

The Lincoln Republican.

"The tendency of Democracy is toward the elevation of the industrious classes, the increase of their comfort, the assertion of their dignity, the establishment of their power."

BY ROBERT WILLIAMSON, Jr.

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DISTRIBUTION EQUIVALENT TO THE TARIFF!

The arguments of Messrs. Tyler and Rives would seem on their face to be irresistible; but the Whigs will go on, and unconquered, if possible, their absurd and mischievous scheme of Distribution—First, it is a mere party question—and they have not the moral courage of John Tyler to retract their steps—and secondly, they consider the Distribution as identical with the increase of the Protective Tariff. Can anything be more conclusive upon this subject, than the reception which Mr. Tyler's last Message has met with from the Tariff Press?—The Richmond Whig abuses it. He is an anti-Southern Tariff man. The New York Tribune finds fault with Mr. Tyler. "Put up the Tariff (exclaims that paper) so as to afford adequate protection to our Home Industry, and there will be no need of recalling the Land Distribution." The Baltimore American sings the same note, and points out its policy in these words: "Let the impost be looked to as the source of revenue, and let the Tariff be adopted accordingly."—The Whig press is the tone of the Republican or even the impartial press! The New York Sun says, "The nation of Congress has destroyed the credit, and broken the faith of the nation; our finances are wretchedly embarrassed; our honor tarnished; our foreign affairs in a delicate, not to say alarming condition. In this emergency the President lays aside all party feeling, meets the question boldly, and frankly recomends those measures which common sense dictates, as the only practicable means of promoting the welfare of the country in this crisis. He proposes to fund the public debt, amounting to near \$15,000,000, and pledge the proceeds of the lands for its redemption. There is wisdom and sound principle in this. If Congress shall any longer, in a time like this, trifle with the national honor, and to on with their schemes for President-making, they will be held to a terrible retribution by an insulted and indignant people."—There is not a Tariff Whig in the United States, but sounds the same ominous notes for the South. Their policy substantially is, to scatter the land fund among the States, and raise the amount (the amount, say, two or three times over) by duties upon the people. Nay, so far is the N. York American bent upon changing the whole course of the Government, by addressing itself to the capacity of the States, that it seriously proposes to issue 50 or 100 millions of U. S. stock, based upon the public lands (to supply the wants of a necessities nation! Oh no!) but to distribute the stock among the States, in order to pay their debts. Here then we have the assumption of State debts avowedly. But friends of the Republic! take care. If the good people of Va. can be tempted, as the disciples of the Evil one are now trying, by the present land fund, (small as it may be, not \$65,000 for the year,) to induce them to forget their principles, and take its authors to their bosom, and send a majority into our public councils, what danger may we not be in, when an open and avowed and general assumption of the State debts is held out to their cupidity? But no! They who make such appeals are ignorant of the indomitable integrity, and clear sighted intelligence of the People of Virginia.

Yet the Whigs now hope to carry the State by such mercenary and corrupt appeals. "Will you not take the money? (say they.) Will you elect men, who could devour it? Who even refuse to receive money?"—And will these miserable Whigs insist upon it, that we must always receive what is offered to us? Suppose a bribe is tendered to us—must we receive the gilded bait? "as much money as we can grasp thus?" Most women sacrifice her virtue for the filthy lucre! Most Virginia sacrifices her strict construction doctrines, for money virtually raised for the purpose of distribution, in defiance of all the principles of the Con-

stitution! and when it subsidizes the State at the feet of the Federal Government!

Are we silly enough to receive one dollar and pay for it two or three? to prostrate the Compromise Act and to surrender for \$65,000, the right to the Federal Government to raise the Tariff from 20 to 30 per cent.?

Are we mad enough to maintain distribution, and to receive the bribe, when it impoverishes the Federal Treasury, and deprives it of the best means of borrowing the money it wants, and discharging the debts which it has contracted?

The Whig, who under such circumstances, attempts to seduce the suffrages of the People—electioneers for his candidate, by such short-sighted appeals to the mercenary spirit of this "unrefined" and "uneducated Commonwealth"—is unworthy of the confidence of an enlightened community. Such a desperate manoeuvre only shows the desperation of the Whig party.

From Kendall's Expositor.

Who pays a Tariff tax? Its effects upon farmers, planters, mechanics, laborers, professional men, merchants, &c. &c. when laid for revenue only.

Before we proceed to our examination of the arguments in favor of a protective tariff, let us further consider and illustrate the effects of tariff taxation in general on the different interests of society.

At the present rate of expenditure, it will take at least thirty-five millions of dollars annually to carry on the Government and make any progress in payment of the national debt. This is two dollars a head for every man, woman and child, black and white, in the United States.

This amount is to be paid by a tariff of duties on imported merchandise, equal to one third of its value.

Now, what pays this tax? The foreign producer or manufacturer does not pay it; for his articles are sold to our merchants before it is collected. Our merchants themselves pay it to Government when they land the goods in this country. But does it finally come out of the merchant? Not at all, or only so far as they are consumers. They add the tax to the price of the goods, with a profit upon it, and make our dear customers pay a back to them. The second purchaser and the third do the same thing, until the goods are bought for consumption by the farmer, planter, mechanic, laborer, professional man, and all others who use or consume such articles. Of course, it is these who ultimately pay the tax to the Government, increased by the profit of the first purchaser raises it to at least thirty-three and one-third, of the second to thirty-seven, of the third to about forty-three, and so on, increasing ten to twenty-five per cent. as they pass through the hands of each successive dealer. But for purposes of illustration, we will assume that the duties are thirty per cent increased only to thirty-three and one-third when they come into the hands of the consumer.

The consequence is, that the farmer, mechanic, and other consumers pay fifty per cent. more for what they buy than they would otherwise have to pay.

What we are most anxious to effect is, to make these classes fully sensible of the real effect of this system upon their industry and interests.

Can it be the interest of the farmer to make him give three bushels of wheat, corn, rye, oats, potatoes, or three pounds of meat, butter, cheese, wool, &c. &c. for that which would otherwise cost him but two?

Suppose the Government were to permit foreign goods to come in free, thereby reducing the prices one-third, and instead of a tariff, were to station its officers at the farmers' doors to take for the use of the Government one-third of all the produce, meat, poultry, wool, and whatever else they send out to sell, would they not consider it a monstrous tax?

If, instead of a tariff adding fifty per cent to the price of merchandise and groceries, the Government were to take from the mechanic and laborer one third of the money they now spend for those articles or rather should make them work for the Government one day out of three during the period now occupied by them in earning that portion of their money, would they not consider it intolerable oppression?

There are no classes who spend a larger portion of their income in purchasing foreign commodities than lawyers, doctors, and divines. What interest have they in paying fifty per cent. more than the regular and fair price for those commodities?

And what interest have the merchants themselves in this system? They, in common with the farmers, are taxed fifty per cent. on their consumption of foreign and as a class they consume more than any other. Yet, it does not increase their profits. It is third of the capital invested in goods were not required to pay the duty, they could purchase fifty per cent. more goods; and if one-third of the farmers' and mechanics' surplus were not required to refund this duty to the merchants, those classes would buy more goods. The consequence is, that the merchants, like the

farmers, are made by a tariff to pay a tax in the amount of foreign goods consumed on their families without the least return.—Indeed a high tariff is injurious to their business by lessening, and in some cases annihilating, the ability of other classes to purchase of them.

Let us take another view of the effects of tariff action upon the industry of a people.

Trade, so far as producers are concerned, is but an interchange of commodities between producers of different countries or of the same country. The merchants and all those employed in buying, transporting, and selling, are but the agents of the producers, paid for their services out of the articles bought, transported, and sold, or out of the moneys received for them, (which amounts to the same thing.) If the producers could make these exchanges without the aid of these agents, they would get much more in return for the products and would enjoy among themselves the entire fruits of the mutual industry.

There are two neighbors living close together; one has pork to spare and wants corn, the other has corn to spare and wants pork. If they exchange corn for pork without the intervention of a trader, it is evident that so far, they enjoy between them the entire fruits of their own industry. But it is otherwise if they sell their corn and pork to a merchant and buy of him the article wanted. The merchant takes every tenth pound of the pork and every tenth bushel of the corn to feed his own family, and sells the remaining nine for as much as he gave for the ten. Thus, the two farmers, instead of enjoying between them the entire fruits of their own industry, lose one tenth by employing this needy doer of the business for them; and thus it is that the merchant's support and wealth come out of the farmers and other producers.

But suppose the Government were to station its agent in the road between the farmers' houses, with instructions to stop their wagons, and take out for the use of the Government one-third of all the pork and corn sent for exchange or sale, or actually exchanged, would they steam a benefit worthy of their gratitude and applause?

If the farmers lived in different townships and the tax gatherer were stationed on the line between them, would it make the matter a whit less objectionable? If they lived in different States and the tax gatherer were upon the borders of the States, would not the effect be the same?

And if they live in different nations and the tax gatherer is fixed on their coast or their boundaries, taking for the use of Government one-third of all that comes in or goes out, one or both, how can it be any benefit to the farmer, on the one side or the other? Can it be an advantage to him to lose one-third of his crops of grain or other produce? If so, let him raise a stock of squirrels, rats, and mice, hawks, crows, and buzzards, to eat it up and save further trouble.

It is obviously the interest of the farmer, to exchange his surplus for what he wants, with his neighbor farmer or other producer, without any duty, at all, either for merchants' profit or Government tax. In exchanges with producers living in different States and nations, the intervention of merchants is not to be avoided, and their profit is a fair deduction from the surplus products sold or exchanged for their proceeds. But the interposition of Government taxers taking a third or half of the articles exchanged for their own uses, is not a necessary incident to the transaction, and is a tax on all classes of consumers, acting with blighting effect, both directly and indirectly, on the great mass of producers in both countries; directly in taking from them a large portion of their surplus produce; indirectly in lessening the ability of their neighbors or fellow-producers to purchase the balance. If I have pork to sell and my neighbor has corn, and the Government take from me one-third of my pork, I cannot, with the other two-thirds, buy so much of his corn. His market for corn is therefore impaired by the Government tax upon me. So, if the Government take a third of his corn, it in like manner impairs my market for pork. Thus, a tax upon one is an injury to both, and an equal tax upon both doubles the injury.

In this view, we have confined ourself to the natural and necessary effect of tariff taxation, independent of the object for which it is levied. These are its effects upon different classes of society when imposed for purposes of revenue only. We beg our readers to consider whether there is anything intrinsically or sound in our premises or conclusions; for our only object is to lead them to the truth. If any one thinks he sees any thing erroneous in them, and will favor us with a condensed statement or arguments adverse to our conclusions, we will most cheerfully give it insertion in the Democrat.

In the meantime, we shall mature some views as to the effects of a retaliatory tariff, a measure now vehemently urged upon our Government.

From Gouge's Journal of Banking. ORIGIN OF PAPER MONEY.

It is a fact well worthy of notice, that in all countries in which paper money has been introduced, it has owed its origin, not to the demands of commerce, but to the necessities of the State. The reason for this is, that commerce creates its own medium. In commerce, conducted on legitimate principles, mere promises to pay are never submitted for actual payment.—The merchant may buy upon credit, but when the day arrives on which he has promised to pay, he will, if he is honest, fulfill his engagements.

The necessities of the State, in very ancient times, introduced paper money into China, into Tartary, into India, and into Persia. And in modern, or comparatively modern times, the necessities of the State have introduced paper money into Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, the United States, Brazil, and Buenos Ayres.

There are some who suppose, or seem to suppose, that without paper money there would be little or no commerce. We would call their attention to the fact, that in no one country did the necessities of commerce give rise to the use of paper money. The fact is of importance.

The Bank of England was established on condition of lending all its capital to Government. The first issue of paper money in this country was made by Massachusetts in 1633, not to serve the purposes of commerce, but to satisfy the demands of some clamorous soldiers. The next was made by South Carolina in 1712, to defray the expenses of an expedition against the Pascaguas. The first of our regularly constituted paper money banks was the Bank of North America. Private schemes were undoubtedly at the bottom of this, but the schemers owed their success entirely to the hope they held out of relieving their own institution the pecuniary wants of Government. The like is true of the first Bank of the United States.

Banks have, indeed, been established in different countries, solely to aid the operations of commerce. Of this kind were the banks of Hamburg & Amsterdam. But they were hard money banks.

SANTA ANNA AND TEXAS.

The Globe gives the following circumstances to exhibit the hypocrisy of the Mexican Autocrat.—Western Carolinian.

"It is singular that Santa Anna should again invade Texas. His views of his duty to Mexico have undergone a great change since he was in Washington, or the opinions he expressed here were deeply imbued with dissimulation. We were present at his private interview with Gen. Jackson, (Mr. Forsyth acting as the interpreter between them,) when Santa Anna declared that there must be an everlasting separation between Mexico and Texas. He spoke of the character of the two people, and their respective positions, as rendering this inevitable and their recent rupture as one that could never be healed. We remember the figure with which he illustrated this part of his eloquent conversation. He said that Texas was then to Mexico a broken limb, so utterly incapable of a sound reunion, that amputation was indispensable, to preserve Mexico itself.

With the greatest apparent frankness, however, he told Gen. Jackson, that, under the circumstances in which he returned to Mexico, he could not act efficiently to accomplish what was so desirable; that to advocate, in the prejudiced state of feeling in Mexico, the independence of Texas, would be looked upon in him as treason, purchased by the gift of his life; and that to exert his influence immediately for that object, would only serve to cover him with dishonor, and deprive him of all power to accomplish what, at the proper time, in another state of public feeling, he would most eagerly contribute to effect. From his letters now, it would seem that all this was hypocrisy—and that he nourished nothing but feelings of revenge for his humiliation, without one grateful recollection of the magnanimity which restored him to life, liberty, and power.

From the Western Carolinian.

THE DISTRIBUTION BILL.

Mr. Tyler has sent a special Message to Congress recommending in strong terms the repeal of the Distribution Law, and a pledge of the proceeds of the Public Lands to pay the interest of the public debt. He says that he considered the act at the time of its passage, a wise, just, and beneficent measure, but has now changed his views, and think that:—"to continue it in force while there is no such surplus to distribute,

and then it is manifestly necessary not only to increase the duties, but at the same time to borrow money in order to liquidate the public debt and disembarass the public Treasury, would cause it to be regarded as an unwise alienation of the best security of the public creditor, which would with difficulty be excused, and could not be justified."

It is well that Mr. Tyler has at last discovered this. Thus the people see the miserable measures of the Extra Session abandoned of necessity before they go into operation, by some of the very leaders who had introduced them. The Disrupt Law rejected by a large majority in the House, and only not rejected, for chance, in the Senate, of the same Congress that passed it; and now the great boasted measure of the party, the Bribery Bill by which Mr. Clay hoped to buy up the States, and ride into the Presidential Chair, declared by the Whig President to be "an unwise alienation" of the public money, that "could not be justified"—and its repeal recommended!

Glorious Prospects ahead.—Mr. Tyler gives Congress the satisfactory information, in his late special message, that although the loan bill for five millions of dollars pending before Congress, passes, making the National debt twenty-two millions, still there will be a deficiency in the Treasury of two and a half millions, to meet the estimates for the year. This must be raised by increasing the Tariff taxes. So we go—squander—borrow—tax. Plunge deeper and deeper into debt every day—this gives a pretext for raising the Tariff up—until it is high enough to protect the Northern manufactures—that is, to oppress and plunder the South effectually. This is the policy and aim of Federal extravagance and profligacy in expenditures.—*Id.*

The Whiggery used to abuse the Democratic party with what was then considered, great violence, but there can be no sort of comparison between that, and the brotherly notices they are bestowing on one another now. Their denunciations of the Democrats were harsh and vulgar; their abuse of each other is not only grossly unmeasured, but absolutely ferocious; such names as traitors, renegades, knaves, and the like are common terms of reciprocal application. If they are to be respectively believed, there never existed upon the face of the earth two more dishonest and utterly corrupt factions than those veritable divisions of the great Whig party which has heretofore claimed "all the talent and decency" of the country. Of course the Democrats never doubt or dispute what either party says of the other—that would be disrespectful.—*Id.*

THE BETTER TIMES—WHIG PROMISES.

As Mr. Clay is about retiring to the shades of Ashland, it may be well to remind him of the promises he made before the last election, and contrast them with the present condition of affairs, which every opponent of the late Administration admits is worse than any thing experienced under Mr. Van Buren.

On the 4th of July, 1840, in his speech at Hanover, Mr. Clay said: "The fact of General Harrison's election will of itself powerfully contribute to the security and prosperity of the people. Confidence will immediately revive, credit will be restored, active business will renew, and the prices of products and the wages of labor will rise."

Instead of this, those who were deceived into the belief that the remedy for over-crowding, overbanking, and over speculation, lay in a change of Administration, and expected plenty of money, and "two dollars a day and roast beef" for the laborer, are compelled to exclaim with Gov. John Davis, when he taunted the late Administration: "Where is the golden era of fiction? The arched eyes of many are stretched in vain after it, while it recedes like the mirage of the desert before the weary traveler."—*Boston Post.*

From the Hartford Times.

THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

In a period of profound peace, we find the country overwhelmed in pecuniary embarrassment—the Government totally unable to meet the demands made against it—the treasury perfectly exhausted—our expenses increased in a single year many millions; a rapidly increasing national debt; and those entrusted with power advocating largely increased taxation. This is the condition of the country, and this is the promised relief. Instead of reducing the expenditures from twenty-one millions to thirteen millions, as was promised before the election of these Whig financiers, the expenditures are carried up to more than thirty-two millions. These are the promised blessings of a Whig administration. The financiers who have upheld the financial skill of Nicholas Biddle and his associates, are now managing the affairs of the mighty nation, with like skill and like results.

It is not surprising that the Whigs dislike to dwell upon "the condition of the coun-

try." It is an unpleasant topic to them, and the very worst that can be introduced to their consideration on the eve of election. But as there are intelligent and patriotic men who like facts, we submit to them the following extract from the financial writer in the New York Herald:

The disagreeable condition of the Government finances, the daily dishonor of its obligations; the little prospect that yet exists of a speedy termination to existing difficulties has called from the President a special message to Congress on the subject, accompanied by a report of the Secretary and accruing claims on the Treasury during the next ninety days, &c. the means of meeting them. These documents will be found in another column. From these it appears that the deficiency up to June next, will be \$3,255,688, if the receipts prove as large as are estimated. This added to the Treasury notes outstanding on the 1st inst. will make the national debt reach the following sum:

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| Treasury notes outstanding | \$8,539,159 |
| March 1st, | 2,633,993 |
| Treasury notes to be issued, | 3,255,688 |
| Deficit per report, | 5,326,800 |
| total actual debt, | \$19,755,640 |
| March, 1842, | 5,294,004 |
| Increase of debt, | \$14,461,636 |

showing an increase of near \$15,000,000 in the debt, notwithstanding that the imports of the past year greatly exceeded those of 1840. This state of affairs is the more disgraceful when we look back upon the events of the past year, and remember that the extra session was called by the partisans of Mr. Clay, expressly to obviate the financial difficulties supposed to exist. The party had ridden into power under promises of "relief." The arguments proposed to obtain that relief were to borrow, create debts, and paper money; accordingly the first thing done to relieve the Treasury was to give away the land revenues. Having got clear of that permanent source of revenue, a loan was projected, without setting apart any thing to meet either principle or interest. In fact, the only property that could be appropriated to that purpose—the "land revenues"—had been given away.

The next measure of relief was to create a bank that would fill the hands and pockets of speculators, and politicians with bank paper, and through them inundate the country with promises that could never have been kept. This precious scheme was defeated by the firmness and foresight of the President, and had it not been, could not have gone into operation—first, because individuals would not trust it, and second because the Government, as it turned out, could not negotiate the loans that were intended as a basis for the conversion. Having devised these schemes of raising the wind, expenditures were increased \$5,000,000, in order to fulfil promises of "retrenchment." Time wore on to the regular session. The Treasurer had not been able to obtain his loans. The issues of Treasury notes were becoming large, and a factious Congress was disposed to do nothing but forward the most contemptible schemes of political quackery, whose only claims upon the country consist in the persevering recklessness with which they have looked after their individual interests through a long life, and whose juggling tricks have been prompted through a corrupt press as acts of patriotism. These people have been, and are bent upon destroying the character of the country, for no other reason than the hope that by thwarting the Executive in his endeavors to remove the fiscal concerns of the Government, they may throw the odium of the dishonor the country is undergoing upon him, and thereby further their own selfish views. This is the real cause of the inaction of Congress, amid the disgrace which surrounds them.

The following (says the Richmond Compiler) is one of the most touching tales of human affliction we remember to have read for many a day. We find it in the Kanawha Republican of 5th inst.

Tom Sentinel.

KANAWHA, SALINE, Feb. 25th, 1842. HEART-RENDING OCCURRENCE.—On the 16th of February, Mr. William McClung left his peaceful habitation, his wife and four children, in the wilderness of Nicholas county, Va., and went to Summersville to transact some business, with an intention to return home that evening, but the mountain storm became so intense in the afternoon that he declined doing so. His wife and children having retired to rest, were alarmed at a late hour by the burning of their house. She escaped with her little ones from the violence of the devouring fire, but alas! alas! it was only to perish by the peltings of the pitiless storm!

The next day when Mr. McClung returned home, he found his house consumed