our traders by powers beyond their control. We became the carriers of France because her commercial flag was banished from the ocean by the naval supremacy of the British power; we became often the carriers of Britain herself interested to trade with her enemy through the medium of a neutral flag.

The commercial hostility of Great Britain was however, exercised against us in war no less than in peace. She began the war in 1793, by interdicting all neutral commerce with her enemy: She next undertook to declare provisions, bread, food for the support of life of man, to be included in the list of articles contraband of war. She undertook to exclude us from all commercial intercourse with the colonies of her enemies, because we were sometimes excluded from them in times of peace; but, when she took those colonies, she was constrained to admit us into them herself and she was reduced to the necessity of inviting our people into her own colonies, sometimes in violation of our own laws prohibitory to trade. In the midst of all this political chicanery, and all these vexatious crossings, so large a portion of the commerce and navigation of the world was, by the irresistible course of events, thrown into our hands, that all the floating capital of our wealth was turned into the channels of commerce, and scarcely any manufacturing establishments were attempted until a continual series of aggressions, and at last an undisguised attempt to annihilate our commerce, and to engross even that with her enemies to herself, upon the ruins of all neutral navigation, disclosed on her part the deliberate purpose of forcing us into the war either in league with herself, or as her enemy. In proportion as it became apparent that our neutrality must finally yield to the necessity of self defence, the attention of our people was directed to the necessity of forming among ourselves manufacturing establishments to furnish supplies of the articles most indispensable to the comforts of life, and which we had been accustomed to receive by importation chiefly from the workshops of Great Britain. The injustice of belligerent practices and pretensions in proportion as they became grievous and intolerable, threw us back upon our own resources, gave rise to a succession of measures restrictive of our own commerce, as well as of that which we were contending, & induced a conflict with which finally fretted into open war. In this state of things it was that our dependence upon the manufactural productions of our enemies was most sensibly and extensively felt. Then it was that the conviction became general that domestic manufactures, of all the articles essential to the comfort of human life, were among the primary elements of nation independence.

Let it be observed, that this restrictive system, throughout, and the war in which they terminated, were pre-eminently Southern measures. The Delegation from South Carolina in both houses of Congress, voted unanimously for the declaration of war. They had supported the Administration of Presidents Jefferson and Madison in the whole series of their restrictions; in all their acts of non-importation, of non-intercourse, and embargo. These were not measures acceptable to the Northern and Eastern section of the Union. The people of that portion of the country, and a majority of their Representatives in Congress, remonstrated against them, opposed, resisted, almost rebelled against them. They were forced upon them by the preponderating weight and influence of the South, and by no state of the confederacy more steadily, more inflexibly exercised than by the state of South Carolina. For years before the war, the commerce, the navigation, the fisheries of the North, between the rapacious outrages of the belligerent nations, and the measures of their own Government for the common defence against those outrages, were ground as if to dust. But, by another operation of the same causes, the scarcity and want of all the articles of importation from Great Britain, and indeed from all the rest of the world became intense. The capital and the industry of the Northern and Middle States was thus, by the double pressure of its own revulsion, and of the craving wants of the community, forcibly turned into the channel of domestic manufactures. For the establishment of these, and for the use of the labor-saving machinery, without which they could not be maintained, extensive capitals, costly buildings; expensive and complicated machinery, burdensome purchases of land and water courses, a constant employment of large sums for the stock of raw materials to be wrought up, numbers of working hands to be constantly employed, and to be daily or weekly paid, were all indispensable. Very few, scarcely any, individuals had command of wealth and credit competent to the formation of such establishments. They were formed, therefore, in the truly republican institution of joint stock companies, of which every class of the community may share in the benefit, proportionably to their means & resources—the poor; even the feeblest and most helpless of the poor, females and children by constant moderate labor and remunerating wages—the widow and the orphan, by the investment & interest of any disposable inheritance which may have fallen to their lot: the capitalists of every degree, however affluent or however scanty to deserve the name of capital, by partipation in the stock, the merchant, the mechanic, the farmer, by the market both of purchase and sale of every article required in the management of the concern, and for the supply of all the wants of the numerous individuals occupied in and by the establishment. It would be a very unfair and unjust estimate of these manufactures to consider them as they are sometimes represented, the estates of the idle and pampered lordlings, fattening upon the taxation of the indigent. They are the abodes of laborious industry—the principalities of the destitute—the palaces of the poor.

Of these establishments a considerable number was formed during the restrictive system which preceded the war—a much greater number during the war itself. They were then fostered by all the obstacles which the war itself interposed to protect them from the competition of importations from abroad, and by the double duties of impost upon all articles thus imported. The gush of foreign importations, upon the re-opening of the sluices of commerce so long closed, glutted the markets, and the domestic manufactures were threatened with universal ruin. At the very close of the war they had, by the act of Congress of 18th January, 1813, been heavily visited with taxation themselves, and those duties only were repealed cotemporaneously with the tariff act of 27th April 1816.

This act has been recently said to be only a tariff for revenue; but the internal evidence which it carries with it is amply sufficient to prove the error of that assertion

It contains a graduated scale of ad valorem duties upon different articles from 7½ per cent to fifteen, to twenty, to twenty five, and to thirty per cent, and this graduation is obviously adapted to the condition of the several articles, according as they stood in competition with similar articles manufactured within our own country.

The system of connecting the protection of domestic industry with the revenues collected by the duties of impost, has, therefore, received its principal development since the conclusion of the last war with Great Britain. It has been, in truth, no other than a developement of the faculties of the nation in the progress of its own improvement. This system, at three several periods, has undergone a full and deliberative revision by the Legislative Councils of the Union; at intervals between which two elections of members of the House of Representatives had intervened—in the year 1820, 1824, and 1828. It has, at every one of those successive periods, acquired strength in the opinions of the people, and of their Representatives in Congress.

At its first establishment, however, it met with opposition from that geographical section of the Union which it was foreseen would derive from it the least advantage, and that opposition had increased, at every stage of revision which it has undergone. The discussions upon the several Tariffs which have obtained the sanction of Congress, have increased in animation, and the collisions of interests between the different sections of the Union, have sharpened into a conflict, which, spreading from the Halls of Congress among the people of those sections threatens the permanency of the Union itself. They have led to the arguments which it has been one of the principal objects of this Report to meet and to refute. Of these arguments, that which contests the Constitutional power of Congress to protect the manufactures of the country, by taxation upon the manufactures of foreign nations, has arisen from this controversy. It had never been advanced at the early periods of legislation under our present organization. To prove that Constitutional power has therefore been the earnest endeavor of this Report. But, waving that question altogether if it be admitted that the operation of this system of taxation is unequal upon the different sections of the Union—that it favors one portion of our common country while it acts oppressively upon another—that alone, in the opinion of the committee, is a conclusive reason for abandoning the system, or for so modifying it as to remove the inequality against which remonstrances so earnest have been made. To abandon it altogether, it would seem to be necessary to renounce the whole system of raising a revenue by impost. For, if it be true that duties of impost are paid, not by the consumer of the article but by the producer of the article exported in payment for it, this result is equally applicable, whether the duty of impost be levied for protection or for revenue. The objection is against levying of duties by impost altogether; and if the conclusions of this argument were correct, if it were true that the extraction of revenues from taxation by impost resulted in an inequality of burden upon the different sections of the Union, the committee would have no hesitation in declaring it as their opinion that the whole system of our taxation should be changed; and that all our custom houses should be closed forever. Duties of impost are not the only means of raising revenue, nor even the only means of protecting our domestic industry. If duties of impost necessarily result in burdens on one portion of the community, for the benefit of another, instead of coming to the conclusion that those two portions of the community are under the influence of interests so diametrically opposite to each other, that they cannot continue members of one social compact, the committee would rather say, abandon your system of taxation, raise your revenues by direct tax or by excise; tax your lands; tax your polls; stamp your evidences of title or of debts; tax the food of your people; tax the windows and the furniture of your dwelling houses; tax, as other nations have done, and do, the air that you breathe, and the light of Heaven that visits your eyes—but abandon at once your impost duties, and never dissolve your Union but with death.

Before we come to this extremity, however, the Committee believe it the duty of Congress to use every exertion in their power to conciliate with each other the two great interests which the course of events has brought into direct collision. The occasion is now presented of accomplishing that object; but, in removing and correcting that inequality of which the citizens of one section of our country complain, it is incumbent upon the common legislative protectors of the People to beware, in removing oppression from one part of the Union, of transferring it to another. Especially to beware of converting—perhaps the more proper term would be of perverting—the new & unexampled blessing of relea e from taxation into a fire which shall consume all the manufacturing establishments of the country.

[*To be continued.*]

A correspondent of the New York Mercantile Advertiser, whose name is said "to rank high in the literary annals of the land," communicates the following sketch of the disorderly and disgraceful proceedings exhibited in Philadelphia at one of the recent scrambles for the stock of a new bank.

The scene is High (or Market) street. Fancy a street wider than Broadway, full of such a multitude as assemble at the building of Pandemonium—climbing on carts, horses, barrels, boxes awning rails, stoops and door-posts, and clustering like bees at every casement. You see a brick house, with one of the windows fortified with rough boards; and round the window a tremendous gang of ruffians in shirts, or in buff, (for some as naked as prize-fighters) their heads kerchiefed, their arms bare, their trowsers in tatters; their faces are red, scratched, bruised, scarred and dirty, their clothes (where they have any) dripping with sweat. You hear a stormy roar and babel of shouts, curses groans, shrieks and laughter—it is a tempest of voices. On either side of that boarded window, are stoops, whereon you behold police officers, keeping the peace and adding to the uproar, throwing bottles of water (and rum, for aught I know) to the fainting madmen in the melee, pushing away the unprivileged invaders of their perches of honor, and directing the motions of those who are extracting from the recking mass the successful and the dying competitors. Among the constables and apparently protected by them, are certain half naked *Milos*, furnished with ropes, with which they drag out those tattered-demalions, who have heart or strength enough to noose them under their arms. Look! here is a man walking the heads of the crew, brawny arms grappling at him like crab claws! There goes his breeches! there goes himself!—down vanished! There is another fellow springing up boldly and actively, amid curses and cheers, another effort—a rough hand grasping him by the hair; his feet are kicking up to heaven, he dives headlong into the ocean of sweat and bodies, and is lost. Heaven save us! there they are dragging one out with a rope, as they would drag a shark or a dead horse! God bless his ribs!—"A man dying!"—"O'ch, my God murder! let me out!" "blood"—"Hurrah!" "You son of a fool! Pass rope"—"A fight!—a fight!" Yes two fellows are at it, mauling one another in the stew. A constable jumps among their heads, turns a somerset and vanishes; but law is mighty, and after a while he issues from the human labyrinth with a bloody nosed captive—then the baboons in the street cry out 'Oh cracky!" and cheer him with a mighty laugh.

Is this the city of brotherly love? the very tents of peace of the land! Words are incapable of declaring my horror and disgust at the abominable spectacle. Gold transforms men to beasts; and the legislators of Pennsylvania are aiding & abetting the transformer. Ribs, noes, eyes, skins, arms, and even lives, are here made light of. I have heard that one man died yesterday from exhaustion, and from bruises received at the accursed window.

From the National Gazette.

Extract of a letter from Washington, dated May 28.

I have just come from the House, where Mr. McDuffie spoke on the Tariff for nearly two hours and a half. He has not, however, concluded what he has to say, and I should not be surprised if he occupy as much time to-morrow as he did this morning. His speech, as I heard several northern members and others say, and as I thought myself, was exceedingly able. I never heard any one who impressed me with a higher idea of his powers of analysis, and strong and cogent reasoning. He indulged in little or none of the mere declamation with which his compatriot, Senator Hayne, endeavoured to amuse the fancy and tickle the ears of his audience; his "bursts," though fervid and sometimes eloquent in a high degree, were always opposite and pithy, seeming to be the natural offspring of his logic, in the same way as the foliage of a tree is produced by the strength of the sap in its trunk. He was occasionally, of course, too vehement, not to say violent, but there was nothing frothy either in his manner or matter, whilst his impassioned energy carried that air of deep conviction and sincerity which is so important to an orator. He took a firmer grasp of the subject than Mr. Hayne did, a simpler and clearer view of the objectionable points of the system, and urged them with superior precision and force. I did not think I could sit out an harangue upon the Tariff, of any length, but my attention was almost throughout kept constantly awake and interested: the House also, sick as it must be of the subject, gave every evidence that none of the orator's arguments were lost from being unheeded.

A considerable portion of his discourse was devoted to the developement and support of the argument which was advanced in the leading article of the Telegraph this morning,—that English goods being procured in exchange for southern productions, are as much the result of the labor of the planters as the domestic goods of the north are of that of the manufacturers, & that by laying a duty on the former a tax is imposed on American industry. On this point he was very powerful in his reasoning, and peculiarly happy in his illustrations.—Several members were busy taking notes during his speech for the purpose of answering it, and amongst the rest Mr. Adams. It is supposed here that the debate on the subject will occupy ten or twelve days, after which the Bank question will be taken up. There is a determination, as I was informed by some members, to settle the latter this session. Previous to the speech of Mr. M'Duffie a second effort was made by Mr. Condict, of New Jersey, to cause an inquiry to be made into the conduct of the President with regard to the late club transactions, but it failed.

From the Washington Correspondent of the U States Gazette.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1832.

The discussion on the bank question occupies the Senate from day to day, while the tariff subject monopolizes words and ideas of the other branch. It is now thought by some, that the business may be brought to such a point, as to admit of an adjournment of the two Houses, on or about the 25th of June. It may be so, but I think that no man can yet determine the week that the adjournment will take place. It seems still to be doubtful whether the bank question will be finally determined. Mr. Dickerson will vote for postponement. We have had to-day, in the Senate, a constitutional argument, to which I can see no limit, so long as the inclination to talk may remain unexhausted. At this instant Mr. Tazewell appears to be taking notes for the purpose of discharging a destructive fire at the bank. Mr. Dallas has been replying to him, and has replied to him with more vigor of manner and thought than he displayed in his opening remarks. To the argument of Mr. Tazewell, that the congress, if it possessed the power to create a Bank of the United States, could not delegate to that bank the power to create subordinate banks, Mr. Dallas replied that no such power was delegated; that these subordinate banks are in fact nothing but offices, nothing more than subordinate agents of the bank which is created by congress, and which are necessary to enable it to carry into effect the purposes for which it is created. He argued that it was just as necessary to ask the assent of the states every time there was a movement of the U. States troops through their territories, as to require the assent of states for the establishment of these offices of the U. States Bank.

In reply to the argument in favour of giving to the states the power of taxing the branches, he asked what it was which it was proposed to tax? It was the power of regulating the currency, of distributing and collecting the revenue: subjects which were out of the reach of taxation, and over which the states could not pretend to exercise any jurisdiction. He denied that the franchise, the faculty of the purse, could be taxed by the states any more than the franchise and faculty of the sword. If you could tax the franchise of banking, why not also the faculty of coining, and all the gold and silver coin in the mint? Many senators are poring over the statutes, and over volumes of debates, and the essays of political theorists, not for conviction, not with the desperate expectation of changing a single vote, but for the sole purpose of accumulating the elements of new speeches to consume the public time, and found new claims to public admiration. But all this delay increases the peril of the bill.

It is feared that some such machinery will be put in operation as was used in the case of the Silk Bill, while it was pending in the House of Representatives. There was a confident expectation of the passage of that bill, even among the experienced members of Congress, only the morning before the bill was rejected.—But it is said that a great revolution of votes was effected by the circulation of a paper, among the Jackson men, appealing to them not to place the President in the unpleasant situation of being compelled to veto the bill. Thus the decision of the house is said to have diverted from the course in which it was going, and the bill was defeated. I presume that there was no signature to the paper, but the party by whom it was handed about testified the source whence it emanated. If such a course was found effectual in reference to the Silk Bill, why may it not be resorted to, and with equal success, in reference to the bill to continue the charter of the Bank? There appears to be no limit to the schemes to discipline Congress. When violence fails appeals are made to personal prejudices; and when appeals of that kind fail, outrage is resorted to. Between the two, there seems to be a reasonable probability that congress will become as servile a parliament as ever disgraced the worst periods of English history.

Counterfeit Linseed Oil.—Some person who wished to live by his wits, invented a method of clarifying *fish oil*, in such a manner, that by adding a few gallons of linseed oil to each barrel, the whole appears very much like linseed.—Immense quantities of this spurious oil have been manufactured, we understand at Philadelphia, where one individual is said to have made a fortune by it. It has been sold in various directions, and many good judges have been so deceived by it as to use it for painting. But the deception ends as soon as the paint is well dried, and the bad quality of the oil become apparent, when it is two late to remedy the evil.—*Ports. Jour.*

Splendid Ball—We understand the top of the colored circle in Boston, lately gave a splendid ball at Medford, to which the editor of the Liberator was invited. The dresses wore on the occasion were said to have been uncommonly rich and appropriate. One gentleman, an "*attache*," to one of the Hotels in B., was dressed in drab corduroy breeches, blue stockings, sky blue coat with steel buttons and a scarlet velvet vest, faced with black, and elegantly embroidered with light yellow tape. His lady wore a white satin gown, made short enough to expose about an inch of a yellow flannel petticoat, pointed, and corded with red cord. On her head she wore three yellow pompons, so disposed as to form a three fingered jack. Other dresses equally tasty, were observed. The old fashioned and vulgar dances gave way to the more fashionable and genteel waltzes and quadrilles. The party broke up about *nine* o'clock the next morning, highly delighted with their night's entertainment.

New Bedford Gaz.

"*Singular co-incidence.*—When Judge Clayton visited Philadelphia, as one of the Bank Committee, perhaps the first time he was in Church in that city, he had the happiness to hear a long and fervent prayer offered to *Heaven* for Georgia, the Indians and Missionaries & particularly for the unrighteous Judge who had sentenced the latter to the Penitentiary. We hope the Judge answered AMEN, to the whole prayer, not excepting even the latter clause.

Aug. (*Geo.*) *Cour.*

The Richmond Whig states that a destructive fire occurred in Manchester (near Richmond) on Friday night, the 1st inst. It originated in the kitchen of Mr. McDonald, between twelve and one o'clock, and swept off near or quite thirty buildings before its progress was arrested. Six of the buildings destroyed were on the Main street, in the centre of the Town; the others on a cross street, with out-houses, connected with the principal buildings. The principal sufferers are John Turnip, the Estate of Wm. Bottom, Mr. McDonald, Archibald Bott, Zachariah Hall, Henry A. Bridgewater, Beverly Sizer, and Wm. W. Weisiger.

ARGUMENTUM AD HOMINEM.

The Richmond Enquirer took severely to task Judge Brackenridge for his recent appeal against General Jackson's violation of promise to him. The Enquirer defends the General as well as possible from the rather severe attack of the Judge; and in return, Judge Brackenridge, through the Richmond Whig, thus addresses the editor of the Enquirer:

"Is it not true, Mr. Ritchie, that you denounced General Jackson, and declared that his election *would be a curse to the country?* As you will not deny this, I will give you a piece of information, which will no doubt be acceptable, as it will shew, that General Jackson, at that time, more than reciprocated your sentiments. I have often heard him use these emphatic words, for he was fond of giving emphasis to his expressions—Ritchie is the greatest scoundrel in America: and in one of his letters, he uses the following language, which deserves to be engraven on brass—'I see that I am attacked in Congress by Cocke, Whitman and Williams, *aided by that infamous press, the Richmond Enquirer.* If such a corrupt press, as the Richmond Enquirer were to approbate my conduct, I should think, in some unguarded moment, I had committed some great moral impropriety.'"

So then we understand that Mr. Ritchie and General Jackson have balanced accounts.

Murder will out.—The author of SWALLOW BARN notwithstanding his attempt to preserve the *incognito*, has been betrayed by some Marplot. The correspondent of a Philadelphia paper says that this book was written by *J. P. Kennedy* Esq. of Baltimore; he is a member of the bar, has been a delegate in the legislature, and is much respected.

We have read the book through, and were much pleased with it; the author shows himself a close observer of human nature—his style is easy and his characters not overwrought. From the little we know of Virginia manners and hospitality, we should judge that this was a faithful portraiture; the work loses none of its interest from the scenes being laid so near at home, and the incidents are such as we may easily imagine to occur in the every day intercourse of life.

Georgetown Gaz.

The New York Courier of Friday has the following paragraph:—

Important Decision.—David B. Ogden, Esq. has recently decided, that when an individual sells real estate at public auction, and restricts the auctioneer to a certain price, it is optional with the purchaser whether he will adhere to or reject the purchase.

The American says of the paragraph:—The above statement, from the Courier of this morning, is, we understand, incorrect. The decision made by Mr. Ogden, as arbitrator, was, that when an auctioneer bids for property he offers for sale, and makes repeated bids on himself until he receives a real bid, at which the property is struck off, the purchaser is not bound by the purchase.

When Mr. Duff Green applied to the United States Bank for a loan, he did it through Judge Hemphill, of this city. The request *to* the Judge on the occasion contained the following sentence:

"It may be proper to add, that no accommodation given by the Bank will induce me to alter, in any respect, the course which my paper has pursued in relation to it."

The following is a part of the answer of Mr. Biddle to Mr. Hemphill:

"I will submit the proposal to the Board at their next meeting. In the mean time, I can only say that it will receive from them a kind and respectful consideration, as a matter of business without looking to the past or the future. The Bank is glad to have friends from conviction; but seeks none from interest. For myself, I love the freedom of the press too much to complain of its occasional injustice to me; and if the loan be made, it shall be with a perfect understanding—to be put into the note if necessary—that the borrower is to speak his mind about the Bank just as freely as he did before, which I take to be ample room and verge enough.'"

And Duff Green has ever since spoken his mind as freely as he did before, and the Bank has received its interest. What more was required?—*Phil. U. S. Gaz.*

The Races over the Central Course terminated on Friday with the Jockey Club Purse, $1000, four mile heats, and resulted as follows—

Mr. Badger's b. h. Flying Dutchman, by John Richards, 5 years old	1	3	1
Mr. Corbin's b. h. Nullifier, by Eclipse, 4 years old,	2	1	2
Mr. Snowden's br. h. Reform, by Marylander, 4 years old,	3	4	3
Mr. Selden's ch. h. Sparrowhawk, by Sir Charles,	4	2	dr.

Time, 1st heat, 8m. 3s.—2d heat, 8m. 4s.—third heat, 8m. 19s.

Sparrowhawk received an injury in one of his hoofs, in the second heat, which prevented his starting for the third time.

The Virginia Times announces that the Charlottesville (Virginia) Convention for the purpose of nominating a Vice President, will assemble on the 12th instant.

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