EASTON GAZETTE

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GENERAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

On motion of Mr. McKay, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, (Mr. Davis, of Indiana, in the chair) and proceeded to the consideration of the bill making appropriations for the civil and diplomatic expenses of Government for the fiscal year ending the 30th day of June, 1845.

The reading of the bill *severally* having been dispensed with, it was read by sections.

The sixth clause of the bill having been read—

Mr. Pollock moved an amendment, to add at the end thereof a proviso: which, after some modifications at the suggestion of Mr. Barnard, Mr. Cave Johnson, and other gentlemen, took substantially the form of a direction to the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives, in the future disbursements of the public money for the use of their respective bodies, to confine their purchases exclusively to articles the growth and manufacture of the United States, provided that the same can be procured of such growth and manufacture of suitable quality and reasonable price.

Mr. Black of Georgia hoped the disbursing officers of the Government would be left to make their purchases on the best terms, as to price and quality, that they could in any market. He went for selling in the dearest market and purchasing in the cheapest; he went for the principle of free trade in this Government as well as in private affairs. He referred to a variety of amendments of similar character to the present one that had been offered and rejected in former years, and expressed the hope that this amendment would meet the same fate—that it would be rejected in any form or shape which it might assume.

Mr. Hamlin opposed the amendment (as modified at the suggestion of Mr. Barnard, by adding the closing words, "of suitable quality and reasonable price.") He contended that it was inconsistent with the rules upon which they acted in their private affairs, observing that the gentleman who offered it had probably upon him a coat of cloth of foreign manufacture, an imported watch stock, &c. It was mere humbuggery, sheer nonsense, to restrict themselves by rules which they violated in their individual capacity.

Mr Pollock said a word or two, which was lost to the Reporter.

Mr. F. Joy Morris remarked that he had no desire of entering at large into the discussion of the policy of the American Government protecting American manufactures; it had already been fully examined when the tariff bill was under consideration. The present was a very simple proposition, which it seemed to him ought to meet the unhesitating approbation of this House. If this Government was called upon to give a preference in its purchases to the American article of equal quality and price with the foreign one, he saw not how any gentleman upon this floor could object to it. Why should they permit this Government or any Department to encourage the foreign production when the domestic article could be purchased as cheaply and of equal quality?

But he saw there was opposition to it, and he was not in the least surprised that a proposition so American in its character, containing so much good sense, and so just in its policy, should be opposed by gentlemen when at the recent Convention at Baltimore there had been presented by their party to the American people as a candidate for the Presidency (and he spoke it as an American with strong feeling) a man who had boasted, in a recent gubernatorial canvass, that he had been throughout his whole life opposed to the principle of protection to American industry. Gentlemen seemed to be getting demented; they forgot that there was growing up in this country a great popular opinion in favor of domestic manufactures, in favor of home productions, in favor of a sound, sagacious policy, which should rear up a market for the native fabrics of this country. Mr. M. would not go at large into the discussion of the qualifications of Mr. Polk for the office to which he had been nominated or into the discussion of politics generally He knew & he had seen, in the speeches of this candidate for the Presidency; the doctrines maintained by him, and he had no doubt but the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Payne) would endorse the free trade opinions of this new candidate.—He had not the least doubt but they would meet with strong and ardent approbation in South Carolina and in Alabama; but let him tell the gentleman that in the iron bound regions of Pennsylvania, among her coal mines, among her forges, among her hard working yeomanry, among her manufacturers in that great manufacturing State, this nomination was the death blow to the Democratic party in the coming Presidential election. He knew that coming events were not to be decided by the shadows they cast before them; that especially in political struggles, they would be believed only when the results were seen and known; but he made the prediction with confidence that the American people would never support a candidate or a party with principles so anti-American. He hoped the amendment of his colleague would prevail. His colleague represented a district in favor of a thoroughly protective tariff, and so strongly so that although nominally a 'Democratic' district, the gentleman was the second gentleman who had held a seat upon this floor, while their 'Democratic' opposing candidates, holding such principles as the newly nominated candidate for the Presidency, who had been opposed to protection throughout his whole life had been discarded by the voters of that district.

Mr. Payne obtained the floor, but yielded for a moment for this purpose to—

Mr. Black of Georgia, who moved an amendment, to the amendment to strike out all after the word 'manufactures,' in the last line, and insert in lieu thereof the words 'upon as good terms and quality as they can be obtained of the foreign growth and manufacture.'

Mr. Wentworth (Mr. P. yielding the floor) sent up to the Clerk to be read an amendment, which he said he desired to offer, providing, for the purpose of stopping political speeches and saving the time of the House, that all gentlemen who had made political speeches during the present session of Congress should be permitted to erase therefrom the name of Martin Van Buren, and substitute that of James K. Polk.

[Cries of 'Consent, consent,' & laughter]

Mr. Payne resumed the floor. He said it had not been his purpose to reopen the tariff discussion, but inasmuch as the gentleman from Pennsylvania had thought proper to call upon him whether he would endorse the opinions of James K. Polk as the nominee of the Democratic party, he could not sit here without publicly, upon this floor, endorsing, *toto cælo*, the doctrines of Mr. Polk upon the subject of a protective tariff, and expressing his firm belief that this nomination would be triumphantly sustained by the American people. He congratulated the country that the time had at length arrived when an individual could be presented to the American people who was sound upon this question; who had looked through this matter and who believed that this doctrine, as held by the protectionists of this Union, was iniquitous.—Put, at the same time, he wished the country distinctly to understand the views of Mr. Polk upon this policy; so far as he (Mr P.) knew them, & to understand the fraud of the attempt that was now making to induce the American people to believe that Mr. Polk was in favor of entire free trade—i. e. that he was not in favor of raising sufficient revenue for the support of Government by duties on imports.—Mr. Polk was the advocate of raising revenue for Government by duties. He believed it was a constitutional power—that the Constitution authorized expressly the levying of duties for the sake of raising the necessary revenue for the support of the Government; but, at the same time, he condemned and repudiated, as, so far as Mr. P. knew, the entire Democratic party with a few exceptions did, the doctrine of the Whig party, which, by a forced construction they undertook to make the constitution justify, that this revenue power was to be used, not for the purpose of revenue, but for creating monopolies and bounties, for giving protection to one portion of this country to the injury of all the rest of it.

Mr. E. J. Morris inquired what were Mr. Polk's opinions with reference to the tariff of 1842?

Mr. Payne replied that he took pleasure in stating that Mr. Polk was opposed to the tariff of 1842, and he said that there never had been, during the whole history of this protective policy, from the time of its first introduction into this country, not excepting even the law of 1828, a more odious, abominable tariff than that of 1842 Upon an examination of this tariff they found not only that principle by which burdens were laid upon one class for the benefit of another, but others still more objectionable; they found that there was uniformly in it a discrimination against those articles consumed by the laboring classes; that they were heavily taxed, while very light and trival duties were imposed upon those articles consumed by the wealthy. And he was proud that Mr. Polk was found in opposition to that measure. This feature pervaded the whole bill: wherever an article was used by the wealthy and also by the poor, the duty was increased tremendously from the duty upon articles which were used by the wealthy alone. Was not that iniquitous? was not that unjust? he asked the committee. Would the gentleman from Pennsylvania say that Mr. Clay advocated taxing the laboring man while he exempted the wealthy?

Mr. E. J. Morris replied that Mr. Clay advocated the protecting the industry of the laboring man.

Mr. Payne continued. How? asked he. By increasing the duties upon the articles which he consumed? Was that the protection? It was the protection which the vulture gave to the lamb, thirsting for its blood!

But it was unnecessary to call upon the gentlemen to declare Mr. Clay's opinions upon this subject. Mr P remembered a paragraph in an address of Mr. Clay in his recent route from this city to Kentucky, in which he came forward boldly and endorsed the bill of 1842, including this discrimination which taxed labor and relieved wealth. But the gentleman would not march up to the question, and Mr. P. suspected that but very few of his friends would. They preferred, by indirect and secret means, to do what they would not openly do in the face of the American people.

Mr. Schenck (Mr. P. yielding the floor) inquired if the gentlemen would define the position of Mr. Polk: whether or not Mr Polk was not only opposed to the tariff of 1842, and to all tariffs of protection; but whether he did not also contend that tariff should be reduced to a 20 per cent, ad valorem duty or under?

Mr. Payne, resuming, remarked that if the gentleman from Ohio had paid attention to his former remarks, he would have seen that his present inquiry was altogether supererogatory. He had already stated that Mr. Polk expressly admitted and contended that the power to lay impost duties was a revenue power, and in the whole scope of raising revenue, that that power was unlimited; but he laid not one farthing for protection. That was a perversion of the power; it was converting a power which was given by the framers of the Constitution for a legitimate object to an illegitimate object. And it was upon this ground that they all stood. This might be regarded as a full and perfect answer to the interrogatory of the gentleman.

Now, since this gentleman was brought into the canvass, with the exultation and triumph of certain success which the gentleman from Pennsylvania predicted in relation to Mr. Clay, &c. (Mr. P.) might perhaps be indulged in a remark or two in relation to that gentleman and to the probability of his success.—Upon what evidence did the gentleman calculate upon Mr Clay's success? Was it from the fact that he had been twice or thrice presented to the American people; that they had examined dispassionately his claims, and as often repudiated and condemned him? Even when he had had the gentleman from Massachusetts standing at his back, with all the influence he could bring to bear upon a Presidential canvass, the American people had scorned his claims. And there was nothing in the history of the country or of Mr Clay that promised for him any better success than he had before met.—The Federal party were always in the habit of making bright predictions, and of all men in Christendom they could make the most noise, but a most signal rebuke had been pronounced upon all their tariffs and all their candidates by the whole country.

Mr P. also briefly examined the distribution scheme as another of the measures of the Whig system, and he denounced it as a system of enormity, the full extent of whose evils it was difficult to portray to the American people. Premising, as he said he presumed nobody doubted, that its object was to pay off the debts due by the States to foreign Governments, he proceeded to show that its effect was, instead of liquidating those debts which had been contracted for purposes of internal improvement, designed to enhance the value of the property in the States by a direct tax upon that property under the State systems, and not only to levy a poll tax by indirect imposition, but to saddle two hundred millions of State debts on the General Government, and thus burden the expenditures of the General government, and the States upon the people while the property of the country, paid no portion of it. It operated to tax the labor, to tax the consumption of the country in order to pay the debts due by the States, & to raise the necessary amount of money for the Government. This was distribution said Mr. P; this was the doctrine of that individual who was thus seeking, by every means in his power to fatten & oppress associated and individual wealth and to throw the whole burdens of the Government upon the laboring portion of the community; and yet the gentleman talked about his success. He stood no more chance of election to the Presidency than if he had not been named for it.

There was another question upon which the friends of Mr. Clay were seeking to make a false issue—they were attempting to induce the American people to believe that under certain circumstances Mr Clay would even go for the re annexation of a portion of territory to this Union. The American people were too intelligent to be deluded and deceived by any such sophistries. Mr. P. took the ground there were no contingencies under which Mr. Clay would go for the annexation of Texas or for the occupation of Oregon, as far as he new. Of Oregon he did not know as he had a right to speak but of Texas, Mr. Clay took the ground against the annexation under all circumstances as a question of expediency, and also of constitutionality at least so Mr. P. inferred from his reference to Mr. Jefferson; and Mr. P. now called upon any friend of his to show from that letter any sort of circumstances under which he was willing to go for it. Let there be no equivocation, (said he,) no double dealing, no particular set of measures advocated at the South and another at the North, but let the entire Union understand his (Mr. Clay's) true position on this point.

Mr. P. having concluded—

Mr. Hardin obtained the floor. Remarking that he had anticipated that no question would arise to day upon which a party debate would be sprung he proceeded to say he wished to examine a few of the arguments of the gentleman from Alabama with reference to Mr Polk When the American people got to know him they would not know where he was to be found. Although Mr. Van Buren was a used up man, they had endeavored to place in his shoes a man who compared with him was but a pigmy besides a antgi. What were the arguments upon which the gentleman wanted American people to unite in the election of James K. Polk? First, let them try him upon the tariff question. There had been no shuffling in his course the gentleman said. Ah! did he acknowledge that his friend 'Matty had shuffled and equivocated?

Mr. Payne protested against any inference of this kind. *He* had said nothing disrespectful of Mr. Van Buren.

Mr. Hardin continued. Certainly we would not expect that you would kill him first & kick him afterwards. But in that Convention Mr. Van Buren had been ruled off and consigned to political disgrace, for the purpose of finding some new man with whom the party would be able again to ride into power and to the spoils of office. What were Mr. Polk's views on the tariff? the gentleman endorsed him, and said he was not for direct taxation, but for expunging from the tariff every item of protection to American labor. This might answer his friends in Alabama, but when they remembered the votes of this House, it would astonish every man who used Polk's dogmas. You 'Democrats' (said Mr. *H.*) have a two thirds majority in this House, and yet, with all your free trade principles you could not even pass an abstract resolution asserting the principle maintained by Mr. Polk. 'The Globe' said that Mr. Polk was for restoring the tariff to where it was found by the Whigs in 1842; i. e. to a twenty per cent. horizontal tariff, with discriminations if any, below that' When the bill to reduce the tariff had come up at the present session they had killed it by slow degrees they had kept it hanging here until after the Virginia election, and then they had killed it by a coup de grace.

But Mr. *H.* was not to be led off to talk upon the tariff question; which had been thus definitively settled. He would come to talk about James K. Polk. Let us know (said he) what it is that he has done? What were Mr. Polk's views with reference to the deposite banks, which were now held up as a most obnoxious system. Who did it? (asked Mr. H.) You 'Democrats' did it against the warning of the Whigs; & J. K. Polk brought it forward in Congress, & he held in his hand two or three speeches of Mr Polk in favor of this system. Mr H. read from volume 5th and volume 11th Congress Debates, from speeches of Mr. Polk in defence of the State bank system ascribing all prosperity of the country to it's operations, &c. After your party (said Mr. H.) had got tired of this system, after it had exploded in your hands, you got up the sub-Treasury system as the panacea which was to relieve the country of all it's evils. James K Polk, chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, had brought this measure forward and was it that which was going to give him a claim upon the gratitude of the American people by whom it had most signally been condemned? But had Mr. Polk always been consistent in this? Look at it (said Mr. *H*) and weep! Mr. H. read from one of the speeches, to which he had before referred an elaborate argument, comparative of the merits of the two systems in condemnation of the sub-treasury & in advocacy of the State bank system. And yet these self styled 'Democratic' gentlemen (and they had as much right to the name as he had to that of a Chinaman) now denounced this system as a Federal measure, which their own candidate had approved as a better and safer system than the sub-Treasury.

Mr. H. wanted some of his 'Democratic' friends, who happened to be tariff 'Democrats,' or half goose, half duck, according to the definition of 'the Globe,' of full blooded 'Democrats,' to come up and tell this House and the country whether they endorsed Mr. Polk's notions on the tariff, as they had been endorsed by the gentleman from Alabama. Let the delegates to the Convention from Pennsylvania, New Jersey New York, & Connecticut say whether they intended to be double faced in this matter. Did they endorse this candidate of the Baltimore Convention—did they give their own sentiments and support James K. Polk? If they dodged, if they equivocated, they would be scored red.

But another question. The gentlemen at Baltimore made a sacrifice of Mr. Van Buren For what? Some of them from the South said because of his Texas letter; but did they not know—he knew—that it had long since been determined and stated, not in this *House*, but publicly, that if the Connecticut and Virginia elections went against them, they would withdraw Mr. Van Buren? They surely knew it; and as this *Texas* question had come along, it afforded them a mighty good opportunity to slide down the rail, and get off from supporting Mr. Van Buren. Did gentlemen forget how in 1841 they had abused the Whigs for bringing forward Gen. Harrison, and how they had charged the party with giving up their principles for the sake of an available' man? What had they brought up James K. Polk for? *Had* any man here or in the nation been for him? No; but because he was an available candidate. But there were some documents upon the subject of availability to which he wished to call the particular attention of gentlemen. Mr. H. read from an article in 'the Globe' of January 8, 1844, contrasting the claims for the Vice Presidency of James K. Polk and Wm. R. King, (there was not a man in the United States he said, who at that time dreamed of Mr. Polk as a candidate for the Presidency,) the following extracts:

'7. Finally, the political condition of their respective States is another point of preference for Mr. King. Alabama is Democratic, Tennessee is Federal Whig One is helping, the other is injuring, the Democratic cause. The red hot shot of Tennessee are now fired into the democratic ship. This may be a misfortune, and not the fault of that former Democratic State, and her present public men.—Still, it is a misfortune which entails a consequence, and which involves a serious consideration in the selection of a Vice Presidential Candidate.'

'In such a contest the democracy has no compliments to spare to unfortunate States by carrying the burden of the public men who cannot bring their own State into the Democratic line. They want strength; not weakness'

'They want strength, not weakness,' continued Mr. H. Did not the gentleman from Alabama write that sentence in that communication? If the gentleman denies it not, I say he did.

Mr. Payne said no man was to infer any thing, the one way or the other, from his silence.

Mr. Hardin. If the gentleman says it is not true, I will take it back.

Mr. Payne. I believe so. I do not know whether I wrote it or not. [Laughter]

Mr. Hardin said he would read another article relative to the claims to the Vice Presidency of James K. Polk, and the gentleman might have his choice of the two, as to which he had written. He read from 'the Globe' of January 19 1844, the following extracts from a communication in reply to a previous one in that paper, with the signature of 'A Tennessee Democrat:'

'But why attack Col. King? Why advert to his earliest legislative history?—Does he feel that the political capital of Gov. Polk is quite too limited to secure a nomination from the Republican party unless he can pull down the fame of others whose shadow has fallen across the path of his posthumous bandling for the Vice Presidency? If so, let me warn 'A Tennessee Democrat' that his disparagement of Col. King will add nothing to the political capital of Gov. Polk.'

'But if he will convince me that there is a well founded suspicion—a reasonable doubt—of the personal courage of Col. King. I pronounce him, without hesitation or qualification, totally unfit for the office of Vice President of the United States—I care not how honorable a man may be if he is a coward he cannot maintain his honor; and hence it is such a man is disqualified for the office of Vice President.

'Now, sir, Col. King has never been insulted day after day; and, above all, he was never caught roughly by the arm, when escaping from the Capitol, pulled round and told that he was the 'contemptible tool of a petty tyrant!' I pledge my head, if he is ever so treated, he will resent the insult in the proper way. Will 'A Tennessee Democrat' do the same in regard to Gov. Polk?'

'What are the facts in regard to Gov Polk? He has been twice repudiated in his own State by large majorities—defeated by an experienced politician; and it is not pretended that his name would add one particle of strength to the ticket in any State of this Union. Why then talk of his selection as the candidate of the party?'

'Again we are told 'If, on the contrary you do not run Gov. Polk, you may lose Tennessee.' Will the selection of Gov. Polk prevent that result? He has been run twice for Governor of that State lately and has been defeated both times most signally. This would seem to be conclusive that Tennessee cannot be carried by the Democracy if Gov. Polk is upon the ticket. If this be a legitimate conclusion it is due to the principles we profess not to jeopard their success by vain attempts to force upon the people of Tennessee a man whom they have twice refused to honor, notwithstanding the supposed deep, bold, and lasting impress left by Gov. Polk on our public affairs.'

'The truth is, it will not do. Gov. Polk has no greater claims upon the people of this union than any other man of equal ability who has faithfully maintained the principles of his party. There are now at least one hundred men in the Union who have served their party as long as ably, and as faithfully as Gov Polk; whose claims are fully equal in every respect to his, but whose names have never been mentioned in connexion with the Vice Presidency, and, possibly never will be.

'I therefore respectfully suggest to a 'Tennessee Democrat' to abandon that system of puffing, blowing, and swelling by which a toad may be magnified into the dimensions of an ox; or if he still wishes to presevere, let him do so upon the merits of his own subject, and not upon the demerits of others.'

'Wont that show gentlemen in capitals continued Mr. H. This 'posthumous bantling for the Vice Presidency' was not even fit to be a candidate for the Vice Presidency—he was not 'available.'—And yet they talk of electing him President by a triumphant majority! It reminded him of what a delegate to that Convention, in speaking of the nomination had said to him: 'It never did occur to me that we would have to manufacture a candidate for the Presidency, and that out of so small materials.'

With reference to the Texas question he would not go far into that. Had any man come here elected on the Texian question? No man had ever thought about it; but Mr. Tyler had first started this Texas question to bring himself into favor if possible, with the American people.—He was entitled to the thunder of the Texas question. What have you 'Democrats' been doing? (asked Mr. H.) Why, you have been trying to take away from him his Texas humbug! If there was such a thing as trying you before a fair jury (and we will do that in November next,) we could convict your party of petty larceny in stealing away the Texas humbug from Mr. Tyler. But the people can see through this they know that the Texas question is a hobby on which you expect to ride into power again over all other questions; to get again the loaves and fishes.

Give up Van Buren for principle!—What are your principles? You passed a parcel of resolutions at Baltimore, for most of which three fourths of the Whigs in the country would have voted. Mr. H read from them one of the resolutions which declares our title to the whole of Oregon clear and indisputable and recommends the immediate occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest possible moment. Did that mean this treaty or not? (asked Mr. H.) Tell us—show your hands. Present not two faces on this subject. I ask the gentleman from Alabama does he go for the treaty or not?

Mr. Payne explained his meaning when he had spoken of the gentleman's presenting two faces. Mr. Clay had published a letter, and with apparent skill and design, had avoided to answer the question. From a cursory glance of it, any one might suppose he was in favor of annexation.

Mr. Hardin said he had asked the gentlemen if the Democratic party were in favor of the treaty—in favor of immediate annexation, and not with reference to Mr. Clay's principles. They were clearly expressed in the letter he had written

Mr. Payne said he (Mr. Clay) had never come up to the question; he stated no where whether he was in favor of annexation. Mr. P. here took his seat,

Mr. Hardin. Now is not that glorious? Is not that perfectly after the manner of Van Buren? He had asked the gentleman whether the 'Democratic' party was in favor of the treaty, and the gentleman in reply said that Mr. Clay was not for Texas. He knew the gentleman's party had no principles for the public eye.—Upon this subject he called on them to come forward and tell them what they were for, let them have no humbugging.

But what other principles did they recommend in this set of resolutions?—Where was the thunder about the sub-Treasury which they had heard for years past? He would advise the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Dromgoole,) or some other gentleman, to call up that and undertake to pass it under the gag. But what did these gentlemen go for? They found that they were opposed to Henry Clay! Mr. H. referred to the different phases which the doctrine of the 'Democratic' party assumed in order to accommodate themselves to the peculiar doctrines held in the North, the South, & the West severally Go to the West and they were opposed to any kind of Banks, State or National; go to Tennessee, and they found James K. Polk, when last year as a candidate for the Gubernatorial chair he was questioned upon the subject he replied that he was not in favor of an exclusive hard money currency, but in favor of State Banks.

Mr. H. might refer to documents to show that Mr. Polk was opposed to all our Western interests, but he would not go into details. The resolution he had read declared in favor of the occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas. The occupation of Oregon was quite a hobby too. He did not know that Mr. Van Buren was against that. He was certain that Mr. Benton was in favor of it, but they had kicked him off and said he was a disgrace to the party. But how was James K. Polk on this? Mr. H. referred to volume 5, Congressional Debates page 129, and read from a speech of Mr. Polk upon the question of the occupation of Oregon, from which he said he would

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