EDITED BY THOMAS RITCHIE.

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The Daily Union.

VOLUME II. "LIBERTY, THE UNION, AND THE CONSTITUTION." NUMBER 72.

WASHINGTON CITY, FRIDAY NIGHT, JULY 24, 1846.

[BY AUTHORITY.]

LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES PASSED AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

AN ACT making appropriations for certain objects of expenditure therein specified.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums of money be, and the same are hereby, appropriated for the several objects of expenditure hereafter specified—viz: For the pay and mileage of members of Congress and delegates, one hundred and seventy-six thousand five hundred and forty-eight dollars. For the expenses of the mission to the wild Indians of the prairie, including the expenses of a delegation of these Indians to the city of Washington and back to their homes, and also some presents to them, fifty thousand dollars: *Provided*, That no other or higher compensation shall be paid to the commissioners appointed to negotiate with said Indians than is authorized by the act approved seventeenth July, eighteen hundred and forty-two, nor shall any expenditure be allowed by the accounting officers but what shall appear to have been proper and reasonable, and which shall, in all respects, be supported by the most satisfactory vouchers: *Provided further*, That no account shall be allowed, except for objects authorized in the instructions to the commissioners: *Provided, however*, that bills or drafts heretofore drawn and negotiated by said commissioners, or either of them, on the commissioner of Indian affairs, in pursuance of instructions and authority given to them, shall be paid out of said appropriation, holding said commissioners to a due accountability for the amount or proceeds of said bills or drafts. For fulfilling treaty with the Kansas Indians—viz: interest on two hundred thousand dollars at five per cent., in lieu of investment per second article of treaty of fourteenth July, eighteen hundred and forty-six, ten thousand dollars; for defraying the necessary expenses of negotiating the treaty, payment to the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for improvements, erection of a mill, and for provisions per same article and treaty, two thousand dollars; for expenses of surveying the western line of lands ceded, and marking the same, per third article of the same treaty, one thousand dollars.

JOHN W. DAVIS,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
G. M. DALLAS,
Vice President of the United States And President of the Senate.

APPROVED, July 23, 1846.
JAMES K. POLK.

SUGAR COATED PILL.—Parents who have difficulty in administering medicine to their children, will find a valuable friend in Dr. Smith's sugar coated bill. Adults will also be pleased with this kind of "medicine-taking made easy." The pill is a good medicine, its novelty aside.

Caution.—As a miserable imitation has been made, by the name of "sugar coated pills," it is necessary to be sure that Dr. G. Benj'n Smith's signature is on every box. Price 25 cents.

July 23—3t J. F. CALLAN.

MORE LIGHT.—Solar lamps and girandoles.—I have this day received from the celebrated factory of Cornelius & Co., a rich assortment of gilt, silvered, and ormula solar lamps and girandoles, embracing all their latest and most beautiful patterns, and will sell them at prices that that will surprise the inquirer.

I have also on hand a general assortment of housekeeping articles, which I have bought extremely low, and will sell at a small advance on their cost. Purchasers are invited to call and examine articles and prices.

C. W. BOTELER, Jr.,
Penn. av., opposite Brown's Hotel.

July 23—2aw3w

NAVY AGENT'S OFFICE,
July 14, 1846.

PUBLIC sale of pickles, butter, and raisins.—Will be sold on Wednesday, the 29th of the present month, (July,) at 11 o'clock, at the navy-yard in this city, the following condemned articles, viz:

75 pounds of pickles
18 do of butter
350 do (14 boxes) raisins.

Terms, cash.

WM. B. SCOTT,
July 14 Navy Agent.

SCOTT'S Patent Refrigerator.—The subscriber has in store a few of the above celebrated refrigerators, which he offers for sale at Baltimore cash prices. They are admitted, by those who have used them, to be in every respect superior to all others, and are warranted to give entire satisfaction to the purchaser.

The following recommendation is from a gentleman of this city, who has had one in use for a month past:

"I should be sorry now to take fifty dollars for the refrigerator if I could not purchase one of the same kind. It is decidedly superior to any I have ever seen, and I shall take every opportunity to recommend it. I know I should be doing a friend a favor that I should prevail on to buy one.

"A. O. DAYTON."

The subscriber is also permitted to refer to—

Hon. John Quincy Adams, Hon. Daniel Webster, Marshall Brown, esq., Edward Johnson, esq., Samuel Ashby, esq., Ashton White, esq., Mr. Ulrich, — Washington.

R. Jamieson, esq., Pres't Farmers' Bank, Lewis A. Cazenove, esq., Nathan Loughborough, esq., — Alexandria and Georgetown.

He has also in store Cortlan & Sons' improved water-cooler or non-conductor of heat. This is altogether the most convenient and economical water-jar in use, and ought to be found in every counting-house and private family in the city.

FITZHUGH COYLE,
General commission and
July 16—3t Agricultural warehouse.

A CARD.

DR. GIBSON, Professor of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, intending to remain from May until October at Middleburg, Loudoun county, Virginia, all letters for him south of Washington may be sent to that destination, instead of Philadelphia. May 16—eod1m*

WANTED—In a private family, a female teacher, for the instruction of small children, and to live with the family. Apply at the corner of 15th and G streets, next house to the green-house.

July 21—6t*

FLY PAPER.—An additional supply of the celebrated fly paper so efficacious in destroying flies, mosquitoes, &c. To-day received for sale by

July 21—6t J. F. CALLAN.

BOARDING.—Mrs. Gassaway, nearly opposite to Brown's, has three handsome rooms vacant, which she will let with or without board. March 19—tf

CONGRESSIONAL.

SPEECH OF MR. SEDDON,

OF VIRGINIA.

In the House of Representatives, June, 29, 1846—On the tariff question.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, on the bill reducing the duty on imports, and for other purposes—

CONCLUDED.

Mr. SEDDON said:

Further to explode this much-puffed home market of the manufacturers, it is only necessary to contemplate the circumstances of our country, its extent and resources, and the necessary excess of its productions over domestic consumption. The agricultural and planting interests must greatly predominate, and for centuries to come, far the larger proportion of our citizens must be engaged in the culture of the earth. Without any pretension to strict accuracy, but as a reasonable approximation to truth, it has been estimated that the labor of one agriculturist will suffice for the support of ten manufacturers. How, then, when the agricultural must far exceed the manufacturing classes, and the disproportion between them, by natural increase, is daily enhancing, is it possible to conceive that the home market of the manufacturers can seriously diminish or absorb the products of the agriculturists? Reference to the statistics furnished by the returns to the Secretary of the Treasury in 1810, and the report of Tench Coxe, already alluded to, as contrasted with the results of the census of 1840, conclusively establishes the folly of looking to the home market of the protected classes. Since 1813, notwithstanding all the stimulants of thirty years of nearly uninterrupted protection, manufactures have advanced less than 75 per cent. in annual yield, while the products of agriculture have been more than tripled, and very nearly quadrupled. How long it will be before, at this rate of comparative progress, the manufacturers shall afford a *home* market to the surplus production of the agriculturists, I submit to the ingenious casuistry of such protectionists as, emboldened by their frequent argument that the competition of one country exceeds the competition of that and all others besides, or, in plainer language, that the part is greater than the whole, may feel disposed to signalize themselves by establishing that the less contains the greater. No, sir; let "no pent-up Utica confine our powers." The expansive energies and enlarging products of our agriculturists demand the markets of the world. As it now is, under the operation of your unwise restrictions, they suffer enormous exactions at home, and at the same time have their resources dried up at the fountain by depression of prices, and their rightful avenues to gainful exchanges and enlarged consumption, from their best customers, blocked up or sensibly narrowed. While so suffering, they are, in insult to their intelligence or derision of their wrongs, sought to be soothed by lullaby promises that they also receive protection. Well may they reply, "We need no protection, and least of all such as you will give us."

The oppressive operation of the system on the commercial and navigating interests of the country are apparent to the most superficial observation, though their extent is perhaps not in general duly appreciated. With the cutting off of imports, the decline of exports, the very elements of their sustenance and prosperity are withdrawn. The gains of commerce are naturally greatest, as likewise the employment of capital, ships, and sailors, in the most extended foreign exchanges. The carrying trade between distant countries, and especially of the great products of southern regions, has ever constituted the prime sources of wealth and power. In all history, whatever nation has most largely engrossed it has for the time been the seat of riches and dominion, of refinement, the arts, and all the concomitants of diffused intelligence and advanced civilization. To this Tyre, but a city on piers, owed the magnificence and wealth which justified the description of Holy Writ, that her "merchants were princes and her traffickers the honorable of the earth." With it Carthage so long sustained with the conquerors of the olden world her renowned struggle for mastery and empire. In the glory of its transient possession, Venice was hailed as the bride of the seas, and a city of lagunes and swamps shone resplendent with palaces and temples, and almost alone breasted and broke the advancing tide of Moslem fanaticism, before which all Christendom trembled. From Portugal to Spain, from Spain to Holland, and finally to England, as this trade has passed, it has borne on its crest the sceptre of the seas, and brought in its wake all the most valuable resources of power, wealth, and progress in the arts and refinements of life. Among the youngest nations of the earth, from our cradle the blood inherited from the old sea-kings of the north, and stimulated in its transmission through the veins of our parent country, has displayed itself, and, from the advantages of our position, the genius of our people, the freedom of our institutions, and through our happy union, the command of so many of the staple products of the earth in its temperate and tropic climes, we have entered nobly, and with every prospect of success, in the race of competition with the nations of the earth for the commerce of the world. The struggle is a glorious one, not, I trust, to be conducted amid the thunders of war, and signalized at every step by the crash of armaments and the groans of the dying and the dead, but by the arts of peace, amid the exchange of reciprocal benefits, and to be won by the first in the gifts of Providence, and the most wise to discern and develop, by casting off all trammels, the freeborn energies of its people and the resources of its position. I believe it to be our high mission to snatch the palm, and in this "march upon the mountain wave," to surpass the renown and prowess even of Albion's sea-girt isle and her world-famed tars. But to do so, restrictions and impositions must be thrown off, and the wings of our commerce plumed to fly over every sea, and visit every clime. The petty coasting trade, which your restrictive system boasts, though, if statistics are to be credited, erringly even here, to substitute to your wide-spread commerce in the import of manufactures and their exchanging exports, creeping, as it must do, from shore to shore, and finding its fittest vehicles in the small craft of schooners and boats, can never supply the nurseries of hardy seamen, create the fleets of stately merchantmen and "rich-freighted argosies," engage the enterprise and capital or draw the returns in the products and treasures of every clime, that are requisite to give pre-eminence in the boundless tracts of old ocean's realm.

Apart from such far-sighted policy, as a simple question of national gain in each case, it may be well questioned whether the supply of any article of consumption here had not better be supplied by commerce from the most distant point, than by internal production, provided, as, indeed, in no other case it will be introduced from abroad, it can be furnished by importation as cheaply. For, while by the consumption of the internal product, you may give reasonable gains to one person, the producer (or at most to two, himself and his retailer,) by the use of the imported article, you have given larger gains to the foreign producer, to the intermediate agents who sell for him, to the navigators who have transported it, to the importer, and the retailer. While, therefore, the home consumer receives at the same cost, and is no sufferer, he has benefited a larger number even of his own countrymen, and foreigners besides; and if, in addition, as to a considerable must be, those foreigners have been paid by the products of the consumer or his countrymen, he has gained to himself, or given to some fellow countryman, all the profits on such sale of his products. In other words, where the cost of production is cheaper abroad, and it can be furnished at the same price with the internal products, there must be a larger margin of profit, on which may be written the names of all engaged in effecting the exchange, and, likewise, that of the producer of the article, with which the foreign import has been purchased.

With this illustration of the superior benefits of foreign commerce, and how distributed, who can appreciate the extent and infinite number of losses sustained to the whole nation, but especially the mercantile and maritime classes, by the persistence for nearly thirty years, though in different degrees, in this restrictive system? I will not venture to estimate the losses from its sapping and insidious influences on either of the two great interests, mercantile or agricultural, lest the amounts, as well of what has been positively given up, as of what might and would readily have been realized, should appear so enormous as to excite incredulity and deter from inquiry. Imperfectly and generally, as only my time would allow, I have sought to expose the baneful influences of its insidious agencies; and I only request the candid hearer, who may be convinced of the justice of my reasoning, to ponder and calculate for himself the frightful aggregate of its total losses. He will be worse than an infidel if he be not then converted, for he will have care neither for his people nor his household.

Hitherto, Mr. Chairman, attention has been asked to the effects of the protective system on the different classes of the people in the Union considered collectively; but perhaps its harshest features would be overlooked if its sectional partialities and its peculiar injustice on large portions of the Union were not at least briefly exposed. To a limited portion of the north, the bounties and monopolies given to the manufacturers, who constitute the preponderating class, and collaterally dispensed among their dependent employees and neighboring supporters, may perhaps overbalance its general mischiefs. To other portions, its operations may be accompanied by countervailing agencies or partial compensations, which may alleviate its oppressions. But to much of the west and all of the south, its effects are those of unalloyed oppression. Such sectional inequalities might naturally have been expected from the attempts even of the wisest to encourage by federal legislation special branches of industry, and to regulate the employment of labor and capital in a country of such wide extent, varied products, and diversified interests as that of our Union. On this account, the spirit and theory of our government, to say nothing of the strict requisitions of its written constitution, require that only the few great interests, national in their character and common to all, should be supervised and controlled by the federal authorities, and that the special interests or peculiar pursuits of the people of the States respectively should be left exclusively to their local legislatures. How palpably these wise considerations of our peculiar policy have been disregarded, and the essential relations of our government, State and federal disturbed, let this very protective system, with the effects it has wrought, and the dangers it has menaced, strikingly display. The protective interests, with few exceptions, from the commencement have existed almost exclusively in the north and one or two of the middle States; while other sections, and the whole south particularly, have, from the nature of their agricultural and staple interests, been incapable of receiving encouragement or support from any equivalent system of partial legislation. Hence the adoption of a system of *forcing* industry and *tempting* capital and labor to special pursuits, has redounded, so far as advantage was attainable, wholly to the north, while the south has felt the operation only in burdens and forced contributions. This has gone so far that for years, as the south has firmly believed, the special interests of only a few States, which should never have looked beyond the supervision of their local governments, have virtually controlled the legislation and corrupted the administration of the federal Union, especially on the all-important subjects of taxation and expenditure, to such extent that all the burdens of the former, and much more in the nature of bounties, have been practically cast on them, while, with the exception of occasional crumbs doled to them, all the benefits of the latter have been engrossed by the paramount section. I need not say to what extremities such convictions but a few years since led one of the most enlightened and gallant States of the south, nor by what prudent concessions and wise counsels the crisis which theatened a fratricidal war, and was big with the fate of the Union itself, was averted. The transactions of that deeply interesting period are fresh in the recollections of the nation, and many a patriot heart yet beats faint at the remembrance of the sad presages then indulged. It seemed almost inevitable that before another anniversary of our national independence, the proud banner of our country, emblem of the happy union of these States, would wave in severed stripes; or that, as the least evil, from its pure azure would be blotted out one of its fairest stars—a Pleiad lost forever to its sister throng. It is lamentable to reflect that the guarantees of the compromise bill, which, though veiled in the forms of legislation, was as sacred a compact as was ever sealed by contending parties on their country's altar, and which rebound, in the bonds of peace and fraternity, the alienated feelings of a sovereign State, should have been ever marred at the instigations of sectional cupidity and under the frivolous pretext or a transient necessity. The deed was done, however, in the passage of the odious act of 1842. And again the almost united voice of the south is raised in remonstrance and appeal against the renewed oppressions of the hateful system. No front of menace is assumed, nor is the last resort of nullification contemplated, but only the claims of justice, of plighted faith and party pledges, are relied on to secure redress. The admonitions of the past should not, however, be unheeded, and the goad of oppression should be removed before it shall have driven to madness.

But, Mr. Chairman, when we of the south have been denouncing the sectional favoritism and unreasonable monopolies awarded by the protective system to the manufacturers of the north, the taunting inquiry has more than once, in this very debate, been addressed to us, why we do not participate in its bounties and share its spoils by the establishment of manufactures among our people; and not a few covert sneers have been indulged at their supposed want of providence and enterprise. The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. WINTHROP,] having understood that some few manufacturing establishments have been started in the south, and especially in my own State, has more kindly tendered his congratulations that our people are awaking to a sense of their interests, and are soon to follow in the wake of the protected classes. Sir, I much fear the congratulation is as ill-timed as the taunts are unmerited. Unless grievously mistaken in convictions, not adopted without some thought, I believe the people of the South have not embarked, and ought not in prudence to embark to any great extent, in manufactures, because they, without default or lack of industry on their part, labor under disadvantages which preclude them from equal competition with the people of the North in supplying with manufactured products the general consumption of the country. No rational man wonders that the people of bleak New England do not engage in the culture of sugar; nor that the citizens of Louisiana do not betake themselves to the manufacture of ice; because, in such instances, the obstacles of nature, palpable to all, evidently preclude from such waste of capital and labor. Yet, sir, in the constitution and circumstances of societies, elements of disadvantage and inaptitude for particular industrial pursuits, if not of equal potency with physical impediments, may exist in such controlling influence, that when discerned and estimated, they will be readily admitted to preclude from the successful prosecution of those pursuits. Such, I believe to exist in the south, including my own State, with which I am best acquainted, at least relatively with the north, and especially New England. To elucidate the facts tending to prove such relative disadvantages, and to explain the nature and effects of the causes for them, I shall, Mr. Chairman, select and contrast the States of Virginia and Massachusetts, as the leading ones of their respective sections.

From the report of Tench Coxe in 1813 already alluded to, the fact appears, that as early as 1810, before the commencement of the protective system, the annual value of the manufactures in Massachusetts, then having in whole numbers a population of 400,000, was $21,000,000, while in Virginia, with a population more than double, (say 900,000,) the annual value of all her manufactures was (in round numbers) $15,000,000. At that remote period, then, before any forced diversion by embargoes, or by the temptations of the protective system of the capital and labor of Massachusetts to manufacturing, from the operation of some general causes, there was such greater proclivity and adaptation on the part of her people to manufacturing over those of Virginia, that with less than half her population she produced annually a much larger amount of manufactures. In estimating, too, these relative products in this line at that time, we must also bear in mind how much fewer were the facilities of intercourse and transportation of products, and that such difficulties tended very much to force manufactures in each State for its own supply, and to prevent distant States though better adapted to the business from supplying its wants. The disproportion then was probably less against Virginia than it would have been had present facilities of communication been enjoyed. Again, after the lapse of thirty years, from the accurate statistics of the census of 1840, we find the whole manufacturing capital invested in Virginia was only about $12,000,000, being less by $3,000,000 than the annual value of her manufactures in 1813, while that so invested in Massachusetts was near four times as much: still the population of the former exceeded that of the latter by 500,000—very nearly the same as in 1810. To make the existing disproportion more strikingly manifest, I may state, that from statistics recently taken with much care in Massachusetts, the annual value of her manufactures now amounts to $87,000,000; and although we are without similar statistics from Virginia, no citizen of that State will pretend there has been anything like a proportionate increase within the last few years. During this period, the embargo, war, and the protective system, gave, it is true, excessive stimulants to increase of manufactures. But as they operated in the offer of inducements alike to the people of both States, the fact does not weaken the argument. Indeed, it may be fairly argued that at the commencement of those measures of restriction, they were deemed odious and oppressive in Massachusetts, and there was every disposition to evade and resist their natural effects; while on the other hand, in Virginia the feelings of the people strongly sustained them as hostile retaliations; and it was esteemed patriotic and praiseworthy to develop the resources of the country, and to meet the deprivations of the times by encouraging the production and use of domestic manufactures. Moral influences, therefore, tended to make the incentives to manufacture, resulting from the action of the government at their commencement, more potent in Virginia and the south generally than in New England. Yet, notwithstanding, in the latter manufactures were speedily established and grew apace, while in the former they advanced not at all, if they did not positively decline. And now the result relatively is, that near three-fourths of the capital and labor employed in the production of manufactures in the Union, are to be found in the States north of the Potomac. Now, Mr. Chairman, for these striking facts, so clearly indicative of the earlier establishment and more successful prosecution of manufactures at the north than in the south, even against strong moral influences, there must have been general and pervading causes. There must have been decisive advantages for such productions in the one section over the other. And what, sir, were they?

I know, sir, it has been but too common to ascribe them to alleged superiority on the part of the people of the north in industry, enterprise, and economy. The supposition has been too flattering to the pride of the north not to receive ready acceptation there; while, at the south, casual observation of the superior bustle and outward manifestations of industry incident to crowded marts, and the pursuits that collect men together, over the avocations of agriculture and the quiet of the fields, has given some plausibility to the idea. So far as the purposes of the view I am now presenting are concerned, it would matter little whether the disadvantages of the south for manufactures were to be found in such alleged characteristics of her people, rather than in the circumstances of their situation; for they would still be general and abiding. It were as vain to expect "the Ethiopian to change his skin or the leopard his spots," as that the attributes of a people, whether for indolence or industry, may be changed, save in long tracts of time, and under causes of stringent necessity. The gayety of the French, the pride of the Spaniard, the phlegm of the German, and the indolence of the Italian, all exist now, notwithstanding the mutations of time and events, as they did centuries ago; and perhaps few things in the world are more ineradicable and abiding than the characteristics of people and races. But, sir, I believe the supposition wholly unfounded, and a libel on the people of the south. A slave population, the command of more domestics, and agricultural pursuits, afford them more facilities for liberal hospitality and social enjoyments; but their indulgencies are neither more numerous nor more wasteful of time than those of the north. Speaking particularly of my own State, I believe its people are as industrious and prudent—as spirited, enterprising, and energetic, as any in the north. I say this deliberately, on full conviction, after not a little travel and observation in both sections. Their lines of pursuit are variant, and consequently their manifestations of energy differ; but compare them wherever they meet in a common field of effort, and Virginia may pride herself in the result. Look to your navy and your army, where young men selected from every State meet in fair competition for distinction and glory. Virginians have certainly not been excelled. In the civil service of the country, open to the equal aspirations of all, whether in diplomacy, in legislation, or the statesmanship required to guide the councils and wield the powers of the Union, my native State will boast for her sons no pre-eminence, but may certainly claim, in the history of the past, at least equality of honor and usefulness. Consider, too, her proud title as *the mother of States*. In the enterprises of emigration, requiring such large sacrifices of comfort and ease, and the encounter with hardships in every form, and so indicative of energy and perseverance, her people have ever been prominent; and I appeal with confidence to the representatives of all those sections, whether of the south or northwest, wherever her emigrants have pitched their tents, either in the wilderness or amid the marts of business, and entered, amid a strange people, in fair struggle with those from all other sections for fortune and honor, if they have not been found, in the intelligence, industry, and steadfast effort which insure success, equal to any, and surpassed by none. Such, in my journeying, I am proud to say, I have ever found the case. In fact, sir, in the rapid subjugation to culture of the immense wastes of the west and southwest, and their vast increase in wealth, in production, and in population, may be found the results of the industry and enterprise of the people of Virginia, and the other southern Atlantic States, directed in their natural lines and exhibited in their appropriate manifestations. The pursuits of their people are, and for a long future must be, planting and agricultural; and for evidences of their industry, you must look to the staple products of these branches. Here, sir, the statistics of the country show a reverse of the picture to that presented by comparison of manufactures, and the increase of the south has been most striking and gratifying. I will not weary with details, but the great southern staple of cotton, raised to such extent by the industry and capital drawn from my own State, has swollen more in amount of production and value, political and pecuniary, to the nation, than perhaps any other product of the Union. That Virginia has declined—no, sir, *she has not declined*, but that she has not advanced as rapidly in wealth and population as the northern States—is too easily accounted for to warrant imputations of sloth or profusion to her people. In the great field of industry, agriculture, to which nature and circumstances have limited her, she has been brought in direct competition with the rapidly developed resources of the virgin lands of the south and west, while to the industrial pursuits of the north, commerce and manufactures, aided, too, as the last have been by partial legislation, these very resources, in their growth and yield, have imparted aliment and stimulant. That under such circumstances the southern Atlantic States should have *maintained their own*, instead of being matter of taunt or injurious reflection, is the best possible proof of the industrious attributes of their people.

Other more satisfactory causes for the greater advance uniformly made in the establishment and growth of manufactures in the north, must then exist. Many subsidiary ones, of latent operation, my time will not allow me to develop; but the leading ones, I venture to think, Mr. Chairman, are of easy detection and explanation. I will briefly state them.

In the first place, owing to the more steril soil and bleaker clime of the north, its people never had as strong inducements or as great addiction to the pursuits of agriculture as prevailed under the more genial sun and amid the greater fecundity of the south. From the greater length and severity of their winters, a large proportion of the year had necessarily to be given to other avocations and indoor employments. These causes operated, both morally and physically, to wean from rustic employments, and to divert to varied pursuits of more profit to them, and of more constant employment. Their effects were, from the earliest periods of northern settlement, seen in the withdrawal of her people from the land to the sea—to commerce, navigation, and the fisheries; and subsequently, as the advance of the country created a demand, to works of handicraft and of manufacture. Here is a great natural cause, to some extent always operative; but of course more and more influential, as under the protective system stronger inducements were, from time to time, given to manufacturing industry.

Co-operating with this as a second great cause, may be mentioned the difference between the laboring classes of the north and south—the former free and white; the latter black and slaves. Now Mr. Chairman, I neither believe nor admit the slavery of the south to be a great evil, moral and social. The compensations which, through the benignity of Providence, temper the operation of all general laws, moral or physical, and far more equitably than is generally believed, set off the relative advantages and disadvantages of different societies and individuals, have, in relation to this institution of slavery, striking display.

To the black race, I have no question, the condition of domestic slavery, as it exists with us in the south, is the best they can hold, and affords more comfort for the present, and prospect of improvement and advance in the future, than are enjoyed by any of their color or stage of civilization in the world. It was a frequent remark of John Randolph—and it is emphatically true—that they consume a larger proportion of the profits of their labor than any working class on earth. In the influence of the institution on the politics, the morality, the social relations, and the manners of the whites of the south, I am inclined to believe it highly beneficial. We are exempted by it, too, from the awful risks which are to attend the solution of the great problem of modern civilization—so formidable to all governments, but especially republican—how the sharp competition and grinding struggle between capital and labor are to end. But that there are economical ills incident to slavery, few will deny. That the resultant from the labor of the free as compared with the slave, even of the same race, will be a larger aggregate of value cannot be doubted, when the superior incentives of the former are considered. The disparity must be enhanced when the slave is of a more degraded race, endowed with less capacity, and of inferior skill. We may therefore safely conclude the labor of the free white man of the north to be more productive than that of the black slave of the south. As, too, the white laborer has stronger inducements to save, and is endowed with more foresight and sagacity, there will be more frugality and less waste in reference to his products. The slaves of the south, too, interpose most serious obstacles to diversifying pursuits and withdrawing labor from agriculture. For most higher branches of industry they are unfit, from deficiency of intelligence. Their owner, too, has always on him the burden of maintaining and providing for them—the superannuated, the young, the feeble, and the sick, as well as the healthy and the able-bodied; and this obligation can manifestly be most readily and cheaply redeemed upon a farm, where habitations cost nothing, and the spontaneous growth and incidental products largely contribute to subsistence. The employments, too, in which slaves can be profitable, must be permanent in the amount of labor demanded, and not, as in very many branches manufactures, requiring at particular times and seasons great accessions of force; for, if owned, they must of course be kept always engaged; and if hired, they cannot be commanded in large numbers, except for long periods. Indeed, sir, I believe the history of the world will show that, with a large slave population, it is inevitable that agriculture should be the main occupation of the people. Now, sir, the advantages afforded by the white labor of the north in the conduct of manufactures must be manifest. They are better suited for varied pursuits and ready division of labor; they have far more intelligence and aptitude to acquire the information and skill indispensable to all higher branches of manufactures. They may be readily allured by the prospect of employment in different directions, and commanded in the number and at the times required. Their labor is more productive, and consequently cheaper, and less of their gains are consumed or wasted. But it may be asked, why white labor of a similar kind may not be employed at the south equally as at the north. Sir, the slave population, to a great extent, excludes the class which furnishes such labor, and except perhaps in a few towns of the south, it cannot be commanded at all in any amount. Even where it may be had, both from the limited supply and the prejudice in a slave country to such hireling employments, wages must be, and, as experience has shown, are always higher than at the north. In view, therefore, both of facilities for manufacture and capacity for cheap production, a permanent superiority results to the north from the nature of its laboring classes.

A third most important advantage, Mr. Chairman, was possessed by the north, in the much larger amount of its floating or personal capital, which, embarked in commercial or other speculative pursuits, could be more easily diverted, and directed, when inducements presented, to the production of manufactures. The capital of the south was mainly invested in lands and slaves, which are at all times proverbially difficult of conversion, but which, if thrown, to a great extent, at any one time, under a common inducement to embark in other pursuits, upon the market, could not be realized at all, or only at ruinous sacrifices. The case was widely different at the north. Personal capital might easily be commanded, might be drawn from trade or commerce, and directed whithersoever the prospect of profit tempted. In aid of this advantage, too, the north has always been the seat of the national and other more important banks of the country and the points where the revenues of the government were collected, and made the basis of extended issues and enlarged credits. It enjoyed, therefore, much more available capital, and had, besides, the most important aids in the facility of obtaining loans and dealing on credit. The extent of this advantage may be difficult of appreciation, but would alone have been decisive.

A fourth important advantage of the north may be found in its vicinity to the leading markets of the country, and the consequent facility with which its manufactured products could be thrown in the cut channels of general supply, and substituted to foreign products, as they were excluded by high duties or otherwise. The commercial cities of the north have very long been the sources whence the supplies of manufactures, as of almost all other goods, were obtained for all sections of the Union. To them, retailing merchants from all quarters of the country resorted for their assortments. Facilities of access and transport to them were much greater at the north than from the more distant south; consequently, whenever either, from the natural wants of the Union, or the shutting out of foreign imports, demand existed there for manufactured products, they would be, from the first, most cheaply and naturally supplied from the adjoining States. When the difficulty of diverting established channels of trade and the importance of falling in with them are considered, this advantage will readily be recognised as of no slight moment.

A fifth cause, kindred in its nature to the last, may be found in the fact, that the denser population of the north always afforded more extensive demand and consumption in those regions around manufacturing establishments, which would naturally seek them for supplies, and at the same time co-operating with the commercial and trading pursuits of the people and their speculative tendencies, induced the earlier opening, by railroads and canals, of avenues of access to distant sections, the markets of which might be engrossed. A firmer basis of support at home was thus secured in the first instance, and, in addition, the sphere of extended operations was constantly enlarging. To these results the larger capital, the diversified pursuits, and the greater amount of travel and superior importance of despatch in communication incident to a commercial people, largely contributed. Their existence cannot be questioned; nor can their effective influences in giving to the North greater facilities for the establishment of manufactures and the supply of general consumption, be well overrated.

All these advantages to which not a few more might be added, if time allowed, have existed from a very early period in favor of the north over the south, in respect to manufactures, and still exist, Mr. Chairman, in even more than original potency. The stimulants which have been almost constantly, for thirty years, applied by partial legislation, have accelerated their development and confirmed their controlling power. From their own nature, too, they have grown and strengthed by exercise and display. Population has become, in points favorable to manufactures, denser; labor, in larger supply and of more competency and skill, is more cheaply furnished; capital has accumulated, at a constantly accelerating rate, and been largely added to by the extortions made by the protective system on every other section. The manufacturing establishments have become more stable, and supplied with more abundant resources, and better prepared to sustain competition and reverses. In view of these things, may not the protective system be well characterized as "adding unto those who already have, and taking from those who have not even that which they have?"

When all the advantages I have referred to, Mr. Chairman, are fairly considered and estimated, I appeal to the candid to determine whether the prospect held out to the south of successful competition with the north, in the supply of manufactures for the general consumption of the country, be not a mockery and delusion. The south would be infatuated indeed to be so reconciled to the inequalities and oppressions of the protective system. Sir, advantages for the production of manufactures, kindred in nature, and probably not less decided than those which are enjoyed by Old England over New England, are enjoyed by the latter, and the north generally, over the south. More accumulated capital, longer experience, greater skill, more productive and cheaper labor, established factories, and channels of trade already cut—all exist relatively between the north and the south, if not as fully, yet with as controlling influences, as between the north and the European nations. If the north required, and still demand protection against the latter for the establishment and growth of manufactures among them, reason to the full as strong will demand equal encouragement and protection in our behalf against the north before manufactures can exist and flourish vigorously with us. But the uniformity required by the constitution in its imposts among the States, and the perfect freedom of trade so happily guarantied and enjoyed among them, (and it is astonishing how, in such connexion, the benefits of equal justice and free trade are appreciated and lauded by the most clamorous protectionists,) are generally believed to prohibit legislation on the part of any of the States designed to exclude from the south the manufactures of any other section, or to make any distinction between those of the two sections in favor of the weaker. Nor, unless ground down by the oppressions of the protective system, until retaliation and defence become, on the part of the south, works of necessity and self-preservation, do I think such forced diversion of southern labor and capital from its natural channels, even if constitutional, would be wise or profitable. Let the north enjoy its natural advantages, and even those in addition which oppressive sectional legislation has so far extorted from us, and may God speed and prosper it, provided only the leech will now loose its hold, and not drain us to further exhaustion.

But now, Mr. Chairman, in view of all that I have said, I would ask men of capital and enterprise in the south, and especially in my own State, if it be wise or prudent in them to embark in manufacturing, with a view to the supply of the general consumption of the country. In some few articles, and to a limited extent in others, as I shall presently endeavor to show, they may profitably engage; but beyond I will warn and entreat them not to venture. Sir, the line of argument I have adopted was, to some extent, induced by a desire to meet and refute the idle imputations in constant vogue about the sloth and improvidence of the south. But, sir, high considerations of duty have constrained me to do much more. Though the office was an ungracious one, and to some, who may not appreciate my motives, may prove offensive; and though in its discharge I have been compelled to exhibit facts neither palatable to my own State pride nor to the feelings of my constituents, as a sentinel on the watch tower, I have felt bound, by the strongest convictions of duty, to admonish and guard my fellow-citizens of the south from enterprises of inutility and ruinous hazard. Of late, sir, it has been the fashion with many, and the earnest effort of an influential political party in the south, to decry its natural pursuits and the real industry of its people, and to recommend, as wise and politic, diversion of labor and capital from agriculture to manufacture. To some extent the influence has prevailed, and, under the extraordinary incentives of the tariff of 1842, some of the most enterprising of our citizens have embarked their fortunes in the perilous experiment, while still more may be contemplating a like step. Let them pause and reflect well before their course be determined. I would advise them, above all, not to be deluded by the fleeting profits which may have attended similar enterprises under the immediate effects of the high protection afforded by the tariff of 1842. When high protection is at first afforded, and foreign imports largely excluded or extravagantly raised in price, to supply the deficiency or meet the demand at exorbitant prices, affords a fair field of profit to adventurers from all sections. Such large profits are realized, that establishments even in the least favorable situations, and under the greatest disadvantages, may flourish and divide large receipts, though of course to less extent than others more fortunately established. Under these circumstances, while the manufacturers of the north may divide twenty, thirty, or forty per cent: profit, the less-favored adventurers of the south may realize some ten, fifteen, or even twenty per cent. gains. But, sir, their summer is brief, and then must come a nipping frost. Whether the tariff be maintained or repealed, the time of keen competition with the production of the north or the foreign production, or both combined, must come. As I have heretofore shown, the domestic alone, over-stimulated, will inevitably glut the market, and the keen struggle, first for reasonable profit, then for mere existence, will ensue.

Sir, the field will be engrossed by the most favored; the decisive advantages enjoyed by the north must prevail; larger capital, greater cheapness of production, more extended trade, and the longer growth of these establishments at the north, will put down the feebler factories of the south, and precipitate the projectors to ruin. We are not without warnings from the past of similar catastrophes. In travelling in my own State, I have not unfrequently found in some remote valley, by some sequestered stream, a deserted and dilapidated building, which was known as "the factory." On inquiring, I have learned that it was established under the protection of the war, or the early tariff of 1816, and for a while flourished prosperously. But it had soon gone down notwithstanding the projector, as his enterprise manifested, was among the most industrious and energetic of his vicinity, and he was fortunate indeed if his fortunes had not been bankrupted with it. It stood a monument to warn against like folly in the future. So, sir, in 1824, Mr. Clay perceiving, as the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. WINTHROP] now, indications of manufacturing enterprises in my own State, expressed his exultant conviction that Virginia would be the next State to wheel into line, and hitch herself to the car of protection. All the stimulants of the tariff of that year, and of the bill of abominations of 1828, could not long save such efforts from the natural fate of their feebler position, and the inevitable disadvantages to which they were subjected. They, too, I believe, with scarce an exception, likewise fell a speedy sacrifice, involving loss for the time, but admonition for the future. After the tariff of 1832, and within my own recollection, similar experiments were repeated; but how few survived the gluts and revulsions of 1837 and 1839! The tariff of 1842 has presented again enticements too strong to be by all resisted, and once more to some slight extent, its fair seeming of profit has veiled from the unwary the rocks in advance, which have made shipwreck of the fortunes of many. I trust greater prudence and wisdom may with all such avert the calamities of the past. But, sir, my conviction is, their establishments are based on unstable foundations, which, sand by sand, will be worn away by the friction of competition, growing every day more sharp, until, if timely refuge be not found, by their downfall they will involve in common ruin all concerned.

I have said, Mr. Chairman, that some few kinds of manufactures constituted exceptions to the general considerations I have been urging, and from peculiar causes may be successfully prosecuted in the south. Among these, I have no doubt, superior facilities in obtaining the raw material and the adaptation of our slave labor to employment in it, place the manufacture of tobacco. Similar advantages, coming in aid of the fact that machinery is the chief agent of production, and that even where slaves cannot be employed, the labor required is, for the most part, that of children and females, otherwise almost wholly lost, may likewise include the manufactures of coarse cottons in the exception. So, likewise, of the manufacture of nails, which are made mainly by machinery, and, perhaps, also of iron in favored situations, where fuel and ore abound. There may be other exceptions which my limited knowledge of the elements essential to their production will not allow me to determine; but if so, I trust the general principles I have endeavored to elucidate will enable any possessed of more practical knowledge readily to decide in each case. Beyond these exceptions, I think it the part of wisdom to forbear competition with the north, and not to essay the supply of the general consumption of the country. To a limited extent, however, manufactures of all kinds may be prosperously conducted in our southern cities. Around each there is always a district, more or less extensive, which trades with and obtains supplies from it. This constitutes to such city a home market, in which, from vicinity, habits of trade, and facilities of access, it must enjoy decided advantages over more distant marts; and to the extent of the wants of such neighboring region, its supplies will be preferred, and it may profitably embark in their production. The true policy of such southern city is, as far as possible, to engross the trade of such surrounding areas, and to enlarge their circles by improvements for communication, and by opening new avenues to fertile districts cut off from market. At the same time, by all practicable means, they should seek to develop the resources, enlarge the productions, and enhance the wealth of such home districts, that thereby their increased means of trade, more numerous wants, and enlarged capital, may react upon and advance in prosperity the cities with which they deal. The protective system, so far from aiding, directly conflicts with this wise policy. The excessive stimulants of high duties induce, as we have seen, even in the most favored sections, excess and over-production, and the intense competition that follows forces, at the lowest rates of profit, and often at great sacrifices, the manufactured products of the north in every direction, and to the internal markets of the most distant sections. They thus come in direct conflict with the courses of trade and the accustomed supplies of our southern cities to their respective home markets, and prostrate all who had before prospered by engrossing such limited areas. In addition, as it is manifest that such home trade depends for its extent and importance on the means and ability to consume of the surrounding population, who are almost invariably engaged in agriculture or the mechanic arts, the depressed prices and oppressive exactions of the protective system on them must react upon, and correspondingly diminish, the trade and prosperity of those interests in the cities, which had thriven on their supply. The manufacturers, then, of the south, no less than all other portions of its population, are in interest directly opposed to its establishment or continuance. To the south and her whole people it is a system of gross injustice—of burdens and exactions unredeemed even by palliating alleviations.

I have, Mr. Chairman, many other views which I should be happy to develop in exhibition of the generally vicious tendencies of the protective policy; but my rapidly waning time warns me to forbear I must hasten to a conclusion. The bill offered by the Committee of Ways and Means, although it does not fully attain, yet approximates as nearly perhaps as the circumstances of the present, and due regard to established interests, which I for one would never consent wantonly to overthrow, will allow, to that system of comprehensive justice and wisdom—of trade, as free as is consistent with revenue duties, which we offer in contrast to the restrictions, the inequalities, general and sectional, and the oppressions of the protective system. Ours is the system of freedom striking off the trammels from trade and commerce, from capital and labor, as we have already so gloriously broken the shackles of tyranny over the person and privileges of men. It approximates to the providential government of God himself, who, though endowed with omniscience, essays not to regulate or control the industrial pursuits of man; but with only the stern fiat, that by the sweat of his brow shall he earn his bread, intrusts him to the incitements of interest and his own sagacity for the selection of his pursuits and the rewards of his industry. It aims, too, at the development of the peculiar resources and gifts with which each people and clime have been endowed by Providence, and the free interchange and communication of the blessings of all among the family of man. It is only the partial extension of a system peculiarly our own. Disclaiming reliance on the experiments of older nations, the gentleman from Massachusetts has defied us here, in this "our Young America," to afford an illustration of the beneficence of free-trade. Why, sir, its most glorious illustrations are everywhere around and about us. Despite the marring influences of the partial, sectional legislation of the protective system, to the perfect freedom of trade and exchange between the States of this Union, guarantied by our glorious constitution, more than to any other single cause, are to be ascribed the wonderful development of the resources and the progress in wealth and happiness of the people of the respective States of our Union. Linked together by the chain of mutual and reciprocal benefits, the States are more strongly cemented and bound, each to all, through the noble instrumentalities of free trade, than even by community of blood and tongue, and all the noble memories of the past and proud prospects of the future. The movement of the age is to freedom of trade. We have just seen the recognition of its wisdom and the adoption of its justice by one of the greatest and most sagacious of nations. The unwise restrictions of a ruder age are being unloosed from the oppressed and starving millions of Europe; and with strong limbs and exultant hearts they are tendering to their fellows the world over the privilege of reciprocal exchange and mutual blessing. Not, sir, in the "phrenzy of philanthropy," but in the spirit at once of sober calculation and of enlarged wisdom, we hail and applaud this great movement of human progress. It is to be the blessed instrumentality of more cordial understanding and stable peace among the nations of the earth. Their rivalry is to be not of war and conquest, but in the arts of peace, the extension of trade, the exchange of their respective gifts. And free-trade will not "have accomplished its perfect work," until, under the guidance of a universally diffused commerce, the Baptist of modern times, "making straight the paths of the Lord," the world shall rejoice in the advent of a holier civilization and a purer Christianity.

LADIES, we take pleasure in saying to you that we (as usual at this season) have to-day commenced selling off our large and splendid stock of lace goods, ribands, Swiss and French embroideries, gloves, Swiss muslins, flowers—in a word, our whole choice and varied stock of fancy goods, at precisely the first cost in New York. We do not ask, or even want, a profit. Our only object is to close out as many goods as possible by the 1st of September, at which time we prepare for a more extensive business.

We now, in returning our warmest thanks to the ladies for the great and increasing patronage they have been pleased to bestow upon us, assure them that the balance of our choice goods will be sold at precisely cost, which will be 25 or 33 per cent. cheaper than they can be purchased at any other store in Washington. We would refer the ladies to a list of our reduced prices, which will appear in to-morrow's papers.

BRAGDON & TWOMBLY,
New York cheap lace store, between 10th and 11th streets, Pennsylvania avenue.

July 20—

RAFFLE.--The following articles will be disposed of by raffle as soon as the chances are taken:

	Valued at
1 mahogany arm-chair, covered with black cloth, beautifully embroidered	$75 00
1 mahogany gothic shrine, richly carved, with marble top	60 00
1 rosewood secretary	60 00
1 " set of book shelves	60 00
1 " arm-chair, handsomely carved	50 00
1 centre-table, beautifully painted and gilt	50 00
1 coffee and tea set, (five pieces,) best Sheffield plated ware	50 00
1 rosewood chair, high back, carved, and covered with crimson plush	25 00
1 rosewood music stand	20 00
1 shell basket, made on silver wire	20 00
1 shell box	15 00
1 do ornament for head dress	4 00
1 do do do	3 00
1 do do do	2 00
1 infant's flannel garment, handsomely worked	3 50
1 infant's flannel garment, handsomely worked	2 50
16 articles.	$500 00

One hundred chances, at five dollars each. Subscription papers are at the subscriber's store, where the articles may be seen.

B. HOMANS,
Penn. avenue, between 10th and 11th streets.

July 10—eo6t

THE copartnership existing under the firm of Woodward & King, is, by mutual consent, this day desolved. The business in future will be conducted by C. Woodward, who has become responsible for, and is authorized to settle up, all accounts for and against said firm. Our old customers will receive our warmest thanks for their kindness and patronage, which, we trust, will be continued.

C. WOODWARD,
JAMES T. KING.

July 16—3t

A CARD.

THE undersigned having purchased all the interests of J. T. King, of the firm of Woodward & King, will continue the business as heretofore. The old books must be closed up. Therefore, all persons having accounts with the old firm will please call and settle them as soon as possible, either by cash or notes. Thankful for the very liberal patronage the old firm received, I hope the same will be continued to me, as I shall sell cheap, and spare no pains in accommodating customers.

C. WOODWARD.

July 16—3t

THE copartnership formerly existing between J. T. & C. King, is this day renewed, we have taken the store lately occupied by Harper & Co., between 12th and 13th streets, Pennsylvania avenue, where we shall open the most splendid assortment of lace goods, and fancy articles, that were ever brought to this city. The goods are rich and fashionable, and will be sold uncommonly cheap. We shall be pleased to see our old friends and customers, and will treat them with great bargains.

JAMES T. KING,
CHARLES KING.

July 16—3t

DRAWN NUMBERS of the Alexandria Lottery, class No. 28, drawn July 18, 1846.

11, 30, 21, 12, 67, 61, 51, 28, 54, 38, 24, 74,

$35,294!

On Saturday, July 25,
ALEXANDRIA LOTTERY,
No. 29, will be drawn.

PRIZES.

$35,294—$10,000—$5,000—$3,000—$2,500—$1,363.
100 prizes of $1,000
160 do 500
78 number lottery—13 drawn ballots.
Tickets $10—halves $5—quarters $2 50.

For sale by
J. G. GREGORY & CO, Managers,
Next door east of National Hotel Washington, D. C.

July 20—d&eplf