

it promises the means of extinguishing the public debt sooner than was anticipated, and furnishes a strong illustration of the practical effects of the present tariff upon our commercial interests.

"The object of the tariff is objected to by some as unconstitutional; and is considered by almost all as defective in many of its parts.

"The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. The right to adjust those duties, with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, is so completely incidental to that power, that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other."

"The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the general government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them; and consequently if it be not possessed by the general government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case. This indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress."

"In this conclusion I am confirmed as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who each repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people."

"That our deliberations on this interesting subject should be uninfluenced by those partisan conflicts that are incident to free institutions, is the fervent wish of my heart. To make this great question, which unaptly so much divides and excites the public mind subservient to the short-sighted views of fact, must destroy all hope of settling it satisfactorily to the great body of the people, and for the general interest. I cannot, therefore, in taking leave of the subject, too earnestly, for my own feelings or the common good, warn you against the blighting consequences of such a course.

Extract of a message from Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, to Congress, December 7, 1831.

"The confidence with which the extinguishment of the public debt may be anticipated presents an opportunity for carrying into effect more fully the policy in relation to import duties which has been recommended in my former messages. A modification of the tariff which shall produce a reduction of revenue to the wants of the government, and an adjustment of the duties on imports with a view to equal justice in relation to all our national interests, and to the countercaction of foreign policy, so far as it may be injurious to those interests, is deemed to be one of the principal objects which demand the consideration of the present Congress. In the exercise of that spirit of concession and conciliation which has distinguished the friends of our Union in all great emergencies, it is believed that this object may be effected without injury to any national interest."

I think, Mr. President, I have clearly established the democratic character of a tariff for protection of American industry, by proofs of the most convincing character. The authorities from which I have quoted have all been regarded as the lights of the republic, and I envy not the man who would attempt to lessen the weight of their opinions.

In recommending these views to Congress at different times they but adopted the views of every nation of the world that has been prosperous. No nation ever flourished that did not take care of its own citizens, and develop its own resources; but our modern philosophers seem to be "wise above what is written."

In the olden time, Mr. President, when democracy was certainly not less pure than at present, revenue bills originated with the representatives of the people. The fathers of the country even thought it wise, in forming the constitution, to restrict their origin to the House of Representatives.

Now the representatives of the people are saved all the trouble of reflecting upon the difficult subject of revenue. The Secretary of the Treasury, like the first Lord of the Treasury in England, makes a bill, and hands it to the chairman of the Committee on Finance in the House. Cabinet ministers bring all their influence to bear, and, by the aid of the previous question, force the bill through.

It is sent to the Senate, and some mysterious influence there prevents the bill from being referred, and takes the ordinary course of all measures of this kind.

We are told that the interests of the democratic party require its immediate passage. Honorable Senators admit that it is not a good bill, but they cannot go against the party. Such subservience to ministers would do credit to a British House of Lords but is, in my opinion, in bad keeping in an American Senate. I am proud to call myself a democrat. I am son of a democrat. I represent a State whose democracy no one will doubt; and, for este, I must object to this mode of fixing principles on the party. I was taught in early life to believe that the democratic party was the friend of the poor of the laboring classes; that its principles were calculated to elevate the masses; but the principles of this southern democracy would rob the poor man of his labor, and make him dependent on the capitalists of England for his scanty subsistence. Such was not the doctrine of such democrats as Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, or Jackson, as I have fully shown.

It has been said that the tariff of 1842 is defective in many of its details. It may be, but if so, why do not gentlemen point out these defects and suggest remedies without entirely destroying the principles upon which it is based? That law found the country in a state of unparalleled distress.

Never, in a time of profound peace, was there such utter ruin and dismay pervading the whole country. Not individuals merely, nor communities only, but whole States were involved in the general bankruptcy; even the general government itself was without the means of carrying on its ordinary functions.

From the time the compromise act, whose

principles are now attempted to be re-enacted, began to take effect, the credit of the country began to sink. Time only added to these difficulties instead of relieving them, until, at the end of Mr. Van Buren's administration, the government was many millions in debt. In vain did her fiscal officers try to replenish the exhausted treasury. Her creditors received in many instances only "promises to pay"; and no one had courage enough to invest in her loans, even at a discount.

The memorable rout of the democratic party in 1840, and the overthrow of Mr. Van Buren's administration, was the consequence of this state of things.

The individual cases of distress which pervaded the country for a period preceding the law of 1842 were absolutely heart-rending. Rich men not only lost their fortunes, but poor men lost their means of living. Our furnaces and our forges, and our workshops were emptied; our merchants were ruined, and our farmers, our substantial yeomanry, many of them with abundance of products, for want of a market, found themselves in the hands of the sheriff.

Not a section of the whole country but afforded abundant evidence of the truth of this melancholy picture. You know, Mr. President, that this is no fancy sketch. The dockets of your courts and the streets of your own city, and all the business avenues of that noble commercial mart, could be appealed to for its truth.

I remember, and you doubtless know, that in the organization of a new court in that city there were over five hundred applicants for the place of stipend. Healthy, vigorous men sought this station, to get bread for their families. A prominent democrat of Pennsylvania, alluding to the subject, uses the following language, which fully corroborates all I have said:

"All will recollect the condition of our country in 1840 and '41. The political campaign and the causes which controlled it must be fresh in remembrance. Such was the condition of the productive classes, that an able statesman, though aided by all the patronage of the national and most of the State governments, and sustained by an active and powerful party, which had never been beaten, was hurled from the Presidential chair by an overwhelming torrent. How did this happen? It was no philosophical abstraction, that occupied the public mind. The people of the United States are essentially a practical, matter-of-fact people. The free trade system had been gradually working since 1833, and was being felt in all its charms at the time of that election; a deep gloom pervaded our land; it was visible in every countenance, and a single idea controlled and determined the event. Our business can't be worse—let us have a change."

Here is a regular decrease for five years. In the present year there is a slight rise, occasioned by the destruction of the Schuykill canal, and the consequent inability of the miners to send a sufficient quantity to market.

Twenty years ago good wood commanded,

and, nearly every winter, in the Philadelphia and New York markets, as much as \$8 and \$10 a cord, and frequently, in extreme cold winters, it rose much higher. So much distress was there often in large cities from the want of fuel, that it led, as a matter of necessity, to the establishment of fuel-saving societies, by which the poor man could protect himself against the high prices in the winter season. Now, a ton of coal which is equal to a cord and a half of hickory wood, can be purchased in either of these cities for what was, twenty years ago, the lowest price of a cord of wood. The introduction of this new article of fuel, which has been fostered and encouraged into use by our revenue laws, has brought down the price of this necessity of life, and has been more comfort to the poor man's home than any invention of the age. Thirty years ago this article (I mean the anthracite coal of Pennsylvania) was entirely unknown; now it gives employment to labor, annually, equal to five millions of days' work. It gives employment to about 700 ships of 160 tons each, and it affords a nursery for the education of about 5,000 seamen, the importance of which can only be felt in case of a war with a maritime power. Destroy this business, and you transfer this nursery to the coal mines of Great Britain. It has invested in it more than fifty millions of dollars, and it sustains population in its immediate neighborhood of some 60,000 or 70,000 people. It consumes annually more than two millions of dollars, worth of agricultural products, and more than three and a half millions of dollars' worth of merchandise.

The oil alone consumed in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, in one year, is worth over three hundred thousand dollars. The rent paid by the miners to the owners of land amounts to an annual sum of \$600,000, and this sum is produced by a very small charge on each ton mined—not more than 20 or 40 cents—all the remainder being expended for labor in one form or another; and the land for which this rent paid was, until recently, a barren waste.

The effect of the tariff upon this branch of our industry is illustrated by the following fact: In 1837 the amount of coal sent to market was In 1842 with low dues, it had increased to only showing an increase of 237,000 tons in five years. In 1846 it will be over 2,000,000 tons, showing an increase, under the effects of the tariff of 1842, in a period of only four years, of 1,392,000 tons.

Among the striking effects of the introduction of this article, fostered as it has been by our tariff laws, is one for the correctness of which I appeal to the Senators of Massachusetts: the completion of the Reading Railroad, one of the avenues by which the coal reaches market, has made such a reduction in the price of fuel in that State, that the amount saved annually to its citizens equals the interest on her whole State debt; thus virtually abolishing the debt itself.

I take this State as a matter of convenience, as it is the great market of the east.

In effect on other States, particularly New York, must be equally striking.

Aid yet, if it may be permitted to digress, we see

public men, professing to represent the interest of their constituents, giving their aid to

the destruction of this business, so important to those interests.

The anthracite coal confined to the eastern base of the Alleghany mountains. On the western slope is found bituminous coal, and most every western county of Pennsylvania abounds with it. I have not had time to investigate the amount of business connected with it; the operations of it have been confined to local sections; but it has greatly increased since the tariff of 1842 has kept the British coal from competing with it in the New Orleans market. I will, however, give one fact, showing the effect of the trade and use of this article upon the prosperity of the country. The city of Pittsburgh is known to all, lies in a basin surrounded with coal veins. It is one vast workshop; and its

more attention been paid to agriculture as a pursuit as a science, and nowhere has it been crowned with greater success. Nowhere in this Union is the eye of the traveler delighted with such substantial evidences of comfort and happiness as are presented in her beautifully cultivated farms and their neat and substantial dwellings. And yet, Mr. President, notwithstanding all we hear within these walls of the injury sustained by agriculture, in supporting manufactures, that whole population have been united as one man in sustaining their infant manufactures and developing the resources of their mines.

The town of Pittsburg in 1813 had but 5,784 inhabitants. In 1840 the population of the city proper was 21,166. It is now 45,000—more than doubled in six years. I have not the data, but I presume nearly all this increase has taken place since 1842, as I know, for some years preceding the passage of the tariff bill, business was almost entirely suspended. The population of the city and surrounding villages, which are actually a part of the city, amounts to the round number of 100,000, and its whole prosperity has its origin in its coal and its iron, and the manufactures which they have brought into existence. The coal now used by our steamships on the gulf; and the movements of our fleet before Vera Cruz, to which the eyes of the nation are now turned, will greatly depend on an abundance of this important means of national defence within our own borders. Destroy the trade produced by these mines, and in time of war we might have to depend on our enemy for a supply of this essential element in modern warfare.

I beg Western Senators to look at the picture which Pittsburg presents to them, in the hope that, instead of aiding to destroy the tariff, they will look to many points, equally well situated, with coal and iron around them, upon which cities may be made to grow up, and, like it, become a market for the vast agricultural products of their fertile regions.

The next important product of Pennsylvania is her manufactures of iron.

By the census of 1840, the number of furnaces in Pennsylvania was 213. Returns were procured in 1842 from a large number of them, showing them to be capable of producing 152,000 tons of pig metal. The tariff of 1842 found the fires of nearly all these furnaces extinguished, their workers idle, and their families in many cases without the means of subsistence. And it is a melancholy truth that many debts then contracted for means of living are still unpaid from the savings of years of hard labor. Since the passage of the bill of 1842, more than 100 new furnaces have been built, which produce 178,000 tons of metal—more than 100 per cent of an increase.

In 1840 labor was from \$5 to \$6 a week; now it commands from \$8 to \$10. Here is a regular decrease for five years. In the present year there is a slight rise, occasioned by the destruction of the Schuykill canal, and the consequent inability of the miners to send a sufficient quantity to market.

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whole growth and prosperity is derived from the coal extracted from the frowning mountains which surround it. Every one of its citizens lives, directly or indirectly, from the produce of the coal mines.

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It is a remarkable fact, that in proportion to the aid extended by the government to this important trade, not only has the quantity increased, but the price has been reduced to the citizens; thus completely destroying the free trade theory of the present day. Upon the same principle, the price will continue to fall as the quantity mined increases, to a certain extent; for, like all other commercial transactions, the operator makes his profits from the amount of business he does, rather than the separate items of it. This will be seen by the table of sales in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, for the last six years:

Years. Philadelphia. N. Y. Boston. Total.

1830 \$5.50 \$8.00 \$11.00

1831 5.00 7.75 9.00 9.00

1832 4.25 6.50 6.00 6.50

1833 3.50 5.75 6.00 6.50

1834 3.57 5.50 6.00 6.50

1835 3.49 5.00 6.00 6.50

1836 3.49 5.00 6.00 6.50

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