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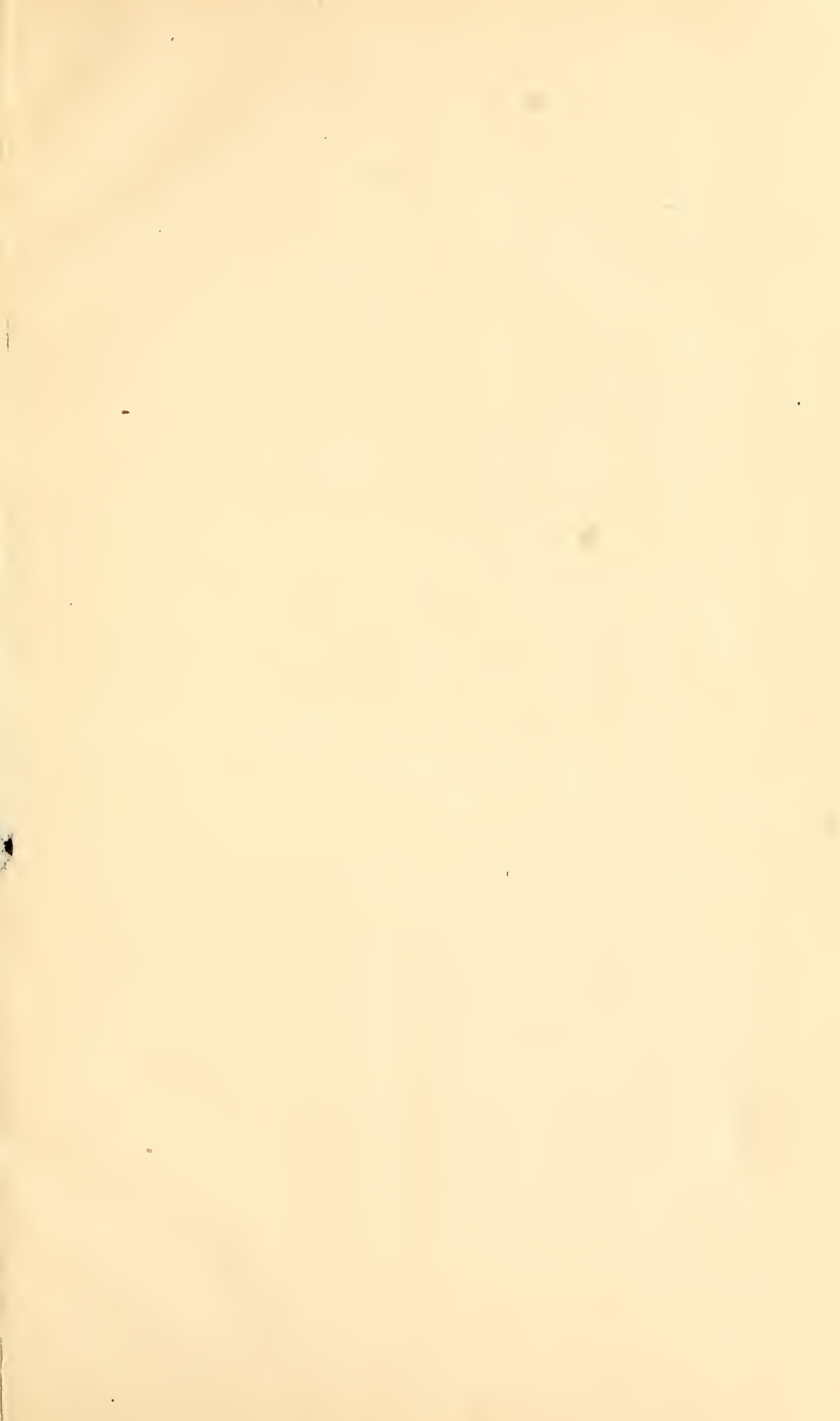
Class E 384

Book 3

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THE CRISIS.

AN APPEAL

TO THE

GOOD SENSE OF THE NATION,

AGAINST THE

SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE

AND

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

Mathew Carey

“AMBITIOUS MEN OF INFERIOR TALENTS, FINDING THEY HAVE NO HOPE TO BE DISTINGUISHED IN THE COUNCILS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, NATURALLY WISH TO INCREASE THE POWER AND CONSEQUENCE OF THE STATE GOVERNMENTS, THE THEATRES IN WHICH THEY EXPECT TO ACQUIRE DISTINCTION. *It is not, therefore, a regard for the rights of the people, and a real apprehension that those rights are in danger, that have caused so much to be said on the subject of prostrate state sovereignties and consolidated empire. It is the ambition of that class of politicians, who expect to figure only in the state councils, and of those states who are too proud to acknowledge any superior.*”—The Hon. George M'Duffie, member of Congress from South Carolina.

“HE MUST HAVE READ THE LESSONS OF HISTORY TO LITTLE PURPOSE, WHO DOES NOT PERCEIVE THAT THE PEOPLE OF PARTICULAR STATES ARE LIABLE TO FALL, OCCASIONALLY, INTO A DANGEROUS AND MORBID EXCITEMENT UPON PARTICULAR SUBJECTS; AND THAT UNDER THIS EXCITEMENT, THEY WILL IMPEL THEIR RULERS INTO THE ADOPTION OF MEASURES IN THEIR TENDENCY DESTRUCTIVE TO THE UNION.”—Idem.

“*If, after the National Judiciary have solemnly affirmed the constitutionality of a law, it is still to be resisted by the state rulers, the constitution is literally at an end; a revolution of the government is already accomplished; and anarchy waves his horrid sceptre over the broken altars of this happy Union!*”—Idem.

“We prize the federal government as our bond of union; as that which constitutes us one people; as preserving the different states from mutual jealousies and wars, and from separate alliances with foreign nations; as mitigating party spirit; in one word, as perpetuating our peace. So great, so inestimable is this good, that all other benefits and influences of the federal government seem to us as nothing.”—Christian Examiner, Vol. VI. p. 153.

“*It preserves us from warring and destroying one another. It preserves relations of peace among communities, which, if broken into separate nations, would be arrayed against one another in PERPETUAL, MERCILESS, AND RUINOUS WAR. It indeed contributes to our defence against foreign states; but still more, IT DEFENDS US FROM ONE ANOTHER.*” * * * “*For ourselves we fear, that BLOODY AND MOURNFUL AS HUMAN HISTORY IS, A SADDER PAGE THAN HAS YET BEEN WRITTEN MIGHT RECORD THE SUFFERINGS OF THIS COUNTRY, SHOULD WE DIVIDE OURSELVES INTO SEPARATE COMMUNITIES. We fear that our country, in case of disunion, would be broken into communities, which would cherish towards one another singularly fierce and implacable enmities.*”—Idem, p. 148.

“Once divided, *we should form stronger bonds of union with foreign nations than with one another. Europe would avail itself of our broken condition, to establish an influence among us; belligerents would try to enlist us in their quarrels; our eagerness for commercial favours and monopolies would lay us open to their intrigues; we should be willing to receive aid from abroad; and distant nations would labour to increase our dependence upon themselves by inflaming and dividing us against each other:* these are considerations too obvious to need exposition, and as solemn and monitory as they are clear. From disunion **WE SHOULD REAP, IN PLENTIFUL HARVESTS, DESTRUCTIVE ENMITIES AT HOME, AND DEGRADING SUBSERVIENCY TO THE POWERS OF EUROPE.**”—Idem, p. 150.

“Our neighbour's good would become to us a curse. Among such communities, *there could be no love, and would be no real peace. To obstruct one another's growth would be deemed the perfection of policy. Slight collisions of interest, which must perpetually recur, would be exaggerated by jealousy and hatred into unpardonable wrongs; and UNPRINCIPLED STATESMEN WOULD FIND LITTLE DIFFICULTY IN SWELLING IMAGINARY GRIEVANCES INTO CAUSES OF WAR.*”—Idem, p. 149.

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July 11, 1832.

GRATUITOUS.



Mathe w Carey

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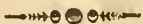
SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE

AND

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

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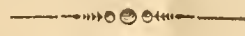
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SECOND EDITION.



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July 26, 1832.

GRATUITOUS.



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PREFACE.

1. Recent advices, so late as the 26th ult. state distinctly the determination of the "State rights' and free trade party" to nullify the tariff, as "*the only hope of throwing off their burdens WITHOUT ENDANGERING THE UNION!!*" *Risum teneatis, amici?*

2. At a large and respectable meeting, held in Charleston, "estimated," according to the Mercury, "to consist of 1500 persons," Mr. Adams's bill, and that of the secretary of the treasury, were both repudiated;

"Because they retain the principle of imposing taxes for the purpose of protection, which is *a power not granted by the constitution, and, whilst it is maintained, will continue to endanger our rights.*

"Because they propose to establish a permanent system of taxation, which is *unauthorised by principle or precedent* [unauthorised by *precedent!!!!*] which is not required for the support of the government, and would trammel, by usurped control, the privileges of posterity!"

The following are the reasons assigned in favour of nullification, and against the project of a convention of the southern states.

"A Convention, assembled under the sovereign authority of the several Southern States, would be a *violation of the Constitution, and would probably terminate in a dissolution of the confederacy!* South Carolina is not yet prepared for this violent mode of action. It would, at this time, before resorting to another remedy of a peaceful and constitutional character, place her in the wrong. With right on her side, she will be right in her course, and, on her cause, hope for the favour of Heaven. *Nullification is the rightful remedy; and when South Carolina nullifies, the States, who, like her, are suffering under an oppressive and unjust system of taxation, cannot be so blind to their interests as to refrain from defending the common cause; and although they will act separately, in effect a simultaneous action will afford all the advantages of combination, without the odium which must attend a confederacy subversive of the Union. Relying, therefore, on our first, and, we solemnly believe, true position, we do maintain and declare, that Nullification is the remedy which avoids the extremes of passiveness or over action, and affords the only hope off throwing off our burdens without endangering the Union.*"*

3. Thus, nothing short of an absolute abandonment of the protecting system will satisfy them—although they can scarcely be ignorant, that this abandonment would produce more distress, and ruin, and bankruptcy, in the middle and eastern states, than a five years' war.

4. That they are perfectly serious, and will make the attempt, there cannot be a doubt.

5. If they do, the government will either look on passively, or attempt to enforce the law in the terms of the constitution.

6. In the former case, the union is *ipso facto* virtually dissolved—in the latter, a civil war takes place. What a hideous prospect!

7. At this serious crisis, the apathy and indifference that prevail, are matters of inexpressible astonishment. Infinitely more interest was felt of

* It is difficult to conceive it possible that such men as Gov. Hamilton, Mr. Calhoun, and the other leaders of this party, can for a moment believe that what they call "*the rightful remedy,*" the "nullification" by a single state, of that law of the United States which provides the revenue for the exigencies of the government, can take place without "*a violation of the Constitution,*" and "*without endangering the Union!*" The force of credulity could go no farther.

late in the Parisian revolution of three days—and in the fate of the British reform bill, than many of our citizens take in the existing state of affairs in our own country.

8. Perhaps I overrate the danger. Perhaps I am acting the part of Terence's Self-tormentor. Would to heaven it were so! But unfortunately there is not the least hope of it. I have repeatedly pondered on the subject for hours, and the conclusion has irresistibly forced itself on me, that we are on the eve of an explosion, which may level with the dust the magnificent fabric of our government, the pride, and boast, and hope of the friends of mankind, and the dread, and scorn, and horror, and execration of despots and friends of despotism throughout the globe. What a glorious achievement for the Hamiltons, the Haynes, the Turnbolls, and the other leaders of the party!

9. Even if I am in error as to the ultimate result, the prevailing torpor is utterly indefensible. No pains nor expense should be spared to tranquilize the public mind to the south, and to restore harmony between the component parts of the empire.

10. The white population of South Carolina, at the last census, was 257,878, of whom nearly one half, however they might reprobate the tariff, were ardently attached to the union, and decidedly opposed to nullification. I will suppose that the nullifying party may be 135,000—the others 122,000. The number of slaves was 315,665, being nearly twenty-five per cent. more than the whites.

11. Hence it appears that a less number of inhabitants than the citizens of Philadelphia, are determined to raise the standard of rebellion; for “disguise it as they may,” nullification is synonymous with rebellion.

12. Thus, in a fatal hour of darkness and delusion, of dire infatuation, those citizens are prepared to arm father against son—son against father—and brother against brother; and for what? On the construction of a clause in the constitution, on which some of the best men the world ever produced have been decidedly against them—the Washingtons, the Madisons, the Lowdenses, the Amesese, with a host of other worthies of the highest reputation—and on which some of their present leaders were formerly as decidedly opposed to them—as for instance, the Calhouns, and the Coopers, erst while among the most eloquent of the advocates of a system, which, by a strange perversity, and a most extraordinary inconsistency, they now denounce as unconstitutional, and against which they adopt measures that can scarcely fail to lead to civil war!

13. Among the extraordinary features of the times, one is, that none of the mighty men that abound in our country, who can vie for persuasive powers with the Juniuses, the Burkes, the Cannings, the Mackintoshes of Great Britain, have undertaken the defence of the protecting policy, systematically, as regards southern prejudices.

14. I have urged some gentlemen of this description, to take up their pens, and offered them my large body of materials to aid them; but in vain.

15. Had any of them taken up the gauntlet thrown by the nullifiers, I should have withdrawn from the arena, as I have been so long and so often before the public on this subject, that they must be weary of me. It is not in human nature to be otherwise. And really, I am at least as weary of the subject as they can be of my discussing it. But as no other person appears to defend the holy cause of union systematically, and with a view to show how utterly groundless are the complaints of the nullifiers, I am irresistibly impelled to obtrude myself once more on the public attention.

Philadelphia, July 11, 1832.

M. CAREY.

“If Rome must fall, I am innocent of the ruin.”

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THE CRISIS.---No. I.

The complaints of South Carolina embrace four objects: the distress said to be consequent on the protective system; the unconstitutionality of that system; internal improvement; and the colonization society. I shall confine myself to the two first.

1. The disaffection and disposition to secede from the union, which prevail in South Carolina, were originally grounded on intense distress said to exist in that state, and which was alleged to result from the protecting system, a system declared to be not only highly oppressive, but unconstitutional.

2. If this distress did really exist, and arose from the operation of the Tariffs, and if no redress could be had, it might be right and proper, "*to calculate the value of the union*" to the southern states.

3. But if the distress can be proved to be exaggerated, or if, admitting it to be real, it can be fairly traced to other sources, it follows that the disaffection and insurrectionary spirit, to which I have referred, indicate one of those extraordinary delusions to which all nations are occasionally more or less subject, and which often lead astray, as all history proves, men of the strongest minds, and sometimes produce consequences of which the operation is felt for centuries.

4. That the distress is exaggerated, is fairly inferable from the fact that Gov. Hamilton, in a late message to the legislature, 1831, drew a flattering picture of the situation of the state.

5. "*We have,*" he says, "*every just cause, during the interval, which has elapsed since your adjournment, to be filled with the most fervent emotions of gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of human events, for his various and signal blessings.*"

6. He then dilates on the flourishing situation of the treasury—the great profits of the state bank—and the improvement of the roads.

7. These great features of prosperity completely put down those lugubrious statements of distress with which the welkin has rung for some time past. They are utterly incompatible with such distress.

8. It is true the governor closes his address with an account of the emigration of some of "*the best citizens*" who, "*distressed and poor, are turning their eyes to the immense valley of the west, to find in the prolific fertility with which God has blessed that region, some compensation for the exactions of an unkind and unjust government.*" Can they by emigration escape those "*exactions*?"

9. It requires an extraordinary degree of hallucination to ascribe to any sinister influence of the government the migrations of "*citizens,*" whether "*best*" or worst, from a worn-out soil, "*to a region which God hath blessed*" with a most extraordinary "*prolific fertility,*"—to states where lands can be purchased at a dollar and a quarter per acre, and which produce with little labour 40, 50, 60, or 100 per cent. more than the ungrateful soil they have left.* Perhaps a more perfect *non sequitur* was never advanced by any en-

* See this subject copiously and conclusively discussed in Mr. Bullard's Speech in the appendix A, page 11.

lightened individual, as a ground for any measure of such vital importance, as unfurling the banner of resistance to government, and the adoption of measures which must lead to a dissolution of the union, and ultimately to civil war.

10. Were emigration any proof of "the exactions of an unkind and unjust government," then every state in the union would be equal sufferers—for emigration constantly takes place from all the states, without exception, to "*the immense valley of the west*"—and from none more than from New England, which at present enjoys as high a degree of prosperity as any country was ever blessed with.

11. But admitting the distress to be as intense as it has been stated by Mr. Hayne, how can it be proved to arise from the tariffs? So far as it really exists, it may be distinctly traced chiefly to the depreciation of the price of the great staple of the state—which has no more connexion with the tariffs, than with the corn-laws of Great Britain. If it arose from the tariffs, it would necessarily affect the other cotton-growing states—whereas Georgia, and Alabama, and Tennessee are in an enviable situation. It has arisen from a worn-out soil, and glutted markets, the latter an obvious consequence of production outrunning consumption.

12. The first great reduction of price in Liverpool, that grand market which regulates all other markets for this article, took place in 1819. At the close of the year 1818, cotton was 17 to 20 pence sterling per lb. At the close of 1819, it was $12\frac{3}{4}$ to 14 pence—and at the close of 1820, only $8\frac{1}{4}$ to $10\frac{3}{4}$ —a reduction of more than 47 per cent.

13. Here was no tariff to operate this ruinous reduction, which produced the most afflicting scenes of distress and bankruptcy throughout this country and Great Britain. The import into Great Britain, which in 1816, was only 370,000 bales, rose in 1818 to 678,031; an increase of above eighty per cent. This fully accounts for the reduction at that period.

14. An overwhelming proof that the distress is greatly exaggerated, may be drawn from the fact that the average of the exports of South Carolina is greater at present than before the tariff of 1824.

Exports of 1823		\$6,898, 814
1829	\$8,175,586	
1830	7,627,631	
1831	6,543,454	
	<hr/>	
	22,346,671	Average, 7,448,890

The export of cotton from South Carolina in		
1823 amounted to	- -	3,169,494 dollars.
1831 " "	- -	5,220,194

15. Thus the situation of the planters must be more favourable than it was in 1823—as their grand staple produces larger returns—and every article they purchase is from 15 to 40 per cent lower than in the former year. Cotton bagging, for instance, was 36 cents per yard; whereas it is now only 18 to 20. Cotton goods generally have undergone a similar reduction; to these may be added negro clothing, and all manufactures of iron, &c.

16. Production in this country has increased so fast as to glut the markets of the world. Our exports of uplands in 1819 were 80,508,270 lbs.—in 1823 they rose to 161,586,582, and in 1827 to 279,169,317 lbs.

17. Is it, then, wonderful, that prices have fallen? Is it not more wonderful that the reduction has not been greater? Would not an equal increase of pearls, or diamonds, or gold or silver, produce a very great reduction in their value? But what, after all, has been the reduction?

18. At the close of the year 1822, the price of uplands in Liverpool was $6\frac{1}{2}$

to $8\frac{1}{2}$ pence per lb., or an average of $7\frac{1}{2}$ pence. At the close of 1830, $5\frac{7}{8}$ and $7\frac{1}{8}$, average $6\frac{1}{2}$.

19. Thus the reduction, in eight years, notwithstanding the extravagant increase of production, and the clamor against the tariffs, has been but a penny a pound!

20. The southern distress was greater by far before the enactment of the tariff of 1824, than at present; and it is therefore to the last degree disingenuous, and calculated to mislead egregiously the public, to charge whatever distress exists at present to the tariff.

21. For on the 5th of April, 1824, before the first of the obnoxious tariffs went into operation, Mr. Carter, a South Carolina member of Congress, traced the heart rending distress that then existed, to the true cause, "the prostration of the foreign markets."

22. "The prostration of their foreign markets," observes this gentleman, "has spread over the face of the South a general pervading gloom. In all the region which stretches from the shores of the Potomac to the gulf of Mexico, where all the arts of civilized life once triumphed, the arm of industry is now paralyzed. Large and ample estates, once the seats of opulence, which supported their proprietors in affluence, are now thrown out to waste and decay."

23. In corroboration of the statement of Mr. Carter, the following is submitted.

Extract from a Memorial of the citizens of Charleston, read in Congress, Feb. 9, 1824.

"The cultivation of cotton, encouraged by the very prosperity which has just been noticed, HAS BEEN SO PRODIGIOUSLY EXTENDED in this and other states, as well as in foreign countries, that notwithstanding the unprecedented increase of the trade with England, every market in Europe is already glutted with it; and as the evil is every day growing with the growth of the new countries, into which enterprise is pushing its adventures, there can be no doubt but that in the course of a very few years, this commodity will, like all others, where there is a free competition in trade, be reduced TO THE LOWEST POSSIBLE PRICE. In the meantime, the effects that have already been produced here by this mighty revolution, are deplorable in the extreme. Property of all kinds is depreciated beyond example. A feeling of gloomy despondence is beginning to prevail every where in the lower country. ESTATES ARE SACRIFICED TO PAY THE LAST INSTALMENTS ON THE BONDS GIVEN FOR THE PURCHASE MONEY. Nobody seems disposed to buy, what every body is anxious to sell at any price. In short it is manifest, that the extraordinary prosperity which South Carolina, in common with the other southern states, enjoyed some years ago, is gone forever; and it will require all the skill and industry of our agriculturists, in future, to maintain their place in the market, even at the most reduced prices of produce.

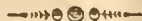
WILLIAM DRAYTON,
HUGH S. LEGARE,
SAMUEL PRIOLEAU,
WM. SEABROOK, } Committee."

24. In the face of these conclusive facts, Mr. M'Duffie charges the decline of the price of cotton to the operation of the tariffs subsequently enacted!!!

"The decline in the price of cotton, has kept uniform pace with the progress of the prohibitory system, clearly indicating the relation of cause and effect. Previous to the tariff of 1824, the price of uplands never remained below 15 cents a pound for any length of time! but very generally continued above that point, SOMETIMES RISING EVEN TO THIRTY CENTS AND UPWARDS! Subsequent to that period, and previous to the passage of the tariff of 1828, the price of uplands was more generally above than below $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, so that this may be safely assumed as the average price during that period. Since 1828, the decline has been steady and continued, until it has fallen below 10 cents, and it must still continue to fall, until our fields become desolate, and our planters are compelled to abandon the homes of our ancestors, and fly to some distant land, with the hope of restoring their ruined fortunes. In this state of things, a very grave and awful re-

sponsibility devolves upon the sovereignty of South Carolina:—that of *interposing its sacred shield to protect our citizens from PLUNDER AND OPPRESSION, and ultimate ruin!*”

25. Trusting that the allegation against the protecting system of having produced distress is fully disproved by the preceding facts, I now proceed to consider the objections to the constitutionality of the system.



The constitutionality of the protecting system rests on the following facts: and is unanswerably supported by the distinct and unequivocal admission of the Free Trade Convention.

1. The power to regulate commerce with foreign nations distinctly implied, at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the power to prohibit, or impose prohibitory duties on, foreign articles. And in fairness of construction the words must be taken in the sense they bore at the period when they were used.

2. The first Congress of the United States, embracing some of the leading members of the Federal Convention, who must be allowed to have understood the nature of their own instrument, regulated the tariff of 1789 with a clear and distinct view to the protecting system.

3. Their second act stated in its caption, “whereas it is necessary for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROTECTION OF MANUFACTURES, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandize imported.”

4. Gen. Washington, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Monroe, explicitly recommended the protection of manufactures to Congress.

5. Mr. Lowndes, one of the most enlightened of the southern members of Congress, advocated in 1816 the minimum duty on cottons, the highest duty ever imposed at that time.

6. In the same Congress, Mr. Calhoun explicitly advocated the protection of manufactures.

7. Can it be admitted for a moment, that members of the Convention which framed the Constitution, and those other illustrious citizens above named, (particularly Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Lowndes,) had not the sagacity to discover any unconstitutionality in the protecting system, and that the revelation was reserved for Mr. Ritchie or Col. Hayne, to one or other of whom the discovery is discribed? The supposition is a solemn mockery of reason and common sense. And yet on this untenable ground, the standard of rebellion is about to be unfurled. Surely, never in an enlightened age, or by enlightened citizens, was the peace of a nation disturbed on such a frivolous plea.

8. The high duty on cotton of three cents per lb. was imposed by that Congress to encourage the culture of the article.

9. Enormous extra duties were imposed on teas imported in foreign vessels, equal to 125 per cent. more than were imposed on those imported in American vessels. The tonnage duties on foreign vessels engaged in the coasting trade, were, in the case of ten entries in a year, 8000 per cent. more than on American vessels. The duties imposed by the same Congress on snuff and manufactured tobacco were from 50 to 75 per cent.

10. The unconstitutionality of the system was never suggested for thirty years.

11. The ground on which the unconstitutionality is attempted to be sup-

ported, is a mere quibble--such a quibble as, in a case before a court of justice, no lawyer of character would dare to advance.*

11. All these reasons, conclusive as they are, might be passed over, and the question fairly rested on the luminous view taken of the subject, by President Jackson.

“The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several states. *The right to adjust these duties, with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, is so completely incidental to that power, that it is difficult to suppose the existence of one without the other.* The states have delegated their whole authority over imports to the general government without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the states, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection, does not exist in them, and consequently, *if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct.* OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM WOULD THUS PRESENT THE ANOMALY OF A PEOPLE STRIPPED OF THE RIGHT TO FOSTER THEIR OWN INDUSTRY; AND TO COUNTERACT THE MOST SELFISH AND DESTRUCTIVE POLICY WHICH MIGHT BE ADOPTED BY FOREIGN NATIONS. This surely cannot be the case: this indispensable power, thus surrendered by the states, must be within the scope of the authority on this subject, expressly delegated to Congress.”—*President Jackson's Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1830.*

12. When the present effervescence has subsided, and the subject comes to be considered calmly, it will be a matter of astonishment that these plain, irrefutable reasons should have ever been overlooked--or, when once promulgated from high authority, that they did not put down the flimsy argument on which the charge of unconstitutionality rests.

13. I now proceed to consider the admission of the Free Trade Convention, an authority from which Governor Hamilton cannot appeal.

14. Their address states, “that they admit that *Congress may countervail the regulations of a foreign power which may be hostile to our commerce: but they deny their authority permanently to PROHIBIT ALL IMPORTATION for the purpose of securing the home market to the domestic manufacturer.*” The second branch of the sentence is entire surplusage, as no prohibition was ever attempted or contemplated--and more especially, as of the three articles most highly dutied, viz. cottons, woollens, and iron, enormous importations take place. Passing this branch, therefore, let us consider the first.

15. I will assume, 1. That the prohibition or the imposition of enormous duties on our staples, is a “*regulation hostile to our commerce.*”

16. And 2. That the only mode in which we can “*countervail such hostile regulations*” is by reciprocating prohibition or heavy duties.

17. I hope it will be unhesitatingly admitted that if such hostile regulations of foreign powers exist, reciprocation on the part of Congress, according to the doctrine of the Free Trade Convention, is not only justifiable but an incumbent duty. Of course, nothing remains but to establish the existence of such hostile regulations, to justify our protecting system.

18. How stands the case? Nearly all the powers of Europe prohibit, or impose duties absolutely prohibitory on, our bread stuffs, the dependence of from four to five millions of our citizens. Great Britain imposes a duty of 100 per cent. on our rice, 1500 per cent. on our leaf tobacco, 2000 per cent. on our manufactured tobacco. To pass over various other items, lumber and

* Never was the harmony of a nation destroyed or its peace endangered, by a more illogical quibble than this objection is grounded on. A motion was made in the federal convention and rejected, to empower congress to give bounties for the encouragement of manufactures. And as bounties and protecting duties produce the same effect, they are pretended to be the same, and the rejection of the one to involve the rejection of the other. According to this reasoning, all things that produce the same effect, are the same--and as rye, wheat, barley, and maize are converted into bread, and employed for the sustenance of man, they are all the same substance!

several other articles, are subject to duties from 300 to 5000 per cent. more than those imported from British colonies, so that if we procured them gratuitously, they could not stand the competition with the latter.*

19. Now, I invoke Gov. Hamilton, Mr. Calhoun, Judge Cooper, Mr. Turnbull, and Mr. M'Duffie, in the name of the Living God, (the magnitude of the subject, will, I hope, excuse the solemnity of the adjuration) to declare whether, under these circumstances of our foreign commerce, they can, on the plea of our high duties, justify the appeal to arms, and "letting slip the dogs of war," the goal their present course tends to—and whether, according to the doctrine of the Free Trade Convention, and according to the principles of eternal justice and of duty to ourselves, we are not, not only warranted in the imposition of our highest duties by the above "*regulations hostile to our commerce*," but whether we would not be justified in a positive prohibition of some of the leading articles of all the powers of Europe whose codes embrace those "*hostile regulations*?"

20. It is true, that Mr. M'Duffie and the Free Trade Convention, deny the propriety of reciprocating restriction by restriction; that is to say, they hold that nations should pursue the Scripture rule, and when "smitten on the right cheek, turn the other also." To put down this extraordinary and self-immolating position for ever, it is only necessary to ask this gentleman and Mr. Berrien, the reputed author of the address of the Free Trade Convention, how they or their friends, the nullifiers generally, would relish this doctrine, if the powers of Europe were to be enabled to supply themselves with cotton and tobacco, and prohibited those articles from the United States? Would they not change their note, and call loudly for retaliation of a measure which would reduce them to the utmost wretchedness? and if retaliation were refused, would they not then have good cause to "*calculate the value of the Union*?" So much easier is it to be wise, and patient, and forbearing for other people than in our own case.

21. So completely is the commerce of this country curtailed and restricted by the "*hostile regulations of foreign powers*," that the whole amount of our exports to Europe, in the year 1830, of lumber, oils, fish, lead, naval stores, ashes, beef, pork, Indian corn and meal, manufactured tobacco, and flaxseed, was only \$2,148,482. These articles are the chief productions of at least 6,000,000 of our people, who, but for "*the hostile regulations*" they encounter in that quarter of the globe, could furnish far more than the whole amount in some of the single articles, among the rest, lumber.

22. The amount of flour exported to Europe in that year, was \$2,065,728, of which no small portion was held in bond for months.

23. To show the unreasonableness of the clamour of South Carolina, let us for a moment compare her situation with that of Pennsylvania. The grand staple of the former is cotton, for which all the markets of the world are open without any restriction. It commands a ready sale, a fair price, and cash every where. The grand staples of the state of Pennsylvania are bread stuffs, which, ever since 1817, have been virtually prohibited in every part of Europe, except in danger of famine. To this enormous grievance, which, according to an official document, published by our legislature in 1820, reduced the value of real estate in this commonwealth in three years from 1817 to 1820, \$100,000,000, Pennsylvania has quietly submitted. Whereas South Carolina is ready to rebel, not because her staples are prohibited, but because Pennsylvania and other states similarly circumstanced, have, to provide a market at home for their bread stuffs, and other articles prohibited abroad, carried, in Congress, protecting duties on the manufactures of

* *Spermacei oil imported from the U. States pays 26l. 10s. sterling per tun, and only 1s. when imported from British colonies!!!! So much for Free Trade and Sailors' Rights!*

those nations which will not allow us the poor privilege of supplying their manufacturers with a portion of their food.

24. I appeal to the candour of Governor Hamilton whether a greater contrast can well be exhibited; and whether in this point of view the conduct of the nullifiers will admit of justification or palliation?

25. The effervescence that exists in South Carolina cannot create much wonder, when we consider the extraordinary and unfounded statements on the subject of the tariff, promulgated with the utmost confidence by high authority,—an authority calculated to gain implicit confidence from the mass of the community.

26. This assertion is not lightly hazarded. Mr M'Duffie asserts in the most unqualified manner:

a "That the American planter *pays a duty of forty per cent. on the export of his cotton; or, which is the same thing, upon what he obtains for it!*

b That "the people of a portion of the union, *are subject to a more oppressive burthen than the most heavily taxed people upon the face of the earth!*"

c That "those states engaged in the culture of cotton, tobacco, and rice, *pay very nearly two-thirds of the whole amount of the public revenue!*

d That "but for the duties imposed on manufactures, we should now have a demand in Europe for *four hundred thousand bales of cotton beyond the existing demand!*

e That "the majority [in Congress] declares it to be for its interest, and avows it to be its object, to pursue this system of prohibitory duties, until the whole of that commerce, which gives value to the agricultural productions of the southern states, and without which [their] fields would be left desolate, shall be utterly and absolutely abolished!

f That when the southern states find, that "the majority, confiding in the strength of numbers, *are openly and boldly avowing the unjust, and, [he] had almost said, nefarious and piratical purpose, of sweeping from the very face of the ocean a lawful branch of trade, which almost exclusively belongs to the people of those states, it is time for them to RISE UP IN THE MAJESTY OF THEIR STRENGTH, and demand in the name of the principles of eternal justice and of constitutional liberty, by what authority you commit this monstrous outrage?*

g That "the tendency and object of this system is to confiscate the commerce of the south, under the false and delusive pretence of regulating it, and to appropriate the proceeds of the property thus confiscated by the high admiralty of this system of plunder, to the separate and exclusive uses of the northern capitalists!"

27. On these dogmata I offer no comment. They carry their own comment and condemnation with them. That they should have emanated from a gentleman of the towering mind of Mr. M'Duffie, is a matter of great astonishment; but the regret is far greater than the astonishment; for it cannot be doubted, that they, and dogmata like them, have been the means of exciting almost to madness the angry passions of the people of South Carolina, and preparing them for a separation from the Union, and a consequent dissolution—one of the greatest curses that Heaven in its wrath could inflict on the United States.

28. To rival foreign nations the dissolution of our Union would be worth millions, as it would relieve them from the apprehensions they justly entertain of our growing greatness.

29. Shall we wantonly, and "without money and without price," for their incalculable profit and our irreparable injury, do for them, without our disastrous co-operation, they would never accomplish themselves!

APPENDIX.

Extract of a speech of the Hon. Mr. Bullard, Member of Congress from Louisiana, on the Tariff, June 15, 1832.

“In the section of country where I reside, and in some places in the vicinity, particularly on the alluvial soils of the Mississippi, the cotton planter makes, on an average, from five to six bales, of four hundred pounds, to the hand—planters will understand what I mean by hand—not every negro on the estate, but able-bodied slaves. *I put it down at an average of 2000 lbs. of clean cotton to the hand*, besides the corn which is raised and consumed on the estate. In some parts of the district it may be less, and in some parts certainly a great deal more. I have often known as many as *ten bales to the hand raised on many plantations in my district*; and the amount I have stated above is certainly rather below than above the truth. I am assured by gentlemen from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, that *their average crop does not exceed three bales to the hand, of 300 lbs. making 900 lbs.* Of that I know nothing, and if I err in this statement, I beg gentlemen to set me right. I desire to assure gentlemen that I do not make these comparisons in an invidious spirit; but merely to exhibit the difference of production in the two sections of country. The latitude is nearly the same: our expenses the same: we depend upon a common market, and live under the same system of laws; and yet how different the rewards of industry! *It is notorious that we are prosperous—growing rich.* The planters are every year adding to their stock of slaves, extending their plantations by opening or clearing land, or by purchases. The price of land is rising rapidly in that cotton district. I ask gentlemen to account for this. Can it be that the same system of laws, under which we are so prosperous, is the sole cause of the depression of the same interest in other parts of our common country?

“If we are oppressed and ground down by taxation, we have the singular good fortune never to have discovered it—never to have felt it—and *people are very apt to feel what affects their pockets.* Sir, when philosophy tells you that the human body sustains constantly a weight of more than thirty thousand pounds from atmospheric pressure, the mind is at first startled at the proposition. But, by a simple and beautiful experiment, she demonstrates its truth. *I should be thankful to gentlemen for a similar demonstration when they assert, that the whole planting interest of the South is crushed under the intolerable burthens of taxation.* * * *

“With these facts before us, while it is shown that in certain portions of the southwest at least, we make so much more to the hand than they do in South Carolina and Georgia, *permit me to ask whether the difference of soil and cultivation ought not to come in for a share of the blame of the depressed condition of the agriculture of those states? Whether it is attributable altogether to the protective system?* The production, it would seem, is in the proportion of 2000 to 900. *Without looking beyond this single fact, is it extraordinary that, while we are prosperous, the business there should be hardly worth pursuing?* Not only is that interest in a flourishing condition in our country; but *the cotton planters are in a more prosperous condition—less embarrassed—than the sugar planters.*”

Extract from an Address of the Hon. J. S. Johnson, M. S. U. States, from Louisiana, to his Constituents.

“There is at this time an uncommon degree of prosperity in our country. Wherever I have been throughout the northern, middle and western states, labour, capital and skill are now employed with the greatest activity

and enterprise in all the channels of industry. Every where we meet the external and visible signs of the influence they diffuse. It affords me great pleasure to be able to congratulate you on the condition of our own state. I speak particularly now of the cotton region.

“We have suffered a great depression in the price of our staple; one of the most extraordinary revolutions of property, and one of the severest trials. Within a short period, cotton has fallen to *one-third* of its former price,—yet you have sustained the shock. There has been, in consequence of your foresight and prudence, no distress, or sacrifice; your fortunes have steadily advanced, capital is still productive, property in demand, money abundant, and credit and confidence unlimited.

“I am much surprised at this, *after having heard and read so much of the distress in the southern states. How is this, that two countries very similar, with like productions, with the same people, and living under the same laws, present such different results?* Have we a kinder soil, a more genial sun, greater enterprise, or more industry, or more economy? They have indeed some advantages,—they are nearer the markets; nearer the sources of supply; labour cheaper, and the price of the staple article higher by the difference of freight. How is it, *that they are sinking in utter and irretrievable ruin, while we are in a comparatively flourishing condition?*”

“The depression in the south has been ascribed to the operation of the tariff; but those laws act equally upon us; and we cannot comprehend how they exert the mysterious and extraordinary influence attributed to them. The decline in the price was for a time imputed to the tariff. It was supposed to be effected by some indirect means, beyond the reach of common observation. But this, I believe, is now abandoned. It is known that the price fell with the increasing production: *it was the excess of supply pressing on the demand for consumption; it was the natural effect of a redundant market.*”

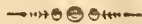
“But it has been said, the tariff is most unjust and oppressive, and is producing the most fatal effects upon the south. Let us see how this stands with us. The price of cotton has fallen, but so has every thing else, and from the same cause. The taxes are necessarily high, to defray the expenses of government, and discharge a heavy public debt; but then all contribute according to their means.

“In regard to ourselves, we know, that the whole expenses of our plantations do not exceed one-third of the value of the crop; that is, less than three cents a pound, and that the residue is profit upon the capital employed; that *half of this amount of expenses is for articles made in the United States, and not included in the tariff, and not in any way affected by it.* The other half is composed of articles that are embraced by it, and furnish a fair example of the general operations of those laws. The whole of them have fallen since the tariff of 1824 from 25 to 50 per cent. in value; some of them, especially cotton goods, are cheaper than in England, and fairly compete with them. Others, *such as cotton bagging, which constitutes a considerable item of expense, is now made in the western states, of a quality superior to the foreign, at sixteen cents, and to which it is reduced by our own competition.* This article, together with the cordage, is now so low that it fully reimburses the planter, by the weight, for all the cost. Upon the remainder of the articles we may perhaps pay 25 per cent.; but the prices are continually falling.”

THE CRISIS.—No. II.



Some parts of the following paper have been published already, and some twice, or oftener. For this repetition, no apology is thought necessary. The subject is too deeply interesting, not merely to this country, but to the civilized world at large, to require to stand upon ceremony.



1. The facts in favour of the protecting system are so cogent, and the arguments so clear and unanswerable, that wherever they have been disseminated, they have made converts, unless when personal interest blinded the parties to the force of truth.*

**Extract of a letter, from Jonas B. Brown, Esq. an eminent woollen manufacturer, dated Boston, September 27, 1827.*

“A little more than a year ago, I gave a number of your pamphlets to an intelligent gentleman at Belfast, in the state of Maine. He is a valuable officer, a lieutenant in the United States’ Navy, living on shore, I suppose on half pay. Two weeks since, this gentleman told me that *these pamphlets had convinced him of the correctness of the doctrine, and ABOUT THREE HUNDRED OTHER INDIVIDUALS IN HIS NEIGHBOURHOOD.*”

It is fair to assume that had those pamphlets which converted three hundred in one neighbourhood been adequately circulated to the south, they would have produced the same effect, and prevented that irritation and excitement which have endangered the Union, and produced the necessity of making concessions to Southern passions certain to injure important portions of the national industry.

Extract of a letter from William Naylor, Esq. of Romney, Virginia, Feb. 3, 1824.

“I have been long thoroughly convinced of the truth of all your positions in political economy, and from the bottom of my heart have wished, and do wish you success in your great and patriotic undertaking. * * * I verily believe I should have attempted something myself; but finding that you were doing all that man could do, and certainly much more than I could, I was disposed to think that if your efforts did not succeed, I might as well sit down in despair. You may rely on it, that it is no flattery on my part, when I say that I admire the talents and skill which you have exercised on this subject, and the depth of research which has opened to you such ample and appropriate sources of information, of which you knew so well how to profit.”

Extract of letter from C. Birnie, Esq. of Taney-town, Maryland.

“Your Agricultural Address I have lent to some of the most intelligent of my neighbours, *who were hostile to the augmentation of import duties. They are completely convinced, and acknowledge that your positions are incontrovertible.* I wish it could be more generally disseminated—as they say it was from ignorance they held their former opinions.”

Extract of a letter from Henry Lee, Esq. dated Westmoreland C. H. Va., Feb. 12, 1827.

“I have read your essays, as well as the report of Hamilton, which you were so good as to give me—and I must confess that *I see no possibility of resisting the facts, principles, and arguments they contain. What adds to their weight too, with me, is, that, as you remark, we cannot be worsted by the experiment, as far as economical expediency goes.*

“You are aware, no doubt, that we southern people have some constitutional scruples which we cherish, * * * and that consequently, when we *admit the economical accuracy of your views, we are far from consenting to their adoption.* I am very free to confess, however, that *the study of your essays leaves us little other ground to stand on, than this of constitutionality.*”

2. The effervescence to the south has arisen entirely from misrepresentations on the part of the leaders,* and mistakes and misconceptions on the part of their followers.

3. The storm has been rising, and increasing in violence, from year to year, ever since 1824, and held out such clear warnings as to deprive those whose duty it was to make efforts to avert it, of all apology for their culpable neglect.

4. Even supposing there was no danger of convulsion, of which, however, there was every probability, it was highly desirable to prevent the growing alienation and hostility between the component parts of this rising empire.

5. The capital invested in raising sheep, and in the three great manufactures of iron, cotton, and wool, is probably \$300,000,000—but say only \$200,000,000.

6. In the event of a nullification of the tariff, or a separation of the States, this property will probably depreciate from 20 to 30 per cent. but say only 10—it will be a clear loss of \$20,000,000. The twentieth part of one per cent on this sum, employed in the dissemination of sound doctrines on the subject, from 1820 to the present time, would have prevented the alienation and effervescence that at present exist to the south.

7. The actual profits are probably from 10 to 12 per cent., but say only 7—it amounts to \$14,000,000 per annum.

8. In either case, there will be a great diminution of profits; in some instances a total annihilation of them—but say they are reduced to four per cent. instead of seven—it will be a loss per annum of \$6,000,000.

9. I will assume that the leading manufacturers in the different cities, say Mr. Abbot Lawrence, Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, Mr. J. B. Brown, and Mr. Appleton of Boston; Mr. Marshall, Messrs. Ayres & M'Farland, and Mr. Pearson, of New York; Mr. Borie, Mr. S. Richards, Mr. M. Richards, Mr. J. P. Wetherill, of Philadelphia; Mr. E. T. Ellicott, Mr. John McKim, Mr. Hugh W. Evans, of Baltimore; and Mr. Dupont, of Wilmington—may be regarded as the representatives of these great interests. Have these gentlemen, or their colleagues, lying under such heavy responsibility, incurred any expense to allay the dangerous effervescence to the South?† Have they ever made the slightest effort for that purpose? Have they not for seven years,‡ more particularly in, and since, 1828, been warned of the dangerous crisis that impended?§ Have they not treated all these warnings with contumelious neglect? Has there been a single dollar expended by all the manufacturers in the United States since the New York convention, with a view to dispel the southern delusion, except for a few articles that I have published, in numbers utterly inadequate to the emergency? Have they, since the year 1820, expended as much for this all-important purpose as the nullifiers expend in a few months to produce resistance to the government? Under these circumstances, can we wonder at the dangerous effervescence to the south, when on one side are displayed zeal, ardour, energy, and liberal expenditure of money—and on the other, till lately, for nearly twelve years, withering apathy, impolicy as regards personal interest, indifference to the public welfare, and unworthy parsimony?

* See page 10.

† In 1829, by great efforts, and after a struggle of about six weeks, \$500 were raised in Boston by a public spirited individual. To put down the American system, and render us dependent on foreign manufacturers, that amount might be raised, in any one of the four great cities, in three hours.

‡ See Appendix B.

§ Idem C.

10. The dangers that menaced the protecting system lay principally to the south. The efforts of the friends of the system ought therefore to have been principally directed to that quarter.

11. As the present crisis would have been prevented had those gentlemen performed their duty to themselves and the public, may they not be justly charged with all the consequences?

12. Some of the above gentlemen, and some leading members of Congress from Massachusetts, and other states, to whom I wrote about five months since on this mighty subject, urging them to form associations for the spread of suitable tracts, treated my letters with contempt, not having deigned to reply. Were I to publish the names of those gentlemen, as in common justice I ought to do, it would excite amazement, and shew a wonderful discrepancy between profession and practice.

13. The Central Committee has expended thousands of dollars in printing elaborate reports, of which, whatever be their merits, not one has a salutary tendency, so far as regards the south—but on the contrary, they are calculated to excite the jealousy of the southern people, who suppose the prosperity they exhibit, is produced at their expense.

14. The Committee refused to print, or pay for printing, Mr. M'Duffie's "One of the People," which overwhelmingly refutes the pernicious doctrines of nullification! Of this pamphlet 30,000 copies ought to have been printed.

15. It refused in like manner to print, or pay for printing, Judge Cooper's defence of the protecting system, and Mr. Calhoun's important speech on the same subject!

16. This Committee and the acting Committee of the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of manufactures and the useful arts, would not purchase, at the mere expense of paper and printing, a single copy of the Prospects on the Rubicon, a pamphlet which is universally acknowledged to have refuted all the southern objections against the tariff!*

17. The nullifiers print 10,000 pamphlets per month, at an expense probably of 3 to 400 dollars, to excite the passions of the citizens against "the oppressions of the Tariff," as they are styled, and to prepare them for resistance; in other words, for rebellion. They have agents to distribute these pamphlets universally throughout the southern States.†

18. These pamphlets are written with great ability, and are so plausible, although utterly fallacious, as to delude the mass of the readers, to whom the arguments appear irresistible.

* So highly was the first part of this Essay approved, that I have seen it in at least a dozen papers, published from Boston to Charleston, and from Philadelphia to Missouri. In how many more it was published I know not. Unfortunately it appeared but in one paper in South Carolina, where it was most imperiously required. If it merit the character given of it by good judges, it ought to have been generally circulated in that State.

† So great a contrast as exists between the free trade party and the manufacturers on the subject of expenditure, rarely occurs. Of the Boston Report, containing 196 pages, there were four editions printed: in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Two of them, to a certainty, and a third, I have reason to believe, were of 2000 copies each. The number of the fourth I know not. It was probably 1000. This would make 7000 on the whole, which must have cost from 1000 to 1200 dollars. Compare this with the miserable system pursued in this city, where men worth 200,000 dollars grudged five or ten dollars, and where many would not contribute a dollar, to defend a cause on which their fortunes depended! Of Mr. Cambreleng's fallacious report there were several thousands printed at a heavy expense. Again. Of Say's Political Economy, which preaches doctrines destructive to American industry, there have been four editions of about 4000 sold, and a fifth is just finished, of 1500 copies; whereas Mr. Raymond, who wrote one of the best works on the subject extant, and published two editions, one, as I am informed, of 500, the other of 750, had to sacrifice a considerable number by auction, and lost two or three hundred dollars by the speculation.

19. Not the least attempt has been or is made, to counteract this most pernicious system. A simple, efficacious, and unexpensive plan, which I urged on the Central Committee, and on the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the useful Arts, was unceremoniously rejected by both. This plan was, to imitate the nullifiers, and send a person to distribute Mr. M'Duffie's pamphlet, and others, of a similar tendency, to disabuse the public mind to the south. This plan, if acted upon with zeal, ardour, and liberality, might rescue the country from the dangers by which it is menaced. Had such "*a consummation devoutly to be wished*," cost a year's revenue of the United States, it would have been a cheap purchase. But the attempt would not have cost more than a few hundred dollars! These few hundred dollars could not be spared for the all-important purpose of averting the dissolution of the Union!!!!

20. The attention of the manufacturers was wholly directed to the proceedings in Congress, utterly regardless of the effervescence to the south, as if those proceedings were not materially affected by the southern excitement. Never was there a much greater error.*

21. Whatever paltry contributions towards printing have heretofore taken place, have been, except in a very few instances, extorted by importunity, and given with reluctance, and more with the appearance of alms to the writer, than as a sacrifice to promote the personal interest of the contributors. I cannot express the scorn and mortification I felt on those occasions. Nothing but the magnificence of the cause could have induced me to submit to be placed in this odious predicament.

22. As a plea to avoid contributing towards the expense of paper and printing, for years past, in defence of the protecting system, some very wealthy manufacturers have said, "*it was a national cause, and ought not to depend on the manufacturers;*"—others, that "*it was useless to print, because people would not read;*"—others again, that "*there was no possibility of converting or convincing the southern people;*"—and finally, others, that "*Mr. Carey would write, and print, and publish, whether they contributed or not, and, therefore, it was not worth while to throw away their money.*" This was probably the moving cause with hundreds.

23. Let it be observed in reply to the first objection, that admitting the question to be, as it really is, a national one, this fact, so far from exonerating the manufacturers from the duty of defending the system, doubled the claim on them; mediately, as citizens of the empire; and immediately, as deeply and vitally interested in the support of a system on which their fortunes and those of their children depended.

24. The second plea is equally hollow. If people will not read, why are hundreds and thousands of tracts and pamphlets published constantly by public bodies and by individuals, to influence the public mind?

25. On the third plea, it is sufficient to observe, that none but an idiot could calculate on the conversion of the leaders—but the great mass of their followers are well-meaning people, led astray by fallacies, who only required to have the truth pointed out to them, to induce them to support the Union, and frown down the insurrectionary spirit.

26. The fourth plea scorns comment. It is disgraceful.

27. I have been grossly censured for advising a compromise, and the most virulent censure has come from those whose sordid parsimony and withering apathy entailed on Congress the necessity of a compromise.

* Æsop has a very instructive and appropriate fable, applicable to this case. A stag, blind of one eye, was feeding near the sea shore. Turning his blind eye towards the water, he imagined himself perfectly secure, as he anticipated danger from the hunters alone. An arrow from on board a vessel convinced him of his error. The manufacturers have become blind towards the south, or shut the eye which ought to be directed to that quarter—and have kept the other wide open towards Washington.

28. I urged it from a clear, decided conviction, that we were reduced to the painful alternative of a compromise, or a dissolution of the Union.* That we shall escape that dreadful result, even by compromise, is far from certain.

29. The compromise that has taken place, is a severe disappointment to the ultra nullifiers. But for that circumstance, they would have the whole southern section of the Union with them in their insurrectionary movements.

30. There will be a desperate struggle at the ensuing election in South Carolina between the Union Party and the Nullifiers. From the very extraordinary exertions made by the latter, there is strong reason to fear they will gain the majority.

31. If so, they are resolved to pass an act to reduce the duties in the tariff, a draft of which is prepared and published in the Charleston Evening Post, of the 10th inst. as follows:

“Whereas, the freedom of the citizens of these States from all taxation beyond that required for the necessary wants of Government, is one of the most sacred amongst the rights and privileges guaranteed to them by the Federal Constitution, and the preservation whereof is essential to secure the liberty of the people, and to protect the Constitution from violation—And, whereas, it is well known, and undeniable, that a duty of 12 per cent. on our imports is sufficient for the wants of Government:

“*Be it enacted*, That if any person shall *collect or receive*, or be aiding or abetting in collecting or receiving any amount of duties on the imports made into this State beyond the said rate of 12 per cent. ad valorem, every such person so offending, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be apprehended, committed, and tried therefor, as in other cases of misdemeanors, before the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of this State; and being thereof convicted by the verdict of a Jury, shall be adjudged to suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, and shall pay a fine not exceeding Two Thousand Dollars; which imprisonment and fine shall be assessed by a Jury!

“And if any person shall be arrested or imprisoned, or his property or goods seized for, or on account of the non-payment of a higher rate of duties, such person may apply to the said Court, or any Judge thereof in vacation, for a writ of Habeas Corpus for the release of his person, or a Writ of Replevin for the release of his goods, which writs shall forthwith be granted him as of common right, upon proper affidavits of the facts alleged; and it shall be the duty of the said Court, or the said judge, on the return of the said writ, to liberate the said individual, or his said goods, on payment of the said 12 per cent.

“*And be it further enacted*, That all Bonds given for a higher rate of duties than the said 12 per cent. shall be, and are hereby declared to be, void in this State, so far as the condition of said Bonds shall exceed the said rate of 12 per cent—and all juries in this State are authorized and directed to find accordingly.”

32. Of what avail will the soundest tariff that the mind of man could form, be then? Distress will overspread the face of the land—and as I

* That this was the alternative is apparent from the whole tenor of the late debates on the tariff, of which the following is a fair specimen:

Extract from the speech of Mr. Speight, member of Congress for North Carolina, June 25, 1832.

“He really agreed with the gentleman from Tennessee, that they had staid too long in session for their own credit, without having done any thing on the subject. But he was willing to remain, if there was the remotest probability that an adjustment of this question, satisfactory to the south, could be had. But he had no such hopes: they were gone. There was nothing left, but to go home, and be prepared to meet the coming events. *Sooner or later, it was his deliberate conviction, the States should separate. They must part; and he was constrained to say, that, in all probability, this was the last Congress in which, if they parted without adjusting this question, they would meet in peace and harmony together.* He expressed this opinion deliberately and plainly, for it was his duty to warn them. There was a spirit in the south they would try in vain to put down. He would with these feelings vote against postponing the consideration of the question of adjournment, preferring rather to have a definite action on it.”

have predicted, times without number, those who would not sacrifice ten or twenty dollars to prevent this catastrophe, will lose hundreds—some of them thousands—and some be reduced to bankruptcy.

33. All this hideous state of things would have been prevented by an expenditure of four or 500 dollars a year for paper and printing since 1820, in addition to my heavy disbursements.

34. What deep remorse must those men feel, to whose apathy and parsimony this alarming state of things is owing! who have been instrumental in jeoparding the most noble fabric of government ever devised by man, and affording a proud triumph to the friends of despotism all over the world, and a source of poignant lamentation to the friends of liberty and mankind!

35. The following toasts, drunk at Columbia, on the 4th instant, show the state of the public mind in South Carolina.

“Nullification: *The rightful remedy, now or never.*”

“Lay on MacDuff,

“And d—d be he, who first cries, hold, enough.”

“Gov. Hamilton. *He has furnished us arms and equipments. When South Carolina needs our services, we are ready at his call.*”

“South Carolina. *She has said much, may she say less until she acts. May this be the last Fourth she may ever celebrate under the present oppression.*”

“The Constitution. *It must be raised from the dust—or South Carolina will become one stupendous slaughter ground.*”

—•••••—
Although I believe that nothing is likely to be done to avert the dreaded calamity—that it is at present almost too late to do any thing that can avert it—that the old course of parsimony and apathy will be pursued—still I believe the battle ought to be fought till the last hour.* A single pamphlet, by opening the eyes of an influential individual, might turn the scale in favour of peace and union, against disorganization and insurrection. The country has often been at a low ebb—and, contrary to all calculation, has escaped. The day before the battle of Trenton the fate of the United States appeared to be sealed almost beyond the power of escape. The defeat of 1500 men, and the capture of about 1000, turned the scale. Heaven might as miraculously rescue us from the dangers of the present crisis. During the last war, often when the political horizon was obscured by the most Cimmerian darkness, a bright ray of glorious sunshine suddenly broke out, and presented the most exhilarating prospects. At all events, we should not be wanting to ourselves, and never abandon the great and glorious cause till further efforts are wholly unavailing. We ought to put our shoulders to the wheel, and then “call on Hercules.”

—•••••—
I have laboured in this great cause for above thirteen years—expended above 4000 dollars on it, for paper, printing, journeys, books, postage, &c., although I never had any personal interest in it—neglected my business while I was in trade—lost some of my best friends and customers—gave up my enjoyments—excited deadly hostility—was sub-

* A few weeks since, I wrote to Mr. L. and Mr. B., rich Boston manufacturers, offering to write and publish again, in the faint hope of making some impression, provided they would raise money enough to pay for the paper and printing. The maximum amount was only equal to the Charleston expenditure for three months—the minimum little more than that of two. They both declined! Nevertheless I have since printed 1000 copies of Mr. M'Duffie's “One of the people,” at my own expense—one cent of the cost of which will, I presume, never be repaid by the parties concerned. That pamphlet and the present one *have cost me more than any manufacturer in the United States (except ten or a dozen) has expended in this cause, from July 1820 till Nov. 1831.* My bills for paper and printing on this subject during the present year alone, amount to \$295, of which I received \$135 for Prospects on the Rubicon, purchased by four individuals. The balance is my free will offering in seven months for the promotion of the national welfare.

ject to abuse in and out of Congress, and in newspapers,* pamphlets and stump speeches—and was burned in effigy in Columbia. So far, nevertheless, as regards the public interest, I do not regret those sacrifices; on the contrary, I glory in them. But as regards my personal feelings, I take heaven to witness, I have reason to curse the hour when I engaged in the cause. I have suffered more chagrin and mortification by the unworthy treatment I have experienced from its friends, particularly in this city, during the time I have been engaged in it, than from all the other untoward circumstances of my life, during that period: But in the gloom of “the prospect before us,” I have two sources of consolation, of which nothing can deprive me. One is, that the distress and suffering which impend over the country would have been prevented, had the course I pointed out been pursued; the other, that I did not allow myself to be driven from the glorious cause by the scorn and indignation I felt at the unworthy parsimony and withering apathy of the parties deeply interested. On this point, I pride myself more than on any other feature of my career through life. Most men, in similar circumstances, would have abandoned the cause, eight or ten years since. Had I done so, as in justice to myself I ought to have done, it would have saved me from a world of vexation, disgust, and cruelly lacerated feelings.



I have always regarded, and still regard it as disreputable in a high degree for such men as Mr. Borie, said to be worth \$250,000; Mr. S. Richards, probably at least as rich; Mr. B. Jones, and Mr. Leaming, of Philadelphia; Mr. Abbot Lawrence, Mr. P. T. Jackson, and Mr. Appleton, of Boston; Mr. M'Kim, Mr. Gray, and Mr. E. T. Ellicott, of Baltimore; Mr. Isaac Pearson, and Mr. Marshall, of New York; and men in similar circumstances, to allow their cause to be defended, so far as regards paper and printing, at the expense of a man, who, it can never be too often repeated, never had

* I have shown to Mr. A. M. Jones, to Mr. T. P. Hoopes, Mr. Chandler, and others, my name introduced fifteen times vituperatively in less than a column of a newspaper by Governor Giles.

† I have used a much milder term than the case would justify, and for the correctness of this idea, I have no hesitation to appeal to any candid, liberal manufacturer. I will suppose a case. A has a suit pending, on which his fortunes and those of his family depend. B, an attorney, who has no personal interest whatever in the suit, from motives of friendship, volunteers his legal services gratuitously; and A, not satisfied with this disinterested act, allows B for years to pay the costs of court, and all other attendant expenses; and not only so, but a small portion of those expenses which he has pledged himself to repay, he detains for nearly four years;‡ and moreover treats B cavalierly, not to say scurvily. Is not this something more than discreditable? Would not this be dishonourable in an individual? Can its perpetration by a body of men change its character? Is not this exactly a parallel case? Again: suppose a dozen men go to a hotel, eat, drink, and make merry. Suppose eleven of them leave the twelfth to pay the reckoning. Is not this also nearly a parallel case? with this difference, however, that the twelfth man had partaken of the sumptuous fare; whereas I have never participated in the gains of Mr. Borie, or Mr. Leaming, or Mr. Richards, or Mr. Lawrence, or any of those other citizens, whose cause I have been pleading, and who have allowed me for six (not consecutive) years, to pay for paper and printing, in their defence, without their contributing a dollar.

‡ It is scarcely credible, but nevertheless true, that money which I advanced in Nov. 1827, and which the committee pledged themselves to repay, was not paid until October or Nov. 1831!! and that the wages which I paid a person for distributing pamphlets admirably calculated to serve the cause, were not repaid until after five months chaffering and huckstering, on the miserable ground that I had not been authorised to incur the expense! This is a specimen of the treatment I have received, as a grateful and generous return for thirteen years' disinterested services and oppressive sacrifices!!!

in it the slightest personal interest.* My time, my talents, such as they are, and my labours, ought to have sufficed. I calculate my time, as I have paid for literary labour, to be worth \$1500 a year—but say only \$1000, the salary of a respectable clerk, (and I occasionally applied as many hours in a week to this cause, as bank clerks apply to business in two,) it is for thirteen years a sacrifice of \$13,000. I took, moreover, ten or a dozen journeys to promote the cause, some of them very expensive;† for some years, when I was deeply engaged in it, I paid from 30 to 50 dollars a year for postage connected with it. For all this I never claimed nor ever expected a cent of reimbursement. And surely a single spark of honour would have forbidden, that in addition thereto, I should furnish paper and printing, which for six years out of the thirteen was the case. If any further proof were wanting that “bodies of men have no souls,” this would be sufficient.

I shall, I well know, be censured for this exposé. I care not. I judged it proper that there should be a record of the causes which have led to the disastrous scenes before us—of the course I have steered—and of the miserable return I have met with.

Let me be pardoned for a moment indulging the garrulity of age, and displaying a little egotism. From the great quantity I write, it is supposed that I have a pleasure in writing. This is a great error. Writing is to me irksome, requiring an effort which is painful. Besides, as my writing depends almost altogether on facts, it demands elaborate research,‡ which is troublesome, and offers violence to my prevailing disposition for repose. My great enjoyments are reading and riding. For both I have a high relish, and they are unattended by any alloy. Why, then, it may be asked, do you write? I reply, merely to promote useful objects. Of my two greatest works, the *Olive Branch* and the *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, the former was written to allay the infuriate passions engendered by party and faction, which threatened the permanence of the union—the latter to vindicate my native country from some of the greatest calumnies under which any nation ever laboured. My minor writings have advocated various public objects, among which, the principal have been, *public education; infant schools;*

* Even had my whole fortune been invested in manufactures, and my temporal salvation depended on the protecting system, I ought not, in common justice, to be allowed to go to any expense in the cause, beyond the mere devotion of my time and talents to it—which were more than equivalent to all the contributions requisite from all the manufacturers in the United States; and *a fortiori*, when my business was abundantly protected by 15 per cent duty on books—imposed by the tariff of 1816. I never suffered, to my knowledge, one hundred dollars injury by importations; and had books alone been in question, I never would have written ten pages on the subject. This consideration should have entitled me to different treatment from what I experienced from the leading members of the acting committee of the Pennsylvania Society.

For one year, ending about the middle of 1820, the cause was defended in Philadelphia and New York on a liberal scale. From that period, I have had three choices: to abandon it altogether—to pay for paper and printing myself—or to plead with the manufacturers to pay for both in their own defence, almost *in forma pauperis!* The first I would not do, as the subject had wound itself so thoroughly round my heart that I could not give it up; the second I did for years; to the third I sometimes submitted rather than abandon a cause so vitally interesting to the nation.

† One of those journeys, to Washington, cost me \$150; one to Salem \$80; the others from \$25 to \$50.

‡ Some idea may be formed of the pains, and time, and patient labour, this kind of writing requires, from the following fact. Two or three years since, I met in Macpherson's History of Commerce the statement of a pipe factory in Belgium destroyed by the wily management of a rival establishment in Holland—but neglected to take a memorandum of the place in which it was to be found. Having, lately, occasion for the fact, I sought for it in two of the ponderous volumes of the work—but in vain. I employed my amanuensis to search for it. He spent two or three hours in the examination, and with as ill success. I once more undertook the task, and finally found it in a note at the bottom of a page. It makes but eight lines—and cost at least seven hours of weary research.

internal improvement; the support of national industry; the removal of that national stain, the oppression of females depending on their labour for support, by the inadequate remuneration of their industry; the colonization at Liberia; the melioration of the condition of the poor; improvements in the penitentiary system, &c.* I have written as much as would make from twenty to twenty five such octavo volumes, of 450 pages, as are printed in London, and three fourths of the whole have been written with those views. I have never written a line with a view to profit; never written a page that, at the hour of my death, I should wish expunged; and, except the two large works above mentioned, two thirds of all I have ever written have been distributed gratuitously at my expense. Of the first edition (750 copies) of the *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, I appropriated one third, 250, to public libraries gratuitously. My pen and my purse have rarely been withheld from any public object; perhaps I might truly add, that I have spent as much time, and, in proportion to my means, as much money, in the promotion of such objects as any man in this community, and, what must not be passed over, that I never had in any of them a personal interest.

These details will, by the censorious, most undoubtedly, be charged to the account of vanity. Be it so. We are all vain. If no person but those free from vanity, deal forth censure, surely, I shall go unscathed. "*He that is without*" vanity "*let him cast the first stone.*" At all events, I hope it will be regarded as a venial offence, for a man who has lived beyond the usual period of human existence, and who of course is on the verge of eternity, to tear a leaf from an autobiography, and submit it to a community in which he has lived for all but half a century; from whom he has little, he had almost said, nothing to hope or to fear; and before whom circumstances have forced him to appear oftener, than perhaps they thought right or proper, or than he himself would have desired.

VALEDICTORY.

I now withdraw from the arena of Political Economy, on which I have been so many years before the public. When in 1819 I commenced advocating the protection of manufactures by import duties, the idea was scouted by the great majority of our citizens in every part of the United States. In fact, in the Congress of 1815-16, the interests of manufactures appeared to be regarded as incompatible with those of agriculture and commerce. The manufacturers were denounced as monopolists and extortioners, by the Randolphs, the Wrights, &c. of that day. There were but few to advocate their cause in that Congress. The cause, however, has at length triumphed by its intrinsic goodness; and, had not the parties interested been so indefensibly and perniciously wanting to themselves and their country, the triumph would have been more complete. To have been instrumental in producing this result, affords me the highest possible gratification. That other causes have been advocated with far more talent, I freely confess—but I feel a conscious pride that no cause was ever advocated with more zeal, more ardour, more perseverance, more disinterestedness—and, probably, none with more discouragements on the part of the persons whose interests were advocated. I forgive—but can scarcely ever forget—the treatment I have received from Mr. B., Mr. R., Mr. L., Mr. M., &c. unfit for a hireling scribbler. To the apathy and parsimony of some of these, and of others who pursued the same course, the necessity of a compromise, and all the ultimate consequences of the effervescence to the south, are justly chargeable.

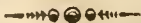
Philadelphia, July 20, 1832.

MATHEW CAREY.

* I have now in my possession, bound up, no less than fifty pamphlets on this subject, written during the last thirteen years, containing 2183 pages. Some others I have irretrievably lost. Probably there never was so great a number of publications issued by one man on any one subject.

APPENDIX B.

*Extracts from sundry circular letters sent by M. Carey to the leading Manufacturers of the principal cities of the United States.**



PHILADELPHIA, January 8, 1821.

“At the last session of the Congress of the United States a great cause was lost. The earnest solicitations of above 30,000 citizens, *whose industry is paralyzed—whose capitals are in a great measure unproductive—some of whom have been reduced to, and others threatened with, ruin*, were in vain presented to the Legislature of the United States. Not one of their grievances was redressed: and the nation has ever since suffered, and will, probably for years, suffer, under a policy, whose pernicious effects are every where visible.

* * * *

“It was necessary in order to dispel the dense cloud of prejudice, that existed on the subject, to circulate freely the writings that had appeared respecting it. Those whom it was most desirable to address and convince, were not likely to purchase. Of course, *gratuitous distribution was indispensable*, and took place to a great extent, and at a very considerable expense. And from the result of those exertions, it is fair to presume, that had they been general, they would have been completely successful.

“But unfortunately the mass of the manufacturers throughout the nation, looked on with cold, stoical, and withering indifference. The pecuniary sacrifices, necessary to give adequate circulation to the proper books and pamphlets, were almost wholly confined to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston—and, even in those cities, to a very small number of persons. There is reason to believe, that three fourths of all the contributions were made by less than twenty persons.

“It is incredible, but nevertheless sacredly true, that gentlemen who have 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, and 70,000 dollars invested in manufacturing establishments, which are wholly unproductive, and many of them losing concerns to their proprietors, have never lost one hour from business or pleasure—expended a dollar—or made a single effort to promote a cause, the success of which would insure them, six, eight, or ten per cent. on their capitals! And many of them have not even condescended to answer the letters written to excite them to exertion in their own defence. To this wonderful and unparalleled apathy, our failure is to be ascribed. *One half of one per cent. on the interest of the dormant capital, which would be called into activity by the success of the efforts in favour of manufactures*, would have given general circulation to the publications on the subject, and afforded every reasonable chance of a complete triumph.

“Another class of citizens deeply interested in the event, looked on with equal indifference and equal impolicy; that is to say, the owners of city property, whose income had undergone a most ruinous reduction. There

* The number of those private circulars that I issued is incredible. Even since the adjournment of the New-York Convention, the number has been nine.

are in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, about 50,000 houses, which, at the very low average rent of 300 dollars per annum, produced in 1815 and 1816, an income of 15,000,000 of dollars. *Rents have fallen on an average about forty-five per cent. but I will only assume thirty. This is a reduction of 4,500,000 dollars per annum on one class of citizens in the three cities*, owing, almost altogether, to the fallen state of the national manufactures. Yet it does not appear that any deep interest has been taken—any effort made—or any expense incurred by this class, in order to effect a revival of those manufactures on which their interest so materially depends.”

PHILADELPHIA, September 9, 1823.

“Some persuade themselves, that writing will not answer any valuable purpose! that if any exertions are made in favour of manufactures, they will excite a counter current! that the public are tired of the subject, and will not read! When I hear these opinions started, I can hardly persuade myself the parties are serious. Be that as it may, nothing can be much more erroneous. I have already stated the case of the slave trade, which alone is sufficient to prove how erroneous this idea is. The extraordinary progress of sound opinions respecting manufactures, since 1819, notwithstanding the culpable neglect of so large a portion of the parties interested, holds out every encouragement to perseverance. Mankind, in general, unless under some sinister bias, mean well, and only require to have the correct course pointed out; for through ignorance some of the most ruinous votes ever given, have been given as conscientiously as the wisest and most salutary. Every man of reflection can readily recollect the operation of reason on his own mind at various periods—how often he has been, by facts and fair arguments, forced to abandon opinions cherished from his infancy, and which grew with his growth.

“One consideration is decisive on this subject; proves the utter unsoundness of the opinions of those who are opposed to making any further exertions; and ought to excite to the exercise of the utmost energy. From the divided state of the public mind, it is clear, that whenever the question is decided in congress, it will be by a small majority. Some of the most important measures ever adopted in any country, have been carried by majorities of one, two, or three. And it is therefore not at all improbable, that a single copy of a pamphlet, by opening the eyes of some influential individual, might lead to a correct decision.”

PHILADELPHIA, August 20, 1824.

“It would betray an ignorance of human nature and history, to be surprised at an extensive preference of small private interests, to important public ones. This is unfortunately an every-day occurrence. But so complete a disregard of public and private interest combined together—so complete an instance of ‘sacrificing the sheep for the pen’orth of tar,’ rarely occurs. There are men in this country, who, on principles of rational calculation, would have been justified in the expenditure of \$500 or even \$1000 towards spreading the truth on this all-important topic, who have shrunk from the expenditure of five or ten dollars, as if it were draining their hearts’ blood. There are some now bankrupt—and others hanging on the verge of bankruptcy, who, by a judicious revision of the tariff, would have been placed in prosperous circumstances; but who never lost an hour or expended a dollar in this great cause.

“On a retrospection of the proceedings of the past years, since 1819, I feel a proud consolation, of which neither time nor circumstances can ever rob me, in having, under as many discouragements as ever were encountered

by any man engaged in the promotion of the public welfare, made very heavy sacrifices in as noble a cause as ever agitated this country, except, perhaps, the declaration of independence—the cause of 10,500,000 of people now in existence and their posterity—the cause of a great nation arrested in the career of prosperity by a mistaken policy—a policy discarded by all the wise and prosperous nations of Europe—a policy which has never failed to entail wretchedness wherever it was in operation. I have one other source of gratification; that I have descended in this cause to importunate solicitations, and submitted to undeserved slights, which no earthly consideration would have induced me to descend or submit to, under any other circumstances whatever, even if my family were actually in want of bread. And with this is connected in my mind an unalterable conviction, that nothing was wanting to insure complete success—to place the nation on the high ground to which its immense advantages entitle it to aspire, but a very moderate co-operation on the part of those interested.”

PHILADELPHIA, March 29, 1827.

“I have for eight years made repeated attempts to excite the manufacturers to form associations in different towns and cities, of 15, 20, 25, or 50 members, at three, four, or five dollars per annum, with a view to aid in the dissemination of sound doctrines on the subject of the protection of manufactures. To induce them to do this, I have descended to solicitations, to which I would have scorned to stoop, to advance my own personal interests. In Boston and Baltimore I have wholly failed. In New York, nothing has been done on the subject, since the middle of 1820. From the same period, the same result has taken place in Philadelphia, except twice, on a small scale, and for a short continuance. Men with from twenty to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, invested in manufactures, shrunk from the expenditure of four or five dollars a year, to promote their own interests and those of their families! Many of those, who displayed this miserable “penny wise—pound foolish” system, have been since engulfed in the vortex of bankruptcy, which, it must be confessed, such parsimony richly deserved.

“The object is a great, a glorious one, as regards individual and national happiness. It exceeds in importance any that has come before this nation since the declaration of independence, except the adoption of the federal constitution. Such a magnificent object demands commensurate exertions and sacrifices. *No reasonable expense ought to be spared. Sound doctrines ought to be widely disseminated. Societies for the purpose, on a liberal scale, ought to be formed.* If, wholly uninterested in the issue, and acting merely from an ardent zeal to promote the general welfare of a great and rising empire, I have expended from four to five hundred dollars a year in this cause, is it not as disgraceful as it is impolitic, for those whose fortunes are at stake, to hesitate about an expense of five or ten dollars a year, or fifty or a hundred, if it were necessary?

“A truth, which I have repeatedly in vain endeavoured to impress on the minds of the parties interested, is, that great questions, which agitate nations, are generally carried by small majorities; a single vote may decide whether a duty to be imposed shall operate as a protection to the American manufacturer, or merely produce revenue, and destroy his fortunes. This was strikingly exemplified in 1824, on the various items of the existing tariff—and lately in the Senate, on the woollens bill, which one or two more converts would have carried. A single essay might have made such converts, and secured the passage of that bill, whereby numbers, now in a state of suffering, would be in the way of receiving that reward for their exertions, to which honest industry has so fair a claim; how deplorable, then,

the infatuation of the woollen manufacturers in 1825, who could not be persuaded to expend five dollars a year for the illumination of the public mind! For small as was the sacrifice, imperative as was the duty, and glorious and important as was the object in view, it was, I repeat, impossible to excite them to make any effort at that period. Half the expenses incurred, and half the efforts made, during the last session, if incurred and made in 1825, would have sufficed to secure success."

PHILADELPHIA, June 14, 1827.

"The failure of complete success, arose unequivocally from the withering parsimony of manufacturers themselves, whom no consideration of the public welfare, no regard to the claims of their wives or children, could induce for years to make any effort or sacrifice in this great and glorious cause. The extent to which this impolicy was carried, is truly incredible. Numbers have been reduced to bankruptcy, and hundreds crippled in their circumstances, who penuriously shrunk from a contribution of two or three dollars a year, to aid in the circulation of writings in their defence. They have lived to lament their folly, and to acknowledge the justice of their punishment."

PHILADELPHIA, November 20, 1827.

"The proper system to have pursued was, to print whatever was necessary to illuminate the public mind, regardless of the expense, whatever it might be, and let that be provided for afterwards.

"There are individuals, who, on the mere ground of self interest, laying aside all regard to the public welfare, would be warranted in defraying the whole expense necessary for the purpose.

"It is stated that 50,000,000 dollars, invested in raising sheep and in the woollen manufacture, have depreciated 50 per cent. Very probably this is too high. But suppose only 40,000,000 dollars, and 40 per cent., it amounts to a dead loss, to individuals and the nation, of 16,000,000!

"Some of the persons on whom this loss has fallen, have, for years past, with the most mistaken policy, absolutely refused to make the smallest sacrifice to promote this great cause, and to avert this public and private calamity. An eighth of a quarter of one per cent. on the amount of the loss, if properly employed, would have so far enlightened the people of the southern states, as to secure success!

"Oh God! how lamentable that such a glorious cause, in which the prosperity of a great and rising empire is so deeply involved, should be risked, and probably shipwrecked, by the miserable saving of a few paltry dollars! and this on the part of men, many of them worth hundreds of thousands, and with fortunes at stake on the issue!"



I annex the peroration of an address I delivered at a public dinner, in Pittsburg, above four years since, which is a specimen of the unceasing admonitions I urged on the manufacturers during the progress of the warfare on the subject of the protecting system, and a proof of my anticipation at that period of the state of things at present.

PITTSBURG, July 4, 1828.

"It is deeply to be regretted, that while, during the whole of last year, the chief part of the most influential newspapers of the southern states, were almost constantly vituperating the protecting system—inflaming the public mind by disingenuous statements of its tendency, effects, and uncon-

stitutionality—and preparing the citizens for resistance; little was done, in other quarters of the Union, to counteract those dangerous operations. What was done was utterly incommensurate with the magnitude of the object—mostly ill-judged—and too late. *Those citizens vitally interested in the question, whom neither personal interest, nor regard for the public welfare, could stimulate to make ADEQUATE exertions to dispel the delusion, and tranquilize the public mind—and, A FORTIORI, those who have made none whatever, HAVE INCURRED A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY TO THEIR COUNTRY—TO REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT—AND TO MANKIND AT LARGE. WHATEVER CONSEQUENCES MAY RESULT FROM THE PRESENT STATE OF THINGS, THEY ARE IN A GREAT DEGREE ANSWERABLE FOR.*”

APPENDIX C.

In August in the year 1828, appearances became more and more alarming from day to day. We were threatened from Charleston, and Columbia, with “a renewal of the scenes of the Revolution”—with the state of “*South Carolina rising in the majesty of her strength,*” and placing herself “*in an attitude of resistance to the general government*”—and similar threats appeared from different quarters of the state. Strongly impressed with a sense of the danger, I prepared a plan of a constitution for a society of political economists, for the purpose of refuting the errors that caused this excitement, of which I annex the preamble. The contribution was to be 25 dollars for the first year, and three dollars annually afterwards; operations to commence as soon as twenty subscribers were procured. I sent a circular and the constitution to from 50 to 70 of the leading manufacturers in the different states, of whom not one answered.

The following is the preamble to the proposed constitution:

PHILADELPHIA, August 12, 1828.

“Whereas a spirit of disaffection towards the Union prevails in certain sections of the southern States, which influential citizens are endeavouring to extend and perpetuate, on the ground of the assumed unconstitutionality, and oppressive and partial operation of the recent Tariff, and of the protecting system generally—and whereas from smaller beginnings the most awful convulsions have taken place in various countries; as history proves that 1000 men are more efficient to overthrow a government than 5000 to support it; and whereas even if this state of things should fail to produce resistance to the government, it is calculated to extend and perpetuate, and has already excited, a spirit of jealousy of the manufacturers, and hostility towards the manufactures, of the middle and eastern states, and a determination to forbear the use of the latter—and also of the live stock and other staples of the western states—and whereas this spirit, if extended and continued, as, without some counteraction, it must be, cannot fail to be highly injurious to the manufacturers of those sections of the Union, thus placed under the ban by other sections, and moreover greatly impair the national prosperity.

“Therefore, resolved, that the subscribers associate themselves under the title of **THE SOCIETY OF POLITICAL ECONOMISTS**, of which the following is the Constitution:

“The object of the Society shall be to print and disseminate such pamphlets on the subject of political economy, as are calculated to prove the

soundness of what is styled the American system, and the fallacy of the theories of Adam Smith," &c. &c.

To enforce the necessity of the proposed measure, I accompanied the circular with a number of extracts, from Charleston papers, of the most seditious and treasonable character. But it was all in vain. Among the wealthy manufacturers of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, there could not be found twenty, ten, or even five, who would sacrifice twenty-five dollars to save the country from civil war! And yet these men, whose parsimony has been the means of fostering the insurrectionary spirit of South Carolina, affect astonishment at the present awful state of things!



Notwithstanding the scorn and indignation I felt at the contumelious neglect of this proposition, I renewed the application, in the following month, and subjoin a portion of the accompanying circular.

PHILADELPHIA, September 13, 1828.

"Although I have recently issued a long circular letter, respecting the extreme irritation of the public mind to the south, and the alarming appearances there, I am induced, from the daily extension of the spirit of disaffection, and from the serious consequences with which it is pregnant, to trespass on you once more, I hope for the last time. The angry feelings were at first confined to South Carolina. They have since pervaded Georgia—and are now spreading in Virginia, and will probably extend to North Carolina.

"Although it is by no means certain that the disaffection that prevails, will proceed to the extremity of actual resistance, or separation, yet it must be confessed that circumstances may arise, to produce that awful result. From the odious misrepresentations that have been made by the leaders, of facts of which they could not be ignorant, as well as from their violent inflammatory addresses, it is not very irrational or uncharitable to suppose that such an issue is within the contemplation of some of them. If so, it would not be very difficult to produce a collision between the general and state governments, in places like Colleton parish, Columbia and Milledgeville, where the citizens have been wrought up to a sort of political phrenzy: and should such an event take place, every hour would add to the exasperation, and in a short time it might be almost as difficult to restore harmony, as to unite without flaw the fragments of a broken China vase. History is replete with instances of most tremendous consequences arising from causes not more alarming. The slightest spark will kindle a conflagration when the materials are in a sufficiently inflammable state. The civil wars that desolated France for thirty years, under the dynasty of Valois, and which were with difficulty terminated by the valour and prudence of Henry IV. began in a riot created in a Hugonot church by the insolence of the servants of the duke of Guise. * * * * *

"Something ought to be done to arrest this evil in its destructive career. What can be done? Spread light, and dissipate the darkness and delusion from which this evil arises. This is the only remedy of which the malady is susceptible—but unfortunately, when a disorder has arisen to such a height, the cure is very tedious and difficult, and often impossible. It is well known that prevention is incomparably better than cure—and long before the present state of exasperation took place, I repeatedly urged, with all the zeal of which I am master, the adoption of this measure of spreading truth, in order to illuminate the public to the south. But for years, I might as well have attempted to raise the dead."

This letter experienced nearly the same fate as the former. Two gentlemen only replied in season. Some weeks afterwards two other gentlemen

offered to unite. But it was then too late—and at all events the number was insufficient. Of course the project proved an abortion.

I trust that a calm and unbiased reflection on the whole of the preceding facts, will result in a clear conviction that no great cause was ever so miserably managed; that the wealthy manufacturers displayed, for nearly twelve years, the most withering apathy, and the most pernicious parsimony—a want of sound policy as regarded their own interests—and a disregard of the public welfare; and that should the insurrectionary spirit that prevails in South Carolina eventuate, as it probably will, in a separation of the union, they are nearly as culpable by their neglect of duty, as those who fanned the flame of disaffection to maturity.

As a matter of curiosity, I may, probably, be excused for an enumeration of the pamphlets I have written on political economy, *as far as I have preserved them*. Some of them, to my regret, have been irretrievably lost.

		Pages			Pages
No.1.	Addresses of the Philadelphia Society, 1st series,* - - -	214	26.	Hamilton, 7th " 10 No's.	52
2.	Ditto, 2d series, - - -	52	27.	8th " 12 "	57
3.	Report made to Town Meeting,	8	28.	9th " 2 "	8
4.	View of Ruinous Consequences,	56	29.	10th " 3 "	12
5.	Letters to Garnet, - - -	114	30.	11th " 7 "	44
6.	Preface to Olive Branch, (suppressed,) - - -	14	31.	12th " 5 "	30
7.	New Olive Branch—1820, - - -	130	32.	Colbert, 1st " 7 "	24
8.	Memorial Philadelphia Society,	14	33.	2d " 4 "	16
9.	Do. Pennsylvania Soc. 1824,	24	34.	3d " 4 "	18
10.	History of Congress, - - -	58	35.	Address Pennsylvania Society,	12
11.	Strictures on Cambreling, - - -	40	36.	Examination Charleston Memorial, - - - - -	22
12.	Address to Farmers, - - -	84	37.	Memorial on Manufactures, - - -	12
13.	Facts and Observations, - - -	54	38.	Reply to Boston Report, - - -	20
14.	Appeal to Common Sense, - - -	112	39.	Matter of Fact vs. Huskisson,	12
15.	The Crisis, - - - - -	80	40.	Essays on Protecting System, 9 Numbers, - - - - -	28
16.	Twenty-one Rules, &c. - - -	56	41.	Common Sense Addresses, - - -	42
17.	Examination of Judge Cooper's Essay, - - - - -	44	42.	Olive Branch, Part I.—1830,	52
18.	Address to Cotton and Tobacco Planters, - - - - -	88	43.	Do. do. II.—1831,	68
19.	Agricultural Address,* - - -	80	44.	Do. do. III.—1832,	68
20.	Hamilton, 1st series, 5 No's.	20	45.	Do. do. IV.—1832,	4
21.	2d " 7 "	50	46.	Prospects on the Rubicon, No. I. 1830, - - - - -	8
22.	3d " 3 "	20	37.	Do. do. No. II.—1832,	50
23.	4th " 2 "	8	48.	Review of Free Trade Address,	24
24.	5th " 4 "	20	49.	Signs of the Times, - - -	16
25.	6th " 2 "	6	50.	The Crisis, - - - - -	28
Carried forward,		1446	Total,		2183

Besides these, I wrote a number of Essays in the papers—of Memorials and of Circular Letters—which, with the pamphlets lost, would probably amount to 300 pages more.

* These articles were subsequently published in smaller type, and considerably reduced in the number of pages.





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