

bility, result from the imposts of this Act, over and above the necessary and constitutional expenses of the country, to be distributed by a majority responsible to us, in corrupt, largesses or unconstitutional appropriations to those States which, without possessing an interest in the tariff, are made to feel that they have an interest in high taxation, when by an unjust provision of the Government they receive more than they are made to pay.

Repugnant as this Act thus is, to every principle of justice, we cannot indulge even the humiliating consolation, that designed as it was, in some respects, to subserve the periodical struggle for the executive power of the country, it will be temporary in its duration, and will at last yield to that returning sense of justice so long promised, and whose advent has been so long and so tardily postponed. No, we have the authentic and solemn declarations of both the great dominant parties in the union, who are now contending for its power, and who conjointly form an overwhelming majority, that the system is as fixed as fate, except in those particulars that are yet to be modified more beneficially for their interests, as cupidity may be instructed by experience. That the system, if we think proper to submit to its injustice, is the fixed and settled policy of the country, so far as the majority can will it to be such, we have much more solid reasons for believing, than even these declarations however authoritative. This belief is founded on the indisputable fact, that it is impossible for the wit or wisdom of man to have contrived a scheme for raising the revenue of the country in a mode more essentially and exclusively beneficial to their own interests; for it is a process by which taxation operates correlatively, as a bounty to their industry; and that whilst three-fourths of the public revenue is to be raised on articles in the production of which they enjoy a premium of more than fifty per cent.; all the articles necessary to perfection of their arts and manufactures, and many essential to the accommodations and luxuries of life, are comparatively untaxed. It is not a cold abstract sense of justice, or what are insultingly called the metaphysics of constitutional liberty, that will induce a people, rioting in such a high and palmy state of prosperity, to surrender these advantages, if they can find four millions of consumers, willing to submit to their exactions, who happen to be territorially separated from them, and who exercise a species of industry, in no degree competing with, but on the contrary subservient and tributary to their own. We shall, indeed, have read the history of the world to very little purpose, if we cherish so idle and senseless a conjecture. If the Southern States had been subjugated provinces; and after a war of exhausting desolation, had surrendered at discretion under the sword, I ask, what other bill "*for the re-*