H. BELL,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

TERMS OF EIGHTH VOLUME.

Village subscribers, ... $2 00
Mail subscribers, ... 2 00
Individuals and Companies who take at the office $1'75 or 1'50 cents if paid in six months.
Those who take of Postriders $2 00
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 payment to Carriers allowed except ordered by the proprietor.
All communications must be addressed to the editor Post Paid

The Northern Galaxy.

VOL. VIII. MIDDLEBURY, VT.—WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14 1844. NUMBER 41.

THE NORTHERN GALAXY,
IS PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY MORNING
IN STEWART'S BUILDINGS,
BY J. COBB JR.
BY WHOM ALL ORDERS FOR PRINTING
BOOKS,
Pamphlets,
HANDBILLS,
Cards,
Blanks, &c. &c. &c.
Of every description will be neatly and fashionably executed, at short notice.

THE LADY'S YES.—A SONG.

BY ELIZABETH B. BARRETT.

"Yes!" I answered you last night—
"No!" this morning, sir, I say—
Colors seen by candle-light
Cannot look the same by day.

When the violets played their best,
And the dancers were not slow,
"Love me" sounded like a jest,
Fit for "yes" or fit for "no."

Thus the sin is on us both;
Was to dance a time to woo?
Wooer light makes fickle troth—
Scorn of ME recoils on YOU.

Learn to win a lady's faith
Nobly, as the thing is high—
Bravely, as in fronting death—
With a virtuous gravity.

Lead her from the painted boards—
Point her to the starry skies—
Guard her by your truthful words,
Pure from courtship's flatteries.

By your truth she shall be true,
Ever true as wives of yore,
And her "yes" once said to you,
Shall be yes for ever more.

COMMUNICATION.

For the Northern Galaxy.

SHEEP.

MR. EDITOR,—The letter from Mr. Randall which appeared in the Jan. No. of the Cultivator, has drawn out Mr. Stickney, through your columns this week. His attack upon me with the addition of your own, made quite a display in last week's paper.

I am inclined to believe that if Mr. Stickney had deferred his letter until after he had seen the February No. of the Cultivator, in which I endeavored to make some corrections to the statements made by Mr. Randall, he would have been more mild in his communication. I should not at this time trouble you with a reply to any part of Mr. Stickney's letter if your readers were generally subscribers to the Cultivator.

In the correction, I gave Mr. Stickney the honor of raising the valuable stock buck now in my possession, and also noticed that I had sold some bucks of Fortune's besides what I had raised from him.

It is far from me to rob Mr. Stickney or any other man of the laurels they have won.

I take the liberty to state that the two sheep sent to Mr. Randall, and all the other bucks by Fortune which I have sold, I not only own the sire, but I have in my possession every ewe that raised them. It matters little to me on whose premises the buck Fortune was dropped, or his lambs, which is only three that I have bought and sold that was not dropped on my farm,so long as I have the buck and all the ewes that raised them.

I have never made any statements about them to Mr. Randall, or any other man, but what are facts, and am willing they should be exposed to the public eye, if thereby it can be proved that I have been in the least guilty of doing injustice to Mr. Stickney or any other person.

Respecting the weight of fleece of all the yearlings,ewes and bucks of Fortune's getting, out of full blood merino ewes. I think it can be easily proved that "they *did shear* between five and six pounds on average last spring." I was so informed by the owners, and they are men of undoubted veracity.

Jonathan Wilson Esq., of Shoreham, stated to me that he saved about thirty bucks from his best ewes by Fortune, and that they were all late lambs,dropped after the 10th of May, and to my knowledge they were not "fed on bread and butter," and he told me they averaged between five and six pounds. Mr. Loyal C. Remelee and Myron Wright Esq. told me the same respecting their flocks of full blood yearlings by Fortune. These last named gentlemen raised eight full blood bucks by Fortune which averaged over six pounds washed wool, three out of the eight sheared 23 pounds and one fourth. One of these last, Mr. Wright has in his possession now, the wool of which is fine enough to suit most any breeder, and I was informed that he offered to lay a handsome wager with any one so disposed, that he would clip more wool from said sheep next spring than could be sheared from any other of the *same age* in the county.

And I will challenge Addison County, or the State of Vermont, to produce any number of lambs from twenty-five to fifty, out of any one flock, by one buck, that shall shear as many pounds of clean wool as can be sheared next June from the same number of lambs droped on my farm of Fortune's getting.

Respecting the weight of said buck's 4th fleece it was just ten pounds. Said buck run out day times with 175 ewes in the fall of 1842, and most people will allow that it would diminish the quantity of wool. His fleece was taken off the third day after washing at only 11 months and 3 days growth, he was washed at the same time and place with the rest of my sheep under the falls, and a heavy stream of water, as faithful as the rest of my flock, it being after several days of rainy weather. (the 5th of June last.) Hence I will leave it to the public to decide, if he had not been sheared until the end of the year, he would have gained in *pure wool* one pound more and in oil and dirt full another pound which would give him a 12 pound fleece to say nothing about the hundreds of locks that were pulled out of the fleece by different individuals from time to time before he was sheared, and the hard service which he went through the fall previous. However, it matters not, in my opinion, about the *weight* of the *fleece* of a buck, the *true value lies in the stock* which he may produce.

I have now about 300 Merino breeding ewes probably about 200 of them are ensciente by Fortune, the remainder by another Merino buck. I have also two hundred ewes of my old flock ensciente by decendants of my two "celebrated" heavy wooled bucks, and a few of my best ewes by a buck that was out of the noted Rambouillet flock that was imported from France in 1840.

I have also about 200 ewes, yearlings and lambs, out of Pedro and Fortune.

As for my having Pauler Merino sheep I have no more doubt about it than I should have in a Native, Saxony or any other breed of sheep or cattle, they can as well be distinguished by their wool and form, without producing any further testimony which can be done from credible men.

yours,
SOLOMON W. JEWETT.
Weybridge, Feb. 8th, 1844.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Polish Wife.

A STORY OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1831.

'It was for this I loved him so,
And lavished hopes that brightly shone;
My heart—my soul—my weal below—
My trust in heaven—on Him alone:
All—all was given to retain
One so beloved—not loved in vain!

Concluded.

All endeavors to discover the retreat of Christine, were ineffectual; until, at length, a soldier of the enemy's forces was brought in prisoner, from whom Rolofski ascertained, that his wife was in the power of his rival, Wrelschoff. Maddened with rage, he meditated an immediate attack upon the enemy, and was only restrained by the cautious interference of a veteran who suggested the propriety of a more matured arrangement, previous to entering upon a contest in which the numbers were so unequal. Rolofski, however, laughed his comrade's fears to scorn, and intent solely upon the rescue of his wife, he besought an immediate attack. His appeal, however, was ineffectual; the number of the patriots was too small to admit of the probability of success against the enemy's overwhelming forces, and some days must elapse before a reinforcement of the patriot party could arrive; but to Rolofski, that interval was pregnant with danger and destruction. Unable to induce his associates to the attack, he ventured to quit their assembly with his young boy, in order to attempt the release of his wife.

He gained the vicinity of Wrelschoff's quarters, unobserved and unmolested, and paused to consider upon the many plans that suggested themselves, all of which, however, vanished upon consideration, while the bare certainty of Christine's confinement presented itself. While musing upon the probability of success, he was challenged by an approaching guard. 'Friends,' exclaimed Rolofski!, 'friends to the Duke!'

'Nicholas Rolofski!' rejoined the guard, 'I know the voice.'

'You are mistaken, friend,' immediately exclaimed Rolofski, in the apprehension of detection, 'I know no such name.'

'And yet,' continued the other, 'each word you speak, more forcibly convinces me that I am not in error. If you are the patriot, you are safe with me.'

'Ay!' exclaimed Rolofski.

'I see—I read Rolofski written in every feature of that expressive face. Rolofski, who dealt death so bravely in the attack upon his farm, and charmed even enemies by his daring valor.'

'You are an enemy to freedom.'

'No, no,' rejoined the guard, 'I have quitted forever the service, and am hastening to enlist under the patriot's banner.'

'Then heaven be with you,' exclaimed Rolofski, pressing the soldier's hand, 'I am Rolofski.'

'And you seek your intrepid wife,' said the soldier, 'now suffering under the oppressive tyranny of Wrelschoff; but she bears her sorrows bravely. Never did man offer greater temptations to woman—never did woman withstand them more nobly. Disdaining liberty and even life, she resists the insults of the commander, and scorns alike his prayers and threatenings. Her gallant conduct charmed me, her stern devotion awed me into virtue, and lo! inspired by the virtue of the patriot's wife, I go to join the patriot's cause.'

Rolofski heard the noble conduct of his wife with exultation;—his lips quivered, and the tear started to his eyelid, while the soldier recapitulated his story, and pressing his hand fervently, he inquired, what means he could take to rescue his beloved? 'Simply this,' exclaimed the soldier, 'exchange clothes with me, and take my station in the guard house; my flight will not then be discovered, nor in the hurry and business of the moment, will the substitution. You will soon be ordered to guard the chamber wherein the lady is confined; you are bold and resolute, and to a spirit such as yours———'

'The rescue is certain!' interrupted the husband, and delighted at the anticipated result of his expedition, he hastily made the projected change of attire, and then, directing the soldier to the rendezvous of the patriots he had just quitted, the latter undertook to protect the boy until Rolofski's return, as his appearance in the guard house might hazard detection, and produce the worst results. Rolofski thanked the guard for the suggestion and also for his kind promise to protect the child: he feared however to trust him with a stranger. But the latter immediately assured the patriot of his integrity, and also of the danger that would attend his project if the boy went with him; the child too, requested his father to proceed alone, as he was sure the stranger would not harm him, and he might be serviceable in directing his passage to the patriot's retreat; moreover, that the safety of his mother depended solely upon this caution, and he entreated, therefore, to be allowed to conduct their friend. The father, unable to resist such arguments, kissed the forehead of his boy, and commending him to the care of heaven, and the safe protection of the stranger, allowed them to depart. He saw them descend the hill, and cross the narrow valley; the soldier quick in his movement, and the boy equally anxious to conduct his fellow traveller, until the turn of the road obscured them from his sight.—The fond parent then turned towards his destination, and, with a burning heart, progressed rapidly towards the quarters of the Russian detachment.

Rolofski dreamed not that he was the victim of treachery, that the snares of the enemy had completely entrapped him, and that he now hastened to his doom! The friend whom he had just quitted, and to whose protection he had resigned his child, was a spy of Wrelschoff's and immediately he believed himself out of sight of his victim, he secured the boy and hastened by a shorter path back to the Russian quarters. Rolofski had gained his destination, and mingled with the other soldiers in the guard house. He had thus far succeeded in his project, and behold, in his imagination, the speedy rescue of his beloved wife, and the termination of his anxious fears.

Christine was confined in an apartment, from which escape was altogether impracticable; massy iron bars secured the only window that admitted light, and a sentinel was ever present to watch her conduct. Wrelschoff had expressed himself determined upon her detention, maddened by the reflection that the rival whom he had imagined so securely in his power, had eluded his vengeance and deprived him thereby of an exquisite revenge. Christine, however, had been secured, and the idol of his passion was beyond the possibility of assistance or rescue; the boy, too, had now become his prisoner, and he exultingly discovered Rolofski again within his coils. Immediate orders were given for the arrest of the latter, who, at the moment he was projecting the release of Christine from her confinement, was secured by the guard, and conducted to the same prison from which he had so lately escaped. The patriot instantly discerned the treachery, and in the anguish of the moment raved in incoherent terms, and requested tidings of his poor boy, but the lips of the guard were sealed, and he obtained no reply.

'Madam, your child!' exclaimed Wrelschoff, as he entered the apartment of Christine with the boy. The mother shrieked at the sight of her darling, and springing towards him, clasped her arms around his little form and pressing him to her maternal bosom, mingled her tears with his.

'Madam,' continued Wrelschoff, 'the child again is mine.'

'And its father?' enquired Christine, in a burst of agony.

'Is my prisoner!'

'Gracious heaven forbid! she cried, and pressing her boy more passionately to her throbbing heart, gave vent to her agony in tears.

'Fortune has favored me, Christine,' exclaimed the officer, 'and led within my power those beings that have produced such anguish in my heart, such madness in my bosom.—Vengeance, Christine, will be satisfied, your husband dies!'

'Oh no, you cannot be so very, very cruel, Wrelschoff.'

'There is no cruelty, Christian, in a most dear *revenge*.'

'Revenge is monstrous, Wrelschoff; more fit for demons than for men.'

'Then men should not provoke it,' said the officer, in a decisive tone; 'the die is cast, and Christine seals her husband's doom.'

'I!' exclaimed the agonized mother.

'You know the means by which he may be saved.'

'Oh, yes,' rejoined Christine, and kissing the white forehead of her boy, she pressed him fondly to her bosom, and exclaimed, 'I know, too, that Nicholas Rolofski would rather yield his life upon a scaffold, or at the cannon's mouth, than that Christine should render herself unworthy the distinction of a Polish wife!'

'You have resolved?' enquired Wrelschoff and his eyes flashed fire as he spoke.

'I have,' was the calm and dignified reply.

'Then be it so,' cried Wrelschoff, snatching the boy from his mother's arms, and delivering him to the guard—'Let it be as I have ordered!' and the guard withdrew with the child.

'Mouster, what is it you do?—give me back my child!' cried the trembling mother, as the door closed upon them.

'Ay, ay,' replied Wrelschoff, 'by-and-by the boy shall return; he has first a deed to execute,—to serve his country and his king.'

'What is it you mean?'

'There is a traitor to be shot to-day, and it is resolved that the boy's hand shall be tried upon the firing of the cannon;—that madam, is all!'

'Ah!' rejoined Christine, 'my mind pictures a scene of horror. Wrelschoff, your looks confirm my fears; who, tell me, who is the boy to shoot?'

'The traitor, Nicholas Rolofski.'

'Oh no, oh no, you cannot be so monstrous!' shrieked Christine. 'Recall those words, tell me they are false,—are but to try me; say you would cheat me to dishonor, and let me picture such a scene no more.'

'Christine, it is resolved on; but the father's face will be concealed, and he will not know who it is that fires the instrument of death,—neither will the boy be aware of the individual who receives destruction. Behold,' continued he, unfastening an iron window that had overlooked the parade, 'behold the preparations for the execution.'

Christine, gazed from the window, and beheld the soldiers drawn up in military array, preparatory to the scene of death that was to ensue; the cannon that was to destroy her husband was fixed, and her boy, her darling boy, was by its side, holding the lighted match that was to fire the fearful instrument, wholly unconscious of the being whom he would destroy; guards were over him to direct the child's hand, and every thing appeared ready for the ceremony. Christine instantly averted her glance, and fell at the feet of the author of this scene of horror.

'For the love of God!' cried she 'by the hope of heaven, stop these dreadful preparations;—it is Christine that has placed her child with a lighted match at the cannon's head, and gives the signal for the destruction of Rolofski!'

'Monster, monster,' exclaimed she, 'how can you force me to this state of suffering?'

'One word, Christine, and your husband's saved. Behold!'

The procession was now seen advancing towards the scene of death. Rolofski, apparently resigned to his impending fate, received the religious consolation of the holy men that attended him, with composure and placidity, and beheld the engine of destruction without the least emotion or dismay.

'He does not fear to die!' energetically exclaimed Christine. 'He falls as a Polish patriot should fall, and heaven will receive his soul! But my boy———'

'One moment longer, Christine and your resolve is of no avail;—say must he perish?'

'Not by the hand of his child;—you will not, dare not be so barbarous!'

'He dies!' cried the officer, and hastily quitted the apartment.

Christine shrieked as she saw him depart: she followed him to the door, but it was closed, fast and firm; she heard the bolts jar in the iron clasps, and she turned away disconsolate. The guard was her only companion, but he was mute and sullen. Reflecton overpowed her, and she sank upon her seat motionless, gazing upon vacancy, her thoughts too great for utterance, too violent for tears.—The trumpet announcing the arrival of the commanding officer upon the scene of death awakened her from her stupor; she shrieked and turning to the window from whence Wrelschoff had directed her attention to the preparations for the execution, discovered that it had not been closed; in the impulse of the moment, the distracted mother sprung towards the easement, and before the guard could withhold her, leaped from her confinement, and with the speed of lightening rushed towards the spot where her darling boy held the match ready to destroy his father!

The alarm was instantly spread, but the action of Christine was too swift for prevention; and ere her progress could be arrested, she struck the lighted match from her child's hand, and in a frantic tone, exclaimed, '*Boy boy, it is your father you would kill!*' Rolofski recognized the voice, and the fearful words it breathed; and starting from his kneeling posture, rushed towards the spot from whence it proceeded, and in a moment, clasped to his despairing heart, the wife and child so dear to him. Wrelschoff furiously ordered their instant seperation, and the destruction of his rival; but a sudden tumult from the rear excited his attention, and before he could collect his thoughts a vast body of patriot troops were upon him; and so quiet and unperceived had been their progress, that the Russian soldiers were surprised and defeated, ere they could well imagine the cause of the alarm. Rolofski headed a party of his brave associates, and beneath his arm the villain Wrelschoff fell in the first assault. Short, but desperate was the contest, and it ended in favor of the patriot troops. Rolofski was saved, and he clasped to his bosom his faithful wife, and their darling boy; whilst the patriot troops planted the sacred banner of freedom upon the head-quarters of the Russian army, amidst the shouts of Victory and Liberty.

☞ We find in the Caledonian a speech of Mr. Slade delivered at the Whig State Convention holden at Montpelier in October last, reported by him for the Caledonian at the request of Erastus Fairbanks Esq. The principal matters discussed are, the position of Mr. Van Buren in regard to the tariff—the question of the annexation of Texas, and the appropriate action on the subject of Slavery—all subjects of great interest to our readers, and to the discussion of which we need not urge their attention. We insert in our present numbet the first half of that part of the speech relating to the first topic, and shall continue the speech from time to time in such portions as may be convenient to ourself and our readers. Although the speech is somewhat extended, every politician will find in it a concentration of facts and arguments which will richly repay an attentive perusal.

SPEECH OF HON. WM. SLADE.

In the Democratic Whig State Convention of Vermont, Oct 24, 1843, the question being on the resolutions subsequently adopted by the Convention: Mr. Slade spoke in substance, as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:—The Convention having made arrangements for organizing the Vermont division of the Whig party for the purpose of giving efficiency to its operations in the coming year, it remains to declare by resolutions, the leading principles by which it is to be guided and animated. Those principles are substantially embodied in the resolutions now before the Convention. The first of them is as follows:

"*Resolved*, in view of the productions of our soil, the vast extent of our territory, the improvements in agriculture, and the increasing facilities for transportation, that we recognize as the only means of creating and perpetuating a market for our surplus produce, the paramount importance of a protective Tariff, and the permanent continuance of the protective Policy as regards the encouragement of Manufactures, Agriculture, and the various Mechanic arts."

It is not my purpose to discuss the general merits of the protective policy. Arguments are not needed in Vermont to prove its 'paramount importance.' Our people appreciate the value of the interests involved in its maintenance, and well understand the principles on which it rests. But there are matters connected with the main question which need discussion. The resolution speaks of "the *permanent continuance* of the protective policy?" How is it to be continued? How is permanence and stability to be given to it? These are questions at this moment of great importance. They should be well considered. It is not enough that we have a good tariff. It must be maintained. It were better, indeed, that it had not been enacted,than, having been, that it should be abandoned, or so impaired in its efficiency, that the interests which have been quickened into life by it, should have felt that life only to yield it up to the axe of the executioner. This general truth is apparent; but the danger impending may not be so apparent to all. That danger is not from the open enemies of protection. The Calhouns and McDuffies are harmless. We know where to find them and how to meet them. But the *professed* friends of protection—the men who talk protectien when their faces are towards the North, and anti protection when they look in the opposite direction,—who, in fact, begin a sentence with protection, and end it with free trade,—these are the men to be feared. The protected interests may well say in reference to such men—Save us from our friends.

Now, sir, it should be an essential part of our preparation for the coming contest, that we look at these men sharply, and endeavor to penetrate their disguises. The great interests involved in our cherished policy should not be committed for safe-keeping, to men of doubtful fidelity to these interests. It is not to be disguised that in the contest of the coming year—a contest involving in its results the character of our national policy probably for a long time to come—our main conflict is to be with men of this stamp. The current signs but too plainly indicate that the banner of our opponents is to be borne by "a Northern man with Southern principles"—a man, who of all other living men, is the most adroit in the arts of political legerdemain; and who will not be slow to practice them in reference to the question of the protective policy. Of his adroitness herein we have had abundant evidence in his remarkable career. The "judicious tariff" of Gen. Jackson furnished, in its wonderful adaptedness to every phase of opinion on this subject, evident marks of this paternity. *That* disguise is worn out, and "*incidental* protection" has been substituted. Ask a disciple of this school if he is in favor of protection. 'Certainly—certainly,' is the reply. 'I am in favor of incidental protection.' It will not do to abandon protection. But what is incidental protection? This is a grave question. Is there any thing fixed and definite in this idea? Incidental to what?—Incidental to the raising of revenue is the reply. But how? Incidental to the mere act of raising revenue, by whatever rates of duties? Is the great claim of protection to be answered by the mere fact that an amount of revenue is to be raised adequate to the wants of the government? If so, then if the government can most conveniently raise the required amount, from half a dozen articles, no matter what they may be, there is, then, protection to the extent of the idea expressed by the word incidental. This would be accidental protection, and, of course, might be no protection at all. And that is just the protection that the most strenuous advocates of free trade are willing to give. For those who wish to look one way and row the other—and there are enough of them—"*incidental*" is a marvellously convenient and a very "*judicious*" word.

But there is another form of this disguise. It is—protection incidental to *discriminating* duties—that is, duties that shall discriminate as to the rates of duty, between different articles. But here the question arises—What shall be the rule of discrimination? Shall it have respect to the purpose of revenue or to that of protection? If to the purpose of revenue only, then the protection may be just as ac-cidental as in the other case; because it is very apparent that Congress may discriminate in the manner best suited to the mere purpose of raising revenue, and have no regard whatever to protection, and, in fact, give none to any interest. If abundant revenue be the only purpose, the duties may be laid mainly on articles which do not come in competition with any thing we produce; leaving those which do thus compete, subject to a duty giving no protection. Indeed a duty of fifteen per cent. on the latter class of articles would, by reason of the heavy importations under such a duty, raise, probably, more revenue than 40 or 50 per cent.

So, then, we may have a *discriminating* tariff, and yet have no adequate protection.—Indeed the discrimination may be for the very purpose of destroying protection. Away, then, with general, indefinite language, only suited to the purpose of double dealing, and hold the professed friends of a protective tariff to something which shall fasten them to the true idea of *protection*, and compel them to toe the mark, or go openly to their own place.

What, then, I may be asked do we want? I answer—Discrimination *for the sake of protection*; so that if a revenue of twenty millions is needed, it shall, by discrimination, be adjusted upon the various articles of importation—moderate upon those we do not produce, and high on those we do—so as to raise the amount required, and give protection to our own industry. Every one must see that such a discrimination is very different from that which has respect to the single purpose of raising the twenty millions. The one would keep protection steadily in view,and secure it; the other would look to revenue alone, and, that secured, would have protection to take care of itself.

I have laid down these principles—which no intelligent friend of the protective policy will undertake to controvert—for the purpose of testing the doctrines of the great leader of Locofocoism, as we find them set forth in his letter, dated the 15th of February last, in reply to interrogatories addressed to him by "the Democratic" State Convention of Indiana, held at Annapolis on the 8th of January 1843. It contains a formal exposition or rather *mystification*, of his views on the subject of the protective policy; and is probably to be the formula of the doctrines on this subject during the canvass of 1844.

Mr. Van Buren opens his exposition by referring to his letter "to the Shocco Springs meeting in 1832," in which he says he "distinctly avowed a conviction that the establishment of commercial regulations with a view to the encouragement of domestic interests is within the Constitutional power of Congress." He goes on to say—

"More than ten years have elapsed since that communication was made; and during that entire period the people of the United States have paid large amounts of duties avowedly imposed for the encouragement and protection of domestic manufactures, with gradual reductions according to the provisions of the compromise act of 1833. The unbiased sentiment of the country in respect to what is, under such circumstances, the proper rule for legislative action upon this subject has, I think, by the course of events and the progress of opinion, been brought to the conclusion briefly expressed in one of the resolutions of your convention, viz: "*a discriminating tariff for revenue purposes only, and which will incidentally protect American Industry.*"

Here, then, we have Mr. Van Buren's "rule for legislation upon the subject," viz: "discrimination for *revenue purposes ONLY*, and which will incidentally protect American industry." Here is professed protection.—But what is it? Incidental protection; and incidental to discrimination. But what sort of discrimination? Discrimination for the purpose of protection? Oh no. No such purpose enters into his contemplation. He takes, indeed special care to exclude it, by declaring that discrimination must be for revenue purposes,and for revenue purposes only. So then, we have *discrimination* and *incidental protection*, "all fair and nice," and yet both are rendered nugatory by a qualification which expressly excludes every other purpose from "the rule of legislation" but that of raising revenue, "*only*."

That Mr. Van Buren intended to make a broad distinction between a tariff for revenue and a tariff for protection is not left to a mere construction of the language of his "rule of legislation." He is his own expositor; for, a little further on his letter, after having discussed the general question as to the raising of revenue by imposts compared with direct taxation, he says—

"Of the great mass of opponents to a protective tariff, there is not, so far as I know, a single State or even distrtict, that has taken grounds against a revenue tariff."

So, then, a "revenue tariff" is a very different thing, in his estimation, from a "protective tariff,"—as, of course, it must be, to make it acceptable to the great mass of opponents to a protective tariff; and yet a tariff discriminating for mere revenue purposes, is the only tariff to which this professed friend of protection is willing to commit himself!

The view I have taken is fully confirmed by another passage in this remarkable letter. Further on he says—"of the constitutional power to make discrimination I have no doubt." This looks like affirming the doctrine of the right to discriminate for protection; for if he were speaking of discrimination for revenue purposes only,why thus treat the right of discrimination as though it was a solemn question about which there was a dispute, and upon which he deemed it important to say he had "no doubt," when he well knew that the constitutional right to discriminate for the purpose of revenue was never doubted by any body. He evidently intended that this should seem to be an affirmation of the constitutional right to discriminate, for protection; and, yet before closing the paragraph he qualifies it all away. It goes off in vapor; for he proceeds thus—

"Equally clear it is, that the practice of making them (discriminations) has existed from the commencement of the government, and constitutes a feature in every principal tariff bill which is to be found upon our statute book. They (discriminations) are, indeed, indispensible to the successful operation of every revenue bill (here he puts on the revenue face) whether the design be to guard against smuggling on the one hand, when the nature of the article is such as to afford facilities for that practice, or on the other, to prevent loss to the Treasury by the imposition of duties higher than the value of the article will bear, and thus prohibiting its introduction into the country."

Here is discrimination downward, to prevent smuggling; and a special care not to have a duty imposed which may, in any case, amount to prohibition. But now comes a spice of protection—"If" he proceeds, "it be, at any time, deemed necessary to the safety of the country to encourage the manufacture at home, of the articles necessary to its defence in case of war, nothing can be more proper than to do so by a discrimination in favor of the domestic manufacture, inasmuch as the object in view is to promote the safety of all at the expense of all."

So then we must wait till we are threatened with war, and in the condition in which the war of 1812 found us, before we may move a step in the matter of protection.—"If, *at any time* it be deemed necessary or conducive to the safety of the country to encourage the manufacture of articles necessary for defence in war" then "nothing can be more proper than discrimination" for that object.

Having thus touched upon "discrimination in favor of domestic manufactures"—not, however, for the purpose of protecting industry but to provide the means of defence in war,—he strikes off into a very different sort of discrimination (discrimination to let in articles free of duty) in the following manner.

"Discriminations have constantly been made in favor of articles imported for the use of philosophical or literary societies, for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use of Seminaries of learning, specimens in natural history, animals imported to breed, &c. &c. &c.—all founded on the same principles, in respect to the universality of the benefits designed to be secured at the common expense."

And what has all this to do with the protective policy, unless it be to cover up his hostility to it by talking largely of discrimination for purposes which have no relation to it whatever?

He now proceeds to a most insidious, and disingenuous argument against protection, which he addresses, in effect, to the poorer classes, in the following language.

"But above all, is the power to make them (discriminations) of indispensable importance, as the only means of relieving the poorer classes from the unequal operation of this mode of collecting the public revenues, and of partially realizing Mr. Jefferson's idea of a wise and frugal government—one which shall restrain men from injuring one another, and shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

What sort of discrimination is it which is thus to favor the poor—to "realize Mr Jefferson's beautiful idea"—to "restrain men from injuring one other," and to "leave them to regulate their own pursuits of industry?" Why, it is the same kind of discrimination of which he had just spoken, namely—admitting articles free of duty. *This* is the discrimination which is "not to take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned"—as though a discrimination involving, not freedom from duty, but a *protecting* duty, would take the earned bread from labor's mouth, when it notoriously fills the mouth of labor by giving it good wages, with a steady demand. A protecting tariff is emphatically the poor man's friend. This truth is written on every page of the history of our tariff policy,—a truth which Mr Van Buren entirely overlooks; while discrimination for free trade is held up as a boon for poverty to covet. He then proceeds as follows—

"The man of wealth, when he pays a tax in the form of impost which inures, incidentally to the advancement of a special interest, in which he is not concerned" (as though the whole community rich and poor, were 'not concerned' in the protection of every branch of our industry) 'is, in a degree reconciled by the reflection that, if the amount paid was not collected in this form, it would be assessed upon him in another, [referring to direct taxation] by which the amount of his contribution in comparison with those of his less affluent neighbour,would be materialy enhanced.—But to the poor man, no such consolation is afforded. The system [that is the protecting system] which operates thus favorably to his more fortunate neighbor, increases his tax in an inverse ratio to his ability to pay. Every additional mouth that he has to feed adds to the contribution he is obliged to make for the support of government. [Mr Van Buren sees nothing but "taxes" and 'contributions,' in a protective tariff!] It is only by discrimination *in favor* of articles necessary to his comfort, [that is, letting in free of duty, articles competing with the manufactures necessary to his comfort] that the injustice to which he is exposed can be mitigated. It [discrimination] is, *therefore*, a power, the constant and faithful exercise of which is, in my judgment, demanded by considerations of justice, humanity and sound policy."

What discrimination is this, which is thus demanded? Out of its connection with what precedes it, it may be taken and quoted, as it often has been, as discrimination for protection; when, connected with what goes before, it is discrimination of a precisely opposite character,—discrimination "in favor of articles" used by the poor man; that is, letting them in free of duty, upon the supposition that he is thereby benifitted.

This is the complexion to which Mr Van Buren's professions of friendship for a protective tariff come at last. His conclusion rests upon the assumption that an increase of duties increases the prices to the same amount, when the whole history of the protective policy shows that this is not true; but that in fact, an increase of duty sometimes even diminishes the price; while with that diminution is connected another advantage to the consumer—that of the increased demand for labor and all its products, which full employment of our manufacturing facilities invariably furnishes.

The manner in which protection, acting directly on articles of manufacture, diffuses its benefits through the whole community, and acts on labor in all its departments, Mr Van Buren seems not to understand. He affects, on the contrary, to consider protection as inuring to the benefit of the manufacturer exclusively, whose interests seem to him to be built up at the expense of other classes, and especially the poorer classes of the community.

"The position assumed by your convention," he says, "and in which I fully concur, is, that the incidental protection thus derived, [that is, as before quoted, from 'a discriminating tariff for revenue purposes only'] is all the legislative favor which can, at this time, be conferred upon the manufacturer, without great injustice to other interests. We have it from quarters entitled to respect, that the most considerate of the domestic manufacturers are satisfied with this measure of protection."

Where those "considerate manufacturers" are to be found he does not tell. They must be manufacturers of public opinion against protection; for no other could be satisfied with the principle, which as I have shown, utterly excludes protection from the *purposes* of a tariff, and makes discrimination for *revenue only*, the "rule of legislation" on this subject. And now comes one of the most insidious thrusts at the protective system through the manufacturers that I have ever seen. Referring to the "considerate manufacturers," he proceeds to say

"Conscious of the extent to which for more than a quarter of a century they have engrossed the time and attention of the national legislature, and of the people [as though "the people" had been *annoyed* by the manufacturers, with whom they had no community of interest] and of the millions upon millions which have, during that time been collected from the latter, avowedly to facilitate and give special advantage to the particular pursuit in which they are engaged, not only to the exclusion of, but at the immediate cost of those of others; [here is the stereotyped anti-protection argument, which has been a thousand times answered] sensible, as the most observing among them must be, that the period has passed away when a tariff designed for protection can be kept up in this country without doing more injury to every interest by the convulsions and revulsions which it cannot fail to produce in public opinion, than it can confer benefit on theirs, they would themselves prefer that the protection secured to them by the legislation of Congress should be that which is incidentally derived from a revenue tariff."

Where let me repeat, are those "considerate, observing" manufacturers, who have abandoned the idea of keeping up a protective tariff? What authority has Mr Van Buren for putting such language as this into their mouths?—for thus giving up, in their name, and as by their authority, a tariff "*designed*" for protection?—the only kind of tariff that ever did or ever will, effectually secure to the country the benefits of the protective policy.

But to proceed. Mr. Van Buren goes on to admonish the manufacturers to an acquiescence in his sort of tariff, by referring to the danger which he professes to see, that the whole system of raising revenue by imposts will be superseded by a resort to a system of direct taxation; in connexion with which he says:

"The manufacturers cannot be ignorant of the fact that prejudice against direct taxation, springing, in some degree, at least,from a supposed abuse of the power in times past, may yield to time and reflection, or may be supplanted by a new and stronger antipathy.—[Antipathy against a protective tariff he evidently means.] And what could be more likely to awaken popular aversion than the sight of a great and affluent interest in the country, [meaning the manufacturing interest,] standing out amid the general gloom, pertinaciously exerting its influence in the councils of the nation, not only to save itself from the misfortunes which had overtaken all other classes, but to secure its own aggrandizement by new and unjust impositions on a community already borne to the earth by the adverse course of events."

Now, why parade the manufacturing interest as "great and affluent amid the general gloom" but to create the impression that its prosperity necessarily depresses the other interests, and produces general gloom? And why is this "affluent interest" presented in the attitude of pertinaciously exerting its influence in the councils of the nation to secure its own aggrandizement by new and unjust impositions on an already oppressed community," but to awaken the very "popular aversion" which he affects to deprecate? But the most direct thrust is yet to be made:

"Individuals and their families," he adds, "may be, and in other countries are, permanently billetted on the public coffers; but all experience has shown that,with us at least, it is not in the power of government to secure permaneut advantages to the business pursuits of one class over those of all others."

And thus, Mr. Van Buren deems the pension systems of the governments of Europe, by which families are billeted on the public coffers, a fitting illustration of the encouragement afforded by a tariff for protection, to "the business" of manufacturing in the U. States! Mr. Van Buren knows that this is a representation of the case rank with the grossest fraud upon the public mind; for he knows that a measure of protection which shall establish our manufactures upon a firm basis will, by necessary consequence, give vigor and activity to the energies of all the producing classes. Such has notoriously been the result, and such will, manifestly, always be the result, of adequate protection to manufacturing industry—connected, as of course it should be, with protection to the raw materials, when it is in our power, or for our interest, to produce them.

I might proceed with similar extracts from this remarkable letter; but enough has been presented to show what it is, and to exhibit its author in his true character—destitute of the frankness and manliness becoming a statesman—striving to conceal from common observation, by circumlocution and qualifications, his real hostility to protection,—using terms which seem to be expressive of the true doctrines on that subject, and yet skilfully throwing them into such connexions as entirely to change their bearing and destroy their force.

[To be continued.]