The Middlebury People's Press.

In this Paper are published the Public Orders, Resolutions, Laws, Public Treaties, Bankrupt Notices Etc. of the United States, By Authority.

H. BELL, Editor and Proprietor. MIDDLEBURY VT. OCTOBER 4, 1842. VOL. VII---NO. 22.

The People's Press,

IS PUBLISHED EVERY TUESDAY MORNING AT NORTH END OF THE BRIDGE, BY

J. COBB JR.

by whom all orders for printing, Books, Pamphlets, Bills, Cards, &c., of every description will be neatly and fashionably executed, at short notice.

TERMS OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

Village subscribers, ... $2.00
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Individuals and Companies, who take at the office, $1.75,
or 1,50 if paid in six months.
Companies on stage routes, ... $1,75
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If not paid at the end of the year $2,25.
No papers discontinued until arrearages are paid, except at the option of the proprietor. No payments to Carriers allowed except ordered by the proprietor.
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MR. SLADE'S SPEECH

ON THE TARIFF BILL, IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, JULY, 11 & 12, 1842.

Concluded.

It is evident that the present stock of woollen goods in the United States, is very large; and that the depression of our woollen manufacturing business, must consequently, continue for some time to come, whatever duties may be now laid. The wool growers, then, must continue to feel the double influence of slowness of increase in the demand for wool, and the excessive supply now in the country, amounting, as I have stated, probably to one hundred millions of pounds. It would by a great aggravation of the pressure of this state of things upon the wool growers to seize this occasion to reduce the duty on wool, one fourth below the duty on woollens, as is done by the bill on our table.

As to the duty on woollens, I think the 40 per cent in the bill before us, is sufficient, if that per cent on the *real* foreign value can be collected. The bill contains new and important safeguards against frauds, which, if it becomes a law, I hope to see thoroughly executed, so as to make the nominal protection which we give to the great woollens interest, the real protection. If there are to be new evasions to meet these new enactments, then will there be imposed upon Congress the necessity of new legislation to carry out the purposes of that which I hope to see consummated by the passage, with some modifications, of the present bill. One of these modifications I have sufficiently indicated. It is the addition of at least ten per cent to the duty on wool; and this should be in the form of a specific duty in addition to the ad valorem of 30 per cent now in the bill.*

I have proceeded, in this argument, upon the assumption that it should be a cardinal principle in our policy, to give ample protection, by direct duties, to the raw materials for our manufactures. I regret to see, in any quarter, a disposition to overlook this principle, and to regard the whole question of protection as absorbed in the interest merely of the manufacturer. Such is the view taken of the matter by the minority of the Committee of manufactures in their elaborate report upon the subject, made at the present session.

"If (say the minority of the committee) the manufacturers of wool, iron, and leather are really in the distressed condition in which they are represented to be, we may, without destroying the factories, given them essential relief by *reducing the duty on the raw material.*"

Again: in reference to protection to the cotton manufacturer, and the impracticability of aiding him by a reduction of the duty on cotton wool, which will not affect its price, the minority of the committee say—"Then the relief to be afforded to him (the cotton manufacturer) must be by other means than by reducing the duty on the raw material. The other mode which presents itself, is, by *a reduction in the price of labor.*"

It is strange that the minority of the committee should have so entirely mistaken the true character and aim of the protecting policy. It is not mainly to sustain the manufacturer and give increased profits to his capital, that this policy has been adopted; but it is that the productive power of *the whole community* should be stimulated, by furnishing a demand for *labor* at good wages, and a market for all the productions, including every description of *raw material*, which our soil is capable of producing, at prices which will give competence and comfort to our people,—such competence and comfort including, of course, the means of education, as industrious freemen ought to enjoy.

The woollen and cotton manufacturers of my State, will not thank the minority of the committee for their discovery that the manufacturers may be protected by *a reduction of the duty on wool*, and *a diminution of the price of labor*. It would be no satisfaction to them, thus to prosper at the expense of the wool growers and laborers, by whom they are surrounded, and with whose prosperity and happiness their own are deeply identified. Such an argument better suits the latitude where capitalists own the laborers, than it does that where the laborers own themselves, and are a part of the community.

Recurring again to the question of the amount of duty required for the protection of wool, a remark seems to be due to an argument of the chairman of the committee of ways and means, in his speech at the opening of this debate. Alluding to the depressed price of wool, he inferred that it could not be the result of a diminished duty, because the amount imported for the last three years had been but "little over half a million of pounds annually—an amount (he says) certainly quite too small to affect the general price."

On looking into the custom house returns I find that the amount imported of dutiable wool, though not much over half a million of pounds per annum, has gradually increased during the last four years,—being,

In 1838	417,237 pounds.
1839	526,654
1840	594,748
1841	596,646

It thus appears that though the importations have been "small," they have been gradually increasing, notwithstanding the diminished consumption of wool by our enfeebled manufacturing establishments.

If, however, it be admitted that the quantity imported has been "too small to affect the general price," the inference which the chairman of the Ways and Means would draw from it, namely, that the 30 per cent duty in this bill is a sufficient protection—by no means follows. It should be remembered that the comparatively small importations of wool were during a period of great depression of our woollen establishments, owing to the derangement of our currency, a general shaking of confidence, and a decending duty on woollens, aggravated by frands in their valuations. The effect of all this was, of course, a diminished demand for wool,—a diminuation which, while it invited but a limited importation from abroad, left the production of our own flocks to accumulate to a complete glut of our market. The duty on wool, moreover, during those years was from 10 to 12 per cent higher than this bill proposes It is very evident that we cannot reason from such a state of things to a future, in which the woollen manufacture shall revive—as we may hope it will, under the provisions of this bill, *fairly executed*—and in which, the demand for wool shall of course, be increased. No body can expect that such an increased demand will not, under a diminished duty of 10 to 12 1-2 per cent be supplied from abroad, to an extent very far exceeding the importations of the last few years. It would, surely, be most incongruous *protective* legislation, to increase the demand for wool, and at the same time invite the supply of it from abroad by diminishing the duty. Equal justice demands that, while we stimulate the manufacture of wool by a duty of 40 per cent. we give the benefit of that stimulus to our own, wool growers, by an equal duty.

But there is another view of this subject. The *dutiable* wool imported—averaging, for the last four years, but a little over half a million of pounds—is not the only wool which is to be taken into this account. It should embrace all wool which is of a fineness to come in competition with our own; and a considerable amount of such wool has been lately introduced, *duty free*, by a process which I will proceed to describe.

By the tariff of 1832, wool, the value of which, at the place of exportation, should not exceed eight cents per pound, was to be admitted free of duty. The intention of this provision, as all know who were familiar with the history of its introduction into the act, was to admit free of duty, *coarse* wool which *did not come in competition with the wool of our own flocks*. The word *coarse*, however, was not used in the act. The question as to the *quality* of the wool to be admitted free of duty, was left to depend entirely on its "value at the place of exportation." It was supposed that wool which should really cost eight cents or under, must, of necessity, be so coarse as not to compete with the productions of our own flocks. Its admission therefore free of duty, was permitted, for the sake of encouraging the manufacture of coarse cloths, carpets &c. which would, otherwise, be supplied to us by foreign manufacturers, for the benefit of foreign capital and labor.

Such was the intention of Congress. That intention has, to some extent, been defeated—first by the general reduction in the price of foreign wool, which has thrown below the eight cents point, wool which formerly ranged immediately above it; and second, and more especially, by such a change in sheep husbandry in South America, as to produce wool of considerable fineness at an expense no greater than was formerly incurred in the production of *coarse* wool. This operation has taken place principally in Buenos Ayres. I have before me specimens of wool imported from that country duty free, which are of a fineness equal to much of the half blood merino of our own flocks, and some even of higher grades. This is not the wool of the native South American sheep, but is produced by crossings of that breed with the full blooded merino.

Information having been communicated to me that these crossings had been effected by merino bucks exported from the United States, I have examined the custom house returns of our exports, to see whether they would throw any light on the subject. I have looked through the returns for the last ten years, especially in reference to Buenos Ayres, from whence the principal part of the *fine* wool, admitted duty free, because costing less than eight cents, has been imported—and I find that the only exports of sheep to that country during that period, were in the years 1837 and 38, as follows.

1837 300 sheep—value $6,000—equal to $20. each
1838 801 " " 4,565 " " 5,70. each

The value of these 1100 sheep, thus sent to Buenos Ayres, shows, conclusively, that they were merino bucks. The purpose of sending them cannot be mistaken; and the results, or rather specimens of them, I now hold in my hand, being the specimens which have been sent me, of the wool imported, duty free, from that country. The climate of Buenos Ayres is favorable to the health and longevity of sheep. "They may (says the Boston Cultivator) graze the year round in cheap pastures, and are, consequently, less subject to disease, and seldom die except from severe storms and old age."

I learn from other sources that the flocks in that country are very large, ranging, by thousands and hundreds of of thousands, over rich and extensive plains, and sustained at an expense of land and labor vastly below that of any portion of the U. States.

It must be obvious to every one that, in such a country, with such facilities for raising wool, and with such improvements in its flocks as may be made by judicious crossings, an amount of fine wool may be thrown upon our market which will prostrate the wool growing of this country, unless it is protected by efficient legislation. We claim that our manufacturers and laborers shall be protected against the abundant capital and the pauper labor of Europe. This is right. But have not the wool growers an equal claim to protection against this cheap process of raising fine wool, which may, without protection, drive them from the great market which it has, for five and twenty years, been the policy of this government to secure to them?

But I may be asked—what amount of wool has been imported from the country you have been describing? And has it increased since the exportations to it of the sheep to which you have referred? I have looked into this matter, and here is the result, in the importations for the last six years from Buenos Ayres, of wool costing eight cents and under, and of course free of duty.

	No. of Lbs.	Aggregate Cost.	Cost per Lb.
1836	2,556,867.	$192,838	7. 21 cents.
1837	2,108,592	154,977.	7. 31 "
1838	2,515,884.	157,396.	6. 25 "
1839	683,535	47,465.	7 "
1840	566,468.	38,920.	6. 87 "
1841	8,870,749.	531,025.	6 "

It will be observed that there was a great falling off of the importations in 1839 and 40. This was produced by the French blockade of Buenos Ayres during the whole, or the greater part of those years. The result was, an accumulation of the stock of wool, which helped to swell the importation into the United States during the following year, to near nine millions of pounds. The diminution in the cost of the importations of 1841, was doubtless attributable, in some degree, to the excessive accumulation of wool in that country during the years of the blockade.

I have been told by some, to whom I have presented the fact of the immense importation of the last year from Buenos Ayres, that it was the result merely of the raising of the blockade which gave vent to the accumulations of the previous two years; and that, that cause having expended its force the importations will henceforth return to the average amount of former years. This conclusion might be correct, if the average importations of the two years of blockade, and the succeeding year, did not so greatly exceed the average of the preceeding three years, as to show that there were causes in operation, which if not checked, would probably continue the importations in the increased ratio of the last three years. The aggregate of the importations from Buenos Ayres, of wool costing eight cents and under, in the years 1836, '37 and '38, was 6,. 881,353 pounds. Annual average, 2 293,. 784. The aggregate importations of the years 1839, '40 and '41, were 10,. 120,802. Annual average 3.373.600 Excess of the *annual average* of the last three, over that of the previous three, years, *one million, seventy nine thousand, eight hundred and sixteen pounds*; being an increase of about forty-seven per cent.

What produced this great excess? The answer is obvious. Yankee ingenuity had discovered that, by crossings of the merino and South American sheep, *fine* wool might be produced as cheap as the coarse; and might be imported free of duty, if it should cost not exceeding eight cents per pound. Yankee enterprise, as usual, was not slow in trying the experiment. Eleven hundred merino bucks were exported. A large production of *fine* wool was, of course, the result; and the eight-cent, duty-free clause in the act of 1832, draw it, in large quantities, to the United States. The same cause will probably continue to produce the same effect, unless it is counteracted by our legislation.

The same operation, there is reason to believe, has been carried on in an another South American country (Montevideo) from which the importations of nominally coarse wool, costing eight cents or under, have risen from 5,983 pounds in 1837 (the first year in which there were any importations of wool from that country) to 665,879 lbs. in 1841.

It may not be unimportant in this connexion, to state, that the whole of our importations, from all countries, during the last five years, of wool costing eight cents, or under has been as follows.

1837	9.480,195.
1838	6.551,126.
1839	7.398.519.
1840	9.303,902.
1841	14.399,764.

It is worthy of remark that, while the aggregate importations of "eight cents wool" have thus rapidly increased, especially from the year 1840, to 1841, there was a falling off from the former to the latter of those years, in the importations of that description of wool from Turkey, Italy, Morocco and the Barbary States of one half—that is, from 6.223.288 to 3,176.276 pounds.

In estimating the extent to which wool other than coarse wool, has been introduced into the country free of duty, it should be further considered that, at whatever point the maximum of duty-free wool is fixed, there will be a perpetual effort on the part of importers, by various devices, to get the wool imported by them, invoiced below that point, for the purpose of avoiding the duty.

Thus for example, an importer of wool from South America, in making up a mixed cargo, say of wool and hides, will give a little more than the market value for the hides, upon condition that the wool, which he may purchase with them shall be sold to him, and included in the invoice, at the price of eight cents or under. A case simiar to this has been stated to me as having actually occurred in the wool trade with Smyrna; and I have no doubt the device is resorted to in the trade with South America and other countries.

It is true that such frauds might be corrected by our custom house appraisals, if the appraisers always possessed the means of ascertaining, with perfect accuracy, the true value of the wool at the place whence imported, at the time of its purchase. But such means they do not always possess; and, in cases where it is doubtful as to whether the invoice value is the true value, the appraisers will, it is presumed, be inclined to let the wool pass, as invoiced, for the sake of avoiding a legal contest with the importer. Such indeed, I am informed, is, to a considerable extent, the actual operation, at the custom houses, in cases of doubtful invoice valuations.

But there are yet other modes by which fine wool has been imported free of duty under the eight cent clause of the act of 1832. One mode is to mix fine with coarse wool, in the same bale, or package, and invoice the whole at its average value—adjusting the proportions between the fine and coarse so as to bring the *average* to eight cents or under. Thus for example, a bale of wool weighing 200 pounds, may be mixed in the proportion of two thirds, of the value of three dollars per hundred, amounting to $4.

and one third, of the value of eighteen dollars per hundred, amounting to 12.

For 200 pounds $16.

Thus the whole contents of the bale may be fairly invoiced at eight cents per pound, while it may contain 66⅔ pounds of wool worth, at the place of exportation, eighteen cents per pound, and which, paying no duty, may, after being separated from the coarse wool with which it is mixed, come in competition with much of our fine wool.

This kind of evasion was attempted to be prevented by the provision in the act of the 11th of September last, by which that part of a bale or package of wool worth more than eight cents, was subjected to a duty of 20 per cent. But this involved the necessity of an assorting by the appraisers, of every bale containing wools of different fineness; which would require an amount of labor that would probably prevent a thorough execution of the provision. And besides, it imposed a duty on the wool thus found, on separation, to have cost over eight cents, inadequate to the protection of our wool of the same grade.

The true and only effectual remedy would be by a provision which I hope to see proposed by the Committee of Ways and Means as an amendment to this bill—by which, when wool of 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 of the whole.

Another mode by which wool really worth much more than eight cents, is imported as costing eight cents or under, is to purchase it with the dirt and filth and burs which become mixed with it in the progress of its growth, and by which it is reduced, perhaps one third, or one half or more, in its value per pound. Thus it is easy to see, that wool, worth, at the place whence imported, if cleansed to an extent not greater than our river washing before shearing, twelve or fifteen cents, may have really cost eight cents or under, and, with a small expense of cleaning may come in competition, free of duty, with much of our wool. The expense of seperating the *burs* which would seem to be a formidable item in the process of cleaning, is, I understand, reduced to a mere trifle by burring machines, which are in successful operation in those establishments in which South American wool is principally manufactured. There are, also, in operation, I understand, machines by which the long and coarse hairs which are, to some extent, mingled with fine wool fleeces, are separated, with astonishing facility, thereby augmenting the value of the fleece, as it is augmented by the separation from it, of, burs, dirt and other impurities.

There is a provision in the act of 1832, and also in that of the 11th of September last, declaring that, "if any fine wool be mixed with dirt or other material, and thus be reduced in value to eight 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; and a duty thereon shall be charged in conformity with such appraisal." But this provision has been rendered ineffectual for its true purpose, by its application in practice (sanctioned, I believe, by judicial decisions) to cases only in which the "dirt or other material" has been mixed with the wool by an artificial process, for the purpose of reducing its value. The bill before us should be altered—as I hope to see done upon a proposition of amendment from the Committee of Ways and Means—so as to fix the appraisal upon the basis of the value of the wool, without the dirt, material or impurities accumulated in the process of its growth—placing it, as near as may be, upon a par with the river-washed wool, before shearing, of our own sheep.

The facts I have stated in regard to our wool trade with South America (and the same process of obtaining fine wool below the eight cents point, may be carried on in other countries) show, I think, very clearly, that our legislation should be altered to meet this new state of things. In two or three particulars, I have suggested the changes which I think ought to be made. I will add, what must be obvious to all, that the eight cents maximum should be reduced. The maximum of six cents would probably admit, upon the nominal duty of five per cent in the bill before us, about the same quality of wool as was intended to be admitted, under the eight cents proviso in the act of 1832. An additional, and, if fairly executed, a very important safeguard would be the limiting of the five per cent privilege to wool *declared* by the act, to be *coarse*, as well as *inferred* to be so by the maximum of its cost,

The facts to which I have adverted, in regard to the increased facilities for introducing fine wool from abroad, at a cheap rate, have an important bearing, not only on the provisions touching the admission, upon a nominal duty, of coarse wool, supposed not to compete with our own, but upon the question as to the amount and kind of duty to be levied on other wool. The bill on your table fixes that duty at 30 per centum ad valorem—being ten per cent below the duty on woollens, and to that extent, at least, as I have shown, a departure from the settled policy which has long protected the wool growing and wool manufacturing interests, by equal duties. That the duty on wool should be raised to at least 40 per cent, cannot, I think, admit of a question. The extensive introduction from South America, *at a reduced valuation*, of wool of at least medium fineness, suggests the importance of having the addition to the 30 per cent in the bill, consist of a *specific* duty. I would prefer the union of the ad valorem and specific duties in the proportion fixed in the bill reported by the Committee of Manufacturers—namely 26 per cent ad valorem and 4 cents specific, which would be equivalent on wool costing 30 cents, to 40 per cent, and more than that, on wool costing less than 30 cents. If, however, the Committee should insist on a different proportion, then let there be simply an addition of three cents specific duty, to the 30 per cent ad valorem, agreeably to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which would be about equivalent to the 26 per cent. and 4 cents, in the bill of the Committee of Manufactures.

The specific duty, being equal in its amount on each pound of wool, whatever may be its cost, would give, what the cheapened process of raising fine wool demands—a duty irrespective of that cheapness—compensating, in some degree, for the depressed valuation of the wool, by an increased *per centum ad valorem* upon it—in other words reaching, and acting upon, *the wool*, in its just relation to our own wool, with which it comes in competition, rather than upon *its value in the market from which it is imported*. I hope, therefore, to see an addition of a *specific* duty to the 30 per cent. in the bill before us.

In reviewing the history of our protecting legislation, I have been impressed with the remarkable difference between the protection extended to the Woollen and the Cotton interests. By the tariff of 1816, every square yard of cotton cloth, without reference to its quality, was declared to be of the value of 25 cents, and a duty of 25 per cent. was assessed upon *that value*. The effect of that mode of assessing the duty, as all know, has been to exclude coarse cottons from our market, and give it entirely to the American manufacturer. The *minimum* valuation, as it is called, was strenuously advocated by Mr. Calhoun, who was a zealous supporter of the principle of protection in 1816, which he thus fully carried out, *in regard to the fabrick manufactured from the great Southern staple*. That same minimum, and that same duty, be it remembered, was steadily maintained thro' all the tariff changes, from 1816, to the passage of the act of 1832, when the duty of 25 per cent. was continued upon a minimum valuation increased to 30 cents—the effect of which was an increase of the duty.

Now, how has it been with woollens? Up to the year 1828, the duties by which they were protected, were laid in the form of a *per centum* on their real foreign value—not an artificial value as in the case of cottons. The tariff act of that year fixed, as I have already stated, a graduated scale of minimums upon woollen cloths—being the same principle which had been, and still is, applied to cottons; but, by the act of 1832, that principle was abandoned in regard to woollens, and the levying of a simple *per centum* on their value was substituted.

Under the steady application of the minimum principle, cottons have not only enjoyed the benefit of a duty, amounting to prohibition on the coarser fabrics, but the additional benefit of an exemption, to a great extent, from the effect of fraudulent invoices; while the woollens interest has suffered, and is still suffering, greatly, on account of such frauds. These frauds should have been, and should now be, prevented by, either a specific duty on every square yard, or by a combination, as in the case of wool, since 1828, of a specific and an ad valorem duty; or by an ad valorem applied to a minimum valuation, as in the case of cottons, or a series of minimum valuations, as in the case of woollens, under the law of 1828.

It must be obvious to all, that if the *minimum principle* had been applied to woollens by the act of 1816, as it was to cottons, and had been as steadily maintained ever since, the wool growing & wool manufacturing interests would not have suffered the reverses towhich they have been doomed under a less favorable policy. They would have enjoyed a *steadiness* of protection, which is indispensible to success in any business depending in any considerable degree, on protecting legislation for support.

I have been the more impressed with the injustice of this distinction, and have been led to reflect more upon *the policy which originated and has continued it*, by a passage in the report of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures, made in March 1816 preparatory to the enacting of the tariff law of that year. Referring to a report made by the same Committee in February preceeding, in favor of sustaining the manufacture of cotton, the committee said—

"*Every reason* then urged for sustaining the cotton manufacturing establishments, apply, with *equal* force in favor of the wool len. The committee, influenced by the *same* reasons, feel bound to accord the *same* justice to the manufacturers of wool."

Why was not "the *same justice*" accorded to the manufacturers of *wool* as of *cotton*, by the act of 1816, and by subsequent tariff acts? I need not say, Mr. Chairman, that if either should be favored above the other, by our legislation, it is the woollens interest—an interest which has always been regarded as among those most deeply identified with the independence of our country, at all times, and especially in times of war. And it is an interest deserving our regard, not only because it gives a stimulus to manufacturing industry and those branches of labor which feed the manufacturer and convey his goods to market, but especially because it involves the protection of *a raw material* of immense importance to the country.

There is no single branch of Agricultural production, capable of such a universal diffusion of benefits, as that of wool growing. Every diversity of the soil and the climate of this vast country is favorable to it. The culture of cotton is confined to a few degrees of latitude. That of tobacco is also limited; and there are large portions of the country where wheat cannot be raised to an amount sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. Cotton and tobacco, moreover, are exhausting crops, returning nothing to the land from which they draw their nourishment; while sheep greatly enrich the soil on which they graze, insomuch that they will, in a few years, entirely restore lands which have been worn out by planting.

Virginia, and Kentucky with all the States south of them, may, so far as soil and climate are concerned, successfully compete, especially in the mountain regions, with any of the States, in the production of wool. Indeed, if they would turn their attention to wool growing, and *change the character of their labor*, they would soon make rapid advances in wealth and prosperity. Their mild climate in comparison with the severe and long winters of New England, gives them, in the expense of wool growing, a great advantage, which, properly improved, would be sensibly felt in the competition it would produce with the wool growing of other portions of the country. Of that competition I have no jealousy. It would, no doubt, affect the price of our wool. But of that we should have no right to complain. I say to our southern and western brethren—go on with your sheep husbandry. What you gain in climate, we, at the north, will make up in industry and economy. As you advance in the production of wool, you will plant your woollen manufacturing establishments by the side of your flocks; and thus this great country will ultimately clothe itself, and have a surplus of woollen cloths, as it now has of cottons, to swell the amount of its export trade with other nations.

I cannot close these remarks, though protracted already far beyond my original intention, without dwelling a moment upon the importance of the protecting policy as a *Bond of our Union*. While this policy protects us from the competition of the abundant capital, and starved labor, and governmental bounties, of other countries, it throws us upon our own resources; stimulates the industry of every part of our country; creates a demand, in every part, for the productions of every other; promotes an active commercial intercourse, with its harmonizing influences; cherishes a sense of mutual dependence; and produces a community of interest and of feeling, without which we cannot be "*one people.*" And while our Union is thus cemented, we are, also, cherishing those great elements of national strength which consist in the solid wealth, and the moral energy connected with universal and well rewarded industry.

The extent of our territory is sometimes regarded as an element of weakness, which must prove fatal to the Union. And so it will, inevitably, if the policy of protection is to be abandoned. The chain which binds us together *must not run through the workshops of Europe*. There must be a strong golden chain of direct commercial intercourse—conducted upon the avowed principle of helping one another—of giving, by free exchanges of the products of the skill, the labor, and the varied soils and climate of our country, the highest possible development to the capacities of each and all of these sources of national prosperity and independence. The vast extent of our territory, with its great diversity of skill, and labor, and soil and climate, may be thus converted into an element of strength, and a pledge of permanency to our Union. It is thus, and thus only that we can realize in regard to this Union, the beauty and force of the application by a sacred writer, to another union, of the delicate and admirably fitting dependence of the various members of the human body upon each other—neither being able to say to another, I have no need of thee, but each dependent on all the rest, and all, though greatly diversified in form and in office, constituting one body, "*compacted by that which every joint supplieth.*"

How strong is the power of attraction of the *American system!* and how perfectly does it harmonize with the leading purpose of the Constitution as expressed in its preamble. "*To form a more perfect union!*" *That was the* purpose; and here is that purpose carried out in the *American System*—a system whose influence, like the great principle of gravitation in the material universe, counteracts the tendencies to dissolution, binds the otherwise discordant portions of this great country together, and makes them one harmonious whole.

NOTE.

The following are extracts from the Tariff of 1832,—from the bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, and from the bill as it finally passed and has become a law. The subject of coarse wool, as discussed in the forgoing, may be made more intelligible by a comparison of these extracts.

Act of 1832.

"Wool unmanufactured, the value whereof, at the place of exportation shall not exceed eight cents per pound, shall be imported free of duty; and if any wool, so imported shall be fine wool, mixed with dirt, or other material and thus rendered in value to eight 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, and a duty thereon shall be charged in conformity with such appraisal."

Bill reported by the Committee.

"On wool unmanufactured the value whereof, at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, shall exceed eight cents per pound, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem.

"On wool unmanufactured the value whereof, at the last port or place from whence exported to the United States shall be eight cents or under per pound there shall be levied a duty of five per centum ad valorem. *Provided*, That when wool of different qualities 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 appraisers at a rate exceeding eight cents per pound, it shall be charged with a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem. *Provided* further, That if any fine wool be mixed with dirt or any material, and thus be reduced in value to eight 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; and a duty thereon shall be charged in conformity with such appraisal."

The Bill as it finally passed.

(The amendments of the committee's bill indicated by italics.)

"On *coarse* wool unmanufactured, 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 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 diff rent 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 appraisers at a rate exceeding *seven* cents per pound, it shall be charged with a duty, in *conformity with such appraisal*. Provided further, That when wool of *different qualities & 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 any bales of *different qualities are embraced in the same invoice, at the same price, the value of the whole of which to be appraised according to the value of the bale of the best quality. Provided further, That if any wool be imported having in it dirt or any matter of any description other than those naturally belonging to the fleece, and thus be 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 dirt or impurities* and a duty shall be charged thereon in conformity to such appraisal."

LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Passed at the Second Session of 27th Congress.

[OFFICIAL PUBLICATION.]

[Public — No. 53.]

AN ACT making appropriations for the support of the army, and of the military academy, for the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums be, and the same hereby are appropriated, for the support of the army, for the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two:

No. 1. For the pay of the army, one million four hundred and seventy-seven thousand seven hundred dollars.

No. 2 For commutation of officers' subsistence, five hundred and twenty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-four dollars.

No. 3. For commutation of forage of officers' horses, one hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one dollars.

No. 4. For commutation of clothing of officers' servants, thirty thousand two hundred and forty dollars.

For commutation of clothing not drawn in kind by the troops, fifty thousand two hundred and forty dollars.

No. 5. For expenses of recruiting, fifty thousand seven hundred and nine dollars and thirty-six cents.

No. 6. For clothing of the army, camp & garrison equipage, cooking utensils, and hospital furniture, three hundred and seventy-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two dollars and eighty cents.

No. 7. For subsistence in kind, exclusive of that of officers, seven hundred and seventy-eight dollars.

No. 8. For the regular supplies furnished by the Quartermaster's department, consisting of fuel, forage, straw, stationary, and printing, three hundred and sixteen thousand dollars.

No 9 For barracks, quarters, and store-houses, embracing the repairs and enlargement of barracks, quarters, store houses and hospitals; the erection of temporary cantonments and of gun-houses for the protection of cannon; the purchase of land for military purposes, and of materials for the barrack rooms; rent of quarters for officers, of barracks for troops, where there are no public buildings for their accommodation, of storehouses for the safe-keeping of subsistence, clothing and other military supplies, and of ground for summer cantonments and encampments for military practice, one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars.

No. 10. For the incidental expenses of the Quartermaster's department, consisting of postage on public letters and packets, expenses of courts martial and courts of inquiry, including the additional compensation of judge advocates, members, and witnesses; extra pay to soldiers under the act of March second eighteen hundred and nineteen; expenses of expresses and of the interment of non commissioned officers and soldiers; hire of laborers; compensation of clerks to the officers of the quartermaster's and assistant quartermasters at posts where their duties cannot be performed without such aid, and of temporary agents in charge of dismantled works; and to such wagon and forage masters as it may be necessary to employ under the act of the fifth of July, eighteen hundred and forty-eight; expenditures necessary to keep in the regiment of dragoons and the four companies of light artillery complete, including the purchase of horses to supply the place of those which may be lost and become unfit for the service, and the erection of stables, one hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars.

No. 11 For transportation of officers' baggage when traveling on duty, without troops, sixty-five thousand dollars.

No 12. For transportation of troops and supplies, viz: transportation of the army and baggage, freight and ferriages, purchase or hire of horses, mules, oxen, carts, wagons and boats, for purposes of transportation or garrison use; drayage and cartage; hire of steamers; transportation of funds for the pay department; expense of transient vessels, and of procuring water at such posts as from their situation require it; transportation of clothing from the depot at Philadelphia to the stations of the troops; of subsistence from the places of purchase and delivery, under contracts, to such points as the circumstances of the service may require; of ordnance, ordnance stores, and small arms, from the foundaries and armories to the arsenals, fortifications, and frontier posts, two hundred and forty-two thousand dollars.

No. 13. For the contingencies of the army, nine thousand dollars.

No. 14 For the medical and hospital department, twenty-eight thousand dollars.

*A duty of three cents per pound was subsequently added. See the wool clause of the bill, at the end of these remarks. The three cents is equivalent to 10 per cent on wool costing 30 cents—the average cost of the importations of dutiable wool for the last three years. On wool costing 20 cents it is equivalent to 15 per cent.