

sincerely wish that I could add that it was attachment to the General alone which actuated their conduct. In that case the nobleness of the motive would excuse the error. But I am persuaded, Sir, that a stronger passion than love is at the bottom of this business. It is implacable hatred to the present administration. The well known strong and just attachment of the nation to Gen. Jackson is used for the purpose of gratifying the most malignant and undesired enmity. Its inveteracy is the strongest evidence of its injustice. Hatred without cause, is always most violent and implacable; its violence serving to cover its injustice. It is to gratify this unhalloved passion of a comparatively few individuals, that the soundest principles of policy, and the interest of the people, is to be sacrificed. The Tariff leaders in opposition to the Woollens Bill well know that though there is a union of interests in favor of that measure, which can perhaps be brought to unite but upon a single other article of manufacture, and that by including others in it, the whole may be lost.

With these sentiments, Mr. Chairman it was with great regret that I saw the memorial to Congress, adopted by a late meeting of the friends of General Jackson in this city. It is not indeed stated in the proceedings to have been a meeting exclusively Jacksonian, but such appears to be the fact; and a distinguished editor of that party declares that the memorial accords with the sentiments of the whole Jackson party in Ohio, and emphatically calls upon all the friends of the General in this county to sign it. How the worthy Editor, residing in one extremity of the state, became acquainted with the sentiments of the whole party on this subject, is not to be conceived. The thing is impossible. I must therefore, and will believe, that he supposed that all the friends of the General would at once perceive that it had a favorable bearing upon his election; or that there was one course of policy which suited his friends, and another those of the administration. The latter idea is absurd. They may indeed differ about the means of securing that interest, as they do about the choice of Chief Magistrate. I am willing to put the most favorable construction upon the matter, and will therefore conclude that the Presidential Election, has not, as it ought not to have, the least influence in the matter, and that however extraordinary the coincidence, the friends of Gen. Jackson in Ohio, support the principles of the memorial, whilst those of the administration adhere to the resolution which we are now considering. As one must be right and the other wrong, and as it is important that we should adopt the right and reject the wrong, I will briefly explain the reasons which induce me to prefer the resolution to the memorial.

A cursory examination would induce a belief that there was really no material difference between us, since I believe that there is not an individual who will support the resolution that will not subscribe to the general propositions advanced in the memorial. It would, therefore, seem, that agreeing in the principles, we only differ as to the insertion of some articles which appear to require protection as well as wool and woollen goods. I do not view the matter in this light. On the contrary, I consider the memorial, whatever might be the intention, if generally adopted in Ohio, as calculated to give the death blow to every prospect of obtaining relief for the Western farmer; since it proposes to sacrifice a real, attainable, substantial good, in an attempt to succeed in that which is of doubtful attainment, and if attained, of greatly inferior importance. To support these propositions, I will explain the causes which have given a preponderance to the interests concerned in the protection of wool and woollen goods, and then briefly show their importance, contrasted with those articles which it is proposed to unite with them, and the peculiar claims which they have at this time to the favorable consideration of Congress.

The Tariff which was adopted by Congress in 1824, was obtained after an ardent contest. In opposition to it was found, as now, the whole Southern delegation, and the Commercial interest wherever it predominated. A strong party in the latter interest at that time existed in the New England states. But an important change has lately taken place. The manufacturing interest has gained the ascendancy; or to speak more correctly, their commercial men have become convinced that Commerce is not unfavorably affected by a flourishing state of manufactures.

At the conclusion of the late war, the Eastern States found themselves in a situation very different from that which had existed before its commencement. The universal peace had deprived them of the monopoly of the carrying trade, which had proved to them a source of so much wealth. A considerable proportion of their capital, increased in their hands by the annual discharge of the public debt, and no longer profitable in commerce, was employed in increasing the manufactures of cotton and wool which had been commenced in the

war. Coeval with the establishment of manufactures, an important change commenced and is rapidly progressing in the character of their agriculture. A few years ago the profits of a New England farmer were derived almost exclusively from his beef and pork: of late he has found his accustomed market glutted with these articles (the latter particularly) from the western states. With a quickness of discernment, for which the New Englanders are distinguished, he soon found that with the rugged and stubborn soil which it was his lot to cultivate, he could not maintain the competition. He has therefore measurably abandoned it; and the fields which were wont to produce a precarious and always a scanty crop of grain for the support of his swine, are now converted into pastures affording subsistence to innumerable flocks of sheep. These, sir, are the circumstances which have given the Middle and North Western States the aid of the whole of the New England delegation in support of every measure calculated to give protection to wool and woollen goods.

Under the advantages held out by the Tariff of 1824, many new manufactures were established, not only in New England and the middle states, but many in Ohio, and several in Indiana. They have universally failed to realize the profits which their owners anticipated. Several have been abandoned, and many are kept up only in the hope of obtaining relief. I have mentioned the causes generally. It will be necessary to be more particular in relation to one of them.

Soon after the revision of the Tariff in 1824, the British Parliament, ever watchful to promote the interests of their subjects, and seeing the advantages which the American Manufacturers would derive from that act, set themselves to work to counteract it. This was done by taking off almost the whole duty upon imported wool, and the dyestuffs and other articles used in the manufacturing of cloth. As the tax upon woollen goods, fixed by the law of 1824, was predicated upon the then state of the British prices, the reduction which the British manufacturer was enabled to make by the lessening of the duties upon his materials, at once deprived the American manufacturer of all the advantages which the law of his own country intended to give him. The bill introduced at the last session was for the purpose of restoring to him the advantages which the act of 1824 intended to give, and to protect him and the Public Treasury from the frauds of the Importer.

The importance of encouraging woollen manufactures will appear by referring to the amount of those articles which we imported within the last year. Including carpeting, they amounted to nearly eight millions and a half of dollars. Of these \$400,000 were exported, leaving somewhat upwards of eight millions for the consumption of this country.

Possessing, as we do, all the materials for making these goods, having an abundance of provisions to supply the workmen, does it require any reasoning or calculation to shew the great advantage to be derived from having them manufactured on our own soil. Should I be called on to designate the particular sections of country or description of citizens who would be benefited by its operation, I would retort the question and ask, who would not be benefited? Not the manufacturer and the farmer only, but he who could furnish any article of provisions; the mechanic, who could construct any part of the complicated machinery necessary for the manufacture, in wood, iron, steel or brass; the founder, who makes the rough material; the mason, the carpenter, and every other person who could assist in the erection of the extensive buildings which would be necessary. All, all will be benefited. Not these alone; but every citizen, be his situation what it may, however remote from the site of a manufactory, would receive advantage from the money which it would keep among us, and the general prosperity it will give to the country. This result appears so certain to me, that I am astonished at the hardness which has produced the declaration that the whole scheme is a sectional one, intended for the benefit of the Eastern states alone. It is indeed true that a considerable portion of the woollen manufactures now in operation, are in the Eastern states. But there are not a few in each of the states of Pennsylvania, Jersey, and New York, and several in Ohio and Indiana. But there can be no doubt, as soon as sufficient protection is given, they will be found in every part of the country where either water power or a sufficiency of fuel for a steam engine is to be found. But if no new manufactures could be established in the western country after the necessary protection is given, which no one can believe, we will still share much of the advantage to be derived from them, as we can supply the wool and the provisions which will be called for, upon better terms than they can elsewhere be procured, and which England, who now supplies our clothing, will not receive.

We will now, Mr. Chairman, examine

our commerce in relation to the other articles which it is proposed by the friends of General Jackson to unite with the woollens. They are Grain, Iron, Hemp, Flax, Silk, and the fabrics made thereof, fine Cottons, Glass and paper. I believe that it will not be denied that the operation of the Tariff of 1824 upon all these articles has been as favorable as could have been expected. The British Parliament could pass no act which would affect them, and in relation to them, no frauds on the Revenue have been complained of; they therefore, have not the same claims as the woollens to a further extension of protecting duties. I am far, however, from being unwilling to give them any further aid that may be required. Two of them, Glass and Paper, evidently require none. Of the latter articles the exports of the last year very considerably exceeded the imports, and the American Manufacture of the latter is gaining fast upon the foreign. Of the various articles manufactured from Silk, there were imported into the United States within the last year to the amount of \$8,100,000 of which there were re-exported to the value of \$3,243,000, leaving \$4,857,000 for the consumption of the United States. The existing duties on these articles is now sufficiently high. We have no manufacture of silk nor do we raise any of the raw material. However desirable it may be to supercede the foreign article by one of domestic growth and manufacture, it is not believed that Legislative interference at this time will produce much good. Increasing the duty would lessen the revenue, by checking the importation, or unnecessarily raise the price upon the consumer. It has long been supposed that our farmers might very profitably turn their attention to raising Silk. But the process of raising Mulberry trees is so extremely slow, that there appears to be a great backwardness in commencing. Of late however, some public spirited individuals appear to be turning their attention to this article, and their example may in time produce much good. The importation of articles manufactured from flax and hemp, cordage excepted, amounted in the last year, after deducting the amount of re-exportations to \$2,844,000. Almost every part of the United States is suited to the production of hemp and flax. But the manufacture of those articles does not seem to progress as fast as is desirable. The reason appears to be obvious: no machinery calculated for spinning them to advantage, has yet been invented. Infinitely more manual labour is required in making these goods than those of which cotton or wool is the material. They are therefore manufactured in the thickly populated countries of Germany, and Ireland, where the poor are forced to be content with a bare subsistence, at much greater advantage than can yet be done in the United States. The increase of duty at this time appears, therefore, to be questionable, and would certainly be injurious with regard to the other articles which I have enumerated.

The protection already given to cotton goods has done wonders. I have already stated that the home market of the coarser goods made from that material, has already been abundant, with a cheaper and better article from our own manufactures, and that exportations to a large amount have been made, bringing gold and silver in return. Importations of the finer goods of this material to a considerable amount still continue to be made. A remedy for this will, I suppose be found in the skill which our workmen will gradually acquire. I am however very willing to afford them further legislative aid, if it should be found necessary, as I certainly am in relation to iron and all other articles manufactured from it, as well as spirits distilled from grain, in which last I have a greater individual interest than any other article whatever. But I am unwilling to encumber the protection of wool and woollens with any of them for the reasons I have stated.

Mr. Chairman, there is one of the views taken in the memorial which I feel myself particularly called upon to notice. It is in the following words:

"3dly. While we are unwilling to depend upon foreign nations for our clothing or any article of domestic consumption; we are equally unwilling to depend on them for articles of national defence; for iron to supply our army and Hemp to equip our navy."

The writer of this article seems to be under the difficulty in which people will always find themselves, who first form opinions and then are obliged to search for reasons to support them.—In his joy for having found one which he supposed suitable to his purpose and which was likely to engage the public feeling, he seems totally to have forgotten that woollen goods, in our climate forms one of the most essential supplies of an army; that the iron articles necessary for an army ought, and always are provided beforehand, in time of peace, and deposited in magazines for any exigency which may arise, whilst from the perishable nature of woollen goods, this cannot be the

case. Upon the heads of that government then, who having filled their magazines with arms for a protracted war and who neglect to adopt the means of procuring constant supplies of cloths and blankets, so necessary to give efficiency to their military operations, ought to rest all the responsibility for the misfortunes to which it will inevitably give rise. In no other way can these supplies be placed beyond the reach of contingencies, than by encouraging the raising the raw material, and the erection of manufactories in every part of the country. It is no doubt true, Mr. Chairman, that in the late war, the army of General Jackson was at a most critical juncture badly armed. It is equally true that the cavalry of the North Western army were for a time without sabres, and that the operations of that army were for a time arrested for the want of cannon. This was owing, not to the deficiency of arms, but to the improper distribution of the arsenals; none of any consequence have been established west of the Allegheny. But, sir, if I should be called upon to declare under oath from which the North Western army suffered most, the efforts of the enemy, or the want of woollen clothing, I would say that the destruction of life produced by the latter was at least double to that of the former.

This is a subject calculated, Mr. Chairman, to bring to my mind the most painful recollections. What situation can be more distressing, than that of a commander who sees his army daily diminishing by disease, and that disease produced by the improvident conduct of the government which it serves. Sir, the scenes to which I allude have been described in history by an eye witness of part of them. The address of the Commander of the army to the citizens, to procure from them the blankets and woollen clothes which the public stores could not furnish, is to be found in the old journals of this city. Let the writer of this memorial figure himself a youth, (perhaps like himself) drawn to the army by the love of his country, encountering in a cotton dress in the capacity of a sentinel, the rigors of a Canadian winter; let him suppose that he sees him in a few days without a blanket, stretched upon a bed of twigs, the only comfort which his comrades can provide for him, under the effects of a disease which his exposure under such a circumstance has produced; that he sees—

"To infant weakness sunk the warrior's arm,
The deep racking pain, the ghastly form,
The hip pale quivering, and the beamless eye,
No more with ardour bright."

If the descriptions sir, of the sufferings of the British sailors by the poet, is in any respect a creation of the fancy, that which I have given is not an over coloured picture of what actually took place in the American army. And will the signers of the memorial persist in their error; will they not rather take the converse of their own proposition, and say to Congress—"That as the iron, and hempen materials for our army and navy, can be preserved for an age uninjured, but as woollen cloths, and blankets, are indispensable for the public service in war, and can only be certainly and effectually supplied from manufactories established in our own country, that nothing should be suffered to impede or postpone the measures which may be necessary to place them upon a secure and permanent basis."

Mr. Chairman, I must ask your indulgence to say a few words on a subject not immediately connected with the resolution now under consideration, but which I have understood is to be brought before the meeting. I allude to the formation of a ticket for the state and county officers for the ensuing year. With the deepest regret I have understood that at a late meeting of a committee formed for the purpose of promoting the election of gen. Jackson to the Presidency, a ticket was formed and recommended to the people upon the principle of excluding all who differ with them upon the subject of the Presidential election. I must confess that I have never heard of a measure more wanton, unnecessary and mischievous in its consequences than this; one better calculated to destroy all the courtesies of life, break down all the bonds of friendship and affection which bind men together; every thing in short which makes existence desirable or distinguishes the civilized man from the savage of the forest. Did the committee not know that upon the presidential question the dearest friends differ in opinion; that brother is opposed to brother, and the son to the father; and is interminable war to be waged between parties so situated? What does this measure declare? but that the man who prefers Mr. Adams to gen. Jackson is unworthy of all public trust; & if so, surely of all private confidence; also, persons are, in future, to be selected to fill the public offices, not on account of their talents and integrity, for the correctness of their political opinions, but solely for the opinion which they may entertain of the qualities of another.

And is it come to this, in this free country, that a man is to be denounced because he will not enroll himself in the

service of an individual? Are the authors of this measure aware of all the consequences which are to flow from it? Do they not see that it leads, not only to the subversion of all social intercourse, but to the destruction of political principles also? Does not all history tell us, that when factions are created solely to support the interests of particular men, where no principle is involved, that they are more inveterate and malignant in their conduct to each other, than when they differ on a fundamental principle of government? Do the annals of nations exhibit human nature in more disgusting colours, than when they record the exterminating wars and the torrents of blood which have been shed by men contending for the choice of a master?—Whether he shall be Sylla or Marius, Edward, Richard, or Henry. The sole distinction between them consisting in the emblems on their banners a red rose or a white one. Are we really prepared to contend upon ground like this? Have we forgotten that we are republicans and christians, not monarchists and Mahomedans.

If we abandon our republican principles, which teach us to regard measures and not men, who can define the limits to the unbridled passions which will succeed? An exterminating war will be waged having no other object but dominance of our respective parties. Like the war of the two roses, or that which is still waged between the Mahometan followers of Omar and the adherents of Ali. They both worship the same God, acknowledge the same prophet, and the same law; but one party supposes that the caliphate should have been given to Ali; whilst the other supports the pretensions of Omar. The sole difference between Omar and Ali consists in the one beginning his ablutions at the elbows and the other at the tip of the fingers. To such extremes of folly and madness will men arrive, when they abandon principle and reason, and put themselves under the government of their passions.

This subservience to the cause of an individual, which is now acknowledged and boasted of, is new at least to the professed republicans of our country. Even in the time which tried men's souls, if the monogram of king George was to be found embroidered upon the shoulders of his votaries, no American would deign to inscribe himself with the emblems of an individual; no! not even with the glorious name of the father of his country. In those times of Republican purity, the candidates for office sought it not under the influence of the mighty names of Washington and Hancock; but upon the ground of devotion to the principles of liberty and the cause of the country. But now, every thing must be Jacksonian. A County Treasurer, a County Commissioner, a Township Justice, or Constable, all must be Jacksonians. I pray you, Mr. Chairman, let us not imitate their example. Much as I desire the election of Mr. Adams, I would not support him at the expense of any essential principle. And I would say to the friends of Gen. Jackson, elect him if you can by fair means. If you succeed, our countenances will not be changed towards you.—We will still regard you as friends and brothers. But in your exertions to obtain your object, spare, oh spare your country! spare those principles which have extended her fame to the ends of the earth, and what is of more importance, upon which the continuance of her liberty entirely depends.

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