

REVISION OF THE TARIFF OF THE UNITED STATES.

Extract from the Speech of Mr. Hayne in the Senate, on the resolution offered by Mr. Clay, relative to a modification of the Tariff.

"The gentleman from Kentucky set out with the declaration, that he did not deem it necessary to offer any arguments in favour of the American system, that the protecting policy stands self-vindicated—that it has scattered its rich fruits over the whole land, and is sustained by the experience of all powerful and prosperous nations." Sir, we meet these positions at once by asserting, on our part, that the protecting system stands self-condemned; condemned in our own country, by the desolation which has followed in its train, and the discontents it has produced—condemned by the experience of all the world, and the almost unanimous opinion of enlightened men in modern times. And now having fairly joined issue with the gentleman, we might put ourselves upon the country, and submit the case, without argument, nor should I have any fears for the result, if the issue was to be tried and decided by an impartial tribunal; free from the disturbing influence of popular prejudice and delusion, and the strong bias of interests, personal, pecuniary, and political. But, situated as we are, I feel and acknowledge the necessity of making out our case to the conviction of the country. We are seeking relief from an abiding evil—redress from an existing wrong. We cannot stand where we are. We cannot, like the gentleman from Kentucky, rest on mere unsupported assertions. We must submit our proofs and maintain our position if we can. It is greatly to be regretted, however, that the gentleman has not seen fit to present some of the strongest arguments in favour of his policy, as such a course might have directed our inquiries to a few leading points, instead of making it necessary for us to wander at large through the wide field of argument presented by the protecting system. The gentleman, however, has so far favoured us to specify two of the advantages which he asserts have been derived from it in our day, and I am perfectly willing to try the merits of the system by these tests which he has himself proposed. They shall—if the gentleman pleases—constitute the standard by which its true character shall be determined. In the first place, then, the gentleman asserts, "that the much abused policy of 1824, (the protecting tariff of that year,) has filled our coffers and enabled us to pay off the public debt," a debt of \$100,000,000 of principal, and \$100,000,000 of interest. Now, sir, if any thing is capable of demonstration, it may be demonstrated, that the protecting system could not, by possibility, have contributed in the slightest degree to produce this result. One would suppose, indeed, that the very last merit which would be ascribed to this system, was its tendency to fill the "public coffers." It is unquestionably a tariff, arranged and adjusted with a single eye to revenue, that we are to look for such a result. The object of a protecting tariff as such, certainly is to diminish or to exclude importations, and of course to lessen the amount of the revenue derived from duties.

The next test by which the gentleman proposes to try this system, is "the rich fruits which it has scattered over the country." Sir, where are they to be found? Is it in the West? I appeal to the gentleman from that quarter. We have heard a great deal of the flourishing condition of the manufacturing establishment elsewhere, but where are the manufacturing villages, the joint stock companies, the splendid dividends, and other evidences of prosperity to be found in the west? I submit it to the candour of the gentleman, whether the benefit of the protecting system, so far as the west is concerned, do not still rest in hope—whether the system would be sustained a day, if it were not for its supposed connection with internal improvements—whether it is not indebted for its popularity, in that quarter, to the unhappy, the fatal marriage between the tariff and internal improvements—a Union which I yet hope to see dissolved. It was a left-handed—an unlawful marriage, and surely those whom God hath not joined man may put asunder. Sir, there are doubtless some flourishing manufacturing scattered here and there throughout the western country—chiefly confined however, to situations beyond the reach of foreign competition, and owing nothing to the protecting system. But the west has not been rendered prosperous by these establishments. I appeal confidently to their actual condition at this time. With regard to the gentleman's own State, I will apply a test which cannot deceive us. When the policy of twenty-four was before Congress, the Senator from Kentucky stood forth as its champion, and it was my lot to attempt to answer his arguments. It was true, sir, that his speech was made in the other House, and mine on this floor; but his arguments has been set forth as the manifesto of the party—it was printed in pamphlet and laid on the tables of the Senators, and, embodying the views of the party, it was impossible for me to pass it over. I well remember, therefore, that, on that occasion, the gentleman argued, that Kentucky was to participate in the protecting system by raising large quantities of hemp, and supplying the Southern States with cotton bagging,—and he strongly insisted that she was then only prevented from so doing, by the ruinous competition of the inconsiderable Scotch towns of Inverness and Dundee. And what is it, sir, that we hear now—after the lapse of eight years? The old story repeated. Ken-

tucky still deprived of the benefits of the protecting system by those formidable rivals, Inverness and Dundee. They still constitute "the lion in the path," and foreign manufactures ever will be "a lion in the path," to those whose prosperity depends on the protecting system. We know that the manufacture of cotton bagging is a simple process, requiring hardly any skill or capital, and yet, the great State of Kentucky cannot get along with it, in consequence of the formidable rivalry of two miserable Scotch towns, the inhabitants of which are said to be so poor and destitute, that they are obliged to import their fuel, and send to Dantzic, twelve hundred miles up the Baltic, for their hemp, paying a freight equal to the first cost. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that Kentucky has not realized the promised blessings of the protecting system; and, I am told that this is substantially true of the whole west. But, sir, if the west has gained nothing by this system, she has had her share of the taxes which it imposes—she has paid her proportion of duties to the government, and bounties to the manufacturers; and, in consequence of the dire calamities which the system has inflicted on the south—blasting our commerce and withering our prosperity—the west has very nearly been deprived of her best customer. When the policy of 24 went into operation, the south was supplied from the west through a single avenue, (the Saluda Mountain Gap,) with five and enlarged. And what was found to have been the result of four years experience at the South? Not a hope fulfilled, not one promise performed, and our condition infinitely worse than it had been four years before. Sir, the whole South rose up as one man, and protested against any further experiment with this fatal system. The whole of the representatives of seven states, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, (with, I believe, but three dissenting voices,) recorded their votes against that bill. Sir, do not gentlemen find in this fact, some evidence of the dangerous character of that legislation on which this system is based. Can it be wise—can it be just—can it be prudent—to adopt and enforce a policy so essentially sectional in its character? Can we hope for harmony, peace, and concord, while enforcing a system against which an entire section of your country so strongly revolts?

Now, sir, let us turn our attention to the North. And here I cannot speak from my own knowledge, but am free to confess, that if we are to credit the accounts we have heard, the rich fruits of the system have been scattered in this quarter with a profuse hand. We are told that manufacturing establishments have sprung up every where as if by enchantment. Thriving towns and beautiful villages cover the whole face of the land. Millions of capital have been withdrawn from other pursuits and invested in manufactures. Joint stock companies are receiving enormous dividends; and the people, (at least in the neighbourhood of the establishments built up and sustained by the system,) are rejoicing in a prosperity unexampled in the world. But, sir, in the midst of this universal joy, we hear occasionally the voice of lamentation and complaint. There are those, north of the Potomac, wise, and experienced and patriotic men, well acquainted too with the actual condition of things, who tell us that this apparent prosperity is in a great measure delusive; that the system has operated in building up a favoured class at the expense of the rest of the community. That it has, in fact, made the "rich richer, and the poor poorer." I have before me several statements, all going to prove these assertions, as to several of the most flourishing established manufactories of the north.

Surveying with the feelings of an American the actual condition of things, I should certainly be disposed to exchange all the blessings which the protecting system has produced, even in New England, for those which it has destroyed. In the place of splendid villages, flourishing manufactories, joint stock companies, and lordly proprietors, clothed in fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day, as a patriot I should be disposed to say, give me back the ships which have been destroyed, the merchants which have been reduced to bankruptcy, the sailors that have been forced into foreign service, the "plundered ploughman and beggared yeomanry" who have been driven from the pursuits of their choice into the gloomy walls of a manufactory; give me back these, and above all, give me back content—restore the peace and harmony which this system has destroyed, and I will consent that every manufacturing establishment shall be razed to its foundation, which has been built up, and can only be sustained, by this accursed system. Sir, if wealth were the highest good of a nation, and pecuniary profit the only standard by which a wise policy could be measured, it would even then be more than questionable, how far this system could be justified. But there are higher and more sacred principles involved in this question, which cannot be safely disregarded; there are considerations of justice, and of political equality, which rise far above all calculations of mere profit and loss. Sir, what will it profit you, if you gain the whole world, and lose the hearts of your people? This is a confederated government, founded on a spirit of mutual concession, concession and compromise: it is neither just, prudent, nor right of exercise of the high trust with which you are invested for the common good, to resort to a system of legislation by which benefits and burthens are unequally distributed. Sir, can any gentleman look this subject fairly in the face, and not perceive that such a government as ours, (instituted for a few definite

purposes, in which every portion of the Union must, from the very nature of things have common interest,) cannot turn aside from their high duties, and undertake to control the domestic industry of individuals, without undermining the very foundations of our republican system. It is contrary to the whole genius and character of our institutions, the very form and structure of our government, that it should undertake to regulate the whole labor and capital of this extensive country.

Do you pray in secret?—Attention to secret prayer is one of the strongest evidences of spiritual life. Other duties may be performed to be seen of men, but closest devotion can be induced by no such motive. It is a private transaction between God and the soul, to which the church and the world are strangers. It cannot be neglected without incurring censure from any being but one, and probably is neglected by all who are more anxious to maintain a standing before man than to maintain a standing before God. Do you join in social prayer, and yet habitually neglect your closet? Is not this hypocrisy with a witness? What would you think of a neighbour who would converse with you in a most familiar manner in public, but would never speak to you in private? What does God—what do angels—think of your pretended friendship displayed in the congregation, when you are for weeks and months without praying in secret?

If you would measure with a high standard of personal piety, pray in secret. Without frequent meditation and self-examination, your imperfections will remain unperceived. This cannot be done in a promiscuous crowd. It requires retirement from the world. While connected with the multitude, you may suppose yourself to be in possession of excellencies which you only feel by sympathy. By retiring and exposing your naked breast before God, and entering into the secret recesses of your heart, you may find your self entirely destitute of them. Only by such private reckonings with the heart can its errors be detected.

Without secret prayer we have but little hope that you will derive benefit from public ordinances. Your closet is the place for meditation, without which, hearing of the word will be vain; it will neither affect the heart nor amend the life. This requires the truth to be pondered and brought home. Effects of a momentary character may be produced in the congregation, but unless you retreat from the world, and record on your mind what you hear by serious meditation, the impression will pass away like the early dew. If you would "grow in grace," attend to secret prayer. Backsliding often commences at the closet door. First, secret prayer is performed in a careless manner, then attended to irregularly, then perhaps neglected altogether.

[From the Juvenile Souvenir.]
SPUNK AND PERIL.—There is a story, and which I believe is fact, of two boys going to a jackdaw's nest from a hole under the belfry window in the tower of All Saints' Church Derby. As it was impossible to reach it standing, and equally impossible to reach that from without, they resolved to put a plank through the window; and while the heavier boy secured its balance by sitting on the end within, the lighter boy was to fix himself on the opposite end, and from that perilous situation to reach the object of their desire. So far the scheme answered. The little fellow took the plank, and finding it in five flogged young birds, announced the news to his companion. "Five are there?" replied he; "then I'll have three." "Nay," exclaimed the other indignantly, "I run all the danger, and I'll have three." "You shall not," still maintained the boy in the inside; "you shall not." "Promise me three, or I'll drop you." "Drop me, if you please," replied the little hero; "but I'll promise you no more than two;" upon which his companion slipped off the plank. Up tilted the end, and down went the boy, upwards of a hundred feet to the ground. The little fellow, at the moment of his fall, was holding his prize by their legs, three in one hand and two in the other; and they finding themselves descending fluttered out their pinions instinctively. The boy, too, had on a currier's frock, secured round the neck which, filling with air from beneath, buoyed him up like a balloon, and he descended smoothly to the ground; when looking up he exclaimed to his companion, "Now you shall have none, and run away, sound in every limb, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, who with inconceivable horror, had witnessed his descent."

Jew Outwitted.—A Jew had ordered a French merchant in Morocco to furnish him with considerable quantity of black hats, green shawls, and red silk stockings. When the articles were ready for delivery the Jew refused to receive them. Being brought before the Emperor, who administered justice himself, he denied having given him the order, and maintained that he did not even know the French Merchant. "Have you any witnesses?" said the emperor to the Frenchman. "No." "So much the worse for you; you should have had witnesses; you may retire." The poor merchant, completely ruined, returned home in despair. He was however soon alarmed by noise in the street; he ran to see what it was. A numerous multitude were following one of the emperor's officers, who was making the following proclamation at the cross roads: "Every Jew, who within four and twenty hours after this proclamation, shall be found in the streets without a black beaver on his head, a green shawl round his neck, and red silk stockings on his legs, shall be immediately seized, and conveyed

to the first court, or palace, to be there flogged to death." The children of Israel all thronged to the French merchant, and before evening the articles were purchased at any price he chose to demand for them.

Doct. Bushby, whose figure is beneath the common size, was one day accosted in a public coffee room, by an Irish Baronet of colossal stature, with "may I pass to my seat, O giant?" When the Doctor politely made way, and replied, "Pass, O Pigmy." "Oh, sir," said the Baronet, "my expression alluded to the size of your intellect." "And my expression," replied the Doctor, "to the size of yours."

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LETTERS

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Wm. Compton, Wm. Creary, John Carter, Wm. Cassidy, David Cuny, Edward Clark, Joseph Clark, John Conry, Thomas Conry, William Corry, Abigail Corry, Henry Cronkite, Arthur Cochrane, William Coates, Jane Clintaig, Elizabeth Cogswell, Thomas Caigan, F. C. Cecil.

John Dow, John Deever, John Dougherty, John Duman, Robert Duncan, Thomas Doherty, James Darcus, William Davis.

Joseph Edgar, John Evans.

Nathaniel Fletcher, Rebecca Fletcher, William Fletcher, William Faulkner, John Fraser, Thomas Flinn, P. S. Flinn, James Forman, James Farrell, Patrick Flanagan, Moses Faler.

John Green, Benjamin S Gordon, William Gardiner, Felix Germon.

Matthew Hutchins, S. William Hammond, William Hennessy, Edward Hughes, Mary E. Hamilton, N. M. Hazen, S. P. Hunter, John Hands, Lewis Heustis, James Hooli, Daniel Higgins, Elenor Huris.

Charles Ingram.

Robert Johnston, James Johnston, Rachel Johnston, Thomas Jones.

John Kenedy, Paul Kingston, Rosey Kelly, William Kitchen, John Keene, Charles Ke-roach.

Robert Long, Abraham Long, David Lewis, John Love, Andrew Love, William Leonard, Mr. Ladds, Henry Loder, Hippocrite Liscaoules.

James Muldoon, Daniel Mosier, Jeremiah Moore, Robert Martin, Robert Mitchell, Alexander Mitchell, John M'Laughlin, Saml. M'Knight, Saml. M'Intire, George M'Intire, Hugh S. Miller, Matilda Morry, Charles Moore, Daniel Moore, Isaac Morris, George Muller, James Mulhern, Hugh M'Gloskey, Archibald M'Kiozie, Patrick M'Gruder, Patrick M'Guite, Francis M'Ewen, Benjamin M'Keel, Catharine M'Caiffery, Owen M'Carthy, Wm. M'Adam, Duncan M'Leod, Luke M'Nomo, Elizabeth M'Naught.

David Nevers, George Nevers, Benjamin Norrie.

John O'Reilly, John O'Brien.

John Priest, Thomas Peppers, James Pelling, J. P. A. Phillips, Mrs. Poor.

John Reynolds, Daniel M. Ross, John Red-don, Mary Riely, John H. Ryan.

Jos. Smith, Saml. Sharp, Thomas Smith, Mahetabol Smith, Andrew L. Smith, Thomas Shey, Daniel Savage, William S. Smith, William Segee, Mary Ann Sproule, Charles Sullivan, Thomas Sheals, Sarah Symes, Ann Stafford, Jeremiah Shipper.

Thomas Tairney, William Torey, William Thompson, William B. Turner, William Turner, Regis Terran.

Mrs. Margaret Vance.

R. Williams, Jos. Washburn, A. K. S. Wellmore, Thomas White, John Woods, George Woods, Richard Williams, Thomas Wilson, James Wallace.

NOTICE.

PERSONS indebted to the Subscriber, are most respectfully requested to favour him with the balances of their accounts.

Fredericton, 23d February, 1832.

THE ROYAL GAZETTE.

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Advertisements not exceeding Twelve Lines will be inserted for Four Shillings and Sixpence the first, and one Shilling and Sixpence for each succeeding insertion. Advertisements must be accompanied with Cash, and the insertions will be regulated according to the amount received. Blanks, Handbills, &c. &c. can be struck off at the shortest notice.

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