal; that, I mean, which levies half of the federal revenue from wines, silks, and other unprotected articles. The entire burthen of your complaint is directed against the other half of the bill; that which levies the remaining half of the revenue from protected articles. Now, Sir, in tender consideration of the oppressive operation of this part of the tax bill upon the manufacturing States, I will agree to strike it out altogether, and raise the remaining half of the revenue, by doubling the duties on unprotected articles, or by direct taxes. Is it a bargain, Sir?" "No! no! no!" replies the gentleman, "that would be infinitely worse than the bill as it now stands; for, in that case, the tariff States would lose *all* their protection, and have to pay their quota of the increased duties on unprotected articles, or of the direct taxes besides; whereas, by the bill in its present form, they certainly have a protecting bounty of 12 1-2 per cent."

The truth is, Mr. Chairman, that the manufacturing States would not agree to strike out these duties on any terms. Even if it were demonstrated that the Government did not need a dollar of the revenue derived from this source, or if the southern States would agree to raise this half of the public revenue by direct taxation among themselves, still the manufacturing States would not accede to such a proposition.

And what, sir,—I ask for no idle purpose—does this fact prove?

The plain and naked question is presented to them—will you be satisfied to adjust this controversy by being relieved entirely from one half of the burthen of the federal revenue, paying only your due proportion of the other half; and they indignantly spurning the offer, reply that they will not.

Can any power of human reasoning more clearly demonstrate that they feel, and know that they will pay no part of the duties proposed to be levied on the entire class of protected articles? The matter is absolutely too plain for argument, and it comes palpably to this; the people of the south, charged with disloyalty to the Union, agree that a tribute of 12 1-2 per cent. should be levied upon their productions, for the double purpose of relieving the manufacturers from so much taxation, and giving them so much bounty; while the Union-loving people of the north are resolved to put the Union itself in imminent jeopardy, unless their brethren of the south will reduce themselves to absolute vassalage, by consent to bring to the mercenary altar of this manufacturing idol three times the proposed amount of tribute.

It must be obvious, Sir, that vital as are the pecuniary interests involved in this controversy, they are quite secondary when compared with the principles involved in it.

Its true character and importance cannot be seen until we consider it, not only as a question of interest, but as a question of right and justice. It is justice and not interest that consecrates the struggles of men and of nations. It will not do, therefore, to show me, however clearly, that the passage of this bill will destroy your interests and desolate your country, as the existing system has destroyed and desolated mine. I am not now considering your interests, but your rights; I am not going to try this question by the barbarian test of power and numbers, but by the principles of eternal justice.

And in this sacred form, I put these questions to every manufacturer in the Union. What injustice will this bill inflict upon you? What right of yours will it violate?—What particle of your property will it confiscate, and to whom will it unlawfully or wrongfully transfer it? I beg, Sir, that these questions may not be evaded by empty and unmeaning generalists, but that they will be openly and fairly met, and distinctly answered. I admit, Sir, that this bill, should it pass, will do very great damage to the manufacturing states, but it will be, in legal phraseology, damage without injury, unless they will show that some legal or moral right will be violated.

Let us now enquire whether there is a shadow of ground for alleging that such is the fact; and, to give the inquiry a practical form, I will first ask, *in what mode, and by what process*, will the northern manufacturers be injured by the passage of this bill? They are ready to inform us, in reply, as we have heard it a thousand times echoed and re-echoed from every source, in every form and in every quarter of the Union, that they are waging a great national contest in favor of *domestic industry* and against *foreign industry*, and it is gravely contended that every patriot is bound, upon his allegiance, to take sides with the domestic against the foreign belligerant.

Now, Sir, as this idea of a contest between domestic and foreign industry is the lurking fallacy which lies at the very foundation of the American system, I solicit the calm and dispassionate attention of the committee to a plain and practical analysis, by which I think it will be clearly demonstrated, that, in this as in other instances, men and nations have been carried away by mere names, and have permitted the sober dictates of common sense to be overwhelmed by one of the most arrant impostures and delusions that has ever existed in the civilized world since the darkest days of popery. It is a delusion, Sir, as anti-social, and I will add, as anti-christian, as that which induced an eminent jurist of England to express the opinion, that every subject who held certain religious opinions, not conformable to the established faith, should be regarded in law as an alien enemy.

Let us look, then, into the *modus operandi* by which this great public enemy, foreign industry, is to invade our peaceful shores by pouring in a flood and torrent of foreign manufactures, that will sweep away, with irresistible force, all our domestic establishments, leaving the land desolate, without a vestige or memorial of its present prosperity!!

Let us ascertain the true springs of action—let us trace out the operation into its details, and see what are the *means* by which this scourging flood of foreign manufactures will get into our happy country.

And now, Sir, mark by "how plain a tale" this fondly-cherished delusion will be made to vanish. I affirm, then, and will hazard the whole contest upon the truth of the proposition, that foreign manufactures never can come into the United States, and be brought into competition with domestic manufactures, until they have ceased to be the productions of foreign industry and have become the productions of American industry. It is in the very nature of things, morally, commercially, and politically impossible that they should.

According to my poor powers of annalysis, there are but three modes in which foreign manufactures can be brought into this country for consumption. The first is, by gratuitous donation; the second, by robbery and plunder; and the third, by purchase. The wit of man can scarcely devise any other mode. Now, Sir, as to voluntary and gratuitous donations from foreign governments or foreign manufacturers, I admit that this would be the most fatal of all the modes of acquisition to the interest of the domestic manufacturers. It would absolutely destroy the entire value of all their investments in building and machinery, and they would doubtless preach us most eloquent and moving sermons to prove that it would be utterly ruinous to the wealth of the country to obtain manufactures for nothing.

But the manufacturers are perfectly secure from any danger on this score. The time will never arrive when missionary zeal will be transferred from religion to commerce, and when the folly or the philanthropy of foreign manufacturers will induce them to deluge our land with their goods by this process.

Then, sir, as I have too much confidence in the prudence, to say nothing of the honor and integrity, of this government, to suppose that its powers can ever be prostituted to rapine and plunder, the only mode of acquiring foreign manufactures, which deserves to be gravely considered, is that by purchase.

Here, then, we come to the real point of the controversy. When foreign manufactures are purchased and brought into the United States for consumption, they must be so purchased with the productions of the domestic industry of the United States. It is obvious, therefore, that there can be no possible conflict between foreign and domestic industry in our own markets, however it may be in foreign markets; but that the real contest is between one branch of domestic industry and another. In the case we are considering, it is a contest between the domestic producer of the article which is exchanged for the foreign manufacture, and the domestic manufacturer.

If, for example, the cotton planter of the south send his cotton to Liverpool, exchange it for manufactures, and bring these into the United States, I beg to know whether they would not be, to all intents and purposes, as truly and exclusively the productions of domestic industry, as they would be sacredly and exclusively the property of the planter? If he had a lawful title to his cotton, he must have the very same title to the manufactures he has obtained for it. If the former was exclusively the production of his industry, so, also, must the latter be, precisely in the same sense and to the same extent. It results, self-evidently, from the reciprocity of commerce, being an exchange of equivalents that each nation receives as much encouragement to its own industry as it gives to the industry of any other. When a planter exchanges his cotton for foreign manufactures, these manufactures become the productions of domestic industry by the same act which makes them his property, and the cotton, in like manner, becomes the production of foreign industry. It is, as if the planter were gifted with the power of necromancy, and could transmute his cotton into manufactures by the mere touch of his wand. In this case, no doubt, the planter would be denounced for dealing with the devil, precisely for the same reason that he is now denounced and proscribed for dealing with England; and that is, because manufactures could be, thereby, obtained and sold by the labor of the south cheaper than they could be obtained and sold by the labor of the north.

*(To be Continued.)*


LAND FOR SALE.—Will be sold to the highest bidder, on the 10th day of September next, if fair, if not, the first fair day thereafter, (Sundays excepted,) that well known tract of land, the former residence of John Anderson, decd. This tract by old survey contains 670 acres, lying in the forks of Hanover, on the main road from the upper country to Hanover Court House, 14 miles above the same, and 30 from Richmond. Little River passes through a part of it. This land lies well, and is well adapted to the growth of all the staples of middle Virginia. On the same is a commodious dwelling house in good repair, a large barn, convenient stables and other necessary out houses, orchards, &c. &c. It may truly be said to be as healthy as any spot in the State. Terms:—One third of the purchase money to be paid when possession is given, which will be on the 1st of January, 1833, or sooner, if practicable; the balance (two thirds) in twelve months thereafter, to be secured by bond and good security, with a deed of trust upon the land. The purchaser shall have liberty to seed wheat this fall. The sale will take place on the premises.

EDMUND M. ANDERSON,
*Admr. de bonis non of the estate of John Anderson, dec.*
July 17. 20—wtd

LAND FOR SALE.—The subscriber wishes to remove to the West, would sell his land, lying in about two miles from the Virginia Mills, and three from James River, containing about four hundred and forty acres, well adapted to the culture of wheat, corn, and tobacco—about one half of which is cleared, and in good heart. It has on it every necessary house for the accommodation of a large family, and out houses, nearly all of which is new. Any person disposed to purchase will, it is expected, first view the premises, which will be shewn at any time by me, living thereon.—Terms will be liberal.

READ BROOKES.
Buckingham County, July 17. 20—w4w

NOTICE is hereby given, that the co-partnership heretofore existing under the firm and style of Overby & Young, at Spanish Grove in Mecklenburg county, was dissolved on the 28th day of March last, by mutual consent—the said Overby having sold his entire interest in the said concern to the said Young. All persons having claims against the said firm will apply to S. W. Young for payment, and those indebted to the said concern will please make payment to him, who is alone authorised to adjust and settle the business of the said firm.

JAMES M. OVERBY.
S. W. YOUNG.
Mecklenburg, July 10. 18—w1m

NOTICE.—All persons having claims against the estate of Mary Logwood, deceased, (late of the county of Powhatan,) are requested to present them, properly authenticated, to the subscriber (immediately) for payment; otherwise this notice will be plead in bar of their claims.

EDMUND LOCKETT, *adm'or with the will annexed of Mary Logwood, dec'd.*
July 10. 18-wtt

IN CHANCERY—Virginia.—At rules holden in the Clerk's office of the county court of Cumberland, from the 2d to the 7th of July, inclusive, in the year 1832:

James Minter and Lucy his wife, Plaintiffs.
against
Joshua Rucker and Nancy his wife, Singleton Cugee and Frances his wife, Elizabeth Boatright, Jane Boatright, Daniel Boatright, and Isaiah Boatright, Deft's.

The defendants not having entered their appearance and given security according to the act of Assembly and the rules of this court; and it appearing by satisfactory evidence that they are not inhabitants of this Commonwealth, it is ordered, that they do appear here on the first day of September Term next, and answer the plaintiffs bill; and that a copy of this order be forthwith inserted in some newspaper published in the city of Richmond, and continued for two months successively, and that another copy be posted up at the front door of the Court-house of this county. A Copy. Teste,

P. H. NUNNALLY, D. C.
July 24. 22—w8w

IN CHANCERY—Virginia:—At a Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery, held at the Capitol, in the City of Richmond, on Saturday, 2d day of June, 1832:

William D. Wren and Horatio Gates Winston, surviving executors of John F. Price, deceased, Pltffs.
against
James M. Morris, executor of Samuel Overton, deceased, Samuel Overton, Richard Overton, James Overton and Henry Pendleton and Mary his wife, Dfts.

This cause which abates as to the defendant Henry Pendleton by his death, and in which the plaintiffs appear to have proceeded against the defendants Richard Overton and James Overton, who are out of this country, in the mode prescribed by law against absent defendants, came on this day to be heard on the bill taken for confessed as to the defendant James M. Morris, executor of Samuel Overton, deceased, and answer of Samuel Overton, with general replication thereto and exhibits, and was argued by counsel. On consideration whereof, the Court doth adjudge, order and decree, that the defendant James M. Morris render an account of his transactions as executor of Samuel Overton, deceased, before one of the Commissioners of this Court, who is directed to examine, state and settle the same, and make report thereof to the Court, with any matters specially stated, deemed pertinent by himself, or which may be required by the parties to be so stated. A Copy—Teste,

J. ROBINSON, C. C.

*Commissioner's Office, Richmond, 14th June*, 1832.

The parties concerned will take notice, that I have appointed the 30th day of July next for their attendance before me, on the matters referred by the above order, at my office, at the Capitol, in the City of Richmond, at which time and place I shall proceed to execute the said order.

WM. G. PENDLETON, Commissioner.
June 22. 13—w4w*

IN CHANCERY—Virginia.—At rules holden in the Clerk's office of the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery for Henrico county, the 7th day of July, 1832:

Thomas Keeran, Plaintiff.
against
Thomas H. Mitchell and another, Defendants.

The defendant above named, not having entered his appearance and given security according to the act of Assembly and the rules of this Court, and it appearing by satisfactory evidence, that he is not an inhabitant of this country: *It is ordered*, That the said defendant do appear before the Judge of our said Court, at the Capitol, in the city of Richmond, on the first day of the next October term, to be holden for the trial of civil causes, and answer the bill of the plaintiff; and that a copy of this order be forthwith inserted in some newspaper published in the city of Richmond, for two months successively, and posted at the front door of the Capitol in the said city.

A Copy. Teste, WM. G. SANDS, D. C.
July 13. 19—w8w

IN CHANCERY—Virginia.—At Rules held in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery, for the County of King William, on Monday, the 4th of June, 1832:

Joseph Fox, and Elizabeth D. Fox his wife, Judith F. Fox, John N. Fox, Joseph H. Fox, Thomas P. Fox, Mary Fox, Richard Fox and Sarah Fox, the seven last named children of the said Joseph Fox and Elizabeth D. Fox, and infants under the age of twenty-one years, by the said Joseph Fox their next friend, Pltffs.
against
John Fox, George Fox, Alfred Fox, Albert Fox, Thomas H. Fox, Richard W. Fox, Charles J. Fox, and Sarah Fox, Thos. Leftwich, and Frances his wife, who was Frances Fox, Martin Drewry, and Mildred S. his wife, who was Mildred S. Fox, Wm. Hatchel, and Judith his wife, who was Judith Fox, and George Harriss, Defts.

The Defendants, John Fox, George Fox, Alfred Fox, Albert Fox, and Sarah Fox, not having entered their appearance, and given security according to the Act of Assembly and the rules of this Court, and it appearing by satisfactory evidence, that they are not inhabitants of this State: It is ordered, that the said defendants do appear here on the first Monday in August next, and answer the bill of the complainants; and that a copy of this order be forthwith inserted in some newspaper published in the City of Richmond, for two months successively, and posted at the front door of the Court-House of this county.

Copy. Teste, RO. B. POLLARD, D. C.
June 12. 10—w8w*

IN CHANCERY—Virginia.—In Goochland County Court 18th June, 1832.

Thomas Binford, Plaintiff,
against
Kenneth McRae, and William McRae, Defendants.

The Bill of the plaintiff being read and filed, and the defendant, William McRae, not having entered his appearance and given security according to the act of the General Assembly and the Rules of this Court—and it appearing to the Court by satisfactory evidence, that he is not an inhabitant of this Commonwealth—on the motion of the plaintiff, by Counsel, it is ordered, that the said defendant, William McRae do appear here at or before September Court next, and answer the plaintiff's bill—and that a copy of this order be forthwith inserted in some newspaper published in the city of Richmond, for two months successively, and also posted at the front door of the courthouse of this county.

A Copy. Teste, NAT. W. MILLER, D. C. G. C.
July 3. 16—w8w

IN CHANCERY—Virginia.—At rules held in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery of Caroline County, on the 4th day of June, 1832:

James Duval, Pltff.
against
Younger E. Gayle and Thomas R. Burruss, Dfts.

The defendant Gayle, not having entered his appearance and given security according to the act of Assembly and the rules of this Court, and it appearing by satisfactory evidence that he is not an inhabitant of this Commonwealth, it is ordered, that the said defendant do appear before the said Court, at the Court House, on the first day of the next term, and enter his appearance and give security for performing the decree of the said Court; and that a copy of this order be forthwith inserted in some newspaper published in the City of Richmond, for two months successively, and posted at the front door of the Court House of this county. A Copy—Teste,

ROBT. HUDGIN, C. C.
June 26. 14—w8w

IN CHANCERY—Virginia.—At Rules held in the Clerk's Office of Essex County Court, the 4th day of June, 1832:

James Dunn, Pltff.
against
Walter Jones, otherwise called Walter Jones, ex'or of Catharine F. McCall, dec'd., and Robert C. Blackley, Defts.

The defendant, Walter Jones, not having entered his appearance, and given security according to the Act of Assembly and the rules of this Court, and it appearing by satisfactory evidence that he is not an inhabitant of this State: It is ordered, that the said defendant do appear here on the