

The Alleghanlian.

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I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN PRESIDENT.—HENRY CLAY.

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VOL. 1.

EBENSBURG, PA., THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1860.

NO. 45.

DIRECTORY.

PREPARED EXPRESSLY FOR "THE ALLEGHANLIAN."

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Scholarship Episcopal Church.—Rev. J. SHANE, Pastor.—Preaching every Sabbath, alternately at 10 o'clock in the morning, or 7 in the evening. Sabbath School at 9 o'clock, A. M. Prayer meeting every Thursday evening at 7 o'clock.

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Disciples.—Rev. Wm. LEVON, Pastor.—Preaching every Sabbath morning at 10 o'clock.

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Catholic.—Rev. M. J. MIRENELL, Pastor.—Services every Sabbath morning at 10 o'clock and 8 o'clock, A. M.

EBENSBURG MAILS.

MAILS ARRIVE.
Eastern, daily, at 11 o'clock, A. M.
Western, " " 10 " " P. M.

MAILS CLOSE.
Eastern, daily, at 4 o'clock, P. M.
Western, " " 6 " " A. M.

The Mails from Butler, Indiana, Strongsburg, Pa., arrive on Tuesday and Friday of each week, at 5 o'clock, P. M.
Leave Ebensburg on Mondays and Thursdays at 7 o'clock, A. M.
The Mails from Newman's Mills, Carrolltown, Pa., arrive on Monday and Friday of each week, at 3 o'clock, P. M.
Leave Ebensburg on Tuesdays and Saturdays at 7 o'clock, A. M.

Post Office open on Sundays from 9 to 10 o'clock, A. M.

RAILROAD SCHEDULE.

Train	Time
Express Train, leaves at	8.55 A. M.
Mail Train, " "	9.07 P. M.
Express Train, " "	7.18 P. M.
Fast Line, " "	12.12 P. M.
Mail Train, " "	6.08 A. M.

COUNTY OFFICERS.

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Deputy Register and Recorder.—John Scam-

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Deputy Sheriff.—George C. K. Zahm.

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Four House Steward.—James J. Kaylor.

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Surveyor.—Henry Hawk, John F. Stull, E. J. Lytle.

County Surveyor.—E. A. Vickroy.

Coroner.—James S. Todd.

Superintendent of Common Schools.—T. A. McGuire.

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Clerk to Council.—T. D. Litzinger.

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Ward Master.—William Davis.

Ward Directors.—Edward Glass, William Davis, George S. Lloyd, John J. Lloyd, Morris J. Evans, Thomas J. Davis.

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Constable.—George Gurley.

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Assessor.—Richard T. Davis.

Days of Election.—Isaac Evans.

Inspectors.—John S. Rhey, John J. Evans.

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. BLAIR, OF PENN'A.

Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, May 7, 1860.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The bill under consideration, reported from the Committee of Ways and Means, for the readjustment of the duties on foreign imports, I suppose to be second in importance to none now on the calendar, nor indeed to any measure that has heretofore been considered by the present Congress. I am aware that more exciting topics of discussion touching the fundamental principles of constitutional government have at different times engaged the attention of Congress and of the country, the importance of which I would not under-estimate. Whenever they are presented by real occasions, they will justly challenge the attention of all men, whether in public or private station. But, sir, they must not be permitted to monopolize the grave thought and anxious solicitude of those to whom the high trust of legislation is committed at a time like the present, when the public necessities which have called forth the bill before us invite attention. I therefore desire to submit an outline of the view which I have taken of this measure, and the reasons which govern me in giving my vote in its favor. Although, in the arrangement of some of its details the bill falls short of that standard of protection to the industrial pursuits of the nation, which protectionists had hoped would be reached by the deliberations of the committee, yet in the main it exhibits a fair appreciation of the wants of the country, and a commendable recognition of the claims of American labor to the fostering care of the Government. And whilst it is acceptable to us because it is to some extent protective, I had indulged the expectation that its moderate discriminations in favor of all the leading branches of industry in our country would not be obnoxious even to the prejudices of those who favor the imposition of duties on foreign imports solely with a view to the public revenue. The bill comes to us from the Committee of Ways and Means, with its provisions matured by a wide and comprehensive investigation, as well as of the wants of the Treasury as of the present condition of trade. It is the fruit, I am inclined to believe, of careful and severe study; and though, as I have observed, protectionists have anticipated more radical changes of the existing tariff law than are to be found in the bill, yet in my judgment it has received, and will continue to receive, the general approbation of the country. There has not been a bill on your table for near twenty years that has excited an anxiety for its passage into a law so intense, and so wide-spread, as that which now animates the hopes or alarms the fears of all classes and conditions of men, for the ultimate fate of this measure. Its defeat can be justified in the eyes of the people by no fallacy however artful, by no excuse however plausible; neither can they be deceived by impracticable substitutes, or misled by partisan promises, which they have learned by bitter experience are often made only to be broken and trampled under foot, when they have served the temporary purposes of a selfish ambition.

Whatever objections the future discussions of the different clauses of the bill may present, I have thus far heard of none from its enemies, except to the duties proposed to be levied on the imports of iron in its various stages of manufacture. In the production of this commodity, many of the citizens of Pennsylvania, though not alone, are nevertheless extensively engaged, and it is but natural that her Representatives, fully realizing the extent to which the general prosperity of the State, and of the country, depends on the maintenance of her numerous establishments, and those of other States, should manifest a corresponding interest in whatever may affect their welfare. We do not claim, in the discriminations of this bill, a rate of protection for the iron interests which we do not cheerfully accord to other pursuits, in which our own people, in common with the people of other States, are so largely engaged. We have been accustomed to regard the prosperity of each branch of labor as indispensable to a healthful development of every other, and would hail with the liveliest satisfaction the promotion and encouragement of all the arts in every part of the Confederacy. The enemies of protection, anxious to avail themselves of narrow, sectional prejudices against its adoption, are accustomed sometimes to define it as a peculiarly Pennsylvania policy, as if we were selfishly committed to a principle at war with the interests and prosperity of every other part of the Republic. At other times, seeking to enlist in their service another class of prejudices, they teach that

it is but a scheme to favor and enrich the ironmasters at the expense of all other interests. And we are accordingly told that whatever of value to the laborers, artisans, and capital of Pennsylvania, and of every other State engaged in the manufacture of iron, that would spring from the adoption of this measure, is a concession to the clamors of the ironmongers, moved by a cupidity never satisfied by the bounties of the Government. I shall undertake to show, sir, that in this respect our demands have been so moderate, that the opposition to the bill, because of the supposed exorbitant duties, cannot stand justified by the truth. The proposed duties on iron are not beyond what, by the common consent of those who in this country profess to believe in the maxims and policy of free trade, is esteemed a revenue standard of duty. The duty on pig iron is fixed at six dollars per ton, on railroad iron twelve dollars, on bar iron fifteen dollars; and the objection is, that these are protective and not revenue duties. The great desideratum of the friends of free trade, in 1846, was to discover what was the lowest rate of duty that would produce the largest amount of revenue, regardless of its effects on manufactures. The Secretary of the Treasury, whose free-trade friends, until quite recently, never named him but to praise him, after a most careful collection of statistical information regarding the condition of manufactures, and the operations of commerce, and after arranging his tables in every conceivable shape, that he might deduce from them a practical result, informed Congress that all he could say or do on the subject was, that on a list of articles of which iron was one, the lowest rate of duty that could be imposed, in order to raise the largest amount of revenue, would exceed twenty per cent. ad valorem. Thus it will be perceived he limited the inquiry only in one direction, and left his friends in Congress to wander over the wide field he spread before them for the discovery of the secret. They found it. It was thirty per cent.; and that, by the general verdict of professed free traders, was adjudged a strictly revenue duty, one that relieved consumers from all taxation except for the legitimate purposes of Government. Now, sir, I ask those free-trade gentlemen, who suppose the iron interest to be unduly protected by this bill, to look at the facts, and see how far they are sustained in that opinion. At the time of the passage of the act of 1846, the English price of bar iron was forty-eight dollars and fifty cents per ton, which, with commissions, would amount to fifty dollars, the duty on which was fifteen dollars, the precise sum named in this bill. But I do not propose to confine the inquiry to the price of a single year, for it might lead to false conclusions. Take the last five years of the operation of the tariff of 1846, ending 31st June, 1857, a period sufficient to afford us a fair test, and during that time we find, from the custom-house returns, that the average foreign price of bar iron was \$52.23 per ton, which made the duty at thirty-six per cent. fifteen dollars and sixty-seven cents. The declared average price of railroad iron was \$39.34 per ton, making the duty eleven dollars and eighty cents.—The average foreign price of pig iron during the same time was \$17.70, yielding a duty of five dollars and thirty-one cents. So that the duties proposed now would be sixty-nine cents per ton more on pig iron, eleven cents per ton more on railroad iron, and sixty-seven cents per ton less on bars, than the duties collected under the act of 1846, during the time I have mentioned. A table published by the honorable gentleman from Vermont, [Mr. MORRILL], who reported the bill, embracing the same classes of iron for a period covering the last six years, including the time since the act of 1857 went into operation, exhibits about the same result, and sustains the assertion that this provision relative to the duties on iron is simply a change in the form of imposing the duty.

During the five years mentioned we imported 484,441 tons of pig, 445,895 tons rolled bar, and 1,043,979 tons rails; so that, if the specific duties of this bill had been levied during that period, the account would have stood thus:

Increased duty on pig iron,	\$334,264.20
Increased duty on rails,	208,795.80
	543,060.00
Deduct diminished duty on bars,	298,749.95
	\$244,310.14

Leaving, the amount of duty which, at the rates of this bill, would have been levied on 1,974,315 tons of total imports more than would be imposed by a duty of thirty per cent, or about twelve cents per ton on the three classes of iron.

But if the custom-house returns presented the true foreign market value of the iron imported, it would be found that the

duties of this bill, instead of being a fraction—a very inconsiderable fraction—over the favorite revenue standard of thirty per cent. on rails and pig, would be very much under it. It is well known that a great portion of the iron imports—and this remark applies as well to many other articles—is invoiced on account of the foreign manufacturer, to the agent in this country, at the net cost of production, and not at the price which it would cost a purchaser in the market from which it is exported. Our consul at Glasgow, Mr. Vail, in his report of September 30, 1858, says: "Pig iron is a very prominent article of export, and is now almost entirely shipped on manufacturers' account; and, in the absence of any demand in the United States, is so shipped apparently in order to reduce the stock on hand here, thereby to keep up the price at home." I am therefore free to aver that these duties, so far from being exorbitant concessions to the manufacturer, are absolutely less than those of the act of 1846. The bill has nothing to commend it to our favor over that act, but the conversion of its *ad valorem* into specific duties. This is the chief protective feature in it, and that being equally favorable to the revenue, upon what possible grounds can its enemies maintain their opposition?

The evils arising from *ad valorem* duties are so universally felt and understood, that the wonder is a single advocate can be found for them. I believe that amongst all the nations of Christendom, except our own, specific duties are imposed whenever, from the circumstances of the case, they are at all possible or convenient. In the late commercial treaty between France and England, of which I shall have more to say hereafter, the policy of imposing specific, in preference to *ad valorem* duties, is recognized in that clause which provides for the conversion of the latter into specifics, by an other convention, on the first of October next, to be estimated on the average prices of the articles for the five months preceding the date of the treaty. One of the inconveniences of our system arises from the great fluctuation of prices, rendering it extremely difficult to determine whether the invoice is fraudulent. Under it, the frauds upon the revenue are incalculable. It is said by the merchants, and by our consuls abroad, that in many parts of the continent it is the uniform custom of manufacturers to make out two invoices, one for the custom-house, exhibiting the prices at a low figure, generally from twenty to forty per cent. below the value of the article, in order to secure a low duty, and the other for the consignee, showing the true value. A gentleman here this winter told me that whilst in Paris last fall, after he had purchased a bill of \$700 of fine goods, he was asked if he would have a custom-house invoice at thirty-three per cent. below the actual cost, and was told, that while it was possible for him to pass them at the custom-house at an appraisement of forty per cent. less than the cost, it would be more judicious to tag it at the usual rate of thirty-three, and avoid all risk of detection.

Take the article of bar iron, for example, which fluctuates in price from five shillings to perhaps twenty-five per cent., an article that will be quoted at different prices every week, and how easily may the most competent and honest appraiser be misled from one to three shillings per ton. But sir, however injuriously the revenue may be affected by the *ad valorem* system, the manufacturers, and especially the iron manufacturers, are the victims of its most mischievous consequences. When the specifics of 1846 were replaced by the *ad valorem* of 1846, the duty on bars, at the then existing prices, was, as I have shown, fifteen dollars per ton; and they through whose violated faith and broken pledges that fatal measure was carried sought to reconcile manufacturers, by the protection which that duty would afford them. In vain, however, did they plead, that when, in the fluctuations of prices abroad, iron would be as then, at a high price, they would not need protection, and when low it would be taken from them. And what was the result? In a very short time, the English price fell from fifty dollars to twenty-four dollars per ton, and the duty consequently from fifteen dollars to seven dollars and twenty cents. The English strong in cheap capital and cheap wages, flooded our ports with low-priced iron to such an extent that many of our furnaces were blown out, and those that continued, struggled on, though seriously crippled in the unequal contest.

Again: on the sudden appearance of the railroad mania in England, prices rose to the highest speculative points; and when the bubble burst, the immense surplus stocks on hand were exported to

this country, again to glut our market; and thus it is that by constantly-recurring causes, over which we have no control, the American manufacturer, contesting at such great odds with the foreigner, is eventually driven out. It is protection against these extreme fluctuations, produced by the operation of financial causes abroad, and often, by deliberate design, to break down our weak establishments, and give the field to the foreigner, which we seek through the instrumentality of specific duties.

But, sir, whilst specific duties are acceptable to us because they are protective, they are opposed by the enemies of the bill, for the same reason. We suppose that in the exercise of the power given us by the Constitution, to impose duties, and to regulate commerce, we should so impose them, and so frame our regulations, as to protect and foster our native labor in the development of our almost limitless resources, against the shocks to which it is exposed from the fluctuations of foreign commerce. The public welfare demands it, and to effect it is within the legitimate range of legislative duty; but the theory of government entertained on the other side of this House is, that in the imposition of duties we have no other functions to perform, but to provide the means to pay for armies, and navies, the civil and diplomatic service. When the soldiers and sailors and office-holders are paid their salaries, the great purpose of civil government, in their estimation, has been performed, its mission ended, and its powers exhausted. We are told that we must let trade alone; it will take care of itself; it will be regulated by the mutual interest of producer and consumer, and protection is but a restriction on individual freedom, and a derangement of the natural order of things. I think, Mr. Chairman, that there is a seeming inconsistency of conduct in those who advocate such opinions, for they find no difficulty in advocating the interference of Government in a thousand ways, differing only in form, but identical in principle and purpose. On what principle are those regulations to be justified, which in every conceivable shape are to be found in legislation restrictive in their character? Why suffer the State to invade the freedom of the domestic relations? The advocates of the let-alone policy should object to the restrictive laws which regulate the relation of parent and child, husband and wife, because the mutual sentiments of affection, duty, and interest, all combined, will be sufficient of themselves to produce harmony and order; but if they are wanting, then why should Government step in to enforce an unwilling union, and subjection? Sir, the advocates for free trade and free love need not stand far apart, when demanding the adoption of the "let-alone" theory. On your statute books you have your quarantine laws, your prohibitions against the import of adulterated drugs, for the protection of health, by prohibiting that which tends to injure it; if that is a legitimate function of Government, may it not be exercised to protect labor, by prohibiting, or, at least partially restraining the operation of agencies that will injure and destroy it? There is a bill now on the calendar regulating the number of passengers to be allowed on steam-going vessels. Why not apply the principle to that measure, and trust to the interests of owners and passengers, and the natural order of things, to regulate the evil intended to be cured? If protection is to be excepted from the operations of Government, there can be no other forth-putting of its powers, and society is resolved into anarchy. The whole frame-work and life of society is itself but the outgrowth of artificial legal restrictions, adapting themselves to the changing conditions, interests, and wants of mankind. Without them, labor, capital, and exchange of products, can have no existence. An unrestricted, unregulated domestic or international commerce is incomprehensible, as the world now stands. Perhaps, when the millennial era, of which the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. MORRILL) spoke, shall appear, the "let-alone" philosophers, now so far in advance of a world which doth not comprehend their light, will see their theory in the full tide of successful operation.

Mr. Chairman, human wisdom cannot devise a tariff at all approximating the wants of the Treasury that will not be protective, to some extent, of some interests. If you should provide a horizontal tariff of twenty or thirty per cent., or of any given rate, on all imports, it would in some instances be protective, and in others prohibitive; or if there be different rates of duty, and they be fixed by lot on the different imports, even then, sir, there would result protection to some interests, in various degrees. Then, if there be some branches of industry which will undoubtedly be benefited to some extent, even though left to the blind arbit-

trament of chance, is it not better, after a careful and comprehensive inquiry into the condition of all the industrial pursuits of the country, to impose them for their encouragement and protection, so as to produce the greatest good to the greatest number? Our warrant in the Constitution for the regulation of commerce, and the imposition of duties on foreign imports, is in general terms, leaving the manner in which it shall be exercised clearly within the discretion of Congress; and, to say nothing of the long line of authorities, in the declared opinions favorable to protection, of nearly all our public characters, who have enjoyed the confidence and Republic, we may point with satisfaction to the purpose, end, and aim, of the first tariff law on the statute book, enacted by the men who assisted in the great work of framing the Constitution, and whose acts consequently have a peculiar importance, as they are the best commentaries on the Constitution itself. The law of 1789 was enacted for two direct, distinct, and independent purposes, one of which was the payment of the debts of the United States, and the other was—not of secondary importance, or incidental to it, but distinctly—for the protection of such infant manufactures as the necessities of the Revolution had called into life. The men of that day, sir, were earnest, truthful men, who spoke what they thought. They did not leave the principle of protection to rest on inference, or doubtful construction of their acts, but they wrote it down in the preamble of the law, as follows:

"Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties should be levied on goods, wares, and merchandise imported, be it enacted, &c."

Thus, sir, did they leave on record an example worthy of imitation on all proper occasions by those who should follow them in the noble work of legislating for the welfare of this great people. Such an occasion now presents itself. The present condition of the country invites us to review our existing policy, that we may correct the errors into which we have fallen. No man, of the least observation, can fail to be impressed with the fact that, by the operation of some cause, our apparent prosperity has been checked, and our progress in the development of American civilization seriously hindered. The laborer seeks employment often in vain, and when employed, it is at such prices as barely enable him to live. When the employer is able at all to survive the depression to which he has been subjected, his chief care has been to discharge from his employment his surplus hands; and in thousands of instances the laborers, who have toiled at the mines, the furnaces, and mills, for the support of large and entirely dependent families, find themselves unexpectedly deprived of their only source of support. The great capital of the country is its labor, and unemployed, it seeks investment in vain. I will venture the statement, that for more than two years past there has not been a furnace built; and those that remain in blast, unless enjoying some special advantages, have reduced their production in a manner corresponding to the limited demand; many, unable to catch a ray of hope from the gloomy prospects that still lie before them, have with a wise and cautious prudence closed up their establishments, and others have been forced to sale by the sheriff.

The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] supposed that furnaces, like ships, were not now worth more than half their cost; but I do not suppose there are many furnaces that would this day bring one-fourth of their cost. The Government, too, without any cause for extraordinary embarrassment, is unable to meet the demands upon the Treasury without a resort to loans. Now, sir, what enemy has done this? Has the Creator been sparing of his bounties to us? He has blessed us with a luxuriant soil and a healthful climate. He has sent us neither war nor pestilence. Neither has he forgotten his covenant for seed-time and harvest; for the earth, as ever, still yields her increase. Amost the richest ores of the world are deposited with us, and in convenient proximity lies the fuel where-with they may be smelted. We have thousands of strong and willing workmen, to dig both fuel and ore, and smelt it into the pig, and fashion it into the bloom, the bar, the rail, and all the shapes in which it can enter into human consumption; and yet, sir, they stand idle, and stand in each other's way for employment, whilst these placers of wealth, far richer than the gold of "Ormus or of Ind," lie undisturbed, as they have lain from the ages of their formation, guarded by some hidden power which keeps the way, that no man can enter in.