E TARFF. the Speech of Mr. Three causes have been generally stated, or burraysments, we all sides. Of full of difficulties s and these dif-have not been diminished by the hitheria pursued, of proceeding A diversity of interests exists, or report of it.

ty. Different opinions are entertained as foreseen. to the constitutional power of Congress : But, s members of the Sepate have instructions, clash with one another.

under all circumstances, and in all or any form, care not how objectionable it now is, per pound. The effect of this is abvious gether. or how bad it may be made. Others, find-Ing their own leading objects satisfactorily of the reduction, it may be convenient to have made out a case for the interposition such a owed objects, must waken a spirit, secured by it, naturally enough press forward, without staying to consider, deliberately, how injuriously other interests may be affected. All these causes create embarrassments, and inspire just fears, that a wise and useful result, is hardly to be nothing. The English manufacturer havexpected. I have not had the slightest ing certain advantages, on his side, such wish to discuss the measure ; not believing as the lower price of labor, and the low in-that in the present state of things, any terest of money, the object of our law was could be done by me in that way .- It counteract these advantages, by creating But the frequent declarations that this was others in behalf of the American manu- reconciled to common justice, or common altogether a New-England measure, a bill facturers. Therefore, to see what was nefor securing a monopoly to the capitalists | cessary to be done, in order that the Ameof the North, and other expressions of a similar nature, have induced me to say a few words.

New-England, sir, has not been a leader in this policy... On the contrary, she held back, herself, and tried to hold others back from it, from the adoption of the Constitution to 1824. Up to 1824 she was accused passed, the English manufacturer paid a the molasses tax; at x, in my opinion, that she may suffer also, she will bid you of sinister and selfish designs, because she duty of sixpence sterling on imported bourd and preposterous, in relation to a- come on-she will meet challenge with of wool and woollen. for the purpose of discountenanced the progress of this policy. It was laid to ber charge, then, that having established her manufactures herself, she wished that others should not have the pence per | ound, in the price of wool, was iy. And yet, here it is, and here it is, and here it is ry one of her votes in the Senate to strike contrary, it is that of the wool growers .---power of rivaling her : and, for that reason, opposed all legislative encouragement. Under the angry denunciation against her. the act of 1824 passed. Now the imputation is precisely of an opposite character. The present measure is pronounced to be exclusively for the benefit of New England -to be brought forward by her agency, and designed to gratify the cupidity of her wealthy establishments. Both charges, sit, are equally without the slightest foundation. The opinion of New-England, up to 1824, was founded id the conviction, that, on the whole, it was wisest and best, both for herself and ponderance of advantage, most decidedly, others, that manufactures should make on the side of the English. If the Amerihaste slowly. She felt a reluctance to trust | can manufacturer had not vastly too great great interests on the foundation of govern- a preference, before this reduction took ment patronage : for wh . could tell how long such patronage would last, or with | wards. what steadiness, skill or perseverance it would continue to be granted ? It is now | law of 1824, and the reduction of the wool nearly fifteen years, since, among the first | duty in England, taken together, left our things which I ever ventured to say here, manufacturers in a worse condition than was the expression of a serious doubt, whe- they were before. If there was any reather this Government was fitted by its con- sonable ground therefore, for passing the struction, to administer aid and protection | law of 1824, there is now the same ground to particular pursuity: whether, having for some ther measure; and this ground called such pursuits into being by indica- too, is reinforced by the consider tion of tions of its favor, it would not, afterwards, hopes excited, the enterprizes undertaken desert them when troubles came upon them, and the capital invested, in consequence of and leave them to their fate. Whether | that law. this prediction, the result, certainly, of So much, Sir, for this cause of disapchance, and not of sagacity, will so soon | pointment. be fulfilled, remains to be seen. and invitation towards those who should embark in manufactures. All the Presidents. I believe, without exception, have concur close of the war, in 1816. Finally, after a whole winter's deliberation, the act of 1824 received the sanction of both Houses of Congress, and settled the policy of the country. What then was New-England to do ? She was fitted for manufacturing. operations by the amount and character of her population, by her capital, by the vigor and energy of her labor, by the skill, economy, enterprize and perseverance of her people. I repeat, what was she, onder these circumstances, to do ? A great and prosperous rival in her near neighborhood, threatening to draw from her a part, perhaps a great part of her foreign commerce ; was she to use, or to neglect, those other means of seeking her own prosperity which belonged to her character and condition ? Was she to hold out, forever, against the course of the Government, and see herself Insing, on one side, and yet make no effort to sustain herself on the other? No, sir.

hich had now acises to thwart its benchcial operations, as to them ; although in sachusetts. to disclaim a participation in

d to exist, in different parts of case, though it may be said to have been This is one source of difficul- unexpected, was certainly not entirely un-

a is another. And then, again, different puted their disappointment to a reduction hardship, particular interests ; while both of the price of wool in England, which of them benefit nobody and nothing but which they feel bound to obey, and which took place just about the date of the law in the Treasury. . It contains provisions, 1824. The reduction was produced by which, with whatever motive put into it, Those who intend to oppose this bill, lowering the duty on imported wool from it is confessed are now kept in, for the ve- lasses. Sir, do gentlemen flatter themsixpence sterling to one penny sterling ry purpose of destroying the bill alto- selves that this course of policy can answer enough , but in order to see the real extent

> state matters more particularly. The meaning of our law was doubtless to give the American manufaturer an ad vanlage over his English competitors, -Protection must mean this, or it means rican manufacturer might sustain the competion, a relative view of the respective advantages was to be taken. In this view

the very first element to be considered was. what is to each party the cost of the caw material. On this the whole must materially depend. Now when the law of 1824 the bill to be felt. Of this description is propose to suffer, yourselvelves, in order obvious, had its effect on the price of homeproduced wool also. Almost, then, at the very moment, that the framers of the act of 1824, were raising the price of the raw material here; as that act did raise it, it was lowered in England, by the very great reduction of furenty six per cent. Of course, this changed the whole basis of the calculation. It wrought a complete change in the relative advantages of the English and American competitors ; and threw the preplace, it is clear he had too little after-I think it cannot be doubted that our

cessary, on behalf of the citizens of Masone aspect, perhaps the law itself was that meeting. Persons of much worth and respectability attended it from Massachu setts, and its proceedings and results ma-

cles, besides wool and wnollens. It contains some provisions which bear, with unnecessary severity, on the whole commu-But, secondly, the manufacturers im- nity; others which affect, with peculiar

> of Congress. They happen to live, prinprovisions are fuund, which are supposed, (and supported, because they are so suppostry. Sir, what can be expected, but evil. can such a hostile retaliatory legislation be and debased, if he does not resist it? prudence ? Nay, sir, this rule of action seems carried still farther. Not only are clauses found, and continued in the bil, which oppress particular interests, but taxes are land, also, which will be severely felt by the whole Union : and this too wi h. He same design and for the same end be-

every part of the country having, thus, an internal improvements. interest in its continuance and extension. Mr. President, in what I have now said, a interest in its continuance and extension. A market for these exports, to any of these portions of the country, is of infinitely more importance to it than all the benefit to be be expected from the supposed infrom grain.

Yet, this tax is to be kept in the bill, that New-England may be made to feel .-constitutional to lay any tax, whatever, for more worthy of the Senate, and more estcalls the whole bill a "bill of abomination ," yet he votes for i'. Buth the gentlemen from North-Carolina have signified their dissatisfaction with the hill, yet they have both voted to double the tax on mutheir purposes ? Do they not perceive, that The woollen manufacturers think they such a mode of proceeding, with a view to

that shall treat tount with scorn, and bid cipally, at the north and east ; and, in a menace defiance ? Do they not know-if bill, professing to be for their relief, other they do not it is time that they did-that a policy like this, arowed with such self satisfaction, persisted in with a delight ed,) to be such is will press, with peculi- which should only a company the discovear hardship, on that quarter of the coun- ry of some new and wonderful improvemeut in legislation, will compel every New when a temper like this prevails? How England man to feel that he is degraded Sir. gentlemen mistake us. They greativ mistake us. To those who propose to conduct the affairs of government, and to enact laws on such principles as these, and for such objects as these, New-England, be assured, will exhibit, not submission, but resistance ; not humiliation but disdain. Against her, depend on it, nothing fore mentioned, of causing the smart of will be g med by intimidation. If you

wool. But in a few days afterwards, the ny object of protection ; ne dlessly op- challenge : she will invite you to do your showing, that even in respect to that part duty was reduced by parliament, from six pressive to the whole community ; and be- worst, and your best, and to see who will of the bill, the interest mainly protected pence to a penny. A reduction of five nefiting nobody on earth, but the Treasu- hold out longest. She has offered you eve- is not that of the manufacturers. On the estimated in Parliament to a reduction of kept, under an idea, conceived in igno- out this tax on molasses. You have refus- The wood grower is vastly more benefited twenty six per cent, ad valorem, on all rance, and cherished for a short-lived tri- ed to join her, to strike it out. With the than the manufacturer .- The interest of imported wool ; and this reduction, it is umph, that New England will be deterred and of he votes of any one southern State, the manufacturer is treated as secondary by this tax, from protecting the ext nsive for example, of . North Carolina, it could woollen manufactures ; or, if not, that the | have been struck out. But North-Caroliauthors of this policy may it least have the na has refused her votes for this purpose. pleasure, the high pleasure, of perceiving She has voted to keep the tax in, and to the wool. The agricultural interest, the Sir, let us look, for a moment, at this sir, North-Carolina, whatever she may owner is the great object which the bill is tax. The molasses imported into the U | think of it, is fully as much interested, in | calculated to benefit, and which it will be-States amounts to THIRTEEN millions of this tax as Massachusetts. I think, ingallous annually. Of this qua tity not deed, she is more interested, and that she live. A comparison of existing duties with more than THREE millions are distilled ; will feel it more heavily and sorely. She the remaining TEN millions being consum- is herse f a great consumer of the article, ed as an article of wholesome food. The throughout all her classes of population .proposed tax is not to be laid for revenue. This increase of the duty will levy on her This is not pretended. It was not intro- citizens a new tax of fifty thousand dollars per lb. or upwards ; and a duty of 15 per duced for the benefit of the sugar planters, a year, or more ; although her Represen-They are contented with their present con- titives on this floor have so often told us dition, and have applied for nothing - that her people are now pour, and already ty of 4 cis. per 1b. and also an ad valorem :

act itself, as of a new state of circumstant, sembled in Pennistivania, and agreed on a ed on the freest and most liberal princi-bes, unforeseen when the law passed, but petition to Congress. I do not feel it ue. pies. The exports which sustain it are from the East, the South and the West ; "objects, in useful and necessary works of ;

I have but followed where others have led, and compelled me to follow. I have but exhibited to gentlemen, the necessary cost sequence of their own course of proceeding. creased consumption of spirits distilled But this manner of passing laws is wholly against my own judgment, and repugnant to all my feelings. And I would, even now, once more solicit gentlemen to consider. Gentlemen who hold it to be whally un- whether a different course would not be the purposes intended by this bill, yet cor- ful to the country. Why should, we not dially vote for this tax. An honorable act upon this b D, article by article, judge gentleman from Maryland, [Mr. Smith] fairly of each, retain what a majority approves, and reject the rest? If it be, ast the gentleman from Maryland called it. " a bill of abominations," why not strike out as many of the abominations is we can? Extreme measures cannot tend to good They must produce mischief. If a proper and moderate bill, in regard to wool and woollen's had passed last year, we should not now be in our present situa ion. If such a bill, extended perhaps to a few other articles, if necessity so required, had been prepared and recommended at this session. much, both of excitement and of evil, would have been avoided.

Nevertheless, sir, it is for gentlemen to judge for themselves. If when the would manufacturers think they have a fair right to call on Congress to carry u.to effect; what was intended by the law of 1924. and when there is manifested some disposition to comply with what they thus reques', the benefit cannot be granted in any other manner, than inserting it in a sort of bill of pains and penalties-a " bill of abomination :"" It is not for me to attempt to reason down, what has been reasoned up ; but I must content myself with ada monishing gentlemen that their policy is. destined, is all probability, to terminate in their own sore disappointment.

I advert once more, sir, to the subject

In the last place, it was alleged by the At the same time it is true, that from | manufacturers, they suffered from the mode the very first commencement of the Gov- of collecting the duties on woollen fabernment, those who have administered its rics at the Custom Houses. These duties concerns have held a tone of encouragement | are ad valorem duties. Such duties "from the commencement of the Government, have been estimated by reference to the invoice, as fixing the value at the place whence imin this general sentiment ; and the very ported. When not suspected to be false of first act of Congress, laying duties on im-| fraudulent, the Invoice is the regular proof ports, adopted the then unusual expedient of value. Originally this was a tolerably safe of a preamble, apparently for lit le other mode of proceeding. While the importapurpose than that of declaring, that the tion was mainly in the hands of American duties, which it imposed, were imposed merchants, the Invoice would of course, if for the encouragement and protection of not false or fraudulent, express the terms manufactures. When, at the commence- and the price of an actual purchase and ment of the late war, duties were doubled, sale. But an Invoice is not necessarily, we were fold that we should find a miti- an instrument expressing the sale of goods gation of the weight of taxation, in the new | and the prices. If there be but a list, or aid and succor which would be thus afford- | catalogue, with prices. By way of estied to our own manufacturing labor. Like mate, it is still an Invoice, and within the arguments were urged, and prevailed, but law. Now the suggestion is, that the Ennot by the aid of New England votes, when | glish manufacturer, in making out an inthe Tariff was afterwards arranged at the voice, in which prices are stated by himself, in the way of estimate merely, is able to obtain an important advantage over the merchant who purchases in the same market, and whose invoice states, consequently, the actual prices, on the sale. And in proof of this suggestion it is alleged, that in the largest importing city in the Union, a very great proportion, some say nearly all, of the woollen fabricks are imported on fureign accounts. The various papers which have been before us, praying for a tax on auction sales, aver that the invoice of the foreign importer is generally decidedly lower than that of the American importer; and that, in consequence of this and of the practice of sales at auction, the American merchant must be driven out of the trade. I cannot answer for the entire accuracy of the statements, but I have no doubt there is something of truth in them. The main facts have been often stated, and I have neither seen nor heard Nothing was left to New-England, after a denial of them. the act of 1824, but to cupform herself to I am glad to see the American mer the will of others. Nothing was left to chants themselves, begin to bestow atten her, but to consider that the government tion to a subject, as interesting to them. had fixed and determined its policy ; and as it is to the manufacturers. that policy was protection. Under this state of things, the law o As a general remark, it may be said, the last session was proposed. It was conthat the interests concerned in the act of fined, as I thought properly, to wool and 1824, did not complain of their con- woodlens. But this bill failed, & Congress dition onder it, excepting only those con- adjourned. The complaints, which had giv. employing many hands, and much naviganected with the woollen manufactures.- en rise to the bill, continued ; and in the These did complains not so much of the course of the summer, a meeting of the

th t she feels the effects of the bill.

nal professed object, was, to increase, by will feel this tax also in her trade, for description.

are distilled into spirits, and all this for growers have had bothing to do with it .ed : is it so desirable an object, as that it paid. should be sought by such means ? Shall

Shall we raise the price of a wholesome der that we may enjoy a mere chance of our home-made ardent spirits?

this new duly on molasses, the consump- what of foreign commerce has she, more tion of spirits distilled from grain. This, useful to her than the West-India market I say, was the object originally professed. for her provisions and lumber ? And yet good cloths, and costing from 30 to 40 ctsa But in this point of view, the measure ap- the gentiemen from North-Carolina insist pears to me to be preposterous. It is mon- on keeping this t x in the bill. Let them strous, and out of all proportion and rela- in t, t e , complain. Let them not, heretion of means to ends. It proposes to after, call it the work of others. It is theur double the duty on the TEN millions of own work. Let them not lay it to the gallons of molasses, which are consumed manufacturers. The manufacturers have lorem.

as food, in order that it may likewise dou- had nothing to do with it. Let them not ble the duty on the THREE millions which lay it to the wool-growers. The woolthe contingent and doubtful purpose of aug- Let them not lay it to New England .menting the consumption of spirits distill- New England-has done nothing but to oped from grain. I say contingent & doubt- pose it, and to ask them to opp se it also. ful purpose ; because I do not believe any No, sir. let them take it to themselves .such effect will be produced. I do not L t hem enjoy the fruit of their own dothink a hunared gallons more of spirits ings. L. t them assign their mouves, for distilled from grain will find a market in thus taxing their own constituents, and aconsequence of this tax on molasses. The bide their judgment ; but no not let them debate, here and elsewhere, has shown Batter themselves that New England canthat, I think clearly. But suppose some not pay a molass s tax as long as Northslight effect of that kind should be produc- Carolina chooses that such a tax shall be

Sir, I am sure there is nobody here, enwe tax food to encourage intemperance ? vious of the prosperity of New England, or who would wish to see it destroyed .article of sustenance, of daily consumption, But if there be such any where, I cannot especially among the poorer classes. in or- cheer them by holding out the hope of a speedy accomplishment of their wishes .causing these same classes, to use more of The prosperity of New E gland like that of other parts of the country, may, doubt-The bare statement of this question puts less, be affected injuriously by wawise or it beyond the reach of all argument. No unjust laws. It may be is paired, especi- in the other from 15 to 100. Now the man will seriously undertake the defence ally, by an unsteady and shifting policy which fosters particular objects to day, & abandons thein tomorrow. She may advance faster, or slower ; but the propelling principle, be assured is deep, fixed and active. Her course is onward and forward. The great powers of free labour, of moral habits, of general education, of good institutions, of skill, enterprise, and persever ance, are all working with her, and for her; and en the small surface which her population covers, she is destined, I think, to exhibit striking results of the operation of these potent causes, in whatever constitutes the bappiness, or belongs to the ornament of human society. Mr. President, this tax on molasses will public advantage. We have already passseveral of our harbors ; the Ches peake culture. and Ohio, canal bill has been brought into the Senate, while I have been speaking ; the breakwater at Nantucket. These ap propriations, sir, will require pretty ample means ; it will be convenient to have a well supplied Treasury, and I state, for the especial consolation of the honorable genlemen from N. Carolina, that so long as they choose to pay a mulasses tas, the pro-

and subordin...tc, throughout the bill, Just so much and no more is done for him, as to enable him to purchase and manufactore keep it in at the highest rate. And yet, farming interest, the interest of the sheep. nefit, if the manufacturer can be kept athose proposed on the wool and on the cluth. will show how this part of the case stands. At present, the duty of SU per cent. ad valorent is laid on all wool costing 10 cts, cent, on all wool under that price-

The present bill proposes a specific du-What, then, was the object? The origi- borne down with taxes. North-Corolina duty of 50 per cent. on all wool of every

> The result of the combination of these two duties is, that wool, fit for making per lb. in the foreign market, will pay a duty, at least equal to sixty per cent. ad valorem-and wool costing less than 10 cts. in the foreign market, will pay a duty, on the average, of a hundred per cent. ad va-

Now, sir. these heavy duties are laid for the wool grower. They are designed to give a spring to agriculture, by fostering . one of its most important products.

But let us see what is done for the manufacturer in order to enable him to manufacture the raw material, at prices so much enhanced.

As the bill passed the House of Representatives, the advance of duties on cloths is supposed not to be more than 3 per et. in the minimum points. Taking the am't of duty to be now S7 per cent. ad valorem. on cloths, this bill, as it came to us, proposed, if that supposition be true, only to carry it up to 40. Amendments here adopted, have enhanced this fluty, and are understood in have carried it up to a duty of 45, or perhaps 50 per cent. al valorem. Faking it at the highest, the duty on the cloth is raised thirteen per cent. while that on wool is raised, in some instances thirty, and in some ins ances eighty-five per cent -that is, in one case from 30 to 60, and calculation is said to be true which supposes, that a duty of 30 per cent. on the raw material, enhances, by 15 per cent, the cost of producing the cloth ; the raw macerial being estimated, generally, to be equal to half the expense of the fabric. Few or no foreign cloths, it is supposed, costing more than fifty cents a yard, and less than a dullar, will be imported ; therefore, American cloths, worth more than ffty cents and less than a dollar, will find a market, So of the intervals or intermediate spaces, between the other st tate prices. In this mode, it may be hoped, that the manufacturers may be sustained, and rendered able to carry on the work of converting the raw material, the agricultural benefit the Treasury, though it will benefit product of the country, into an article benobody else. Our mances will at least, be cessary and fit for use. And this stateimproved by it. I assure the gentlemen, ment, I think, sufficiently shows, that ho we will endeavor to use the funds thus to farther advantage or ben-fit, is intended be raised properly and wisely, and to the for them, than such as shall barely enable. them to accomplish that purpose ; and that ed a bill for the Delaware breakwater ; an- the object to which all others have been other is before us for the improvement of made to yield, is the advantage of agri-

of such a tax. It is better, much more candid, certainly, to admir, as has been admitted, that obnoxious as it is, and abominable as it is, it is kept in the bill with a special view to its effect on New England votes, and New-England interests.

The bill also takes away all drawback, allowed by existing laws, on the expertation of spirits distilled from molasses ; and this, it is supposed, and truly supposed, will affect New-England. It will considerably affect her ; for the exportation of such spirits is a part of her trade, and though not great in amount, it is a part which mingles usefully, with the exportation of other articles, assists to make out variely of cargo, and finds a market in the North of Europe, the Mediterranean, and in South America. - This exportation , the bill proposes entirely to destroy.

The increased duty on molasses, while it thus needlessly and wantooly enhances the price to the consumer, may affect also, in a greater or less degree, the importation of that article ; and be thus injurious to the commerce of the country. The importation of mulasses, in exchange for lumber, provisions, and other articles of our own production, is one of the largest portions of our. West India trade ; a trade, it may be added, though of small profit, yet of short voyages, suited to small capitals, tion ; and the earliest and oldest brauch of our foreign commerce. That pottion of wool-growers and wool-manufacturers as- this trade which we now enjoy is conduct-

Mr. W. concluded his speech by condemning the extraordinary augmentation and next session we hope to bring forward of the duty on hemp contained to this bill. The duty at present, he said, is nearly thirty five dollars per ton ; and the bill proposes a progressive increase u.l.it shill reach sixty dollars. This will be absolut :ty oppressi e on the shipping in erest, the great consumers of the article. When this outy shall have mached the max without