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crosses the burden of the others beyond their proportion, and would be manifestly unjust. The terms "protection to domestic industry" are of popular import; but they should apply under a just system to all the various branches of industry in our country. The farmer or planter, who toils yearly in his fields, is engaged in "domestic industry," and is as much entitled to have his labor "protected" as the manufacturer, the man of commerce, the navigator, or the mechanic, who are engaged also in "domestic industry" in their different pursuits. The joint labors of all these classes constitute the aggregate of the "domestic industry" of the nation, and they are equally entitled to the nation's "protection."

If these views be correct, it remains to inquire how far the tariff act of 1842 is consistent with them. That many of the provisions of that act are in violation of the cardinal principles here laid down all must concede. The rates of duty imposed by it on some articles are prohibitory, and on others so high as greatly to diminish importations, and to produce a less amount of revenue than would be derived from lower rates. They operate as "protection merely" to one branch of "domestic industry," by taxing other branches.

By the introduction of minimums, or assumed and false values, and by the imposition of specific duties, the injustice and inequality of the act of 1842, in its practical operations on different classes and pursuits, are seen and felt. Many of the oppressive duties imposed by it under the operation of these principles range from one per cent. to more than 200 per cent. They are prohibitory on some articles, and partially so on others, and bear most heavily on articles of common necessity, and but lightly on articles of luxury. It is so framed that much the greatest burden which it imposes is thrown on labor and the poorer classes who are least able to bear it, while it protects capital and exempts the rich from paying their just proportion of the taxation required for the support of government. While it protects the capital of the wealthy manufacturer, and increases his profits, it does not benefit the operatives or laborers in his employment, whose wages have not been increased by it. Articles of prime necessity or of coarse quality and low price, used by the masses of the people, are, in many instances, subjected by it to heavy taxes, while articles of finer quality and higher price, or of luxury, which can be used only by the opulent, are lightly taxed. It imposes heavy and unjust burdens on the farmer, the planter, the commercial man, and those of all other pursuits except the capitalist who has made his investments in manufactures. All the great interests of the country are not, as nearly as may be practicable, equally protected by it.

The government in theory knows no distinction of persons or classes, and should not bestow upon some favors and privileges which all others may not enjoy. It was the purpose of its illustrious founders to base the institutions which they reared upon the great and unchanging principles of justice and equity, conscious that, if administered in the spirit in which they were conceived, they would be felt only by the benefits which they diffused, and would secure for themselves a defence in the hearts of the people, more powerful than standing armies and all the means and appliances invented to sustain governments founded in injustice and oppression.

The well-known fact that the tariff act of 1842 was passed by a majority of one vote in the senate, and two in the house of representatives, and that some of those who felt themselves constrained, under the peculiar circumstances existing at the time, to vote in its favor, proclaimed its defects, and expressed their determination to aid in its modification on the first opportunity, affords strong and conclusive evidence that it was not intended to be permanent, and of the expediency and necessity of its thorough revision.

In recommending to congress a reduction of the present rates of duty, and a revision and modification of the act of 1842, I am far from entertaining opinions unfriendly to the manufacturers. On the contrary, I desire to see them prosperous as far as they may be so without imposing unequal burdens on other interests. The advantage under any system of indirect taxation, even within the revenue standard, must be in favor of the manufacturing interests, and of this no other interest will complain.

I recommend to congress the abolition of the minimum principle, or assumed, arbitrary, and false values, and of specific duties, and the substitution in their place of *ad valorem* duties, as the fairest and most equitable tax which can be imposed. By the *ad valorem* principle, all articles are taxed according to their cost or value, and those which are of inferior quality, or of small cost, bear only the just proportion of the tax with those which are of superior quality or greater cost. The articles consumed by all are taxed at the same rate. A system of *ad valorem* revenue duties, with proper discriminations and proper guards against frauds in collecting them, it is not doubted, will afford ample incidental advantages to the manufacturers, and enable them to derive as great profits as can be derived from any other regular business. It is believed that such a system, strictly within the revenue standard, will place the manufacturing interests on a stable footing, and inure to their permanent advantage; while it will, as nearly as may be practicable, extend to all the great interests of the country the incidental protection which can be afforded by our revenue laws. Such a system, when once firmly established, would be permanent, and not be subject to the constant complaints, agitations, and changes which must ever occur when duties are not laid for revenue, but for the "protection merely" of a favored interest.

In the deliberations of congress on this subject, it is hoped that a spirit of mutual concession and compromise between conflicting interests may prevail, and that the result of their labors may be crowned with the happiest consequences.

I refer you to the accompanying report of the secretary of war, for information respecting the present situation of the army, and its operations during the past year; the state of our defences; the condition of the public works; and our relations with the various Indian tribes within our limits or upon our borders. I invite your attention to the suggestions contained in that report, in relation to these prominent objects of national interest.

When orders were given during the past summer for concentrating a military force on the western frontier of Texas, our troops were widely dispersed, and in small detachments, occupying posts remote from each other. The prompt and expeditious manner in which an army, embracing more than half our peace establishment, was drawn together on an emergency so sudden, reflects great credit on the officers who were intrusted with the execution of these orders, as well as upon the discipline of the army itself. To be in strength to protect and defend the people and territory of Texas, in the event Mexico should commence hostilities, or invade her territories with a large army, which she threatened, I authorized the general assigned to the command of the army of occupation to make requisitions for the additional forces from several of the states nearest the Texan territory, and which could most expeditiously furnish them, if, in his opinion, a larger force than that under his command, and the auxiliary aid which, under like circumstances, he was authorized to receive from Texas, should be required. The contingency upon which the exercise of this authority depended has not occurred. The circumstances under which two companies of state artillery, from the city of New Orleans, were sent into Texas, and mustered into the service of the U. States, are fully stated in the report of the secretary of war. I recommend to congress that provision be made for the payment of these troops, as well as a small number of Texan volunteers, whom the commanding general thought it necessary to receive or muster into our service.

During the last summer, the first regiment of dragoons made extensive excursions thro' the Indian country on our borders, a part of them advancing nearly to the possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company in the north, and a part as far as the South Pass of the Rocky mountains, and the head waters of the tributary streams of the Colorado of the west. The exhibition of this military force among the Indian tribes in those distant regions, and the councils held with them by the commanders of the expeditions, it is believed will have a salutary influence in restraining them from hostilities among themselves, and maintaining friendly relations between them and the United States. An interesting account of one of these excursions accompanies the report of the secretary of war. Under the

direction of the war department, Brevet Captain Fremont, of the corps of topographical engineers, has been employed since 1842 in exploring the country west of the Mississippi, and beyond the Rocky mountains. Two expeditions have already been brought to a close, and the reports of that scientific officer have furnished much interesting and valuable information. He is now engaged in a third expedition; but it is not expected that this arduous service will be completed in season to enable me to communicate the result to congress at the present session.

Our relations with the Indian tribes are of a favorable character. The policy of removing them to a country designed for their permanent residence, west of the Mississippi, and without the limits of the organized states and territories, is better appreciated by them than it was a few years ago; while education is now attended to, and the habits of civilized life are gaining ground among them.

Serious difficulties of long standing continue to distract the several parties into which the Cherokees are unhappily divided. The efforts of the government to adjust the difficulties between them have heretofore proved unsuccessful; and there remains no probability that this desirable object can be accomplished without the aid of further legislation by congress. I will, at an early period of your session, present the subject for your consideration, accompanied with an exposition of the complaints and claims of the several parties into which the nation is divided, with a view to the adoption of such measures by congress as may enable the executive to do justice to them respectively, and to put an end, if possible, to the dissensions which have long prevailed, and still prevail, among them.

I refer you to the report of the secretary of the navy for the present condition of that branch of the national defence; and for grave suggestions, having for their object the increase of its efficiency, and a greater economy in its management. During the past year the officers and men have performed their duty in a satisfactory manner. The orders which have been given have been executed with promptness and fidelity. A larger force than has often formed one squadron under our flag was readily concentrated in the gulf of Mexico, and, apparently, without unusual effort. It is especially to be observed, that, notwithstanding the union of so considerable a force, no act was committed that even the jealousy of an irritated power could construe as an act of aggression; and that the commander of the squadron and his officers, in strict conformity with their instructions, holding themselves ever ready for the most active duty, have achieved the still purer glory of contributing to the preservation of peace. It is believed that at all our foreign stations the honor of our flag has been maintained, and that, generally, our ships of war have been distinguished for their good discipline and order. I am happy to add, that the display of maritime force which was required by the events of the summer, has been made wholly within the usual appropriations for the service of the year, so that no additional appropriations are required.

The commerce of the United States, and with it the navigating interest, have steadily and rapidly increased since the organization of our government, until, it is believed, we are now second to but one power in the world, and at no distant day we shall probably be inferior to none. Exposed as they must be, it has been a wise policy to afford to these important interests protection with our ships of war, distributed in the great highways of trade throughout the world. For more than thirty years appropriations have been made, and annually expended, for the gradual increase of our naval forces. In peace, our navy performs the important duty of protecting our commerce; and, in the event of war, will be, as it has been, a most efficient means of defence.

The successful use of steam navigation on the ocean has been followed by the introduction of war steamers in great and increasing number into the navies of the principal maritime powers of the world. A due regard to our own safety and to an efficient protection to our large and increasing commerce, demands a corresponding increase on our part. No country has greater facilities for the construction of vessels of this description than ours, or can promise itself greater advantages from their employment. They are admirably adapted to the protection of our commerce, to the rapid transmission of intelligence, and to the coast defence. In pursu-

ance of the wise policy of a gradual increase of our navy, large supplies of live oak timber and other materials for ship building have been collected, and are now under shelter and in a state of good preservation, while iron steamers can be built with great facility in various parts of the union. The use of iron as a material, especially in the construction of steamers, which can enter with safety many of the harbors along our coasts, now inaccessible to vessels of greater draught, and the practicability of constructing them in the interior, strongly recommends that liberal appropriations should be made for this important object. Whatever may have been our policy in the earlier stages of our government, when the nation was in its infancy, our shipping interests and commerce comparatively small, our resources limited, our population sparse and scarcely extending beyond the limits of the original thirteen states, that policy must be essentially different now that we have grown from three to more than twenty millions of people—that our commerce, carried in our own ships, is found in every sea, and that our territorial boundaries and settlements have been so greatly expanded. Neither our commerce, nor our long line of coast on the ocean and on the lakes, can be successfully defended against foreign aggression by means of fortifications alone. These are essential at important commercial and military points, but our chief reliance for this object must be on a well-organized efficient navy. The benefits resulting from such a navy are not confined to the Atlantic states. The productions of the interior, which seek a market abroad, are directly dependent on the safety and freedom of our commerce. The occupation of the Balize below New Orleans by a hostile force would embarrass, if not stagnate, the whole export trade of the Mississippi, and affect the value of the agricultural products of the entire valley of that mighty river and its tributaries.

It has never been our policy to maintain large standing armies in time of peace. They are contrary to the genius of our free institutions, would impose heavy burdens on the people, and be dangerous to public liberty. Our reliance for protection and defence on the land must be mainly on our citizen soldiers, who will be ever ready, as they ever have been ready in times past, to rush with alacrity, at the call of their country, to her defence. This description of force, however, cannot defend our coast, harbors, and inland seas, nor protect our commerce on the ocean or lakes. These must be protected by our navy.

Considering an increased naval force, and especially of steam vessels, corresponding with our growth and importance as a nation, and proportioned to the increased and increasing naval power of other nations, of vast importance as regards our safety, and the great growing interests to be protected by it, I recommend the subject to the favorable consideration of congress.

The most important duties of the state department relate to our foreign affairs. By the great enlargement of the family of nations, the increase of our commerce, and the corresponding extension of our consular system, the business of this department has been greatly increased. In its present organization, many duties of a domestic nature, and consisting of details, are devolved on the secretary of state, which do not appropriately belong to the foreign department of the government, and may properly be transferred to some other department. One of these grows out of the present state of the law concerning the patent office, which, a few years since, was a subordinate clerkship, but has become a distinct bureau of great importance. With an excellent internal organization, it is still connected with the state department. In the transaction of its business, questions of much importance to inventors, and to the community, frequently arise, which, by existing laws, are referred for decision to a board, of which the secretary of state is a member. These questions are legal, and the connection which now exists between the state department and the patent office, may, with great propriety and advantage, be transferred to the attorney-general.

In his last annual message to congress, Mr. Madison invited attention to a proper provision for the attorney-general as an "important improvement in the executive establishment." This recommendation was repeated by his successors. The official duties of the attor-

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