

BY THOS. W. ATKIN & CO.

TERMS OF THE PUBLISHERS:
Two Dollars and Fifty Cents per annum in advance, or Three Dollars within the year.
No paper will be discontinued, except at the option of the Publishers, until all arrearages are paid.
Advertisements will be inserted at One Dollar per square of ten lines for the first insertion, and Fifty Cents for each continuation.
The number of insertions desired must be marked on the margin, or the advertisement will be continued till filled, and charged accordingly. Court Orders will be charged twenty-five per cent extra.

SPEECH OF MR. STEWART,

of Pa., in defence of the Tariff and Distribution.
Delivered in the House of Representatives of the U. S., March 13, 1844.

[CONCLUDED]

THE DUTIES ADDED TO THE PRICE, NOT THE PRICE.
The great and leading objection to the protective policy is that the duties are added to the price, and paid by the consumer. This objection lies at the foundation of the opposition to this policy; and, if unfounded, this opposition ought to cease. The duty is added to the price; this is the theory. Now, sir, how is the fact; what says experience? All experience proves that this objection has no existence, save in the imaginations of those who make it.

Now, sir, I lay it down as a general proposition, that there never was a high protective duty imposed upon any article, from the foundation of this government to the present day, the price of which has not been in the end reduced—greatly reduced—in many instances to one-third, and one-fourth of what it had been before these protective duties were imposed. This, sir, may seem to gentlemen on the other side to be a strong declaration; but, sir, I make it deliberately, with a full conviction of its truth, and I challenge gentlemen to disprove it; I defy them to point out a single instance to the contrary. Let them examine, and they will find invariably that, wherever the duties have been highest, the prices have ultimately come down the lowest, and for a very obvious reason—high duties promote competition, and competition never fails to bring down prices. This effect is invariable and universal; but unfortunately the duties always run up as the prices run down; hence the frightful list of duties exhibited by the Committee of Ways and Means amounting to 200, 300, and 400 per cent. When first imposed, these duties were but 30 or 40 per cent.; but now, owing to the reduction of prices, they have run up to 200 or 800 per cent. By way of illustration take the article of glass, on which a duty of \$4 a box was imposed at a time when glass cost \$12; this was then a duty of 83 per cent., but now when home competition, induced by this protective duty, has brought down the price to \$2 a box, the duty, owing to this reduction of price, is 200 per cent. instead of 83; the same is true of many other articles on which the duty, when imposed, did not exceed 20 or 30 per cent., but now, owing to reduction of price produced by home competition they amount to 300 or 800 per cent. When four cents per pound duty was put on cut nails, the price was twelve cents per pound, and this duty, of course, was 33 per cent.; but now when this protective duty has been to reduce the price of nails from twelve to three cents per pound, the duty is increased to 100 per cent.; this is equally true of spikes, rods, wood screws, &c. Again: eight cents a yard duty was imposed on coarse cottons when imported at 20 cents, being a duty of 40 per cent.; but now, when the price has come down to five cents per yard, the duty goes up to 160 per cent.

Sir, now I could go on and enumerate more than twenty such instances where the duties, though moderate when imposed, now actually exceed the price of the article; yet we are told that in all cases the duty is added to the price, and paid by the consumer! That is, that the consumer pays \$4 a box duty on glass that he buys for \$2; 4 cents a pound on mules that he buys for 3; and 8 cents a yard on coarse cotton goods that he buys for 5. Such are the absurdities into which these stale anti-tariff theories involve their votaries; but suppose what they allege were true in point of fact, and that the duty is really added to the price, the cost of cotton goods being 20 cents when the duty of 8 cents was imposed, add the duty, the price would be, of course, 28 cents a yard, and the duty only 28 per cent. instead of 160 as stated by the committee; hence, if you raise the price five fold, then the duty is quite reasonable, and there will be no objection whatever to its payment. Let the manufacturer, then, run up his price from 5 to 25 cents a yard, and he at once silences all the objections of the Committee of Ways and Means, as this would fix the duty at 30 per cent., just what they want it. But suppose the manufacturer were to reduce his price to one cent a yard, then the duty, being 8 cents, would be 800 per cent. Horrid oppression! who would submit to pay a duty of 800 per cent.? Who could then refuse to go with the Committee of Ways and Means for reducing such enormous duties?

ABSURDITIES OF THE REPORT.

But the Committee of Ways and Means say that the object of this bill is to increase the revenue by reducing the duties; yet in the same paragraph, they say, that should the revenue be found abundant, to avoid the evil of deposits or distribution among the states, the duties should be instantly reduced, so as to reduce the revenue to the wants of the government; at this time the committee say, there is not revenue enough, and they propose to increase it by reducing the duties; but should it turn out that there is too much, then they say reduce it by reducing the duties. Thus a reduction of duties is alike effectual with the committee for a reduction or for an increase of revenue. Excellent disciples of Dr. Sangrado, who had but one remedy for all diseases, "bleeding and warm water." How such a palpable contradiction is to be reconciled or explained I am at a loss to conjecture.

But let us look a little into the details and practical operation of this bill on the great agricultural, manufacturing, and mechanical interests of the country.

In the first place it greatly reduces the duties on wool and woolsens of all kinds; three-fourths of the duties, and more, are taken from coarse cottons and calicoes; lead is robbed of more than nine-tenths of its protection. But Pennsylvania seems to be singled out for destruction. Her iron, her coal, her glass, her paper, her salt, and leather, are all struck down together, and we are to go to England for iron, coal, glass, &c. Yes, sir, in 1842 we imported more than four millions of bushels of coal, under a duty of \$1.75 per ton. This bill reduces it to one dollar. Of course you must double, and doubtless you will treble the quantity imported; and for what? To increase the revenue. A few days ago Pennsylvania passed a resolution unanimously instructing us to go for protection "without regard to revenue." Yes, sir, these are the words, "protection without regard to revenue;" and here we are reversing the rule, going for revenue without regard to protection; voting for 20,000 copies of a report in favor of this anti-tariff, anti-American, and British bill.

But this bill greatly, very greatly, reduces the duties on whiskey, brandy, gin, and wine. We must import whiskey and brandy for revenue, and give the rich their wine at one-half the present duty, and they must of course drink double the quantity or we loose revenue. What say you temperance men to this? You must all get drunk on foreign spirits to increase the revenue. Tax the poor by direct state taxation, and let the rich indulge in wine, brandy, silks, and laces, at lower rates! No, put the duties high on luxuries, and distribute the proceeds of the land among the states to relieve the poor from taxation. Sir, pass this bill to lighten the burdens of the rich, while you double the burdens, reduce the wages, and destroy the labor of mechanics and the poor, and go home and hear what they have to say on the subject.

The following abstract from table C, in the appendix to the report of the committee, will show the practical operation of this bill upon the mechanical, agricultural, and manufacturing interests of the country:

Names of the articles. Present Proposed Per. Per. ct. ct.

EFFECT UPON MECHANICS.
Clothing, ready made by tailors 50 30
Mits, caps, binding, and hosiery 30 20
Umbrellas, parasols, and sun shades 30 25
Silk hats, bonnets, &c. 55 25
Hat bodies 43 30
Hats and bonnets of vegetable substance 55 25
Children's boots and shoes 60 30
India rubber shoes 30 20
Vlecks 30 20
Untarred cordage 188 30
Iron cables or chains 80 30
Cut nails wrought spikes 82 30
Cut nails 43 30
Brass kettles, (hammered) 43 30
Japaned, plated, and gilt ware 30 25
Cutlery of all kinds 30 25
Sole leather 53 25
Call silks 37 25
Brickpaving paving tiles 25 12
Metal buttons 39 25
Hard soap 51 30
China ware 30 20

EFFECT UPON FARMERS.
Wheat 35 25
Beef and pork 120 25
Cheese 70 25
Vinegar 54 25
Pearl or hulled barley 67 30
Wheat or fish oil 44 30
Wool posting over 7 cts per lb. 3 43 pr. lb. off.
Lard 3 43 pr. lb. off.
Spirits from grain, 1st proof 132 42
Brandy, &c., from other materials 180 38
Coal, per ton \$1.75 \$1.00

EFFECTS UPON MANUFACTURERS.
Wool all manufactures of 40 30
Carpetings, treble grain 87 30
Linen of all kinds 42 30
Venitians 45 30
Other grain 46 30
Coarse cottons, (being a reduction of three-fourths) 120 30
Cotton bagging 63 30
Oil cloth furniture 52 30
Iron, bolts, and bars 77 61
Pigs 72 56
Nail and spike rods 56 30
Sawed cast 45 30
Wood screws 63 30
Steel, cast, sugar, and German 136 30
Glass, cut 62 30
Window, 8 by 10 165 30
" 12 by 16. 66 30
Lead, pigs and bars 66 30
Gunpowder 51 30

But let us look a little into the details and practical operation of this bill on the great agricultural, manufacturing, and mechanical interests of the country.

In the first place it greatly reduces the duties on wool and woolsens of all kinds; three-fourths of the duties, and more, are taken from coarse cottons and calicoes; lead is robbed of more than nine-tenths of its protection. But Pennsylvania seems to be singled out for destruction. Her iron, her coal, her glass, her paper, her salt, and leather, are all struck down together, and we are to go to England for iron, coal, glass, &c. Yes, sir, in 1842 we imported more than four millions of bushels of coal, under a duty of \$1.75 per ton. This bill reduces it to one dollar. Of course you must double, and doubtless you will treble the quantity imported; and for what? To increase the revenue. A few days ago Pennsylvania passed a resolution unanimously instructing us to go for protection "without regard to revenue." Yes, sir, these are the words, "protection without regard to revenue;" and here we are reversing the rule, going for revenue without regard to protection; voting for 20,000 copies of a report in favor of this anti-tariff, anti-American, and British bill.

But this bill greatly, very greatly, reduces the duties on whiskey, brandy, gin, and wine. We must import whiskey and brandy for revenue, and give the rich their wine at one-half the present duty, and they must of course drink double the quantity or we loose revenue. What say you temperance men to this? You must all get drunk on foreign spirits to increase the revenue. Tax the poor by direct state taxation, and let the rich indulge in wine, brandy, silks, and laces, at lower rates! No, put the duties high on luxuries, and distribute the proceeds of the land among the states to relieve the poor from taxation. Sir, pass this bill to lighten the burdens of the rich, while you double the burdens, reduce the wages, and destroy the labor of mechanics and the poor, and go home and hear what they have to say on the subject.

The following abstract from table C, in the appendix to the report of the committee, will show the practical operation of this bill upon the mechanical, agricultural, and manufacturing interests of the country:

Names of the articles. Present Proposed Per. Per. ct. ct.

EFFECT UPON MECHANICS.
Clothing, ready made by tailors 50 30
Mits, caps, binding, and hosiery 30 20
Umbrellas, parasols, and sun shades 30 25
Silk hats, bonnets, &c. 55 25
Hat bodies 43 30
Hats and bonnets of vegetable substance 55 25
Children's boots and shoes 60 30
India rubber shoes 30 20
Vlecks 30 20
Untarred cordage 188 30
Iron cables or chains 80 30
Cut nails wrought spikes 82 30
Cut nails 43 30
Brass kettles, (hammered) 43 30
Japaned, plated, and gilt ware 30 25
Cutlery of all kinds 30 25
Sole leather 53 25
Call silks 37 25
Brickpaving paving tiles 25 12
Metal buttons 39 25
Hard soap 51 30
China ware 30 20

EFFECT UPON FARMERS.
Wheat 35 25
Beef and pork 120 25
Cheese 70 25
Vinegar 54 25
Pearl or hulled barley 67 30
Wheat or fish oil 44 30
Wool posting over 7 cts per lb. 3 43 pr. lb. off.
Lard 3 43 pr. lb. off.
Spirits from grain, 1st proof 132 42
Brandy, &c., from other materials 180 38
Coal, per ton \$1.75 \$1.00

EFFECTS UPON MANUFACTURERS.
Wool all manufactures of 40 30
Carpetings, treble grain 87 30
Linen of all kinds 42 30
Venitians 45 30
Other grain 46 30
Coarse cottons, (being a reduction of three-fourths) 120 30
Cotton bagging 63 30
Oil cloth furniture 52 30
Iron, bolts, and bars 77 61
Pigs 72 56
Nail and spike rods 56 30
Sawed cast 45 30
Wood screws 63 30
Steel, cast, sugar, and German 136 30
Glass, cut 62 30
Window, 8 by 10 165 30
" 12 by 16. 66 30
Lead, pigs and bars 66 30
Gunpowder 51 30

The 19th section of the bill provides that, after the first of September, 1845, all the duties above 25 per cent. is to be reduced to that horizontal standard, 25 per cent.

[Here Mr. S. was interrupted by a call to order from a Van Buren man.]
Mr. S. said gentlemen seemed very solicitous about order when their favorite men and measures were assailed, but nothing was out of order when it suited their purpose. Why was not the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Duncan) called to order, when, on a bill to fix the time of holding elections, he had introduced a coon, a dead coon, and had dissected it professionally, discussed it scientifically, inside and out; he had introduced all the Whig banners and flags of the campaign of 1840, and displayed them with great pomp, circumstance, and ceremony, and all this, in the estimation of gentlemen and of the Chair, was then perfectly in order.

DISTRIBUTION ADVOCATED.
From recent intelligence, coming in from all quarters, it is now manifest that we shall have a surplus revenue at the end of the year, independent of the proceeds of the public lands. If then the tariff yields revenue enough, as I doubt not it will, why not distribute the land proceeds among the States, to relieve their people from oppressive taxation? Pennsylvania, sir, owes a debt of forty millions of dollars, contracted in the prosecution of a stupendous, but ill advised, system of internal improvement, equally important to Ohio and the whole West, and hence she had claims for assistance on this Government.

[Mr. McKay said, if she had contracted a debt of forty millions let her pay it!]
Sir, if you withhold her share of public lands, how is she to pay it? Her debt is now increasing, by the addition of two millions annually, on account of interest. She could pay it by doubling and trebling the present heavy taxation, which now crush her people to the earth. Yes, double the taxes of Pennsylvania, and it would not pay the interest of her debt, let alone the principal.

As a Pennsylvanian, therefore I go for the proceeds of the public lands to aid the people of Pennsylvania to pay their debt. Pennsylvania has a clear, legitimate, undoubted right to one-tenth part of the land or its proceeds. The population of Pennsylvania is one-tenth part of the population of the Union; and if we were to distribute the land itself to-morrow among the States of this Union, Pennsylvania would get more than one hundred million acres of the public lands. Would not that be an ample fund in the end to pay off the debt of Pennsylvania three fold? Now I claim, as a Representative from Pennsylvania, her share of the proceeds of the public lands; and I hope no Representative from Pennsylvania, who looks at the condition of his constituents, crushed under this weight of taxation, of increasing and increasing taxation, would vote against it. He thought that no gentleman from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Louisiana, Alabama, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, and other indebted states, some of them more, and others almost as much, indebted as Pennsylvania, in proportion to their population and means, ought, and he hoped none of the Representatives of these states would vote, to withhold from their people their share of the land, and by so doing, rivet taxation on them and their posterity forever. By the terms of the grants or deeds of cession, these lands have been ceded by the states to the Union. And for what? To pay the Revolutionary war debt. And when that was paid, the lands were to go to the states, including the new States, and those which had made the cessions.

What does this Government want with this fund? It has an abundance of revenue, and if we relieve the people of the states from taxation by giving them what they are entitled to—the proceeds of the public lands—do we not relieve the people of these United States? Do we not relieve the people of this Government from taxation, when we relieve the people of the States from taxation? (For the people of the states and the people of the United States are the same people.)

I submit whether it is not right and fair to relieve the indebted states of this Union from the heavy burden of taxation which is crushing the people, by giving them their share of the proceeds of the public lands. The tariff, so far as it operates as a tax upon the people, is the lightest form, and least felt, inasmuch as the payment is entirely voluntary; but the chief burden of taxation in this form is thrown from the people of this country upon the foreigner, who is obliged to reduce the profits and the prices of his goods, in order to get them into market, wherever there is an American price established by American labor.

But, sir, there is another argument in favor of distribution—so long as the proceeds of the public lands come into the Treasury of the General Government, we never can have a firm, settled, established revenue policy. The fluctuations in the proceeds of the sales of the lands in past years, varying as they have from less than two millions to upwards of twenty-four millions per annum, if they are suffered to remain in the general Treasury, we must raise and reduce the tariff of the country correspondingly. I would take the proceeds of the lands and give them to the states, if for no other reason than to relieve the Treasury from this unsettled policy, and

to give the country a firm and established revenue system.

In 1836, the public lands yielded upwards of twenty-four millions, a sum sufficient to defray all the expenses of the Government, and of course creating an immense surplus; then we heard the cry of "repeat the tariff—down with the tariff—too much revenue." But in two or three years the proceeds of the lands sunk down to less than two millions of dollars; then was raised the cry of "up with the tariff." Thus, so long as the proceeds of the lands, this uncertain and fluctuating source of revenue, goes into the Treasury, nothing can be settled or fixed in the tariff policy of the Government.

I hope, therefore, the representatives of the indebted states will go with me and vote down this bill to repeal the distribution act, and thus relieve their tax-ridden people from the burden of direct taxation, and at the same time relieve the Treasury from this source of revenue, which unsettles and deranges not only the finances, but the trade and business of the country. Sir, this measure of distribution is equally important to the non-indebted States; they receive an equal proportion of the proceeds of the lands, which could be applied to purposes of education or of improvement, or to whatever the wisdom of their people may direct.

This measure of distribution is a measure of relief to the states, and I now predict that we will have two parties in this country—the "relief party," going for distribution, and "the anti-relief and tax party," going for direct taxation. There were only two ways of paying the state debts—distribution or taxation, unmitigated taxation, now, henceforth and forever. Which are you for, is the question, and gentlemen must meet it. They must either go for distribution and relief, or for taxation and no relief. They have their choice, they must make it and be responsible to the people.

The improvements made by the States, and which had been the great cause of involving them in debt, are highly beneficial to the United States, in connection with the transportation of the mails, the promotion of commerce among the States, and the defence of the country in time of war; and hence the United States was bound to help pay for them; by giving the proceeds of the public lands. General Jackson advocated the distribution of the surplus revenue among the states, on this ground. He contends, in his message of 1830, with great truth, that the improvements made by the states, "constitute the surest mode of conferring permanent and substantial benefits on the whole Union." Besides, he contends that the money distributed by the General Government among the states, "would be more judiciously applied and economically expended, under the direction of the state legislatures." Such were some of the arguments urged by General Jackson in favor of his policy which Mr. Van Buren now denounces as a "preposterous proposition,"—the mere agitation of which, he says, is disgraceful to the character of the American people, and which his friends on this floor are now voting down, without a word of explanation or debate. What will the illustrious Chief of the Hermitage say to this?

THE WHIG AND VAN BUREN SYSTEMS.

But, sir, we are told that "the Whigs are a party without principles." Sir, are not their principles known and avowed everywhere? On this subject, the Whig system is this: Remove from the National Treasury that disturbing source of revenue, the Public Lands, and give them to the states to which they rightfully belong, to pay their debts, and relieve the people from taxation. Then regulate the Tariff, so as to supply revenue enough for an economical administration of the Federal Government, by imposing protective duties on such articles as we can and ought to supply at home, and revenue duties on luxuries and articles not produced, sufficient to supply the wants of Government.—This is the Whig system. Now, sir, what is the Van Buren system? Just the reverse.—It is to refuse all relief to the people, and the states, by distribution or otherwise; to reduce the Tariff, and let in foreign goods to the destruction of our own industry; exhaust the wealth and currency of the country to pay for them; double the expenses of Government, to enrich office-holders and favorites, and leave the Government again as they left it in 1840; after twelve years administration, impoverished, and overwhelmed with bankruptcies and debts, state and national, amounting to more than two hundred and twenty millions of dollars. How was it, sir, during the twelve preceding years, when Whig policy prevailed? Look at the official reports from the Treasury, and you will find, sir, that during that period we paid off 141 millions of the war debt; expended 12 millions for internal improvements; and left the country with a surplus revenue of more than 12 millions a year, a sound currency and universal prosperity; but in 1828 there came a change. The next twelve years was a period of disastrous experiments, resulting in the excessive increase of banks, the ruin of the currency, the immoderate importation of foreign goods, the consequent destruction of agriculture, manufactures, and

the mechanic arts, and the involvement of the states and people in a foreign debt of more than 250 millions, which now hangs like a millstone about their necks. The people could stand it no longer; they determined in 1840 to have a change—to throw off this incubus—but, by an unforeseen event, this was defeated. The period is, however, rapidly approaching when the people will again come to the rescue, and achieve the great object they then had in view.

But we are told, sir, by Mr. Van Buren himself, that this glorious revolution of 1840, was the result of infatuation, folly, and madness, on the part of the people. Sir, in this true! Is it not a foul slander on the American character? Is it not a gross insult to the people, and will it not be so regarded?—Sir, that election was the result of a deep and deliberate conviction of the ruinous effects of Mr. Van Buren's policy—effects seen and felt, severely felt, throughout this land. The people saw that nothing but a change—a thorough change—could save the country from hopeless bankruptcy and ruin. That conviction has since been strengthened and confirmed; and the beneficial effects of the Whig tariff of '42, now rapidly restoring the national prosperity, furnishes new and powerful motives to stimulate and strengthen the friends of reform. Sir, if you want evidence, look to the unambiguous indications of public opinion throughout the country. Is not the "handwriting upon the wall," in characters so large and legible that "the who runs may read?" In 1840 the people, by the unprecedented majority of 145,000, pronounced judgment against Mr. Van Buren. Can this be overcome without a change? And where are the changes in his favor? Where is the man who voted against him then, who is for him now? or if there be any such changes, are there not two to one the other way?—But, sir, if there were nothing else, the passage of this bill, withholding from the people in their time of need, their share of the Public Lands, and the attempt to repeal the Tariff of '42, and again inundate the country with foreign goods, break down our own farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers, by the passage of this destructive, anti-American, anti-tariff bill, would of itself be abundantly sufficient to condemn any party, however popular, with a vast majority of the free, enlightened, and patriotic people of this country.

The people will not permit any man, or party of men, long to trample upon their rights and interests with impunity. I know, sir, they have borne much for the sake of party; they have excused bad actions by the ascription of good motives. But there is a point where "forbearance ceases to be a virtue;" that point has been reached and transcended. The people have decided upon a change, and they will have it. They expressed this determination in 1840—they will repeat it in 1844, with increased emphasis.—The decree has gone forth, and is irrevocable. It is seen on every hill—it is heard on every breeze—and felt in every throb of the popular pulse. The land is uprising, and the blow will follow as certain as the stroke of fate; as well might you attempt to avert the winged lightning or stop the thunderbolt of Jove. The popular will is formed; it is the true and just sovereignty in this land; it must be respected and obeyed. And politicians can no more stay it in its course, or divert it from its purpose, than the tempest-tost mariner can control the winds and the waves that overwhelm him.

NOT SO FAST.—A Loco Foco paper, in speaking of its candidate for the Presidency, says that he has, heretofore, been elected and re-elected Governor of Tennessee. This is, we believe, an error. Mr. Polk was elected in 1839, and was a candidate for re-election in 1841, when one of the most accidents in the world prevented his success.—It appeared, on counting the votes, that "the other man's pile was a beetle the largest," and what is very extraordinary, the same accident happened in 1843. We have never understood that his failure, at either election, was owing to any want of exertion on his part, or the part of his friends; but simply to the want of votes. We all know, some very fine situations have been lost in this way.—*Raleigh Register.*

LOOK OUT, WHIGS.—A political missionary left here on Saturday last for the West, with a wagon loaded with documents! Now, sir, before, were such desperate exertions made to hood-wink and deceive the people, as are now making in North Carolina; but if the Whigs will only do their duty like men, Loco Focoism will be totally annihilated on the first day of August. That cause must be rotten, which requires such clandestine efforts to sustain it. Again, we say—LOOK OUT, WHIGS!—*Raleigh Register.*

The Vicksburg Whig estimates the certain loss of the crops of cotton between Vicksburg and the Arkansas by the late flood, at forty thousand bales, and that, should it rise six inches more, as was expected, and remain three weeks longer, very few crops on the river will be saved.