PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at a Meeting of the Citizens of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania.

February 1, 1833.

Read, and referred to the Committee of the Whole House, to which is committed the bill (No. 641,) to reduce and otherwise alter the duties on imports.

At a meeting of the friends of the Constitution and domestic industry, held at the Musical Fund Hall, on Thursday the 24th of January, pursuant to a call made by more than 3000 persons of all parties:

John Swift, Esq., Mayor of the city, was called to the Chair.

Joseph Worrell, R. M. Lewis, James Harper, Joseph S. Riley, Benjamin W. Richards, and Samuel H. Richards, Esqrs., were chosen Vice Presidents.

John Scholefield and *Charles V. Hagner*, Secretaries.

Whereupon the following preamble and resolutions, offered by Anthony Laussat, jr. esq., and preceded by an eloquent and animated introductory speech, were unanimously adopted.

Whereas, an alarming and momentous crisis in the affairs of the country has arrived, menacing the integrity of the Union, and threatening the subversion of the whole protective system, by the assertion of principles, on the part of South Carolina, not less at variance with the opinions and policy heretofore entertained and pursued by her leading statesmen, than destructive of the great ends and interests for which the constitution was created by the people.

And whereas, that, among those objects, the power to levy duties on imports, to regulate commerce, and, consequently, to counteract the injurious restrictions of foreign nations, and thereby to protect domestic industry, was relinquished by the people of the several States, and specially vested in the Federal Government; and the principle was then solemnly recognized, that the constitution and laws of the United States, and all treaties made under its authority, should be the supreme law of the land, and that every State should be bound thereby, any thing in its constitution and laws to the contrary notwithstanding. Wherefore,

1. *Resolved*, That the ordinance and proceedings of South Carolina, in opposition to the revenue laws, are a direct and open violation of the constitution, revolutionary in their character, and treasonable in their designs; and that it therefore concerns the dignity and honor of the nation, that no consideration should be given by Congress to the demands of that State so long as that ordinance, and the proceedings accompanying it, remain unrevoked.

2. *Resolved*, That the exposition of the true intent and meaning of the

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constitution, contained in the proclamation of the President of the 10th of December last, meets the cordial approbation of this meeting, though we do not admit the existence of any well founded grievance, or special cause of complaint, againt the tariff on the part of the South, which, on the contrary, derives great and permanent benefit from the large and increasing consumption of its principal staple in the factories of the middle and eastern States. That, though the protective system was intended to operate impartially on all the great interests of the country, and embraces in its ramifications the shipping, the fisheries, the agricultural productions, especially of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Louisiana, as well as the manufactures of the north; yet, from the nature of all general laws, it is utterly impracticable to adapt them in the same degree to every fractional part of the population and territory of the United States.

3. *Resolved*, That the important reduction of duties, especially on coarse woollens, made at the last session of Congress, was a direct concession to the feelings of the southern States, and to the complaints of South Carolina in particular; and, although intended as a compromise, it has neither conciliated her good will, nor abated her pretensions, but, on the contrary, has served only to embolden her demands and encourage a spirit of dictation, which nothing can satisfy short of an entire surrender of the vital principle of all representative government, that a majority shall govern, and the minority acquiesce.

4. *Resolved*, As the deliberate conviction of this meeting, that the waning prosperity of which the southern planters of the Atlantic seaboard complain, however contradicted by the annual messages of their Governors to the Legislatures, may be ascribed to an impoverished and less productive soil than that of the new States, and to an habitual reliance for the means of living, on a class of beings who, from their dependant condition, have no motive to stimulate their industry and economy; that it is less offensive to human pride, and more popular, to attribute their grievances to the tariff or to the policy of the General Government than to causes arising from their peculiar condition, which recent discussions in the Virginia Convention have clearly disclosed—causes which Congress has no power to mitigate or remove.

5. *Resolved*, That this meeting view, with mingled feelings of sorrow and indignation, the attempts now making by certain leaders of South Carolina to weaken the bond of union, under feigned professions of attachment to the constitution, which all their late legislative and official acts tend to nullify and destroy; that the monstrous pretensions, that one State can, at pleasure, constitutionally annul its obligations to the co-States, and secede from a union which it required the sanction of three-fourths of the whole number to create and perfect, and thus erect itself into a distinct foreign sovereignty, independent of the rest, evinces a settled determination to set the General Government at defiance, and ought to be met and treated as an act of treason and rebellion.

6. *Resolved*, That however the individuals composing this meeting have heretofore differed in some points, they deem it a paramount duty to sacrifice all minor differences on the altar of the *Union*, and to rally around the *Executive* in maintaining the inviolability of the constitution and laws; that, in the actual position of affairs, they should regard any reduction or modification of the present untried tariff as inflicting the most deadly wound that could be aimed at the Union; that reductions made in the face of the menaces

of a rebellious State, would unquestionably be construed, and exultingly proclaimed, as concessions extorted by intimidation, and tend to impair the moral power and influence of the Government both at home and abroad.

7. *Resolved*, That any legislation by the present Congress upon the protective system, would be an act of iujustice to the middle and eastern States; a large majority of whose representatives have, within a few months, after mature and anxious deliberation, assented to the act of July, 1832, as a measure of conciliation to our complaining brethren of the south; and who, when sacrificing upon the altar of patriotism, for the sake of harmony and to preserve the Union, their own opinions of what the interests of their constituents required, confidently expected that this agitating subject would not be again disturbed, at least until the effects of that law upon the industry of the country, and the finances of the Government, had been tested by its practical operation.

8. *Resolved*, That the Union can only be permanently maintained by that course of legislative policy which, while it respects the rights of the minority, embraces in its beneficent operation the welfare and interests of the majority of our citizens.

9. *Resolved*, That we are opposed to any reduction whatever of the existing protection to the DOMESTIC INDUSTRY of our country, at a time when a severe domestic competition, and the struggle with foreigners for the possession of our own markets, have reduced the value of most manufactures, and one of our largest agricultural staples, to a point which leaves little or no profit to those engaged in their fabrication or production; but more especially are we opposed to the plan of reduction proposed by the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, based, as it is, upon the erroneous estimate of the probable wants of the Treasury, and of the probable amount of revenue to be derived from duties upon importations.

10. *Resolved*, That the power in the General Government to meet the restrictive policy of foreign nations by countervailing regulations has been generally admitted by the advocates of free trade, as well as by most of those who would assign to our constitution the narrow construction of its authority for levying protecting duties; that this power has received the express sanction of the present national administration, and that the State of Pennsylvania, producing only those staples which the restrictions of the manufacturing nations of Europe will not take in exchange for their fabrics, cannot consent to the abandonment of the protective system. That, when these nations will receive the products of her industry, her *breadstuffs*, her *spirits*, her *lumber*, and her *provisions*, at the same relative rates of duties as is now proposed to be laid on their manufactures, *then*, and not till then, she will think the proper time has arrived for her to entertain the question of the expediency of using foreign fabrics in preference to those of the citizens of the United States, who now afford her that market for her agricultural products which she in vain seeks abroad.

11. *Resolved*, That we are opposed to the bill from the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives:

Because it favors the southern at the expense of the northern States, by retaining the present high duties in favor of the sugar of Louisiana, and by admitting clothing for the use of the southern laborers almost free of duty, thereby exempting that part of the population from its just share of the burdens of the Government.

Because it sacrifices the interest of the western, middle, and northern States, by destroying the immense investments of their citizens in agriculture and manufactures, and exposes their industry to an unequal contest with foreign competition, springing from the low interest of foreign capital, the low rates of foreign labor, and the excessive over-production of the densely populated manufacturing nations of Europe, which, knowing no laws of supply and demand, forces its surplus wherever it can obtain admission.

Because it sacrifices the lead of Missouri, the hemp of Kentucky, and the various handicraft productions of our mechanics throughout the United States.

Because it destroys the *cotton manufacture*, by the admission of fabrics made of foreign cotton, which have for years been prohibited, thereby lessening the consumption of that great American staple, and involving in destruction a large investment of capital, whose annual creation is equal in value to the whole cotton crop of the United States.

Because, while it appears to favor Pennsylvania and other States interested in the production of IRON, by a less reduction of the duties on that than on other imports, thereby sowing dissensions among the friends of the protective system, it in reality strikes a vital blow at that great interest, by the admission of the manufactured article at much lower duties than are levied on the raw material; thus ruining the iron-master by depriving him of a market for the produce of his capital and industry, and bringing to poverty a large number of our most industrious mechanics.

Because it sacrifices the great *wool growing* interest of so many of the agricultural States, by exposing it to a ruinous competition with the foreign article, under the low duty of *fifteen per cent.*, thereby insuring the destruction of those enriching flocks which form so large a part of the wealth of the cultivator of the soil.

Because it destroys the *woollen manufacture*, always to be regarded as of national importance, whether for peace or for war; for the want of which the nation suffered so severely during the late contest with Great Britain, and which affords the only market for the most valuable staple of the country.

Because it denies to our *domestic industry* even that incidental protection which would arise from collecting the revenue on such foreign products as directly come into competition with the labor of our own citizens.

Because, while it takes away a large portion of the protection heretofore accorded to the products of our domestic industry, by the act of July, 1832, under the plea of lessening the revenue, it actually increases it by imposing duties on teas, coffee, silks, and other articles not produced in this country, which were made free by that law.

Because, contrary to the explicit recommendation of the National Executive, and at variance with the wishes of the people at large, it proposes to raise *one-fifth* of the means estimated as necessary for the current expenditures of the Government from the sales of the public domain, instead of looking to the customs alone for the revenue.

12. *Resolved*, That however unjust to the *capitalist*, who, under the faith of the Government, and under the guarantee of the protective acts of 1816, of 1824, and 1828, had invested his means in any of the branches of agriculture or manufactures, encouraged by these laws, we may deem this withdrawal of protection, we cannot consider that, in national importance,

his wrongs sink into insignificance, when we contemplate the ruin and desolations which the passage of this bill will produce among those whose only capital is the acquired mechanical skill, and the inventive faculties and physical powers which nature has given them: we mean the bulwark of our Republic—the *working classes* of our fellow citizens.

13. *Resolved*, That, in the gratifying pictures of our national prosperity, and of the happiness of the people of these United States, contained in the annual communications to Congress of the President and Secretary of the Treasury, and in the messages of the Governors of the several States to their respective Legislatures, we find no warrant, and see no reason, for a change of the policy which has produced these beneficent results. That if the present rates of imposts are likely to produce an excess of revenue beyond the wants of the Government, we know of no mode so judiciously calculated to confine it within the prescribed bounds as the exemption from duty of those foreign products which we are not able to raise or fabricate; the retention of those protecting duties which now prohibit importations, and the gradual extension of this policy, till it shall embrace all those articles which we have the capacity to produce or manufacture.

14. *Resolved*, That we cordially approve of the principles of national policy contained in the late message of the Governor of this State, and of the spirit and sentiments of the resolutions which have just passed its Legislature, and we take this occasion to declare that the STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, not surpassed by any of her sisters in her attachment to the Union, yielding to none in the industry and virtue of her citizens, and from her local advantages and inexhaustible resources of agricultural and mineral wealth, inferior to none in her ability to maintain a separate independence, should this free and happy Government be dissolved, cannot but view with alarm the proposed abandonment of the protection to her *domestic industry*, believing, as she does, *that the continuance of this policy, and the perpetuity of the Union, are indissolubly linked together.*

15. *Resolved*, That Pennsylvania is unwilling to relinquish her just remuneration for 20 millions of capital expended for road and canals, undertaken upon the faith of laws passed for the encouragement of manufactures and internal trade. The repeal of those laws would perpetuate a burden without a recompense upon her people; who, firm in their attachment to the protective system, look to their Senators and Representatives in Congress, at this portentous crisis, and "*expect every man to do his duty.*"

16. *Resolved*, That we earnestly invite our fellow citizens throughout this State, and those who make common cause with us throughout the Union, to unite in public meetings, and to express their sentiments to Congress upon the important subjects which have occasioned this assemblage, and commanded its solemn attention.

17. *Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the daily and weekly papers of this city, and in the papers at Washington; that copies of the same be forwarded to the President of the United States, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to be laid before that body; and that the Chairman, Vice Presidents, and Secretaries, be appointed a committee to carry the same into execution.

The resolutions were seconded by Col. Chew, in a few appropriate remarks. After their adoption, the following, submitted and enforced by D. W. Coxe, esq. was also adopted.

Whereas, some of the southern and southwestern States of the Union, whose rich products and slave population render doubtful the expediency of establishing manufactures and the mechanic arts among themselves, have imbibed like doubts and prejudices against a similar policy in reference to their brethren north of the Potomac, whose productions are less favored by the restrictions of foreign nations, and who, for that reason, are compelled to rely on their labor and mechanical skill for their existence and prosperity. Therefore,

Resolved, That, for the purpose of promoting harmony and removing erroneous prejudices, it be, and hereby is recommended to the Pennsylvania Society for the encouragement of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts in this city, and to such other societies as are established for the same purpose in the States aforesaid, respectfully to profer their services to accompany the President of the United States, and any member of the cabinet, whenever it may suit his convenience, after the adjournment of Congress, on a visit of inspection and examination into the real condition and prospects of the manufacturing establishments in the said States, respectively.

The meeting was further addressed by James Ronaldson, David Paul Brown, and C. J. Jack, esquires, when, on motion, the vast concourse adjourned.

JOHN SWIFT, *Chairman.*

JOSEPH WORRELL,
R. M. LEWIS,
JAMES HARPER,
JOS. S. RILEY,
B. W. RICHARDS,
SAMUEL H. RICHARDS,
} *Vice Presidents.*

John Scholefield,
C. V. Hagner } *Secretaries.*