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The Tariff As It Is

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THE TARIFF AS IT IS, COMPARED WITH THE SUBSTITUTE PROPOSED BY ITS ADVERSARIES

IN

The Bill reported to the U. S. House of Representatives by Gen. McKay of N. C. from the
Committee of Ways and Means.

BY H. GREELEY

I. *The Question—The Danger.*

A GREAT change in the policy of our Government and Country has been proposed in Congress—a change which, as all alike contend, will vitally affect, for good or for evil, the interests and prosperity of the whole People. If it were merely the suggestion of an individual, and unlikely to succeed, it might be disregarded as of little moment; but the fact is far otherwise. It is the deliberate production of the most important Committee of the more popular and powerful branch of the National Legislature—a Committee selected with express reference to the consummation of this change, and acting at the behest of a party which is under a presumed political necessity of passing some such act. It is not a matter of suspicion or inference, since its own journals clearly declare it, that a minor section of that party say in effect to their more numerous allies, "You must abolish the present Tariff, and enact a substitute founded on a different principle and contemplating different ends, or we will not support the man you designate for President." Is there an intelligent man in the Country, no matter of what politics, who doubts that this is one of the considerations, if not the main consideration, which has impelled the production at this time of Gen. McKay's bill? Where else is the impelling cause to be found? Are the People, apart from professed politicians, dissatisfied with the present Tariff? Is Industry depressed and languishing? Are products unsalable? Is it more difficult than before this Tariff was enacted for Labor to find employment, or to turn Property into money? Are the industrious classes unusually discontented with the present and apprehensive for the future? Is the Revenue inadequate? All these questions must be answered in the negative. The Country is enjoying at least an average and certainly an increasing prosperity; there are fewer vainly seeking work than for several former years, and cash payments for work or property are more general than in any year from 1837 to 1843. The Revenue for the current year

has thus far exceeded all anticipation, all precedent since 1836, and will doubtless exceed the Expenditures of the year by at least Ten Millions of Dollars. For what possible reason, then, is so formidable and determined a party attack made on the existing Tariff, except that Mr. Calhoun's friends will not support Mr. Van Buren for President unless upon condition that the Tariff is broken down or its destruction secured?

And here is revealed a ground of danger that the thoughtless and short-sighted are apt to overlook. They say, "There is no danger of the overthrow of the Tariff; the Senate will stop the bill from the House." Ah, sirs! how long can the Senate stop it? For this year we hope and trust it may; but, apart from the casualties which are constantly changing the composition of that body, have you reflected that the terms of *seventeen* of the fifty-two Senators expire with the present Congress, and that *twelve* of them are staunch supporters of the Tariff? Take out these, and let a new class be elected *one-half* opposed to the Tariff, and its destruction is sealed. If, then, Gen. McKay's bill, which is certain to pass the House, should be stopped in the Senate, this will be no decision but a mere postponement of the vital question—or rather, it will be a reference to the higher Court of the People for their ultimate decision. What Congress may do or not do, therefore, at its present Session, is only important in view of its immediate effects. The great question of Protection or No Protection—the present Tariff, essentially as it is, with any modification of details which Experience may suggest to its friends, or the 'Free Trade' substitute reported by Gen. McKay—must be decided by the People in their approaching election of a President and Congress.

II. *The Two Tariffs—Wool and Woolens.*

In the following pages I do not propose to argue the abstract propriety and necessity of Protection. That topic will be treated in another essay by which this will shortly be followed. In the present, I shall simply and briefly compare the sev-

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eral provisions of the present Tariff as enacted by the late Congress in 1842, and the Van Buren substitute, showing their respective reasons, objects and operations.

The first section of the Tariff as it is reads as follows:

Sec. 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the duties heretofore imposed by law on the articles hereinafter mentioned, and on such as may now be exempt from duty, there shall be levied, collected and paid, the following duties, that is to say:

First. On coarse wool unmanufactured, the value whereof, at the last port or place from whence exported to the United States, shall be seven cents or under per pound, there shall be levied a duty of five per centum ad valorem: And on all other unmanufactured wool there shall be levied a duty of three cents per pound, and thirty per centum ad valorem: *Provided,* That when wool of different qualities of the same kind or sort is imported in the same bale, bag or package, and the aggregate value of the contents of the bale, bag or package, shall be appraised by the appraiser at a rate exceeding seven cents per pound, it shall be charged with a duty in conformity to such appraisal: *Provided further,* That when wool of different qualities and different kinds or sorts is imported in the same bale, bag or package, the contents of the bale, bag or package shall be appraised at the value of the finest or most valuable kind or sort, and a duty charged thereon accordingly: *Provided further,* That if bales of different qualities are embraced in the same invoice, at the same price, the value of the whole shall be appraised according to the value of a bale of the best quality: *Provided further,* That if any wool be imported having on it dirt or any material or impurities other than those usually belonging to the bale, bag or package, and reduced in value to seven cents per pound or under, the appraisers shall appraise said wool at such price as, in their opinion, it would have cost had it not been so mixed with such dirt or impurities, and a duty shall be charged thereon in conformity with such appraisal: *Provided also,* That wool imported on the skin shall be estimated as to weight and value as other wool.

Second. On all manufactures of wool, or of which wool shall be a component part, except carpets, flannels, stockings and baizes, blankets, worsted stuff goods, ready-made clothing, hats, mits, gloves, caps and bindings, a duty of forty per centum.

Third. On Wilton carpets and carpeting, treble ingrain, Saxony and Aubusson carpets and carpeting, a duty of sixty-five cents per square yard; on Brussels and Turkey carpets and carpeting, fifty-five cents per square yard; on all Venetian and ingrain carpets and carpeting, thirty cents per square yard; on all other kinds of carpets and carpeting, of wool, hemp, flax or cotton, or parts of either, or other material not otherwise specified, a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem: *Provided,* That bed-sides and other portions of carpets or carpeting shall pay the rate of duty herein imposed on carpets or carpeting of a similar character.

Fourth. On woolen blankets, the actual value of which at the place whence imported shall not exceed seventy-five cents each, and if the dimensions not exceeding seventy-two by forty-two inches each, nor less than sixty-five by sixty inches, a duty of fifteen per centum ad valorem; and on all other woolen blankets, a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Fifth. On all manufactures, not otherwise specified, of civilized wool or worsted, and manufactures of worsted and silk combined a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem; and all heath rugs, a duty ad valorem duty of forty per centum.

Sixth. On woolen and worsted yarn, a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem.

Seventh. On woolen and worsted mitts, gloves, caps and bindings, and on woolen or worsted hosiery, that is to say, stockings, socks, drawers, shirts, and all other similar manufactures, made on frames, a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem.

Eighth. On flannels, of whatever material composed, except cotton, a duty of fourteen cents per square yard; on stockings and baizes, fourteen cents per square yard; on coach faces, thirty-five per centum ad valorem; on Thibet, Angora, and all other goods of hair or mohair unmanufactured, one cent per pound; on cambrics, blankets, coverings, and all other manufactures of goats' hair or mohair, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Ninth. On ready-made clothing, of whatever material composed, worn by men, women or children, except gloves, mitts, stockings, socks, woven shirts and drawers, and all other similar manufactures made on frames, hats, bonnets, shoes, boots, and booties, imported in a state ready to be used as clothing by men, women or children, made up either by the tailor, manufacturer or seamstress, an ad valorem duty of fifty per centum; on all articles worn by men, women or children, other than as above specified or excepted, of whatever materials composed, made up wholly or in part by hand, a duty of forty per centum ad valorem; on all thread laces and insertings, fifteen per centum ad valorem; on cotton laces, quiltings, and dressings, usually known as trimmings, lace and on bobbin laces of cotton, twenty per centum ad valorem; on laces, galloons, braidings, tassels, knots, and stars of gold or silver, lace or half lace, fifteen per centum ad valorem; on all articles embroidered in gold or silver, lace or half lace, when finished, other than clothing, twenty per centum ad valorem; and on clothing finished in whole or in part, embroidered in gold and silver, fifty per centum ad valorem.

The corresponding section of the substitute reported to the House by Gen. McKay is as follows:

Sec. 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That after the first day of September in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-four the duties imposed under and by virtue of the act entitled "An act to provide revenue from imports and to change and modify existing laws imposing duties on imports and for other purposes," approved on the thirtieth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, upon the various articles in the said act mentioned, changed, modified, and reduced in manner following, that is to say—

First. On all coarse unmanufactured wool, the value whereof, at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, shall be seven cents or under per pound, there shall be levied a duty of fifteen per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of five per centum imposed by the said act; and on all other unmanufactured wool there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duties of three cents per pound and thirty per centum ad valorem, imposed by the said act.

Second. On all manufactures of wool, or of which wool shall be a component part, except milled or fulled cloth, known by the name of plains, kerseys, or Kendall Cottons, carpetings, flannels, stockings and baizes, blankets, worsted stuff goods, ready-made clothing, hosiery, mitts, gloves, caps, and bindings, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of forty per centum imposed by the said act.

Third. On all milled or fulled cloth known by the name of plains, kerseys, or Kendall cottons, of which wool shall be the only material, the value whereof shall not exceed thirty-five cents the square yard at the last port or place whence exported, there shall be levied a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duties imposed by the said act.

Fourth. On all carpets and carpeting of wool, hemp, flax or cotton, or parts of either, or other material not specified, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duties imposed by the said act.

Fifth. On all woolen blankets, the actual value of which at the place whence exported shall not exceed seventy-five cents each, there shall be levied a duty of ten per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of fifteen per centum imposed by the said act.

Sixth. On all heath rugs, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of forty per centum imposed by the said act.

Seventh. On woolen yarn there shall be levied a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of thirty per centum imposed by the said act; and on all worsted yarn, there shall be levied a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of thirty per centum imposed by the said act.

Eighth. On woolen and worsted mitts, gloves, caps and bindings, and on woolen or worsted hosiery, that is to say, stockings, socks, drawers, shirts, and all other similar manufactures made on frames, or other material not specified, there shall be levied a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of thirty per centum imposed by the said act.

Ninth. On flannels, of whatever materials composed, except cotton, and on stockings and baizes, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of forty per centum imposed by the said act; and on coach faces, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of thirty-five per centum imposed by the said act.

Tenth. On ready-made clothing, of whatever materials composed, worn by men, women or children, except gloves, mitts, stockings, socks, woven shirts, and drawers, and all other similar manufactures made on frames, hats, bonnets, shoes, boots, and booties, imported in a state ready to be used as clothing by men, women, or children, made up either by the tailor, manufacturer, or seamstress, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem instead of the duty of fifty per centum imposed by the said act. On all articles worn by men, women or children, other than as above specified or excepted, of whatever materials composed, made up wholly or in part by hand, there shall be levied a duty of forty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of forty per centum imposed by the said act; and on clothing, finished in whole or in part, embroidered in gold or silver, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of fifty per centum imposed by the said act.

The changes proposed by the new bill, as will be seen, as follows: 1st. The duty on Wool costing (after allowing for any dirt or foreign substance) less than seven cents a pound, is to be raised from five to fifteen per cent. while that on all other Wool is to be reduced from three cents a pound and thirty per cent. to thirty per cent. alone; while the duty on Woolen Goods in general is reduced from forty to thirty per cent.; on Wilton Carpets, treble ingrain, Saxony, Aubusson, &c. from sixty-five cents per square yard, on Brussels and Turkey carpeting from fifty-five cents per square yard, on all Venetian and ingrain carpeting from thirty cents per square yard, all to thirty per cent. ad

valorem, or three dollars for every ten dollars' foreign cost of the goods. Other descriptions of carpeting are thirty per cent. under the present Tariff, and no change on them is proposed. [The reader is requested to note the rule by which the duties are levied on Carpeting under the existing Tariff, and judge of the correctness of the assertion that this Tariff taxes the inferior articles used by persons in moderate circumstances systematically higher than the more costly luxuries of the Rich. Wretched and insulting to the popular understanding as such assertions are, they are not without effect on the less informed and uninquiring.] Woolen blankets of a prescribed size, not costing over seventy-five cents each, are admitted by the present Tariff at fifteen per cent. and all other Woolen blankets at twenty-five per cent. This is so changed by the new bill that all Woolen blankets costing less than seventy-five cents are to be admitted at ten per cent. on their value. [It is easy to see that, as no restriction of size or shape is here made, nothing given but the name to tell what are 'Woolen blankets' and what are not, here is a hole opened to let in almost any thing Woolen under this extremely low duty.] Woolen and Worsted yarn now pay thirty per cent. The new bill reduces Woolen to twenty-five and Worsted to twenty per cent. Woolen and Worsted Hosiery—Stockings, Socks, Drawers, Mitts, Caps, Gloves, &c.—now pay thirty per cent. and are to be reduced to twenty per cent. Coach Laces are to be reduced from thirty-five to thirty per cent. Flannels now pay fourteen cents per square yard, which the new bill reduces to thirty per cent. Ready-made Clothing now pays fifty per cent. which is proposed to be reduced to thirty per cent. Articles imported in a state to be worn, but not made up by hand, which are now taxed forty per cent. are also to be reduced to thirty per cent. Cotton Laces, &c. &c. not made up into dresses, are to be taxed twenty per cent., laces, galloons, tresses, tassels, knots and stars of gold or silver being considered materials for clothing rather than manufactured articles, are now charged but fifteen per cent. while made-up Clothing embroidered with gold or silver is taxed fifty per cent. The former are left unchanged, while the latter is reduced to thirty per cent.

III. 'Incidental' Protection Illustrated.

Such are the provisions of the first or Woolen section of the two rival Tariffs. The present Tariff has two objects, which are consistently pursued; first, to protect efficiently the growing of Wool and the production of Woolen fabrics by our own people; secondly, to admit such Wool or Woolens as do not come in competition with our own at the lowest rates. To this end the cheap, coarse, indifferent Wool procured from the vast flocks of sheep which run at large over the great plains of Buenos Ayres, New-Holland, &c. and may be purchased for less than seven cents a pound, is admitted at the low rate of five per cent. because a duty of a hundred per cent. would not justify our own people in producing an article answering to this, and would only tend to give British manufacturers a great advantage over ours in supplying our own markets. Corresponding with this, the coarse fabric known as 'Woolen blankets,' costing less (for the

prescribed size) than seventy five cents each, and used mainly as clothing and bedding for slaves, is admitted at a duty of fifteen per cent. Here is a very moderate discrimination of ten per cent. in favor of the American manufacturer. But the proposed Tariff actually discriminates the other way, charging the raw material fifteen per cent. and the manufactured fabric ten per cent. This, we must suppose, is what the Free Traders consider 'Incidental Protection!' Of course, it will be utterly impossible for our manufacturers to go on making this description of goods, with a discrimination of five per cent. against them, so that they must pay more duty on the wool (which is all imported) than their foreign rivals in our markets pay on their goods. Is this just? Is it politic? Can any man imagine a reason why we should give British manufacturers five per cent. advantage over our own in the production of a rude, cheap and necessary fabric for our own markets?

This is not a single instance, by any means. The common fulled cloth, kerseys, &c. are charged but twenty per cent. duty, while the raw wool is taxed thirty per cent.—so with every description of Hosiery—Stockings, Socks, Drawers, Shirts, Mitts, Caps, &c. which are charged but twenty per cent. while the raw material is taxed thirty, and Yarn twenty-five. Here is a regular gradation of discriminations against American and in favor of British manufactures—the raw material being taxed thirty per cent. the partial manufacture twenty-five, but if it be wholly made up into plain cloths, or any description of Hosiery, the duty is to be but twenty per cent. ! How can this be justified? What end does it contemplate? If these States were still British Colonies, and this were an act of the British Parliament regulating the intercourse between the mother Country and the Colonies, we could understand it, for it is precisely like much of the legislation of that Parliament with regard to us during our Colonial dependence, when Lord Chatham declared it the fixed policy of the British Parliament that not even a *hob-nail* should be manufactured in America; but as an act of an American Congress, such legislation is unaccountable. Here are the descriptions of goods most necessary and common among us so taxed that our supplies must inevitably be derived from British factories, while our own are closed and dismantled. If the authors of this measure expect to receive eight dollars a day for their services, they ought in common fairness to send in their bill to those whose interests they are promoting, and not tax it on the American People.

IV. How the Wool-Growers and Farmers are affected.

And here let me expose the fraud which this bill practices upon the Wool-Growers of our Country: They are virtually told, 'You have thirty per cent. protection on Wool, and that ought to satisfy you.'—But what is thirty per cent. on Wool good for, if Woolens are to be let in extensively at ten, twenty, and any kind of Woolen Yarn at twenty-five per cent.? Surely, our Wool-growers must know that every pound of wool imported in the shape of woolen cloths or hosiery supplies the place of a pound of Wool grown in this country—that every yard of Woolens imported interferes with and restricts their

market just as much as if it were so much Wool, while they lose beside the market for their sheep, as well as other produce which would be consumed by those employed in manufacturing the Cloth in our own Country.

And here it may be well to observe that the measure of Protection afforded to the great Agricultural interest of the Country by the present Tariff is not determined by the amount of duties on its own products merely. True, there are specific duties on the several kinds of Grain, Potatoes, Cheese, &c. which in most instances have little effect on the American price or production. But the Farmer is benefited by whatever creates an adequate cash market for his products in his vicinity, or brings such market considerably nearer him. Grain may be higher or lower in Boston than it was twenty five years ago; but the Farmers of Vermont or New-Hampshire no longer produce grain for the Boston market, because the building up of manufactories all around them, has given them an adequate market for all their grain nearer home, and justified the production of vegetables, fruits, &c. which would not bear transportation to the Boston market. I have known a small tract of land bought by a New-Hampshire farmer for a hundred dollars, and, a manufacturing village about the time springing up near him, he sold the wood off the lot for a hundred dollars, and had the land left, worth more than it was when he bought it. This wood was worth nothing and never would be, while our manufacturing was done in England. This simple fact illustrates a general law. Whatever diversifies and increases the industry of any section almost inevitably increases the value of all the property of that section. Take any County in which a thousand men are constantly at work, and set three thousand steadily and effectively at work in it, and you can hardly fail to raise the value of whatever land, timber, ores, water-power, &c. &c. it contains. If the present Tariff did not impose a duty of one cent on any Agricultural product, it would still be of immense, essential importance to our Agriculture by creating large and convenient markets for its products, many of which, being bulky or perishable, are without commercial value unless there be an adequate market for them at hand.

The present Tariff is defective, in my judgment, so far as relates to Wool and Woolens., in imposing too *low* duties on several descriptions of Woolen goods. Wool being higher here than abroad, and the British manufacturers having the advantage of an essentially free importation of Wool, and thus having their raw material cheaper than their American rivals, and having both Labor and Capital at cheaper rates than they can or ought to be afforded here, the duty on all Woolen goods ought to be equal to the duty on Wool and at least ten per cent. addition. But it is not so, except on Carpets, Flannels, and Ready-made Clothing, so current is the clamor against protecting manufactures, so general the dread of the demagogue cant, that manufactures are *protected at the expense* of other interests, that while a duty equivalent to forty or fifty per cent. is imposed on all Wool coming in competition with ours, several descriptions of Woolen Manufactures are allowed to come in at thirty per cent

This, the Farmers are told, is favorable to them, when in fact, the duty on Wool is partially neutralized by the lower duty on some Woolens. No raw Wool, except of the poor, coarse kind entirely different from ours, is now imported; but Woolens are and will be while the duty remains below that on Wool; and this is clearly just as detrimental to the Wool-Growing interest as the importation of so much Wool. It ought to be stopped. But the new bill, instead of correcting this defect in the present Tariff, magnifies it ten-fold. It first takes off about half of the present duty on raw Wool, (the specific three cents a pound, leaving but the thirty per cent. ad valorem, which is to come down to twenty-five at the end of another year,) and then it destroys the efficient Protection now afforded to our Carpetings, Flannels, Bockings, Baizes, Ready-Made Clothing, &c. and cuts down the duty on every thing else. It is a bill to enrich the landlords and mill-owners of Yorkshire at the expense of the yeomanry of New-York, New-England, and all our Wool-growing States. Can it be that it will meet their approval?

V. Effect of the Tariff on Wool.

It is often positively declared that our Farmers pay more for all they buy and receive less for all they sell since or on account of the Tariff. Some color of plausibility is given to this gross untruth by the fact that Agricultural produce had been raised to an extraordinary price by the failure of the Grain crop of 1836 combining with the Currency expansion and extravagant speculations of that and the two preceding years, and the high prices so attained went down inevitably under the concurrent operation of better crops, more general industry, more contracted currency, and the gradually diminishing Tariff of succeeding years. Cattle were eaten up during the speculating times to such an extent that Beef was scarce and bore high prices during several succeeding years, as the replenishing an inadequate stock is a matter requiring more time than an increased production of Grain. The lowest point of depression had not been reached when the present Tariff was enacted. And because Agricultural staples did not *at once* begin to rise—because some of them, under the influence of preëxisting causes, continued to fall—the clamor was at once raised that the Tariff had *reduced* the prices of Produce! But in what way did any man believe or suppose that Protection would increase the prices of Produce? Was it not by building up new branches of Industry—by opening new and convenient markets for whatever the Farmer had to sell? Now this was manifestly a work of time; the improvement, to be natural and healthy, must be progressive. From the day the present Tariff became a law, it set on foot causes which must unfailingly increase the prices of Produce. But these causes required time for their development; meantime the prior causes of depressing prices were still actively at work. For a brief season, the adversaries of Protection had a chance to obscure these truths. The Tariff, passed the last of August, 1842, did not materially increase the price of Wool immediately, in the face of heavy stocks of Foreign Goods in the market, imported in anticipation of increased duties, with the general contraction of Currency and de-

pletion of Business which had been the work of years. Fewer Goods than usual were bought in the Spring of 1843, and Manufactures, no more than other interests, were aroused to decided activity that season. 'Where is your better price for Wool?' was the taunting inquiry of adversaries of Protection. 'It is coming,' was the firm assurance of its friends. A year has since passed, and every interest of the Country has felt the beneficent change. See how the present prices of Wool compare with those a year ago:

PRICES OF WOOL IN THE NEW-YORK MARKET.			
American.	Jan. 1843.	Jan. 1844.	
Full blood Saxony.....	33 a 35c.	45 a 47½c.	
Mixed Merino and Saxony.....	29 a 32	38 a 40	
¾ to full-blood Merino.....	25 a 30	36 a 38	
½ blood do.....	24 a 26	30 a 32	
Native to ¼ blood do.....	22 a 24	30 a 32	
Pulled Wool, super.....	22 a 24	36 a 38	
No. 1.....	18 a 20	31 a 33	
No. 2.....	8 a 10	18 a 20	
Western tub-washed.....	20 a 22	30 a 34	
Average.....	23½c.	35½c.	
Or over 50 per cent. advance.			

Imported Wool has advanced in equal measure, averaging 50 per cent. None but the poor, coarse, dirty South American Wool is imported to any extent.

Such has been the effect of the Tariff on the interests of the Wool-growers.

VI. How the Tariff affects Prices.

'But,' says a Free Trader, you say a Protective Tariff reduces the cost of such articles as we buy; and here you say it increases the price of Wool. Which do you stand to?

I answer, Both. It is true that enlightened, persistent Protection of our Home Industry will secure our Farmers a better price for their products, and at the same time cheapen the cost of such fabrics as they must buy. I cannot in this essay elucidate this truth so fully as I have done elsewhere, but must be content to indicate the heads of the argument. They are as follows:

1. Protection does this by equalizing prices.—While the Farmers of this Country exchange their Grain for British Cloth, the American Farmer will in the average (apart from all duties) give fully twice as much Grain for his Cloth as the British Cloth-maker gets for it. But build up Manufactures by the side of the Farmers, and the two classes of producers will exchange their products at a cost of not ten instead of fifty to two hundred per cent. on their value. The cloth-maker and grain-grower will both receive more of what they want for what they have to spare than they did before—the enormous cost of transportation back and forth being saved.

2. The Products of Industry are naturally divided, in respect to the subject under consideration, into two classes—one consisting of articles whose cost of production is proportionate to the amount of the product; the other not subject to this rule. For instance, Wool, Grain, Boots, Shoes, &c come under the first law; you must double the outlay of Capital and Labor if you require a double product, and the price of the articles would probably be increased rather than reduced by the increased demand. But if twice as many Newspapers, for instance, were required, the cost of producing the requisite supply would not nearly be doubled, and the price would surely be reduced. It is easy to

prove this by noticing the prices of newspapers in different sections of our own Country. In New-England, and wherever else the population is dense and reading universal, Newspapers are far cheaper than in sections where few are required. The same truth may be observed by contrasting the cost of Newspapers in despotic and ignorant Countries, where few read, with that in free and enlightened Countries, where nearly all read.—The larger steady demand every where ensures the cheaper supply.

Take another example: Few can be ignorant that Piano Fortes, for which there is a limited and capricious demand, are sold higher, in proportion to their absolute cost, for labor and material, than Bureaux or Tables, for which there is a large and constant demand. The maker argues, 'If I produce Piano Fortes, the demand for them, the public taste with regard to them, is capricious; I may keep them long unsold, or may be deprived, by some new improvement or instrument, of a sale at all; while Bureaux or Tables will be sure to sell, and are not likely to depreciate materially if they remain on my hands.—I must charge a profit accordingly on what I do sell.' This is prudent and just. Now if the demand for Piano Fortes were increased until they should become as common and uniformly saleable as wooden clocks, the price of them would inevitably be reduced, because they would be afforded cheaper than now. A man who now makes and sells ten to a hundred a year could and would make cheaper and sell cheaper, if he could be sure to sell ten thousand a year regularly. Here is seen the operation of a principle which ensures cheaper production and lower prices in proportion as the Home Market is widened, steadied and made secure.

VII. Cotton and Cotton Goods.

The Second Section of the present Tariff is as follows:

First. On cotton unmanufactured, a duty of three cents per pound.

Second. On all manufactures of cotton, or of which cotton shall be a component part, not otherwise specified, a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, excepting such cotton twist, yarn, and thread, and such other articles as are herein provided for: *Provided,* That all manufactures of cotton, or of which cotton shall be a component part, not dyed, colored, printed or stained, but exceeding in value twenty cents per square yard, shall be valued at twenty cents per square yard; and if dyed, colored, printed or stained, in whole or in part, not exceeding in value thirty cents the square yard, shall be valued at thirty cents per square yard, excepting velvets, cords, molleskins, fusians, buffalo cloths, or goods manufactured by napping or raising, cutting or shearing, not exceeding in value thirty-five cents the square yard, which shall be valued at thirty-five cents per square yard, and duty be paid thereon accordingly.

Third. All cotton twist, yarn and thread, unbleached and uncolored the true value of which at the place whence imported shall be less than sixty cents per pound, shall be valued at sixty cents per pound and shall be charged with a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem; all bleached or colored cotton twist, yarn and thread, the true value of which at the place whence imported shall be less than seventy-five cents per pound, shall be valued at a twenty-five cents per pound, and pay a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem; all other cotton twist, yarn, and thread on spools or otherwise, shall pay a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem.

The corresponding section of the bill proposed as a substitute by Gen. McKay, reads thus:

First. On all manufactures of cotton, or of which cotton shall be a component part, not otherwise specified, and excepting such cotton twist, yarn and thread, and such other articles as are hereinafter otherwise provided for, there shall be levied a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem; and the proviso to the second subdivision of the second section of the said act shall be, and the same is hereby repeated.

Second. On cotton twist, yarn and thread, bleached or unbleached, colored or uncolored, and on spools or otherwise, there shall be levied a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act.

VIII. The Difference—The Minimum Principle.

The differences between the two bills, as will be seen, are these: The present Tariff imposes a duty of three cents per pound on raw Cotton.—This Gen. McKay's bill proposes to abolish. As Cotton is not only produced very cheaply here, but is an article of considerable bulk (about four times that of fair Wool.) in proportion to its value, this change is of no practical importance. Its principal effect will be to invite the Cotton of Texas to New-Orleans to be sold or shipped instead of being sent to Europe direct from Galveston. If Cotton-growers assent to this, other interests will not object. On Cotton fabrics, the new bill proposes sweeping changes. Nominally, the reduction of duty on fabrics is but five per cent. and on yarns and threads nothing; but really the reduction is a very great one, and amounts to an entire subversion of the Protective policy.—The present Tariff establishes a *minimum* or lowest value which each description of imported Cotton Goods can be estimated to have cost, as follows:

Description.	Aq. sq. yd.	Description.	Per lb.
Plain Cottons, (Sheetings, &c.)	20 cts.	Cotton, Yarns, &c. unbleached	60 cts.
Colored or printed do.	30 "	Do. bleached or colored	75 "
Velvets, Fustians, &c.	35 "	If costing more, on cost.	80 p c.

—The policy of extending efficient Protection to the Home production of Cotton Goods was first distinctly acknowledged in 1816, when Mr. Calhoun, holding the position now occupied by Gen. McKay, took a leading part in reconstructing the Tariff. At that time the plan was first adopted, under his sanction, of affording Protection to our then infant and feeble Cotton Manufacture by establishing this very minimum principle, which says in effect, 'You must pay so much duty, or you cannot import Foreign Cottons.'—Under the vivifying, fostering influence of this principle, the Cotton Manufacture instantly took strong root in this Country, grew and expanded rapidly, and has for years been the most vigorous and hardy Manufacturing interest in the Country.

IX. The Effect of Efficient Protection.

What has been the effect on the interest of the consumers? It was at first assumed that Cotton goods would be dearer and poorer in this Country than formerly, but the contrary has notoriously been the result. We now obtain our Cotton Goods at one-half to one-fourth the cost of similar fabrics so long as our supply was almost entirely from abroad. We have extended and perfected our manufacture until some descriptions of Cottons are sold here at less than two cents per yard over the cost of the raw material. If Great Britain or any other nation would give us outright the spinning and weaving of our plain Cottons, we furnishing the raw material and paying transportation both ways and mercantile charges, it is doubtful that our consumers would be supplied with the goods cheaper than now. It is quite certain that, taking all things into consideration—the interest of our producers as well as consumers of Cottons—it would be unwise in us to accept the offer. We are now producing our own supply entirely, except some of the higher-priced and fancy fabrics, and producing it cheaper than any other nation could possibly afford to do it for us. Then why change? What good end is de-

sired or attainable? Cotton fabrics generally are now produced as cheaply here as any where in the world. Our own workers are employed in supplying our wants, and at barely adequate prices. We are making these goods so cheap that we not only command the Home Market, but rival Great Britain in the markets of South America and China, and Hon. Nathan Appleton, of Boston, (Member of the last Congress,) states as a fact that the British troops in India are partially clothed in American Drillings. A consignment was last season sent from the 'Stark Mills,' Manchester, N. H. to Manchester, England, and there sold at a living price. The Labor costs more here than in England, but our mills run by water-power and theirs by steam; the former costing but about one-third as much as the latter. Then the Cotton grows here; and though for the last year it has been fully as high here as in England, yet it in the average is a trifle lower. Give us Cotton Mills on the navigable waters of Tennessee and the West generally, where Cotton is ten to fifteen per cent. cheaper than it can be in New-England, and we will, with the present Tariff to secure the Home Market as a basis, be able to rival any nation in any open and equal market of the world in the production of these goods.

X. Prices of Cotton Fabrics—Two Errors Corrected.

A table of comparative prices of the cheaper and commoner Cotton fabrics, made up in this city, has been widely copied and quoted in Congress, purporting to show a rise in Cotton Goods consequent on the Tariff, averaging some 30 per cent. But this statement is designedly false and deceptive. Although concocted and used expressly to show that the present Tariff had increased the cost of Cotton Goods, it did not venture to compare, as it was bound in honesty to do, the prices prevailing at some time before the present Tariff with those of the same kinds of goods since or now, but it compares the prices of January, 1843, with those of January, 1844, both since the Present Tariff was enacted—the first five months after it went into operation. If the compiler had meant to show honestly the effect of the Tariff on prices, so far as it has had any effect, he would have compared the prices in the first eight months of 1842, through which the Tariff was barely twenty-per cent., with those of 1843 and 1844, since the present Tariff was enacted. This would have completely upset his calculation, and showed that there had been no enhancement of price on Cottons in consequence of the Tariff—on many descriptions a reduction, and on others no farther advance than the increased price of Cotton absolutely compelled.—The following table of comparative prices of Cotton Goods in January, 1842, when the duty was but 20 per cent., and in the corresponding month of 1844, under the operation of the present Tariff, was prepared for the New-York Tribune by Messrs. J. P. Nesmith & Co. a wholesale commission house of the highest character in Pine-street, who sell Domestic Cloths very largely. It has now been some time before the public, and no one has ventured to question its perfect accuracy. See how the Tariff has raised prices:—

Brown	Feb. 1842	Feb. 1844	Bleached	Feb. 1842	Feb. 1844
SHEETINGS	1842	1844	SHEETINGS	1842	1844
Waltham A.....	10	10	Waltham A.....	11½	10½
" B.....	10	9½	" B.....	14	12½
" W.....	12	11½	Hamilton.....	16	13
DRILLINGS:			Stark Drills.....	9½	9½
Stark Drills.....	8%	8%	Sea Island.....	13%	12%
FLANNELS:					
Common.....	9%	8%			
SHIRTINGS:					

Be it remembered that the price of raw Cotton in January, 1844, was fully *fifty per cent.* higher than in the corresponding month of 1842, and that Wool, of which Flannels are made, had risen nearly or quite in the same ratio. These goods, both Cottons and Flannels, are absolutely protected by the present Tariff against Foreign competition, securing to our own people the entire Labor and profit of producing them. What is the consequence? Does the price increase in proportion to the duty? Look to the table, and judge. These are not picked articles. They are the kinds of goods sold by Messrs. Nesmith & Co. without selection or reservation. Other Cottons are ruled by the same influences, and exhibit the same results, except the more costly Fancy Goods—de Laines, &c. &c.—which all who buy them know are much lower than formerly. There is not an article of Cotton fabric which has begun to be produced here since this Tariff was enacted which is not cheaper now than it was prior to 1842. I challenge any man to deny this.

It is true that in the early part of 1843 common Cottons were cheaper than at present—the cost of the raw material being fifty per cent. less, and the Business of the Country, not yet recovered from the depletion and depression of the Free Trade era, very contracted and feeble.—Prices are affected quite as much by the relation of Supply to Demand as by absolute cost; and in the early part of 1843 the markets for goods were glutted, and many articles selling at ruinously low prices. It was a subject of general exultation among the anti-Tariff presses that a leading U. S. Senator, active in passing the Tariff, failed in extensive business as a printer of Calicoes in the Spring or Summer of that year, and that several manufacturing companies, unable to sell their goods but at ruinous rates, were brought to a dead stand or broken up. Now these same presses quote the prices of goods in that year as *Free Trade* prices, and argue from the subsequent rise (which was inevitable under any Tariff) that the high duties have raised the price of goods!

XI. The Profits of Manufacturing.

Again: It has been widely asserted, and believed by the uninformed, that the manufacturers are making extravagant profits under the present Tariff—some say twenty, others thirty, fifty, and a few go the whole hog, and put it at eighty per cent! But Hon. Nathan Appleton, himself a large owner of factory stock, and a man whose integrity is beyond suspicion, states that he has been engaged in making up carefully a table of the dividends of the several Manufacturing Companies of Lowell during the two years last past, and that the *average of those dividends is less than six per cent. a year.* I presume they have been doing better of late than formerly, since Cotton has been rising on their hands, and the market for goods has been large and active. But should Cotton fall this year as it rose last, they would lose all they have gained. There are two

or three Companies—the Merrimac Print-Works at their head—which have valuable business connections, dispose of their goods with little cost or loss, and are able to hold on when goods can only be sold at a sacrifice, which have done very well, and these every body takes note of; but those which make nothing, and fail, (as at least one has failed in Lowell within the past year), no body remarks or considers. I am assured by a leading manufacturer that the average of manufacturing dividends through the last ten years has fallen below five per cent. At this moment there are factories in abundance which have stood idle through the past year because they could not be run at a profit, and which can now be bought at half their cost. If those who assert that the manufacturers average twenty or thirty per cent. dividends did not *know* better, they would be into the business right speedily. There is no mystery, no monopoly, about the business; the best practical men can be engaged at fair wages to direct its several departments, and Labor is abundant, as well as Capital. Why, then, do not those who say manufacturers are making exorbitant dividends go into the business, and either make money rapidly or at the worst do the public a service by reducing the prices of goods? In truth, they know, as every body knows, that no such dividends as they talk of are made, save in rare instances; just as now and then a Farmer doubles his little capital in a year or two, while the great mass make little and many are actually losing. They know that no exorbitant dividend can be realized in a calling open to universal competition—that the rate of profit in any business can only be raised permanently by increasing the *general* productiveness of Labor and profit of Business throughout the Country.

XII. Protection and the Cotton Manufacture.

TABLE I.

Comparative prices of Upland Cotton in the New-York Market; also coarse Cotton Domestic Goods, for each year (in the month of April) since the last War with Great Britain:

Year.	Up. Cotton.	3-4 Br. Shirts.	4-4 Br Sheet's
	per lb.	per yard.	per yard.
April 1815.....	20 cts.	25 cts.	32 cts.
1816.....	28	21	28
1817.....	28½	21	28
1818.....	32	21	28
1819.....	26	19	25
1820.....	16	12½	18
1821.....	13½	12½	17
1822.....	15½	13	17½
1823.....	10½	11	16
1824.....	14	10	12
1825.....	19	10	13½
1826.....	11	9	12
1827.....	9½	9½	11½
1828.....	10	9	11
1829.....	10	7½	9
1830.....	9½	7	8½
1831.....	9	7½	10
1832.....	9	7	8
1833.....	10½	7	9
1834.....	11	6½	8
1835.....	17	8	9
1836.....	18	7½	10
1837.....	12	7	9½
1838.....	8	5	7½
1839.....	14	6	8½
1840.....	8	5	7
1841.....	10	5	6½
1842.....	8	4½	6
1843.....	7	4	5
1841.....	8½	5	7

N. B. Power Loom Sheetings of American manufacture were first introduced into the New-York market, from *Waltham, Massachusetts*, in 1817 or 1818. Brown Sheetings (yard wide) from the *Waltham Manufactory*, then sold at from 28 to 30 cents per yard. The same Factory now sells better goods in this market for eight cents per yard. Their Waltham fine Bleached Shirtings, made of Sea Island Cotton, sold in 1819 at 37½ cents. The same Factory now sell goods of equal or better quality, at nine cents per yard.

TABLE II.

Comparative prices of colored Cotton Domestic Goods in the New-York Market for a series of years:

Year.	4-4 Checks.	Striped and Plaid Ginghams.	Printed Calicoes.
	32 cts.	26 cts.	
April 1818.....	30	25	
1819.....	30	25	
1820.....	24	16	
1821.....	22	17	
1822.....	20	17	
1823.....	20	16½	
1824.....	15	12	
1825.....	18	15½	
1826.....	14	14	20 cts.
1827.....	14	12	17
1828.....	14	11	16
1829.....	14	10	14
1830.....	12	9	13
1831.....	12	11	12½
1832.....	11	9	12
1833.....	11	8	11
1834.....	11	7½	10½
1835.....	11	9	10½
1836.....	11	10	10½
1837.....	11	10	10½
1838.....	9	8	10
1839.....	9	8	10
1840.....	8	7	10
1841.....	8	7	10
1842.....	8	7	10
1843.....	7	7	8
1844.....	8	8	9

The above tables, compiled for this essay from the books of heavy wholesale merchants of this City, exhibit the actual cash prices of Cotton and of Cotton Goods at the several periods specified, and clearly illustrate the progress of the Cotton Manufacture in this Country, under the system of minimums, or high specific duties for all common fabrics, established in 1816.

American Printed Calicoes were not much known in this market before the year 1826. Previous to that period the market was supplied with British Calicoes, which sold at prices varying from 25 to 60 cents per yard. Both British and French Calicoes are now pretty much driven out by the American Prints, which supply the demand at about one-fourth of the old prices paid for imported goods.

Bed-Ticking.—This article, of both Domestic and Foreign manufacture, formerly sold for a few years after the peace from 60 to 100 cents per yard, if from 7-8 to a yard wide, and of good quality. The Dorchester Massachusetts Manufactory introduced their power-loom Tickings into this market about the year 1820. They were a superior article, and sold at first for more than 40 cents per yard, and for a long time at 37½ cents per yard by the bale. They have gradually declined in price, until the present time, when they sell for 15 cents for the finer and 12½ cents per yard for the coarser qualities.

The *Butternuts Manufacturing Company*, of Otsego County, one of the oldest establishments in the State of New-York, as we are informed by their Agent, A. G. Washbon, Esq. sold their 3-4 Brown Cottons, (made by hand looms,) in 1815, at 28 cents per yard, and they are now doing a fair business by selling similar goods made by power looms, at 6 cents per yard; at one time last year these goods

were sold in this market as low as 3½ cents, which was, however, at a loss to the manufacturer.

These tables tell their own story. Bear in mind that the Protection on these goods has been virtually specific (by means of the minimum) and most effective, except for a short time prior to August, 1842, under the tapering off of the Compromise Tariff. Now I by no means assert that there would have been no reduction in the absence of a Tariff, but I *do* consider it clearly demonstrable that

1. The reduction in price of Cotton Goods as compared with that of Cotton has been far greater and more rapid than it *could* have been in the absence of a Protective duty;

2. That our People are now supplied with Cotton Goods at far cheaper rates than any nation is or can be which does not mainly fabricate them for itself. If this is questioned, the evidence can be procured without difficulty.

3. That it cannot, in the nature of things, be advantageous to send our Cotton to Europe to be fabricated into Shirtings and Sheetings for our own consumption. The mercantile charges upon the complicated operations necessary to its double transportation and redistribution over our Country would inevitably overbalance any possible saving from the superior cheapness of Labor in Europe.

XIII. Why Cotton Manufactures still need Protection.

The question is a fair one, and shall be fairly answered. I do not consider a duty above twenty-five per cent. essential to the stability of our manufactures of plain and common fabrics.—These can now take care of themselves under a low duty. Like Nails, and several other articles, which first attained vigor under a high specific duty, they are now too strong to be easily overthrown. But a large proportion of our Cottons take the form of Calicoes, figured, printed and fancy goods of all descriptions, and of these the American Manufacture is far less vigorous and invincible. They are but recently and many of them hardly naturalized upon our soil, and their processes, especially of designing and coloring, are not yet brought to perfection. 'Why can't we make calicoes as cheap as the British or French?' inquires a Free Trader. Sir, we can, we do; but a great many of our People prefer the Foreign article and will pay a higher price for it. A retail merchant of Rahway assures me that he *sells* American Calicoes cheaper than he can *buy* British of equal value, and yet he must keep British, because some of his customers will have them. An experienced merchant assures me that the average value of British and French Calicoes in this market is four cents a yard above that of their American rival. Something of this is due to a false and pernicious taste in a portion of our People; something, doubtless, to a want of the highest excellence in finish and coloring in our goods; and something to a permanent cause.

To prepare the plates or blocks, &c. &c. for printing a pattern of Calicoes is a costly undertaking; it cannot be afforded at the present prices of Calicoes unless a large sale thence can be realized. A British manufacturer prepares a new pattern and prints 100,000 pieces, which are half disposed of in Great Britain and her dependen-

cies; the balance distributed to China, South America, Mexico, &c. and 10,000 pieces sent to this Country. An American printer prepares a similar or equally good pattern, of which he strikes, say 60,000 pieces, and is able to send 10,000 of them out of the Country. There are now 50,000 remaining to be sold here, against 10,000 of the British rival; the latter, being uniformly the rarer fabric, has a decided advantage in the market, and commands a higher price. It is idle, for these and many other reasons, to say, 'If we can make as cheap as other Countries, we need no Protection.' Abundant facts establish the contrary.

That plain Cotton fabrics have decreased in price faster than Woolens, is notorious; and the reason is evident—the Protection on the former has been more effective than that on the latter. Let the present Tariff be sustained, and the manufacture of Calicoes and all Printed or Fancy Goods will improve in perfection and cheapness as that of plain Cottons has done. The few who insist on using the rarer Foreign fabrics instead of the cheaper American will pay for them, and the difference goes to swell the Revenue of the Country, to which they are presumptively well able to contribute. There is no prospect of good, therefore, but great danger of evil from the proposed sweeping abolition of all Protection to our now flourishing Cotton Manufacture. Why not 'let well alone'?

XIV. Silk, Silks, Hemp, &c.

The third section of the Tariff, as it was established by the act of 1842, reads as follows:

First. On all manufactures of silk, not otherwise specified, except bolting cloths, two dollars and fifty cents per pound of 16 ounces; on silk bolting cloths, twenty per centum ad valorem; *Provided*, that if any silk manufacturers shall be mixed with gold or silver, or other metal, it shall pay a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem.

Second. On sewing silk, silk twist, or twist composed of silk and mohair, a duty of two dollars per pound of 16 ounces; on pongees, or plain white silks for printing or coloring, one dollar and fifty cents per pound of 16 ounces; on floss and other similar silks, purified from the gum, dyed and prepared for manufacture, a duty of twenty five per centum ad valorem; on raw silks, comprehending all silks in the gum, whether in hanks, reeled or otherwise, a duty of fifty cents per pound of 16 ounces; on silk umbrellas, parasols, and sun-shades, thirty per centum ad valorem; on silk or satin shoes and slippers for women or men, thirty cents per pair; silk or satin laced boots or booties for women or men, seventy-five cents a pair; silk or satin shoes and slippers for children, fifteen cents per pair; silk or satin laced boots or booties for children, twenty five cents a pair; on men's silk hats, one dollar each; silk or satin hats or bonnets for women, two dollars each; on silk shirts and drawers, whether made up wholly or in part, forty per centum ad valorem; silk caps for women, and turbans, ornaments for head dress, aprons, collars, caps, cuffs, braids, curls, or frizzettes, chemisettes, mantillas, peleries, and all other articles of silk made up by hand, in whole or in part, and not otherwise provided for, a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem.

Third. On unmanufactured hemp, forty dollars per ton; on Manila, Suna, and other hems of India, on jute, Sisal grass, coar, and other vegetable substances not enumerated, used for cordage, twenty-five dollars per ton; on cordilla, or tow of hemp or flax, twenty dollars per ton; on tanned cables and cordage, five cents per pound; on untanned cordage, four and a half cents per pound; yarns, twine, and pack thread, six cents per pound; on seams, seven cents per pound; on cotton bagging, four cents per square yard; on any other manufacture not otherwise specified, suitable for the uses to which cotton bagging is applied, of whatever material composed, and whether imported and of the designation of any cloth or any other appellation, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act.

Fourth. On stamped, printed, or painted floor oil cloth, furniture oil cloth, on Canton or cotton flannel, sixteen cents per square yard; on

other furniture oil cloth, ten cents per square yard; on oil cloth of linen, silk, or other materials, used for rat covers, aprons, coach curtains, or similar purposes, and on medicated cloths, a duty of twelve and a half cents per square yard; on Chinese or other floor matting made of flax, jute or grass, or on all other floor matting not otherwise specified, and on mats, of whatever materials composed, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

The corresponding section of the bill reported by Gen. McKay reads thus:

First. On all manufactures of silk, not otherwise specified, except bolting cloths, there shall be levied a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of two dollars and fifty cents per pound imposed by the said act; and on silk bolting cloths there shall be levied a duty of fifteen per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of twenty per centum imposed by the said act.

Second. On silk twist, or twist composed of silk and mohair and on sewing silk, one dollar per pound of sixteen ounces, instead of the duty of two dollars per pound imposed by the said act; on pongees and plain white silks for printing or coloring, there shall be levied a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of one dollar and fifty cents per pound imposed by the said act; on floss and other similar silks, purified from the gum dyed and prepared for manufacture, there shall be levied a duty of five per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of twenty five per centum imposed by the said act; on all raw silks, comprehending all silks in the gum whether in hanks, reeled or otherwise, there shall be levied a duty of two and a half per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of fifty cents per pound imposed by the said act; and on all umbrellas, parasols, sun-shades, silk or satin shoes for men, women or children, men's silk hats; silk or satin shirts or bonnets for women; silk shirts and drawers, whether made up wholly or in part; silk caps for women; turbans, ornaments for head dress, aprons, collars, caps, cuffs, braids, curls, or frizzettes, chemisettes, mantillas, peleries, and all other articles of silk made up by hand in whole or in part, and not otherwise provided for, there shall be levied a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act.

Third. On unmanufactured hemp, Manila, Suna, and other hems of India, jute, Sisal grass, coar, and other vegetable substances not enumerated, used for cordage, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem instead of the various duties imposed by the said act; on cordilla, or tow of hemp and flax, there shall be levied a duty of twenty five per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of twenty dollars per ton, imposed by the said act; on tanned and untanned cables and cordage, yarns, twine, packthread, cotton-bagging, or whatever material composed, and on any other manufacture not otherwise specified, suitable for the uses to which cotton bagging is applied, of whatever material composed, and whether imported and of the designation of any cloth or any other appellation, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act.

Fourth. On stamped, printed or painted floor oil cloth, furniture oil cloth, on Canton or cotton flannel, other furniture oil cloth, or cloth of linen, silk or other materials used for rat covers, aprons, coach curtains, or similar purposes, and on medicated cloths, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act.

The duties levied by Government on Silk and its various manufactures have usually before been low and levied by an *ad valorem* charge on the fabrics imported. As a natural consequence, very little attention has been attracted, except fitfully and to little purpose, to the production of Silk or Silk fabrics in this country. Meantime, the demand for such fabrics has been constantly increasing, and we have imported of them to the value of some Two Hundred Millions of Dollars within the last twenty years. So great has been the influx of Silks and Wines, both taxed very lightly since 1832, that Gen. Cass, our late Ambassador at the Court of France, wrote home to our Government officials remonstrating against the ruinous impolicy of receiving those staples at so low rates of duty, while we were taxed exorbitantly on nearly every American product admitted by France. The present Tariff was intended and has operated to change this state of things, and has given not merely an impulse but a basis of security to the growth and manufacture of Silk in this Country.

Can any man doubt that the nation would have been richer this day if, instead of buying Two

Hundred Millions* worth of Silk abroad, we had for the last twenty years studiously protected and fostered the Home Production of Silk, so as to import less at first and by this time none at all? If we had imported but Seventy-five Millions' worth in the twenty years, and produced One Hundred and Fifty Millions' worth for ourselves—of course, in the rude infancy of the business, at a little larger nominal cost—does any man believe our Nation would have been poorer than now? I cannot imagine it. I am confident the Nation would have been One Hundred Millions richer than it now is, in a mere pecuniary view, and in a larger sense still more sensibly benefited. The introduction and vigorous prosecution of this new department of industry—or rather, this variety of departments—would have called into exercise and activity much talent, ingenuity and industry which have lain dormant and unused—it would have given employment and at least independent subsistence to many thousands of aged, feeble, decrepit persons, who have in its absence been idle and a burthen on the benevolent or the public—it would have trained thousands after thousands of the young to habits of industry and of finding pleasure therein—it would have made lands productive and valuable which are now fruitless and worthless—and it would by this time have secured a home supply of Silk at a less cost than is now incurred in its importation. We possess those varieties of Soil and Climate most favorable to the production of Silk. We have an abundance of the labor requisite for the business, without diverting essentially from other occupations, and we have more skill and ingenuity in our industrious classes than can be found in any other Country. Already, in the veriest infancy of the Silk business, we have made important improvements and inventions in facilitation of its processes. The Multicaulis fever, which once raged through the land, has subsided, and the business of growing and manufacturing Silk, under the benignant operation of the Tariff of 1842, is beginning to assume a consistency and strength, as well as activity and progress, unknown to its former history among us. It is in this interesting and hopeful crisis of this new but most essential branch of production that the McKay bill is interposed to crush it, by reducing the duties, not to the usual 30 per cent. which even that bill declares necessary for Revenue, but to *twenty five*, (the highest,) *twenty*, *fifteen* and *twelve and a half per cent.*! The production of raw Silk is to be allowed but *twelve* and a *half* per cent!—and this under the bill which is said to afford an incidental production of thirty per cent. to American industry, by wisely discriminated duties! Does not this one section expose the utter futility of such pretences? Here is an important interest whose infantile weakness specially requires protection but only encourages attack, and it is to be crushed remorselessly at a blow. It is crushed, too, to the advantage of France and Italy—countries which take nothing of us which they can produce for themselves. Ought this to prevail?

* Importations of Silks into this Country for five years preceding the adoption of the present Tariff, from the official returns of the Secretary of the Treasury:

1839.....	\$15,494,606	1840.....	\$12,062,284
1839.....	\$31,362,670	1841.....	\$21,312,107
1842.....	(previous to the Whig Tariff).....		\$13,344,822
Average per year.	\$19,086,837.	Total.....	\$35,434,489

XV. The Mode of Levying Duties on Silk.

In former Tariffs, the duties on Silks were usually levied *ad valorem*; in the Tariff of 1842, these were almost entirely replaced by specific duties, of so much per pound, according to the quality and value of the article. This change was suggested and urged by eminent American importers of Silks, who had found by sore experience that their business could not be safely, profitably prosecuted by Americans under *ad valorem* duties. The reason is this: the American importer goes to Europe and buys Silks for the American market—say \$100,000 worth—at the lowest market rates, and pays on the importation thereof, say twenty-five per cent. or \$25,000. But a great French or Italian Silk Manufacturer also sends over the same quantity and qualities of his fabrics, consigned to his brother, cousin or factor here, and he swears that the goods cost but \$90,000, which is in his sense the truth—he putting nothing into the account for Rent, Machinery, Interest of Capital, &c. for he says, 'All these expenses were incurred or inevitable even if I had not made these goods for America. Making these has kept my works going, and my workers employed; they have actually cost me but the price of the stock and labor consumed in them.' He thus pays \$2,500 less duty on goods precisely alike in quantity and quality to those imported by his American rival. Can the latter go on in this way? Clearly not. Here is the fundamental mischief which has caused the almost universal ruin of American Importers of fabrics, whether Woolen or Silk, so that of a list of *one hundred* American Importers of these goods *ninety-seven* were found to have failed at the close of twenty years. Here is the evil which in its inevitable effects, has given the more Commercial portion of New-York the semblance of a Foreign City, whose sign-boards speak all the languages of Europe. I am confident that there is not another City in the civilized world whose resident wholesale merchants are to so great an extent Citizens of other Countries. Far is it from me to dispute the right of merchants of other lands to locate here as a favorable mart for the disposition of their goods; I only object to the injustice and wrong of giving to Foreigners a preference over our own citizens in the prosecution of American internal trade. A great advantage is given them whenever duties on importations are assessed *ad valorem* on the Foreign cost of the goods; and it is the clear dictate of equity and sound policy that duties should be specific wherever that is possible. Such is the uniform rule of all enlightened Governments. In the case of Silks, this mode has been deliberately adopted in the existing Tariff, after abundant experience of the evils and inequalities of the opposite system. The new rule has been tested, and works well. The American importer has now a fair and equal chance with the Foreigner, so far as the Government affects either; for though the Foreigner's silk might be sworn through the Custom House at a lower valuation, and consequently pay a lower *ad valorem* duty, it *weighs* just as much in the Custom House balances as the American's, and now pays the same duty. Here is a broad avenue for fraud and injustice closed at once, and the effect is most salutary. I have spoken here only of Silk goods, but these

remarks apply with equal or nearly equal force to all the changes from specific to *ad valorem* duties proposed by the new Tariff bill. They are all adverse to American and unduly favorable to Foreign interests—not merely Industrial but Commercial. They are not like the duties proposed by the Compromise Act, which were to be levied on the American value of the several articles, but are levied on the Foreign cost, which will always open a wide door to fraud and unequal valuation. Can the American People approve the change proposed?

XVI. Objections to Specific Duties.

It is commonly asserted by adversaries of the present Tariff that it imposes the same duties on poor and cheap Silks as on rich and costly ones, but this is abundantly refuted by a simple reading of the law. It has been frequently broadly asserted that coarse, poor Silks weigh more per yard than fine, more valuable fabrics; but this is easily refuted by the certain evidence of the scales, the value of Silks being not precisely but generally correspondent to their weight. And it can hardly be denied that the general, natural effect of imposing duties specifically, or upon the minimum principle, is to check the importation of the refuse and trashy wares and fabrics which are and will be imported under *ad valorem* duties.—It is an insulting assumption that the Laboring Classes of this country consume only or mainly articles of poorer quality than their neighbors. If it were true, it is time they learned that it is more economical, more respectable, more sensible, to wear good Cotton or Woolen fabrics than shabby Silks, and to drink good Water than bad Wines. But it cannot be that many of them need this lesson.

XVII. Hemp and its Manufactures.

The proposed Tariff, it will be seen, not only abolishes all specific duties on Hemp, Cotton Bagging, Cables, Cordage, Twine, &c. but permits the importation of all at the same equal rate of thirty per cent. *ad valorem*. Where is the 'Incidental Protection' we are told of? Hemp is a bulky article, and is largely imported from Russia, to which Country our exports in return are small. The cost of transportation is consequently considerable. Now abolish the specific, discriminating duties, and how are our rope-walks, manufactories of Cables, Cordage, &c. to stand? The duty on the raw material is the same as that on the manufacture; and the cost of importing the raw material is greater than that of importing the manufacture. The Foreign manufacturer of these fabrics will have a decided advantage in our markets over his American rival. Is this American legislation? For whose benefit? How justified?

XVIII. Iron, Manufactures of Iron, &c.

The section of the Tariff as it is which relates to Iron Manufactures, Lead, Tin, Coal, &c. is as follows. (Sec. 4.)

First. On iron in bars or bolts, not manufactured in whole or in part by rolling, seventeen dollars per ton; on bar or bolt iron, made wholly or in part by rolling, twenty-five dollars per ton: *Provided*, That all iron, in slabs, blooms, loops, or other form, less finish-drawn than iron in bars or bolts, and more advanced than pig iron, except castings, shall be rated as iron in bars or bolts, and pay a duty accordingly: *Provided, also*, That iron imported prior to the third of March, 1813, in bars or otherwise, for railways or inclined planes, shall be entitled to

the benefits of the provisions of existing laws exempting it from the payment of duty on proof of its having been actually and permanently laid down for use on any railway or inclined plane prior to the third day of March, 1813; and all such iron imported from and after the date aforesaid shall be subject to pay the duty on rolled iron.

Second. On iron in pigs, nine dollars per ton; on vessels of cast iron, not otherwise specified, one cent and a half per pound; on all other castings of iron not otherwise specified, one cent per pound; on glazed or tin hollow ware and castings, sad irons or smoothing irons, hatters' or tailors' press-irons, and cast iron butts or hings, two and a half cents per pound; on iron or steel wire not exceeding No. 14, five cents per pound, and over No. 14, and not exceeding No. 25, eight cents per pound; over No. 25, eleven cents per pound; silvered or plated wire, thirty per centum *ad valorem*; brass or coppered wire, twenty-five per centum *ad valorem*; cap or bonnet wire, covered with silk, twelve cents per pound; when covered with cotton thread or other material, eight cents per pound; on round or square iron, or braziers' rods, of three-sixteenths to ten-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, inclusive, and on iron in nail or spike rods, or nail plates slit, rolled or hammered, and on iron in sheets, except taggers' iron, and on hoop iron, and on iron slit, rolled, or hammered, for bad iron, scroll iron, or casement rods, iron cables or chains, or parts hereof, manufactured in whole or in part, of whatever diameter, the links being of the form peculiar to chains for cables, two and a half cents per pound; on all other chains of iron, not otherwise specified, the links being either twisted or straight, and when straight, of greater length, than those used in chains for cables, thirty per centum *ad valorem*; on anchors, or parts of anchors, manufactured in whole or in part, anvils, blacksmith hammers and sledges, two and a half cents per pound; on cut or pointed iron spikes, three cents per pound; and on cut iron nails, three cents per pound; and on wrought iron nails, on axle-trees, or parts thereof, mill irons and mill cranks of wrought iron, or wrought iron for ships, locomotives and steam engines, or iron chains other than chain cables, and on malleable iron castings, four cents per pound; on stean, gas, or water tubes or pipes, two and a half cents per pound; on mill saws, cross cut saws, and pit saws, one dollar each; on tacks, brads or d sprigs, not exceeding sixteen ounces to the thousand, five cents per thousand; exceeding sixteen ounces to the thousand, five cents per pound; on taggers' iron, five per centum *ad valorem*: *Provided*, That all articles partially manufactured, not otherwise provided for, shall pay a duty equal to the rate of duty on the material of which they are composed, *Provided, also*, That no articles manufactured from steel, sheet, rod, hoop, or other kinds of iron, shall pay a less rate of duty than is chargeable on the material of which it is composed in whole or in part, paying the highest rate of duty either by weight or value, and a duty of fifteen per centum *ad valorem* on the cost of the article added thereto.

Third. On all old or scrap iron, ten dollars per ton: *Provided*, That nothing shall be deemed old iron that has not been in actual use, and fit only to be remanufactured; and all pieces of iron, except old, of more than six inches in length, or of sufficient length to be made into spikes and bolts, shall be rated as bar, rod or hoop iron, as the case may be, and pay duty accordingly: *Provided, also*, That all vessels, articles of iron, and all castings of iron not rough as from the mould, but partially manufactured after the castings, or with handles, rings, hoops, or other additions of wrought iron, shall pay the same rates of duty herein imposed on all other manufactures of wrought iron, not herein enumerated, if that shall amount to more than the duty on castings.

Fourth. On muskets, one dollar and fifty cents per stand; rifles, two dollars and fifty cents each; on axes, axes, hatchets, plane irons, socket chisels and vices, drawing knives, cutting knives, sickles or reaping hooks, scythes, spades, shovels, squares of iron or steel, plated or polished steel saddlery, and brass saddlery, coach and harness furniture of all descriptions, steel yards and scale beams, and all fire arms other than muskets and rifles, and all side arms, thirty per centum *ad valorem*; on square wire, used for the manufacture of stretchers for umbrellas, when cut in pieces not exceeding the length suitable therefor, twelve and a half per centum *ad valorem*.

Fifth. On screws made of iron, called wood screws, twelve cents per pound; and on all other screws of iron not specified, thirty per centum *ad valorem*; on brass screws, thirty cents per pound; on sheet and roll-d brass, a duty of thirty per centum *ad valorem*; on brass battery, or hammered kettles, twelve cents per pound.

Sixth. On cast, shear, and German steel in bars, one dollar and fifty cents per one hundred and twelve pounds; and on all other steel in bars, two dollars and fifty cents per one hundred and twelve pounds; on solid headed pins, and all other pack-axe pins, not exceeding five thousand to the pack of twelve papers, forty cents per pack, and in the same proportion for a greater or less quantity; on pound pins, twenty cents per pound; on steel, iron, tannouring, darned, netting and knitting, and all other needles, a duty of twenty per centum *ad valorem*; on common, tinned, and japanned saddlery, of all descriptions, twenty per centum *ad valorem*.

Seventh. On japanned ware of all kinds, or papier mache, and plated and gilt ware of all kinds, and on cutlery of all kinds, and all other manufactures not otherwise specified, made of brass, iron, steel, lead, copper, pewter, or tin, or of any which either of these metals is a component material, twenty per centum *ad valorem*: *Provided*, That all manufactures of iron and steel, or other materials, partially finished, shall pay the same rates of duty as if entirely finished.

Eighth. On lead, in pigs and bars, three cents per pound; on old and new lead, one cent and a half per pound; leaden pipes, eaden sheets, and lead, in sheets, or flat, not otherwise specified, four cents per pound; on type metal and stereotype plates, twenty-five per centum *ad valorem*; types, whether

new or old, twenty-five per centum ad valorem; on copper bottoms cut round, and copper bottoms raised at the edge, and still bottoms cut round and turned up on the edge, and parts thereof, and on copper plates or sheets weighing more than thirty four ounces per square foot, commonly called braziers' copper, thirty per centum ad valorem; on copper rods and bolts, nails and spikes, four cents per pound; on patent sheathing metal composed in part of copper, two cents per pound.

Ninth. On tin in pigs, bars, or blocks, one per centum ad valorem; tin in plates or sheets, tinned plates, taggers' tin, and tin foil, two and a half per centum ad valorem; on silver plated metal in sheets, and on Argentine alabata, or German silver, in sheets or otherwise, unmanufactured, thirty per centum ad valorem; on manufactures of German silver, bell metal, zinc and bronze, thirty per centum ad valorem; on zinc in sheets, ten per centum ad valorem: *Provided*, That old b-lis, or parts thereof, fit only to be remanufactured, shall not be considered manufactures of bell metal, but shall be admitted free of duty; on bronze powder, bronze liquor, iron liquor, red liquor, and seppia, twenty per centum ad valorem.

Tenth. On coal, one dollar and seventy-five cents per ton; on coke or culm of coal, five cents per bushel.

The corresponding section of the proposed Van Buren substitute reads as follows.

First. On iron, in bars or bolts, not manufactured, in whole or in part, by rolling, and on castings, or duty of five dollars per ton, instead of the duty of seventeen dollars per ton imposed by the said act; on bar or bolt iron, made wholly or in part by rolling, there shall be levied a duty of twenty dollars per ton, instead of the duty of twenty-five dollars per ton imposed by the said act; on all iron imported in bars for railroads, or inclined planes, made to order, and fitted to be laid down as rails upon rail roads or planes, or for other manufacture, there shall be levied a duty of ten dollars per ton, instead of the duty of twenty-five dollars per ton, imposed by the said act: *Provided*, That upon the entry of any such railroad iron at any custom house of the United States, good and sufficient bonds shall be given, with sureties to the satisfaction of the collector of the customs, for the same, for the payment of the duty upon such iron at the rate of twenty dollars per ton, the duty by this act imposed on other rolled bar iron, within one year from the date of said bond, unless the State, corporation, company, or individuals, obligors on said bond shall, before the expiration of the time allowed thereon for the payment thereof, exhibit to the Secretary of the Treasury, or to the collector of the customs, making the bond, for the arrangements as the Secretary of the Treasury may, from time to time, prescribe, satisfactory proof, in writing and upon oath, that the said iron has been actually and permanently laid down upon the railroad or inclined plain for which the same shall have been imported, as shown by the entry of the said iron, and the bond given to secure the payment of the duties upon the same, in which case, and in that only, the duty of ten dollars per ton, hereby imposed upon such iron, shall be received in full satisfaction and discharge of every such bond; but in case of failure to make such proof to the satisfaction of the said Secretary, or of the proper collector of the customs, as the case may be, within the time hereby limited for the making thereof, the full duty of twenty dollars per ton upon the said iron shall be demanded and paid, in the same manner as if the said bond had been given without any other condition than the payment of the said full duties at the expiration of every such bond.

Second. On iron in pigs, there shall be levied a duty of seven dollars per ton, instead of the duty of nine dollars per ton imposed by the said act; on vessels of cast iron, not otherwise specified, glass or tin, in sheets, and castings, sad irons or smoothing irons; hatters' and tailors' presses; cast iron butts or hinges; iron or steel wire, descided in said act as not exceeding No. 14; over No. 14 and not exceeding No. 25; and over No. 25, silvered or plated wire; round or square iron, or braziers rods of three sixteenths to ten sixteenths of an inch in diameter, inclusive; iron in nail or spike rods, or nail plates; slit, rolled, and hammered iron, in sheets, except taggers iron, hoop iron, iron slit, rolled or hammered for band iron, scroll iron, or casement rods; iron cables, or chains; or parts thereof, manufactured in whole or in part, of whatever diameter, the links being of the form peculiar to chains for cables; all other chains of iron not otherwise specified, the links being either twisted or straight, and of what size, or of greater length than those used in chains for cables; anchors, or parts of anchors, manufactured, in whole or in part; anvils, blacksmiths' hammers, and sledges; cut or wrought iron spikes; cut iron nails; wrought iron nails; axletrees, or parts thereof; mill irons and mill cranks of wrought iron; wrought iron for ships, locomotives, and steam engines; iron chains, other than chain cables; steam, gas, or water tubes, or pipes, made of round rolled iron; and tacks, brads, and nails, — there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act; and the last clause of the second proviso to the second subdivision of the fourth section of the said act, which imposes an additional duty of five per centum ad valorem upon the cost of the articles embraced therein, be, and the same is hereby, repeated.

Third. On all old or scrap iron there shall be levied a duty of six dollars per ton, instead of the duty of ten dollars per ton imposed by the said act.

Fourth. On screws made of iron, called wood screws, brass screws, and brass battery or hammered kettles, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act.

Fifth. On all steel in bars, except cast, sheel and German steel, there shall be levied a duty of one dollar and fifty cents or one hundred and twelve pounds, instead of the duty of two dollars and fifty cents imposed by the said act; on solid headed pins, and all other package pins, and on pound pins, there

shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act.

Sixth. On japanned ware of all kinds, or paper mache, and plated and gilt wares of all kinds, cutlery of all kinds; and all other manufactures not otherwise specified, made of brass, iron, steel, copper, pewter, lead, or tin, or of which either of these metals is a component material, there shall be levied a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of thirty per centum imposed by the said act.

Seventh. On lead in pigs and bars old and scrap lead, leaden pipes, leaden shot, and lead in sheets, or in any other form not herein specified, there shall be levied a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act.

Eighth. On silver plated metal in sheets, Argentine, Alabama, or German silver, in sheets or otherwise unmanufactured, and on manufactures of German silver, bell metal, zinc and bronze, there shall be levied a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of thirty per centum imposed by the said act.

Ninth. On coal, there shall be levied a duty of one dollar per ton, instead of the duty of one dollar and seventy-five cents per ton imposed by the said act; and on coke, or culm of coal, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per cent. ad valorem, instead of the duty of five cents per bushel imposed by the said act.

XIX. The Changes Proposed—Iron.

The changes proposed by Gen. McKay's Committee with respect to Iron and Coal are as follows:

The duty on

Bar iron, to be reduced from	\$17 to \$15	per ton;
Rolled Iron, "	" 25 to 20	" "
Railroad do. "	" 25 to 10	" "
Pig do. "	" 9 to 7	" "
Scrap do. "	" 10 to 6	" "
Steel,	" 24 to 18	per cwt.
Coal,	" 14 to 1	per ton.
Japanned Ware, "	" 30 per ct. to 25 per ct.	
German Silver, Zinc, Silver, plated metal, bronze, &c.	" 30 per ct. to 20 per ct.	
All manufactures of Iron, from the various specific duties now imposed	30 per cent.	

These changes, it will be seen, are in some respects vital, and especially as respects Manufactures of Iron. It is well known that, owing in part to the cheaper Labor of the Old World, in part to the greater concentration of Capital and the low rate of Interest, but more than all to that perfection and economy in processes which many years of prosperous and extensive business alone can secure, Iron is produced much cheaper in Great Britain than in this country. We are gaining here, and there are causes now in operation which I fully believe will within two years reduce the prices of all descriptions of Bar and Rolled Iron to one-half the lowest price at which they have hitherto been sold in this country. This is not yet so determined that it may be announced as a certainty; but this is certain, that if we cherish and sustain the home production of our Iron, we shall every year be producing it cheaper and cheaper; while if we do not protect our Iron makers, but suffer the business to languish and wither, we shall obtain our Iron cheaper or dearer in cash price, as the rivalries or combinations of Foreign competitors for our market shall determine, but certainly dearer in real, actual cost. Every ton of Iron produced among us gives employment to Labor, a market to various products, and positive value to articles before unsalable, to a very considerable extent. Wood lands are greatly increased in value by the setting up of Iron Works in their vicinity, because of the necessary demand for timber, fuel, charcoal, &c. and every bushel of grain or other farm produce has at once a ready and active market. But the production of Iron has hitherto been prosecuted under very great disadvantages among us. Our ore has been mainly far inland, and generally found in rugged, scarcely accessible mountain regions, whence the product could only be transported to the great commercial cities at a ruinous expense. True, it

has thus been often nearer to rather than farther from the larger number of our consumers, and so more valuable where made than if on the seaboard; but this is never regarded by our public economists, who only inquire at what prices respectively American and Imported Iron are sold in New-York, and, finding the latter cheaper here, duty out of the question, have pronounced it so much the cheaper for our People. But this is a most unfair test. At this moment, Iron can be brought to this city from the mountains of Wales much cheaper than from the furnaces of Western Pennsylvania; but it is of more value where produced to nearly half our People than if in New-York. The production of Rolled Iron on any considerable scale among us may be regarded as yet in its infancy, obstructed by great embarrassments, and yet it has made rapid, gratifying progress since 1828. It is now clearly on the eve of still greater advances, which will reduce the cost of Iron among us far below that of any former period. (It is now, taking the average of all descriptions, within a fraction of its lowest price at any former period, including even the depressed season, from January to September, 1842, when the duty was but 20 per cent.) There seems, then, no good reason for now reducing the duties, but many and earnest dissuasives therefrom, growing out of the critical yet most promising condition of the business. Let it rest a few years, until our mines, forges, foundries, &c. shall be every where approached and interlaced by a net-work of Railroads and Canals, bringing cheaply together all the elements of production, and a much greater reduction than is now proposed may be made with impunity.

XX. Manufactures of Iron.

Still, the production of Iron, accelerated and strengthened as it has been by the present Tariff, could stand the relatively inconsiderable reduction of duty proposed by McKay's bill—which still leaves the duty specific, and equivalent in the average to seventy-five per cent. ad valorem—were it not for the vastly greater and more ruinous reductions proposed in the duties now imposed on Manufactures of Iron. These, it will be seen, are now to the utmost practicable extent specific, and they are so high as to be efficiently Protective. So much per pound on Wire, Screws, Butts, Hammers, Nails, Saws, Spikes, &c. &c. is a rate to be calculated and depended on, and this way of levying duties is of itself a Protection, by the tight rein it draws upon the fervid and fantastic imaginations of custom-house swearers. But all this is swept away by the proposed substitute Tariff of Gen. McKay, which, after fixing the duties on Bar and Rolled Iron at specific rates equivalent to seventy-five per cent. ad valorem, proceeds to reduce the duties on all the various manufactures from these materials to thirty per cent.—What madness, what suicide is here! Seventy-five per cent. on the raw material—thirty on the manufactures! How is it possible that our workers in Iron—our makers of Screws, Wire, Spikes, Chains, Saws, &c.—could live under such a Tariff? A few of them, doubtless, possessing peculiar advantages, would do so, not by the help of the Tariff, but in spite of it. To the greater number, however, the passage of this bill must be a death-blow. When even nail-roads are to be admit-

ted at a lower duty than Bar Iron, and when every principle of sound policy and wise discrimination is reversed by the whole tenor of this section, it would seem idle to point out special objections. It must be obvious to all that our workers in Iron will stand a great deal worse under this bill, so far as their own trades are specially affected, than with no Tariff at all. In the latter case, they would stand something like an even chance with their Foreign competitors for our own market, but not under this bill. His British rival will send here his fabrics, paying far less duty on them than the American maker pays on the raw material, and the competition is nothing like a fair one. More than this—a man wishing to import Rolled Iron, and disliking to pay the duty of twenty dollars per ton, has only to put it into the shape of some cheap manufacture, like Anvils or Spike-rods, (the clumsiest article will answer,) and now it will be admitted at thirty per cent. which at his valuations will hardly exceed ten dollars a ton!

And this shows at once the cheat which is meditated by this McKay bill, and the incapacity or recklessness with which it has been carried forward. Pennsylvania is a great Iron State, and the majority of the House are told by their colleagues from that State, "You must touch lightly on our great Interest—if you do otherwise, our People will rebel against the party." So Iron is accommodated with a high specific duty. But the Manufactures of Iron, though more extensive than the production of the raw material, are not backed by the Electoral Vote of a powerful State—they are scattered every where, have no common focus or organ, and may be cut up with comparative impunity. So they are. But what an utter mockery is the Protection so ostentatiously afforded to Iron while every thing made of Iron is allowed to come in at a much lower rate? What use in protecting Iron if the demand for Iron be cut off by the cheap importation of all iron utensils, implements, &c. Obviously, this is a ruinous deception.

XXI. Prices of Iron Wares, as affected by the Tariff.

I had intended to give here a table of the comparative prices at various times of Iron Manufactures before and since the enactment of the present Tariff, but so much depends on the quality of articles of this nature that no table would be deemed conclusive. Every man can satisfy himself of these general truths, viz :

1. Those articles the production of which has been longest, most steadily, most efficiently protected are now the cheapest in our market, as compared with prices the world over;

2. There has been a reduction since 1842 in the cost of Wood Screws, and other important articles effectively protected by the present Tariff, while Cutlery and other articles which are not produced here to any considerable extent, have risen;

3. That where any article has materially advanced in price since the present Tariff was enacted, it has been in strict accordance with the law I have already illustrated—that those articles of which a larger number or quantity can be produced at a comparatively lower price will be sensibly reduced in price by Protection, while

those of which a double product can only be realized by employing double labor and capital, will not be. Thus Screws, Nails, &c. are cheaper than in the early part of 1842, while Log Chains are a little higher—these latter being made by a simple manual process, while the others are pro-

duced by the aid of machinery, requiring a considerable concentration of Capital.

P. S. I have just received from Washington the following Table—from the Report of the Committee on Manufactures, by Hon. C. HUDSON of Massachusetts. It is most conclusive:

A list of prices of 23 different articles of Iron at N. York, with the fall per ct. from year 1840 to year 1844; by which it will be seen that there has been a fall of prices, notwithstanding increase of Duty:

ARTICLES.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	Fal
	1840.	1840.	1841.	1841.	1842.	1842.	1843.	1843.	1844.	p. c
Iron Anvils.....pr. lb.	76 25	66 25	71 25	63 75	53 50	51 25	53 75	53 75	53 75	10
Bars, common English rolled.....pr. ton.	93 75	88 75	87 50	81 75	76 25	67 50	67 50	67 50	67 50	23
Bars, refined English rolled.....pr. ton.	90	87 50	85 50	80	77 50	63 50	65	67 50	67 50	25
Bars, American refined.....pr. ton.	91 25	81 25	86 25	81 25	81 25	77 50	77 50	73 50	73 50	30
Bars, Sweden, hammered.....pr. ton.	60	55	52 50	50	44	47 50	47 50	47 50	47 50	11
Hoops, from 3/4 to 3 inches wide.....pr. doz.	141 50	130	113	113	113	100 50	108 50	102 50	105	25
Nails, wrought.....pr. lb.	11 1/2	5 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2	10 1/2	9	9	9	9	17
Nails, cut.....pr. lb.	11 1/2	5 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2	10 1/2	9	9	9	9	19
Nail Rods, slit.....pr. ton.	112	111 25	111 25	108 75	106 50	95	95	95	95	47
Files.....pr. doz.	35 25	33	32 50	31 75	31	24	25	26	27 50	22
Braziers Rode 3/4 to 5/16 of an inch.....pr. lb.	131	121	107	107	107	82 50	82 50	87 50	87 50	33
Sheets, average thickness.....pr. lb.	131	5 1/2	107	5 1/2	107	5 1/2	5	5	5	4 1/2
Scythes.....pr. doz.	13	13	50	12 50	12 50	9	9	9	9	30
Shovels.....pr. doz.	10	10	9 50	9	9	7 25	7 25	7 25	7 25	27
Rolled for bands, from 3/4 to 4 1/2.....pr. ton.	122	113 50	99 50	99 50	99 50	77 50	77 50	82 50	82 50	32
Spikes.....pr. lb.	8	7 1/2	8 1/2	8 1/2	8 1/2	6	6	6	6	4 1/2
Tanks, 2 1/2 to 15 oz. to the M.....pr. lb.	15	15	15	15	15	10	10	10	10	33
Tacks, exceeding 16 oz. to the M.....pr. lb.	13	13	13	13	13	8	8	8	8	41
Brads from 3/4 to 2 inches.....pr. M.	13	13	13	13	13	8	8	8	8	7
Wire, not exceeding No 14.....pr. lb.	18 1/2	18	17 1/2	17 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	13	13	13	46
Wire exceeding No 14.....pr. lb.	18 1/2	18	17 1/2	17 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	13	13	13	47
Axes, heavy.....pr. doz.	15	18	17 75	17	15 75	15	13 50	13	13	37

XXII. Pins.

Pins were first made in this country to any considerable extent but a few years since, and the manufacture had not attained any strength or stability until the present Tariff was enacted. Our markets were previously supplied with Pins from England, and an American manufactory, (I think the first ever established,) which had been nine years in existence, made its first dividend of two and a half per cent. a year ago. When American Pins first came in quantities into this market, they were met by the agent of the British makers, who offered to sell at any price to forestall the demand, and starve them out. Backed by abundant capital, and acting for men who had made large sums by their American business and naturally wished to keep it, he would doubtless have succeeded, but for the timely enactment of the Tariff of 1842, which levied, instead of twenty per cent. a duty of twenty cents per pound on pins in the lump, or forty cents per 5,000 (equivalent to a pound) on paper or package pins. Fortified by this, the business of pin-making in this country has been sustained and extended until now the home product is fully equal to the demand, and the price (70 cents per pound) lower than ever before. So low is it that one of our countrymen, who has invented a machine for sticking pins on papers, on sending over to England to learn at what price he could there obtain the pins, intending to stick them on papers for this market, was surprised to learn that he could buy American solid-beaded pins on papers as cheap as he could buy Pins in bulk or bunch (round pins) in England. At this moment, our People are supplied with pins from their own factories cheaper than any other People on the globe are supplied. Would this be possible with our workshops in Europe?

—I must pass over minor items, since the space allotted me is so nearly exhausted, and it is deemed essential that all the prominent features of the two Tariffs should be presented. The reader will easily, in the light of the principles

already illustrated, the facts already adduced make his comments on the compared or contrasted sections which follow. A few words only of commentary will be given where they seem to be imperatively required.

XXIII. Glass and Glass Ware.

The present Tariff imposes on every description of Glass rivaled in this Country stringent specific duties, as follows:

Cut Glass, 24 to 45 cts per lb.	Window Glass—Cylinder.
Moulded or Pressed, 4 to 12 c.	Not over 8 by 10 in. 2 c. p. sq.
Vials, 1 1/2 to 2 3/4 per groce.	Over 8 by 10, 2 1/2 to 10 c. do.
Bottles and Jars, 43 to 44 do.	Plate Glass, 5 to 12 c. do.
Porcelain or Colored, 30 p. ct.	Over 23 by 14 in. 30 per cent.
China, Porcelain, Earthen and	If silvered, 50 per cent.
Stone Ware, 30 per cent.	Glassware not specified, 25 p. c.

All this the proposed bill cuts down to 30 per cent. on all but Moulded or Pressed Glass—Window, Chandeliers, Vials, Bottles, &c. 30 per cent. On all Polished Plate Glass, twenty per cent. Do. if silvered, twenty-five per cent. China, Porcelain, Earthen Ware, Stone Ware, &c. twenty per cent. (instead of thirty.)—Such are the contrasted provisions of the two bills.

—Now it will be cheerfully conceded that the duties imposed by the present Tariff on such Glass as is rivaled in this country are high—that they are clearly intended to give our own makers a decided advantage in supplying our own markets. But what has been the effect of these on the interests of our consumers?—on the cost of Glass to our People? This is a question of fact. I appeal to the Price Current.

The following are the net prices per box of 50 square feet of Consider Window Glass under a 20 per cent. revenue duty and a much higher Protective duty respectively:

	Jan. 1, 1842.	Jan. 1, 1844.
6x 8 to 8x10 inclusive,	\$2 10	\$1 65
8x11 to 10x12 "	2 20	1 80
10x13 to 10x14 "	2 40	1 95
10x15 to 11x16 "	2 70	2 10
11x17 to 12x18 "	2 80	2 25
Above 12x18 "	3 25	2 55

Reduction under the present Tariff, full 20 per cent.

XXIV. Leather, Boots and Shoes, &c.

The Tariff of 1842 enacts that
Sixth. On tanned sole or bend leather, six cents per pound

on all upper leather, not otherwise specified, eight cents per pound; on calf and seal skins, tanned and dressed, five dollars per dozen; on sheep skins tanned and dressed, or skivers, two dollars per dozen; on goat skins or morocco tanned and dressed, two dollars and fifty cents per dozen; on kid skins or morocco tanned and dressed, one dollar and fifty cents per dozen; on goat or sheep skins tanned and not dressed, one dollar per dozen; on all kid and lamb skins tanned and not dressed, seventy-five cents per dozen; and on skins tanned and dressed, otherwise than in color, to wit: fawn, kid and lamb, usually known as chamois, one dollar per dozen; on men's boots and booties of leather, wholly or partially manufactured, one dollar and twenty-five cents per pair; men's shoes and pumps, wholly or partially manufactured, thirty cents per pair; women's boots and booties of leather, wholly or partially manufactured, fifty cents per pair; children's boots, booties and shoes, wholly or partially manufactured, fifteen cents per pair; women's double soled pumps and welts, wholly or partially manufactured, forty cents per pair; women's shoes or slippers, wholly or partially manufactured, whether of leather, prunella, or other material, except silk, twenty-five cents per pair, on raw hides of all kinds, whether dried or salted, five per centum ad valorem; on all skins pickled and in casks, not specified, twenty per centum ad valorem.

The corresponding section of McKay's bill reduces the above duties on all Leather and Skins to 25 per cent.; on all Boots and Shoes, &c. whatever, (except Silk,) to 30 per cent.

The difference between the respective provisions of these rival sections will commend itself forcibly to the makers of Boots and Shoes.

XXV. Gloves, Leather Caps, Suspenders, &c.

The Tariff of 1842 enacts that there shall be paid, (Sec. 7,) on Leather Gloves specific duties of 75 cents per dozen on Children's, \$1 on Women's Habit do., \$1.25 on Men's, \$1.50 on Women's Extra, and 50 cts. on Children's Habit Gloves. Leather Hats, Caps, Braces, and all Suspenders but India rubber, 35 per cent.

This is changed by McKay's bill to 25 per cent. on Gloves of all sorts, and 30 on the various Leather Hats, Caps, Suspenders, &c.

XXVI. Hats, Furs, Straw, &c.

The Tariff of 1842 farther prescribes that

Eighth. On furs of all kinds on the skin, undressed, five per centum ad valorem; on furs tanned on the skin, on all hatters' furs, whether dressed or undressed, not on the skin, twenty-five per centum ad valorem; fur hats, caps, muffs, tippets, and other manufactures of fur not specified, thirty-five per centum ad valorem; fur hat bodies, frames of felts, manufactured, not put in form or trimmed, or otherwise, twenty-five per centum ad valorem; hats of wool, hat bodies or felts made in whole or in part of wool, eighteen cents each.

The corresponding section of the bill of McKay reads:

Eighth. On fur hats, caps, muffs, tippets and other manufactures of fur not specified, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of thirty-five per centum imposed by the said act; and on hats of wool, and hat bodies or felts, made in whole or in part of wool, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of eighteen cents each, imposed by the said act.

(Sec. 9.) All Hats and Bonnets of Chip, Straw, Grass, Palm Leaf, Satin, Willow, Rattan, Whalebone, &c. are taxed 35 per cent. by the present Tariff. McKay's bill reduces this to 25.

XXVII. Feathers, Gems, Watches, &c.

The present Tariff farther provides that

Tenth. On all ornamental feathers and artificial flowers, or parts thereof, of whatever material composed, hair brackets, chains, rings, curls, or braids, human hair cleaned and prepared for use, and on fans of every description, twenty-five per centum ad valorem; on all hair, human or otherwise, uncleaned and unmanufactured, ten per centum ad valorem; on hair cloth or seating, and on hair belts and hair gloves, twenty-five per centum ad valorem; on curled hair and moss, for beds or mattresses, ten per centum ad valorem; on feathers for beds, and on flowers of all kinds, twenty-five per centum ad valorem; on India rubber oil cloth, webbing, shoes, braces or suspenders, or other fabrics or manufactured articles composed wholly or in part of India rubber, thirty per centum ad valorem; *Provided,* That braces or suspenders of that material not exceeding in value two dollars per dozen, shall be valued at one dollar per dozen, and pay duty accordingly. On all clocks, twenty-five per centum ad valorem; glaziers' diamonds, when set, twenty-five per centum ad valorem; on ship or box chronometers, twenty per centum ad

valorem; and on watches, or parts of watches, and watch materials, not specified, seven and a half per centum ad valorem; on diamonds, seven and a half per centum ad valorem; on crystals of glass for watches, and on glasses or p-bles for spectacle or eye-glasses, when not set, two dollars tross; on gems, pearls, or precious stones, seven per centum ad valorem; on imitations thereof, and compositions of glass or paste, on combs, a dimitatives thereof and on mirrors, not specified, of whatever materials composed, whether real or imitation, set or not set, seven and a half per centum ad valorem; on jewelry, commodity-watches, and on glasses of gold and silver leaf, twenty per centum ad valorem; on gilt, plated, or imitation jewelry, and Dutch metal in leaf, twenty-five per centum ad valorem; on Scagliola table tops, and table tops of marble or composition, inlaid with precious stones or small pieces of composition, known as mosaics, on table tops of marble or composition, when inlaid with various colored marbles, and on alabaster and ornaments, thirty per centum ad valorem; on manufactures of services, vessels and wares of all kinds, not otherwise specified, of silver or gold, or of which either of these metals shall be a component material of chief value, whether plain, chased, engraved, or embossed, an ad valorem duty of thirty per centum.

The bill of Gen. McKay prescribes

Tenth. On feathers for beds, and on down of all kinds, on India-rubber oil-cloth, webbing, shoes, braces, suspenders, or other fabrics or manufactured articles composed wholly or in part of India-rubber; on all clocks, and on crystals of glass for watches, and on glass or p-bles for spectacle or eye-glasses, when not set, there shall be levied a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem, instead of the various duties imposed by the said act; and so much of the proviso to the tenth subdivision of the fifth section of the said act as directs the valuation of certain India rubber suspenders or braces at two dollars per dozen, and an assessment of the duty upon such valuation shall be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

The reader will please remember the outcry which was raised against the present Tariff on the pretence that while it taxed the *poor man's* log-chain, clothing, &c. high it allowed the *rich man's* gold watch, diamonds, &c. to come in at seven per cent. Well, here is the Free Trade substitute of Gen. McKay, proposing to tax the Log-chain and Woolens *thirty* per cent. and leave the duty on Gold Watches, Diamonds, &c. *seven and a half* per cent. Is not the demagogism of the outcry beautifully exposed?—What can its authors say for themselves?

The simple truth is that the duty on Watches, Diamonds, Pearls, &c. was fixed low by the last Congress purely because those articles are so small in bulk, in proportion to their value, and so easily concealed, that a higher duty would inevitably tempt to smuggling. As it is, a heavy seizure of Watches intended to be smuggled, to avoid even 7½ per cent. duty, was made last winter. A light duty on these articles would be about the same as no duty at all. Gen. McKay's Committee have looked into the matter and wisely concluded to leave this duty where their predecessors placed it.

XXVIII. Wood, Furniture, Buttons, &c.

The present Tariff proceeds to fix the duties on all unmanufactured timber, boards, planks, staves, firewood, &c. at twenty per cent. and on rose-wood, satin-wood, mahogany and cedar fifteen per cent. Furniture, Musical Instruments, carriages, Canes, &c. thirty per cent. Marble 25; Manufactures of do. 30. Slates, Tiles, Bricks, Baskets of Osier, Willow, &c. 25. And

On metal buttons of all kinds, thirty per centum ad valorem; *Provided,* That all such buttons, not exceeding in value one dollar per gross, shall be valued at one dollar, and be charged with duty accordingly; on all other buttons, and on all button moulds, of whatever material composed, twenty-five per centum ad valorem.

Which is thus doctored in the new bill. The portions not alluded to here are allowed to stand as in the present Tariff:

Eleventh. On paving tiles and bricks there shall be levied a duty of fifteen per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of twenty-five per centum imposed by the said act; on metal buttons there shall be levied a duty of twenty-five per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of thirty per centum imposed by the said act; on all other buttons, and on all button moulds,

of whatever material composed, there shall be levied a duty of twenty per centum ad valorem, instead of the duty of twenty-five per centum imposed by the said act; and the first proviso to the twelfth subdivision of the fifth section of the said act, shall be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

The duty on Buttons is not merely cut down from 35 to 25 per cent. but the destruction of the minimum is a far surer blow to the American button-makers. It will let in upon them a deluge of foreign competition, by the payment of duties in practice merely nominal.

XXIX. *Paints and Oils.*

The present Tariff next prescribes:

Sec 6. *And be it further enacted,* That from and after the passage of this act, there shall be levied, collected and paid, on the importation of the articles hereinafter mentioned, the following rates of duty, that is to say:

On white or red leads, litharge, or acetate or chromate of lead, dry or ground in oil, four cents per pound; on whitening or Paris white, and all ochres or ochry earths used in the composition of painters' colors, when dry, one cent per pound when ground in oil, one cent and a half per pound; on sulphate of barytes, one and a half cent per pound, on luscad, hemp-seed, and rapeseed oil, twenty-five cents per gallon; on putty, one cent and a half per pound.

All these are changed to thirty per cent in McKay's bill.

XXX. *Paper, Books, &c.*

Sec. 7. of the present Tariff imposes a variety of specific and discriminating duties on the importation of Paper and Books, all of which are charged to thirty per cent. by McKay's bill.—We need hardly add that the high duties imposed by the present Tariff have *not* raised the price of Paper or Books, as every man who buys them must know.

XXXI. *Sugar, Molasses, &c.*

The present Tariff prescribes, (Sec. 8.)

First. On raw sugar, (commonly called brown sugar,) not advanced beyond its raw state, by claying, boiling, clarifying, or other process, and on syrup of sugar, or of sugar cane, and on brown clayed sugar, two and a half cents per pound; on all other sugars when advanced beyond the raw state, by claying, boiling, clarifying, or other process, and not yet refined, four cents per pound; on refined sugars, (whether loaf, lump, crushed, or pulverized, and when, after being refined, they have been tinctured, colored, or in any way adulterated,) and on sugar candy, six cents per pound; on molasses, four and a half mills per pound: *Provided,* That all syrups of sugar or sugar cane, entered under the designation of molasses, or any other appellation than "syrup of sugar," or of sugar cane, shall be liable to forfeiture to the United States, on demand, on sweetmeats, or fruits preserved in molasses, sugar, or brandy, and on confectionery of all kinds not otherwise specified, twenty-five per centum ad valorem: *Provided further,* That an inspection, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, shall be made of all sugars and molasses imported from foreign countries, in order to prevent frauds, and to prevent the introduction of sugar, syrup of sugar, syrup of cane, or battery sugar, under the title of molasses, or in any other improper manner.

Which is thus modified in McKay's bill: (§ 8)

First. On raw sugar (commonly called brown sugar) not advanced beyond its raw state, by claying, boiling, clarifying, or other process, and on brown clayed sugar, there shall be levied a duty of two cents per pound, instead of the duty of two and a half cents per pound imposed by the said act; on syrup of sugar or of sugar cane there shall be levied a duty of one and a half cent per pound instead of the duty of two and a half cents per pound imposed by the said act; on all other sugars, when advanced beyond the raw state, by claying, boiling, clarifying, or other process, and not yet refined, there shall be levied a duty of three cents per pound, instead of the duty of four cents per pound imposed by the said act; on refined sugars (whether loaf, lump, crushed, or pulverized, and when, after being refined, they have been tinctured, colored, or in any way adulterated) and on sugar candy, there shall be levied a duty of four cents per pound, instead of the duty of six cents per pound imposed by the said act; and on molasses there shall be levied a duty of three mills per pound, instead of the duty of four and a half mills per pound imposed by the said act.

Here we have the rare spectacle of specific duties retained by Gen. McKay's bill, and not merely specific but *high* duties. Two cents a pound on Brown Sugar, must certainly range from sixty to one hundred per cent. on the foreign cost of the article. What does this mean? I, certainly, would not complain of two or two and a half

cents a pound on Sugar, as a part of a general system of Protection; but when every thing else save Iron and Coal are cut down to thirty per cent. ad valorem, why are these staples allowed seventy per cent. specific? Is it not plainly because Pennsylvania and Louisiana are wanted to vote for the Anti-Tariff candidate for President, and must be soothed, at whatever sacrifice of consistency or principle? Why else should seven hundred Sugar-planters in a corner of the Union be allowed a Protection which is denied to Five Hundred Thousand workers in Iron and on Leather all over the Union? Can any one tell?

XXXII. *Conclusion.*

Here I am compelled by inexorable limitations to stop, leaving the duties on Grain, Meats, Fish, Wines and Liquors, Oils, Spices, Cocoa, &c. &c. unexamined. Agricultural Produce is changed from specific duties to 25 per cent. ad valorem by McKay's bill. The duties on Ardent Spirits and Wines (now high) are reduced by McKay's bill—on Wines to 30 per cent.—Liquors remain specific. Salt, which is now charged eight cents per bushel of fifty-six pounds, is reduced to twenty per cent. ad valorem by McKay—a change which, if consummated, would destroy millions' worth of property, throw thousands out of profitable employment, and not, after all, perceptibly, reduce the price of Salt to the mass of our consumers. In 1816, Turk's Island Salt cost in this market 60 cents per bushel: in 1818, 70 cents; in 1825, 58 cents; 1836, 48 cents; in 1842, 28 cents; in 1843, 30 cents. In 1843, New-York fine Salt of excellent quality was sold in this market for \$1 per barrel. Does any man believe Salt would be sensibly lower than this in the absence of any Tariff? If not, why break down our own works and subject ourselves to an unsafe dependence on others? In 1814 (during the Last War) Salt was sold on our seaboard for *Four Dollars per bushel.*

The long list of Free articles under the present Tariff is retained by McKay's bill, and to these articles are added raw Cotton, Guano, and Sulphate of Quinine.

Sec. 12 of McKay declares that all ad valorem duties exceeding 25 per cent. shall be reduced to that rate on and after Sept. 1st, 1845, (one year after the act is to take effect.)

Sec. 13, that all duties not expressly changed by this act shall remain as provided by the existing Tariff.

Sec. 14, that Goods imported from ports this side of the Cape of Good Hope may remain in public store 120 instead of 60 days, and from beyond that Cape 150 instead of 90 days—six per cent. interest being charged from the time of entry.

—Such are substantially the present Tariff and the changes proposed by its opponents in the bill reported by Gen. McKay. That bill, it is believed, cannot *now* pass the Senate, but it will inevitably become in substance the law of the land if the party from which it emanates triumph in the approaching Presidential Election. People of the United States! by your judgment the Tariff must stand or fall! It is a cheat to call McKay's bill a *compromise*—it is full of absurdities and inconsistencies, but in the main fraught with deadly hostility to your interests and welfare!—Shall it prevail?