

# Bradford Reporter

WEDNESDAY,

Regardless of Denunciation from any Quarter.—Gov. PORTER.

BY R. S. GOODRICH & SON.

No. 7.

TOWANDA, BRADFORD COUNTY, PA., SEPTEMBER 4, 1844.

NO. 12.

## A New Song.

The tune of BILLY O'ROKE, as sung by the Glee Minstrels, Hornesville. Composed by a member.

That curious times we've now-a-days,  
The whigs are all commotion;  
The Democrats can do, they say,  
Just as they have a notion.

They have a chap called James K. Polk—  
And they are all advising  
To vote for him and not to go  
For Clay and Frelinghuysen,  
For he's the man will do just right  
In his administration,  
He plays no pranks with mother banks,  
Or Banking Speculation.

At Baltimore they all agreed  
That he would be the dandy,  
To destroy the cooney breed—  
And do it up so handy.

Oh yes, we have a Dallas too—  
A choice we have been wise in,  
With them well beat the boasting crew  
Of Clay and Frelinghuysen,  
For Polk's the boy to spoil their fun,  
And sadly burst their boiler,

They'll find a different race to run  
From that of Tip and Tyler.

But wondrous things the whiggies say  
That they will bring about sirs,  
But Hickory Clubs are in way,  
They ne'er will make it out, sir,  
And what I say, the voting day

My boys just keep your eyes on,  
They'll own they've fooled their time away  
With Clay and Frelinghuysen.

For Polk's the boy, &c.

Their blackest schemes they keep below,  
For them they never mention,  
But they will find it all no go,  
We well know their intention.

Now word about the monster bank—  
The people hate like poison—  
For they tell, 'twill burst the shell  
Of Clay and Frelinghuysen,  
For Polk's the boy, &c.

A Tariff next, a cunning plan  
To bring us to subjection,  
And thus enslave their fellow-man,  
And then bawl out Protection!

They make us pay a heavy tax  
On sugar, tea and coffee,  
And while the laborer swings the axe  
They lounge upon the sofa,  
But Polk's the boy, &c.

November days will soon be on  
Our votes will tell the story;  
Harry Clay to Theodore  
They've blasted all our glory;

For I'll go home to old Kentucky,  
My corn and cotton rising,  
Think we've had most darned hard luck—  
Both me and Frelinghuysen.

For Polk's the boy that spoiled our fun,  
And sadly burst our boiler,  
We found a different race to run  
From that of Tip and Tyler.

Our Banner in the Breeze.

Our banner to the breeze?  
To drop or falter never more—  
Our Maine's far boundaries to the seas  
That roll upon the Texan shore.

The crushing arms that freemen wield,  
And with unbroken front unite  
And form along the battle field.

Our phalanx dense and deep,  
Resolved and firm, and undismayed,  
Our waves resistless sweep, [blade,  
Our march with Truth's bright shield and

"Will they come," the gathering throng!  
The rings afar the thundering cry,  
The host to distant host along,  
For Polk's the boy, Victory!"

Whigs look on in wild amaze,  
With pale despair in every eye,  
Our hope to quench the blaze  
That leaps and flashes through the sky!

They hoist their frowny flag,  
And flap their coon skins through the air;  
They drink and shout and brag;  
Chattering still, "our flag is there!"

Over the field of conflict won,  
The foe's eternal grave,  
Victory's bright and cloudless sun  
Our star gem'd gonfalon shall wave;

Our flag from every distant clime,  
From every shore and every sea,  
Our glorious birthright of the free,  
Our banner!

What joy shall pour  
Our swelling anthem on the wind,  
As at the idol's shrine no more  
Shall bend the human mind;  
Our oxen, and cats, and coon skins, all  
Shall pass as long forgotten things,  
The day that Truth and Freedom brings!

## Remarks of Mr. Buchanan

In the Senate of the United States, on Tuesday, June 11, 1844 against the Bill reported by Mr. Evans, of Maine, from the Committee of Finance, "to provide for the remission of duties on Rail Road Iron in certain cases."

Mr. Buchanan said he had been greatly astonished, both at the character of this Bill and the quarter from which it proceeded. That the chairman of the Committee on Finance, (Mr. Evans,) who had reported the Tariff Act, of 1842, and sustained it throughout, with distinguished ability, should now attempt to withdraw the protection which it afforded to the great iron interest of the country, was indeed wonderful; nay, amazing.—Why this change? Was it because the Senator, having already secured all the protection which he desired for the manufactures peculiar to New England, thought he might, with safety, turn round and relieve his constituents from the payment of duties on the great staple manufacture of other states of the Union? His Bill proved that he was prepared to crush the vast iron interest of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey, for the benefit of Rail Road Companies; but a Bill so unequal and unjust should never pass, whilst he (Mr. B.) entertained any hope of resisting it successfully.

I am glad, said Mr. B. to perceive that I now have the undivided attention of the Senate; and if they will continue to accord it to me for a few minutes I think I can demonstrate, to their satisfaction, that this Bill ought never to become a law.

And, in the first place, I lay down the proposition broadly, that the burdens of this government ought to be borne, in equal proportion, by all the citizens of the country. Special privileges are odious to a republican people. Equality is the highest equity and justice. To exempt one man, or class of men, from taxes which you impose upon the rest of your fellow-citizens, is to war against the very spirit and genius of our government. In the eyes of the law, all men ought to be equal. Now, what does this Bill propose? Whilst all other citizens of the country, under your general law, are compelled to pay a duty of \$26.00 per ton on the rolled iron which they consume, this Bill exempts Rail Road Companies from the payment of any duty whatever on the iron rails employed by them in the construction of their roads. I ask Senators, whether friendly or hostile to a Tariff, if by their votes they can sanction such an odious discrimination? But this is not all. Whatever may be the amount of taxes relevant to these companies under the present Bill, the very same amount must be raised to supply the deficiency thus created in your Treasury, by additional taxes upon the hard earnings of the other citizens of the country. You thus render them tributary to these chartered monopolies. Such privileges, granted in abridgement of common right, must, from their very nature, be at the expense of the rest of the community.

Now, sir, I am no enemy to Rail Road companies. Far, very far, from it. On the contrary, they deserve the gratitude of the people. All I desire is, that they shall stand upon the same footing with other highly meritorious interests, and not arrogate to themselves special privileges. The ship builder, who constructs the vessel destined to carry our productions over the world, uses much iron in this great national manufacture. Might he not, with equal greater propriety, ask exemption from duty on the iron which he thus employs? He might say: "American vessels, engaged in foreign trade, have to enter into competition, upon the ocean, with the vessels of all other nations; and therefore it is the policy of the government that they should be built at as cheap a rate as possible.—Relieve us, then, from the duty. Rail Road companies have not to contend against any such competition;—they enjoy a monopoly of the domestic travel and trade, and therefore the ship builder ought to possess at least equal if not greater privileges." Our uncompensated farmers who pay their taxes without a murmur, might with equal justice ask an exemption from the duties on the iron used in their ploughs and other agricultural implements.—But neither the ship builder, the farmer, nor the mechanic has ever thought of asking such privileges from Congress. Such a demand could only have been made by Corporations.

And what, sir is the chief and prominent reason which the Rail Road companies present for asking this exemption from duty? They most earnestly insist that because such companies had enjoyed this privilege for eleven years, previous to March, 1843, that, therefore, they ought to continue in its enjoyment. By this argument an exclusive privilege once granted can never be arrested, and becomes perpetual.—No matter what may be the abuse, it must continue for ever.

But here let us briefly review our past legislation upon this subject.

In May, 1834, the duty on rail road iron was reduced to 25 per cent ad valorem; and by the Act of the 24th July, 1832, it was abolished altogether in favor of states and incorporated companies, provided the iron should be laid down upon their roads within three years after its importation. Thus stood the law until the passage of the Act of 11th September, 1841, which imposed a duty of twenty per cent ad valorem on rail road iron; but provided that the Act should not effect such iron if imported and laid down prior to the 3d March, 1843, "on any rail road or inclined planes of which the construction has been already commenced, and which shall be necessary to complete the same."—Thus, sir, you will perceive that when Congress determined that Rail Road companies ought no longer to enjoy a privilege denied to all other classes of the community, we were yet still so indulgent as to continue this privilege during a period of eighteen months; and with this, in all conscience, they ought to have been satisfied.—When, during the progress of that Bill, on the 30th August, 1841, I moved to subject all rail-road iron, imported after its passage, to the payment of duty, this motion was earnestly and ably resisted by the Senator from Georgia.—(Mr. Berrien.) We then had an informal understanding on the subject, which the Senate sanctioned; and the 3d day of March, 1843, was fixed as the last day on which this iron should be imported free of duty. I then hoped that the question was finally settled; but my hopes were vain.

Whilst the Tariff of 1842 was before the Senate, another effort was made by the Senator from Georgia (Mr. Berrien) to extend the time, during a period of three years, for the importation of iron free of duty, but after debate, his proposition was negatived by a majority of more than two to one, and thus the 3d March, 1843, was again established as the last day on which this iron should be imported free of duty. Nothing discouraged, however, these companies, at the very next session of Congress, renewed their application & succeeded in obtaining a report in their favor, from the committee on Finance. That Committee, by their Chairman, (Evans) on the 3d February, 1843, reported a bill which was never acted upon, for the remission of duties on Railroad iron. This bill was modest in its demands, compared with the bill now before us. It did not propose to remit the duties on any rail road iron imported since the 3d March, 1843, and in this respect it confirmed the two previous decisions of the Senate, but it merely extended to these companies the privilege of laying down their iron, which had been imported previous to that date, until the 1st December, 1844; and if this were done, it relieved them from the duties. Besides, it was confined to Rail Roads, which had been commenced previous to September, 1841, and to iron necessary for their completion.

That bill contained one most important provision for the security of the public Treasury, which has been entirely omitted from the present bill.—We all know the enormous prices which have been demanded by these companies for transporting the mail. In this respect they are perfect monopolies.—The Post Master General must accede to their terms. He has no other alternative but that of returning to Mail Stages which would not be endured by the public. The Bill of 1843, therefore, most wisely provided against this extortion. Under it, the Companies receiving its benefits, if they could not agree with the Postmaster General upon the compensation for carrying the mail, were bound to refer the question to arbitration. I ask the Senator from Maine, why, in the present Bill, he has abandoned this excellent regulation? Surely our experience ought to have taught us that such a provision is indispensably necessary to prevent extortion. Disregarding the two solemn decisions of the Senate, to which I have referred, the present Bill, as reported,

granted to these Companies, the privilege of importing Rail Road iron free of duty, during the period of five years from this period, three years longer were allowed to lay down the iron thus imported. It embraced all rail roads whether old or new; and even those which had already once enjoyed this privilege, might enjoy it a second time. It is true that the Senator from Maine has since amended the Bill so as to limit the privilege of importation to two, instead of five years; but it still allows three years after the two years shall have expired, to lay down the rails. And again, it has been so amended by him, that a Rail Road company desiring to enjoy the privilege for a second time of importing their iron free of duty, upon the old iron removed from their road, the duty paid by law on old or scrap iron. This duty is \$19, per ton, whilst the duty on Rail Road, under the Act of 1842 is \$25.00. Thus these Companies, under the amended Bill, would derive a benefit of \$15 per ton on their new rails, after having imported the old ones free from duty altogether.

And what amount of duties, sir do you suppose we have remitted on Rail Road iron between the first day of January, 1832, and the first day of March, 1843? According to the official documents now before me, the aggregate sum is \$5,989,991, in round numbers, say six millions of dollars; which amount has been necessarily supplied by taxes on the rest of the community. The farmer, the ship builder, and the mechanic have not only paid the duty on their iron, from which Rail Road Companies have been exempted, but they have been compelled, by the payment to increased taxes on other articles of consumption, to make up the deficiency in the Treasury thus created.

Suppose we had been asked to appropriate half a million a year, for eleven years, out of the public Treasury, to the construction of Rail roads, how many votes would such a proposition have received? And yet several of the Senators who deny the constitutional power to make appropriations to internal improvements, are the most ardent friends of the present Bill. I ask what is the difference, either in fact or in principle, between relieving these Companies from the payment of this amount of duties in the first instance, and appropriating the same amount for their use, after it has been received? For my own part, if I were compelled to choose between the two alternatives, I should greatly prefer a direct appropriation out of the Treasury. The world would then know what we had given, and the manufacturing interests of the country would not be injured by donation.

These Companies, so far from being satisfied with the past munificence of the Government towards them, rely upon this as the foundation on which to rest their hopes of obtaining more. They are never discouraged by defeat. They always return to the charge, increasing their demands on each successive application to Congress. I confess that I dread their combined power and influence. There are now fifteen of these powerful Companies before Congress, asking for a remission of the duties on Rail Road Iron. Their roads are ramified throughout a large extent of the Union, and the Stockholders are men of influence and character. The North, the South, the East and the West are thus combined in an effort to repeal the Tariff of 1842, so far as the great manufacturing interests of Pennsylvania is concerned; and it is extremely doubtful whether we can make a successful resistance. They urge, that as all the Rail Road Companies then in existence had enjoyed an exemption it should be extended to those which have since come into existence and have not enjoyed the same benefits. Should this principle prevail, the privilege can never end. Indeed, the argument would become stronger, as the number of companies increase to which you might extend the privilege, until at last it would be irresistible. In full view of all the considerations belonging to the subject, Congress in September, 1841, determined that no Rail Road iron should be imported free of duty after the 3d March, 1843, and this determination was afterwards confirmed by the Tariff Act of August, 1842.—They thus gave all concerned, fair notice that during the period of eighteen months, they might make as heavy free importation as they pleased; but that after this such importations should cease. These companies doubtless availed themselves of this extension of their license; and then they ought to have been content. If you will now

reverse the two solemn decisions which have been already made, and grant them two more years from the passage of the present Bill, to make free importations, and at the end of this period three years longer, to lay down their rails, you can never afterwards impose any limit on yourselves. So many Companies will then have enjoyed the privilege, that you will scarcely be able to deny it to those who may come after.

In the face of all facts, none but incorporated companies would have still persisted in demanding this exemption from the common burdens borne by the rest of the community. These companies, now banded together to accomplish a common object, and confident in their own power, seem determined to extort this privilege from Congress. They will persist, as they have already persisted, from year to year in urging their claim with the same ardor as if they really believed themselves entitled to stand above the rest of the community. If you defeat them at this Session, they will be here in greater force than ever at the commencement of the next. Their impotency will never cease whilst the least hope of success shall remain; and we have learned from our own experience that they have both the ability and the will to select shrewd and skillful agents to accomplish their purpose before Congress.

Thus, I think I have demonstrated that even if the duty on Rail Road Iron were a mere revenue duty—even if not a pound of the article had ever been or could be manufactured in the United States, equal justice requires that it should pay the same rate of duty with other iron. I shall proceed now to consider the question as connected with the great party policy of the country.

It will be admitted by all that if there be any article which deserves incidental protection, this article is iron. It is necessary to our defence in war and to our independence in peace. Nature, with a bountiful hand, has spread the ore over many States of the Union, and by its side, in several localities, has placed anthracite and bituminous coal in the greatest abundance; as if to tempt man to engage in the manufacture. Wherever iron works exist, they create a great demand both for labor and agricultural productions. Without entering upon the argument at length, surely none will deny that the vast capital already employed in these establishments ought to be preserved from destruction; and that they ought not to be suffered to sink under the weight of foreign competition. Such has long been the policy of the Government. Even under the act of 1816, which all parties have approved, rolled iron was subject to a duty of \$30 per ton—five dollars higher than the present duty.

But it has been asserted by the Senator from Maine, that rail-road iron has not been and cannot be manufactured in the United States, even at the present prices, with the duty included; and, therefore, that to admit it free of duty will not injure the iron that has been manufactured in our country? Is it for want of capital, skill or enterprise?—Surely this will not be contended.—There is no mystery in the manufacture of Rail-Road Iron. It is a very simple process. We are informed by Mr. Oakley, of the New Jersey Iron Company, that "there is no difficulty in making many other kinds that have long been produced in this country." All that I have ever read or heard upon the subject, corroborates the truth of this assertion. Why then has it not been manufactured? Simply, because, during the period of more than eleven years previous to the 3d March, 1843, it was imported free of duty, and ever since the passage of the Act of September, 1841, there has been one continued struggle by the Rail Road Companies, again to make it a free article. All will admit that so long as it was imported from England, it could not be manufactured in this country. But the Senator from Maine asks why has it not been manufactured since the present duty was imposed? I answer, simply because there is no security that it will not speedily again be made a free article.—Let the Rail-Road Companies cease from agitating this question—let them quietly submit to the existing tariff—let it once be established that Rail-Road Iron shall pay the same rates of duties with other rolled iron; and we shall soon have an abundant supply of the domestic article. This conclusively appears from the letter of the Committee "appointed at a meeting of the iron and coal trade in Philadelphia" to the Senator from Maine himself. Mr. Earp, the President of the Lehigh Crane Iron Company, declared "that under the existing Tariff,

Railway Iron can be produced in this country at the present rate of import, (say fifty-five dollars per ton.) We have no hesitation in saying, that with a satisfactory assurance of a continuance of the present duty, that article would in a short time be extensively made in this country, and with such assurance we are prepared at once to put up a rolling mill and make contracts for the T or edge rail at the price above stated." Mr. Oakley, of the New Jersey Iron Company, makes a similar statement, but says it can be furnished in large quantities for less than \$55 per ton. This Company, he asserts, "would be glad to enter into contract with responsible parties if the quantity required should be sufficient to justify the outlay and preparation at much less than the above price; an offer of \$50 per ton would be entertained. I have no doubt that should the present duty be continued, it will be furnished in less than five years by our manufacturers for \$40 per ton." Mr. Oakley also informs us that this company "have already procured all the drawings and other information, necessary to the erection of the most perfect machinery for making Railway Iron, and when it shall be ascertained that the present Congress will not reduce the duty, we intend to prepare such machinery." We further learn from the Senator from Maryland, (Mr. Merrie) that the Mount Savage Iron works in his State, are now actually engaged in the manufacture of Rail-Road Iron, and are ready and willing to make contracts with Rail-Road Companies for its sale and delivery. And here I might advert to the fact that Rail-Road Iron was manufactured some years ago, at the Great Western Iron works, on the Alleghany River, in Pennsylvania.—Governor Morrow, of Ohio, informed me that he had purchased three hundred tons of such iron from these works, at fifty dollars per ton (according to my recollection) for a Rail Road Company, of which he was the President, and expressed himself entirely satisfied with the quality of the article.

But, I admit that the Senator from Maine, so long as he shall urge the repeal of the existing duties on Rail Road Iron, will most probably serve for himself the argument that little, if any, such iron is manufactured in the country.—Who would change his pursuits, divert his capital from other subjects, and expend large sums in preparing to manufacture Rail Road iron, whilst the very friends of the Tariff are incessantly struggling to repeal the present duty? Permanence and certainty in your system are necessary to attract both capital and confidence; and while it remains doubtful whether these Rail Road companies shall not triumph over the Tariff policy, there will be no large investment of capital in the business.

Thus it is clear that if Rail Road iron has not been extensively manufactured in this country, it is solely because it has not heretofore received that incidental protection which other rolled iron has enjoyed. It is a little too much for human patience to be informed by the Rail Road companies that we have not manufactured, and cannot manufacture, Rail Road iron; when the special privilege which they themselves had enjoyed for eleven years, and their perpetual struggles ever since to obtain its restoration, are the only causes why this branch of manufactures is not now in as flourishing a condition as any other.

I confess, sir, that I have a little American feeling on this subject. As an American citizen, I cannot brook the idea that we shall be dependent upon Great Britain for the very materials necessary to construct the roads on which we travel. Surely American Rail Roads ought to be constructed of American iron; when this effect can, as it will be produced, by imposing the same duty on Rail Road iron as on all other iron of a similar character.

The Senator from Maine contends that the construction of rail roads is a most important and useful domestic manufacture, and ought to be encouraged. No man will deny the truth of this proposition. But in what manner encouraged? At the expense of the Tariff policy? He certainly will not say so. Iron is the raw material used in the construction of these roads, as wool is the raw material employed in the manufacture of cloth. You may contend, with equal propriety, that wool ought to be admitted free of duty; notwithstanding it might prejudice our wool grower, as that rail road iron should be thus admitted, to the injury of our iron manufacturers. The truth is that this question involves the whole principle of protection. The system must stand or fall together; and you must equally protect the raw material, if it be a domestic production, and the man-

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