Pennsylvania, in 1791, at a time when this soh embarressed from to supply the pressing government, Congress we excise on that delicious b the want of but to lay an excise on that delicious beve-age, whiskey it, was not murmured at by few individuals only, but the legislature of hat distinguished state opposed it in a se-emu legislative act i in which they complai-ed of the oppressive measure, and remon-ements in arous, and distinct terms, and in that dist ng and distinct terms, a strated in strong and distinct terms, and in-structed their senators in congress to oppose it, an it was subversive of the firage, liberty, and rights of her citizens. (b) The legisla-ture having implied their people with a spirit of opposition to the excise, as soon as the law went into operation, the people in the interior, in and about Pittsburgh, now the sent of manufactures, and from whence there Are perpetual applications for more protec-tion, from a full conviction that congress ought not to interfere with any portion of ought not to interfere with any portion of their labor, organized themselves into a regular armed force, marched to the house o the United States revenue officer, Mr. Nev-ill, commenced a regular fire of small arms which was returned, some were killed and some wounded, and finally demolished his office, and burned down his house. 'I'he mil-itary of the United States was sent against them, and the rebellion suppressed Now, no state in the Union is more clamorous for high duties than Pennsylvania; and her members on this floor have told us how largely their state profits by the system of pro-tecting duties. If Pennsylvania possessed the same spirit for civil liberty and state rights at this day, that animated her then, and she would look abroad and compare the reduction in the fortunes of other people produced by the tariff system; with the small evits that resulted from a light excise on whiskey, under which she so loudly complained, and against which she shed her blood, so far from assisting to impose bur-dens on the southern states, would lend her aid to relieve them. The state of Maryland had not entered in

to a civil war for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of the general government ; but she had in two instances, recently en-acted her countervailing laws ; and in support of them, had twice grappled with the United States in their courts of justice, and gave evidence that she was not disposed to passive obedience. Nor had she more than well escaped from those struggles, when some of her citizens tendered their services to the United States, to put down the rebellion in South Carolina.

The state of Ohio had been engaged in r conflict with the general government-how far that conflict had been carried, he could not precisely say; but as far as his recollec-tion served him, there had been much asperity manifested on the part of Ohio, and serious resistance had been determined on, but was abandoned. The South Carolina meetings had been greatly censured by the citi-zens of that state. Her citizens perhaps, are as deeply interested as any in this union, in a tariff of protecting duties. One of her members, (Gen. Harrison,) on this floor, in the discussion of the tariff of last session, one floor is a session. openly avowed that the protecting system was of infinite advantage to that state, as her citizens were prospering under it, and could in consequence of it, live as splendid as the citizens of any other state, wherever they had manufacturing establishments. With that gentleman, the prosperity of his con-stituents, and the luxuries in which they were while at the supersection of the four w re wallowing, at the expense of the South-ern planters, appeared to be the only rule by which he measured the constitutional power to enact the law.

He was sorry to mention another State the State of Kentucky. They had not been a little clamorous against the people of South Carolina, for their opposition to this system: and by some of the citizens of that state, much abuse had been dealt ou. against our citizens, said Mr. S. because of their public citizens, said Mr. S. because of their public meetings. Those meetings were denounced as aeditious, tending to treason, disunnon, to ctvil war, to rebellion; with many other re-proachful epithets of like character. This as not by a crowd of bachanalian revellers. who might have acted from the impulse of an unguarded moment, but by gentlemen of high standing and dignified characters.-They had assembled upon an important oc-casion, and after dispessing of their own busi-ness, reassembled in the church, where a gentleman, once a member of the Senate, of-fered an address and resolution fraught with reproaches and abuse, tendering their serreproaches and abuse, tendering their ser-vices to suppress such meetings, and more-over holding this exploded and dangerous principle—that the ground upon which South Carolina attempted to justify her op ositon to the tariff, was hostile to all governments, and more especially to the fundamental principles of our own, which recognizes the

right of the majority to sule. Was this government of laws only, this rule won ap; ly; lut being a government limited a putplied by a written constitution that (Was this o list being a gov lied by a written fined its po Carolina, was hold to announce that this government, recognized no such principle, that the majority should rule. The fact was, that a majority, is the enacting of these laws, had ruled; they could have succeeded on no other principle, but the fundamental Arinciples of our government recognize no principle of rule but that prescribed by the constitution; and to this it must be brought again, or we aga people are undone.

There was a time when Kentucky held a different language. At a time too, when our liberties were in higher estimation, and our constitution better understood, because it was but a short time after it was formed, and its principles more respected; and at a time when that state had, in her councils, as much distinguished talent as at any other period of her existence, however distinguished they may be now. It was not sedition or treason then to denounce a public law of Congress. In a set of resolutions, written with unrivall-ed ability, in November 1798, the Legisla-ture of Kenucky, without a dissenting voice, declared two different laws of Congress, not to be law, but altiogether void and of no cfwas but a short time after it was formed, and to be law, but altogether wold and of no ef-They did so with the alien law, as a mere courtesy to foreigners. As citizens they were not interested. Kentucky is a tariff state; she is interested in its existence; therefore a portion of her citizens may well hold a different doctrine as regards this law.

We have witnessed this morning, said Mr. S. the complaints of Indiana, in a memorial f her Legislature, not asking, but demanding all the public lands belonging to the U. States, within her chartered limits. She does not come here to complain that government has taken a portion of her wealth to bestow elsewhere, but that the government has not given her quite all she asks. On the heels of this memorial is another that speaks a language not to be mistaken. It asks for aid to the Colonization Society; but its spirit and tenor point to a general emancipation. Indiana is a tariff state, and whilst she holds in one hand a legislative memorial demand-ing large donations of public lands, the property of the union, she holds in the other a scourge for these states, already languishing under a system which is fostering her own citizens.

We have been told, said Mr. S. in the public prints, as well as by some tariff gen-tlemen, that the new administration will correct the evils and heal the wounds of the constitution. He hoped, without pretending to know upon what this prediction was found-ed, it might be verified. And would ask, m what respect the constitution was wounded to need this healing balm, if it was not in the tariff, and its handmaid, internal improvement? Two measures that must prove the downfall of this government. He spoke not in praise of the coming administration, or in derogation of that which was about to expire, for these measures did not originate with them. One originated in the cupidity of the manufacturers, the other in the ambition of The wounded constitution was aspirants. not to be healed by the removal of one set of public efficers and replacing them with an-This might illustrate the fable of other. the fox and the flies; by turning out those already full, you might bring in others that would suck you to death. This however was dependant upon law, and not upon the constitution. To what part of the constitu-tion them is this headling halm to be numbed?

was dependant upon law, and not upon the constitution. To what part of the constitu-tion then, is this healing balm to be applied? There is certainly no portion of it so deeply wounded as the eight acction of the first arti-cle. The hublic defence and general, as we find them expressed in the constitution, are words susceptible of more definitions than any words in the English language. They have become the hobby-horse of every ad-venturer; and is rode by every man who has a project to carry, especially if it relates to manufactures. They have drained your treasury, and prostrated the most prosperors treasury, and prostrated the most prosperor days has but a handful of silk-worms, and half a dozen mulberry trees, his first appl-cation is to Congress for an act of protection duties; and the eighth section of the first an ticle is his strong hold. You have precised such a case now under advisement. In 1818 such a case now under advisement. In 1818 on the application of a solitary individual, manufacturer of alum, a heavy duty was lak on that article for the purpose, as Congres-were told, of *providing for the general wel-fare*. For the first thirty years of the gene-ral government, when the constitution was better understood, the general coeffore was understood to mean that, only in which the whole community was to be equally benefit-ed; such as paying the public debts, raising an army when necessary for public debts, raising rd; such as paying the public debts, raising and may be public debts, raising and may for the same. It now mean any thing and every thing. It is the tyrns of the foreign any for the same. It now mean any thing and every thing. It is the tyrns of the foreign may for the same. It is the tyrns of the foreign may for the same of the foreign and the same of the same of the foreign and the foreign and the same of the foreign and the ed; such as paying the public debts, raising an army when necessary for public debts, raising an army when necessary for public defence, building a navy for the same. It now means any thing and every thing. It is the tyrant of this government, and must prostrate it in deep hamility, unless it can be prought back in good time, to its proper, original, and plain common sense meaning. And whosoever shall accomplish this important restoration. will redeem his country from early destruc-tion, and secure to himself immortal fame. When the American people gave to congress power to raise and support armies, and to provide and maintain a uney, they were intended for defence sgainst foreign aggression, not as senturity upon ourselves, nor as guards to take eare of the interests of pivels corporations or individuals... Instead, however, of performing their appropriate offices, they are principally employed in taking

to guard aga recently ge St in, ments tell yo this military say that persons of high authority had buildly avowed their determination to introduce large qualifies of foreign goods into the United States, by sirstagem or force, without paying the duties. Is this not a most intrentable and slarming state of by hirstagem or horce, without paying the disites, is this not a most is amentable and alarming state of things? Your tariff policy compels respectable men to violate your laws. You force them to dis-regard its injunctions in order to clude its organs slons. Mr. 8. and, it was his perfect couvering that there was not a virtuous citizen throughout the Union, if he was not a manufacturer, or con-nected with manufactures, who would now think it unmoral to amuggle into the country every arti-cle consumed in it. And why ' Because you force them to it in self defence. Whilst your tariff, were moderate, they encoursged the exten-sion of your committee, filled your freasuly, and diffused a gladdening prosperity over every quar-ter of this then happy country. Then Mr Paxss walks of life, who would not have tent bis aid to the detection of a smaggler. Let gentimes look also to the steut of the evils now to be apprehen ded. There was a line of that fronther listin short of filtreen hundred unites in length; and when your ded. There was a line of that frontier little short of fiftren hundred miles in length; and when your laws become too oppressive—when they tran-scend in severity and injustice, the power of the people to endure, you may build a Chi-nesian wall for the protection of your Cana-dian troubler against snugging, and it will not prevent it. Look at the extent and incility of water communication on that frontier. Lake water communication on that frontier. Lake Champ'ain is one hundred and fifty miles in length dividing New York and Vermont, and running into Canada; Lake Onlario three hundred miles Frie about three hundred miles long, dividing Canada from New York, Penneylvania, and Ohioj and other lakes further west. What an over-abelming army you must maintain to cover all these exposed points. Add to the impossibility of the army, large as it must be to effect this purpose the positive certainty of its becoming corrupt; and inally turning its force against you, as event more probabl

S. said, a few words more and he would take his sent. The history of all nations and of all times, had demonstrated two facts worthy of all observation. One was that there never existed a despotism, which had not after its most despotic and oppressive acts justified them upon the ground of having the public good for its motive. Another fact was as certain as this, that from the creation of the world to this time, so one republic has endured. Oursis now testing one republic this ensured. Oursis now realing the correctness of this principle, and so far as ex-perience had gone, the result had been more than ominious. The continued conflicts between the Stat's and the general government, which he had coumerated, and all of them arising from the usarpations of the general overnment, in the free construction of its own powers, and that free construction springing from that unfortunate eight section of the first writer of the constitution, might admonian all. But for that defact in the constitution, this government might last for ages, but it is impossible that the minorities will continue to bear the oppression which the minorities will continue to hear the oppression which the majorities, unrestrained by any finits but their own cupidity, seem deter-nined to enforce. Almost the whole state has been convulsed within the last few years; and some of the causes lighter then those which now seem to threates the safety of this government; and human halter is pretty nearly the same overy where.

where. Mr. S. with no releast wish that the evils he dereaded might he averted, now begged leave to present to the Senate the solemn protest of the State of Scuth Carolina, against the soveral Jaws imposing extraordinery duties upon imports. It was drawn up with great formality, inseched on the most durable materials, and autheuticated ith the great seal of the State and the eignatures the model of the State and the formatic the public functionaries; and he feared in the calculated to last longer than this govern-

He moved that it might he read, and then prin ed for the use of the Senators.

Mr Hayne rose, and said, that the importance Mr Hayne roise, and said, that the importance of the subject, and the intense interest if had ex-cited emong his constituents, must be his spology or adding a few words to what had fallen from his colleague. Ho knew that every thing which proceeded from so high a source as one of the Sovereign and Independent States of this Con-inderacy, was entitled to receive, and, he tracted, always would receive, the most respectful consid-ration here. It was not so much, therefore, said Mr. H. to invite the carnest attention of the Senate to this Protest, as to do justice to my own feel-ings, and to fulfil my obligations as one of the Representatives of Bouth Carolina, that I now

hould b

The Le to lay this

their Protest before you. In obedience to that command, my col-lengue and myself here, in our places, in the presence of the Representatives of the sev-eral States, and in the face of the while American people, solemnly protest against the System of Protecting Dutles, as "UNCON-STITUTIONAL, OPPRESSIVE and UNUST" We desire that this record may be ar witness for us to all future times, that we have ear-neatly remonstrated with our brethrein against the extension of an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us; and with full experience of the ruinous effects of the system of pro-tecting duties have denounced it as utterly destructive of our interests. The people of South Carolina find themselves impelled, by their attachment to the principles of the South Carolina find themselves impelled, by their attachment to the principles of the Constitution, and by a proud recollection of common dangers, and common triumphs, to endeavour to preserve for themselves and their posterity, those rights and privileges, secured to them by the great Charter of our Liberties, and consecrated by the blood of our fathers. It is (to use the language of the Protest) "because they anxiously desire to live in prace with their brethren, to do all that in them lies to preserve and perpetuate that in them lies to preserve and perpetuate the Union of the States, and the liberties of which it is the surest pledge," that they now protest against a system, which not only aims a fatal blow at the prosperity of South Complete the substruction of South Carolina, (dependent as she must ever continue upon agriculture and commerce) but which threatens her very existence State.

I know, Mr. President, that this is not a I know, Mr. Prestuent, this interaction of the suitable occasion for the examination of the principles involved in this Protest. regard more especially to the violation of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, by the system of protecting duties, the pre-sent crisis ispeculiarly unfavorable to profit-able discussion. One of the Fathers of the Constitution has, most unfortunately for us, and unhappily for his country, if not for his own fame, the awn the weight of his great name into the scale of power. If this there-fore, were a question to be decided by au-thority, we should be almost without hope. But the people of the South will sever yield to the authority of names, however venerable when the principles of liberty are at stake-when the question to be decided is whether this shall remain a Federal Government, with strictly limited powers, or shall become a Consolidated Government, with all power centered here. And it does appear to us that the principles now contended for by Mr. Madison, lead directly to investing this Government with the power (openly con-tended for in another quarter,) of "organ -sing the whole labor and capital of the coun-try," a power which at once reduces the try," a power which at once reduces the States to mere petty corporations. We shall not, I trust therefore, beaccused of disrespect towards Mr. Madison, when dissentig from his principles, we endeavor to save the most precious work of his hands from being de-formed, if not demolished, by the applica-tion of the doctrines he has recently advoca-ted. ted.

That congress has a right "to regulate commerce," and, under that power, may, in a proper case, resort to countervailing commercial regulations, is no more doubtful, than that they may declare war, or raise money by a direct tax, or by duties upon imports. But that these powers may be re-sorted to as the means of directly promoting manufactures, or that they may be rightfully used for sure, a purpose of our set of the sure as the used for suc, a purpose, (a purpose entire-ly different from, if not opposite to, that for which they were granted.) is a proposition which will sanction any abuse, however ex-travagant, and leaves no limit to the powers of the Pederal Government except its own arbitrary discretion. If the tariffs of 1824 and 1828 had, is truth, been designed to raise revenue, or intended as countervailing comcommerce at all, and had not in fact, been yielded to the importunity of the manufac-turers, and been designed exclusively for their benefit—there might have been some color of reason and justice in the attempt to bring them within the pale of the constitu-tion. But when it is perfectly notorious that the end and aim of these acts was ex-clusively the protection of manufactures, by a system destructive of free trade-when A Barry, presented a faithist expression of fusion of the sentiments of the great body of the people of free trads—when we know from our experience, on eccentry and the door to a more unrestricted interport of the great body of the people of South Carolina, and to the protest from the door to a more unrestricted interport of people of bondy of the people of South Carolina, and to the protest from the state of or south Carolina, and to the protest from the state of south Carolina, and to the protest from the state of south Carolina, and to the protest from the state of south Carolina, and to the protest from the state of south Carolina, and to the protest from the state of south Carolina, and to the protest from the state of south Carolina, and to the protest from the state of south Carolina, and to the protest from the state, which had been retread to the power of 'reagnet and the other, from that tate, which had been retread to the power of 'reagnet and the other, from that tate, which had been retread to the power of 'reagnet and the other, from that tate, which had been retread to the power of 'reagnet and the other, from that tate, which had been retread to the constitution, but the federal govern in the south, whether her rights manufactures from the tate, and her interests morified iter from the state of the constitution, but the federal govern interest the formus of the spirit, and by a manufacture from the tate, and her interest is stated in the spirit, and by a manufacture from the state of the constitution, but the spirit, and by a manufacture from the state, the state of the spirit of the spirit is the spirit is the spirit is an optime state of the spirit, and by a manufacture from the state of the spirit is the spirit, and by a manufacture from the state of the spirit, and by a manufacture from the state of the spirit is the spirit

10'8 mals of the convention at that ti at of the dele er have receiv of the souther gates

It is known to many t that the late Rufus Kin this floor, and on varies explicitly denied the righ upon imports for the manufactures, and, st," Thomas Jefferson, was called "the Ape least," Thomas Jefferson, who, when liv-ing, was called "the Aposle of Libertys" and who has been almon canonised since his death. In one of the latest acts of his great life, he has given us the authority of his great name, and denounced "the usur-pation" in language that ought to sink deep into the minds of the American people. I know, sir, that the achtority of Mr. Jeffer-son has intely been quoted in favor of this abuse of power. But when we look to his report of 1793-(on the authority of which he is charged with this political heresy--it is discovered that it treats exclusively of

In m those other more numerous assembla-ges, headed by men of the highest character and talents, by whom ample justice has been done to the patriotism and public spirit of the South. Sir, we shall cheriah the belief until it shall be torn from us by stubborn facts, that the great meetings in Maryland and Ken-tucky, whose proceedings have been immor-talized by the eloquence of a M'Mahon and a Barry, presented a faithful expression of the sentiments of the great body of the peo-ple in those States-sentiments which will ever be gratefully remembered, and cordi-

(b) It has been confidently assured by some gentlemen, that Mr. Smith was mistaken, when he and the lagislature of Pennsylvania had passed resolutions instructing her secators in congress to oppose the excise on whiskey, but that these reco-lations were the acts of individuals ...i. Such gentlemen as deny that fact, are respectfully re-forred to the biatory of the "WESTERN INSUR-RECTION," by H H. Brackenridge, and to the "United States Gazette," of 1791, in both of which they will find the following preamble and resolu-tions, resorded as the act of the legislature of Pennsylvania... Pennsylvania-HOUSE OF REP. Jan 22, 1791.

"The legislature of this commonwealth, ever attentive to the rights ef their constituents, and conserving it a duty incumbert on them, to express their sentiments on such matters, of a pub-lic nature, as, in their opinion, have a tendency to desiro, their rights ; agreed to the following resolutions—

"Resolved, That any proceedings on the part of the United States, lending to the collection of a revenue, by means of excise, established apon principles subversive of the peace, liberty, and rights of the citizens, ought to attract the atten-tion of this liouse.

tion of this jourse. "Resolved, That no public exigency within the knowledge or contemplation of this bonse, can, in their opinion, warrant the adoption of any species of toastion, which shall violate those right, which are the basis of our government, and which would exhibit the singular spectres, of a sation arbitrary opposing the oppression of others, in order to assiste basis. "Resolved, That these continents he commu-nicated to the senatore, representing the state of with a hose that they will oppose every part of the scales bill, now before the congress, which dual to file against the jest rightened the test of the scales bill, now before the congress, which dual to file against the jest rightened thetes of the scales bill, now before the congress, which dual to file against the jest rightened thetes of the scales bill, now before the congress, which dual to file against the jest rightened the scales of the scales bill, now before the congress, which dual to file against the jest rightened the scales of the scales bill, now before the congress, which dual to file against the jest rightened the scales of the scales bill, now before the congress, which dual to file against the jest rightened the scales of the scales bill, now before the congress, which dual to file against the jest rightened to the scales of the scales bill again the scale of the file of the scale of the scales bill again the scale of the

proceed to make a few remarks, suggested by the occasion.