

be light of internal improvement, as much as the addition of an hundred acres to the lands of a farmer, or the purchase of a dwelling house to the inhabitant of a city, is an improvement of his estate."

"Nations like individuals, are subject to grievous and venereal diseases of the imagination. Nations, like individuals, are liable, in the fulness of general health, to topical distempers, and even to sudden convulsions, threatening life itself. In the midst of the comfort and well being with which we are surrounded, it is impossible to conceal from ourselves, and it were worse than folly to disguise, that there is a festering sore of discontent, if not a deep-rooted disaffection to the Union, pervading an extensive portion of our territory, and rapidly ripening into purposes and projects which will shake the Union to its very foundations."

"We cannot subscribe, to the doctrine that the duties of impost protective of our own manufactures are paid by the foreign merchant or manufacturer. Nor can we more readily believe that they are paid by the purchaser of the articles exported from our country to pay for the importations which we receive in return."

Mr. Adams examines the chief maxims of the Tariff and Anti-Tariff doctrinaires. He adduces the arguments of the South and the North, without subscribing fully to either. The theory that the interests of the two sections are irreconcilable, he strenuously combats. In allusion to the threatened separation—a catastrophe for which he believes "more than one distinguished and influential statesman of the South" to be prepared—he remarks—

"Could it be otherwise, than that the irreconcilable and opposite interests should speedily kindle into war, and then how would their relations stand? Must not the weaker party, on which side soever it might fall, fly for assistance to a foreign Power? Nay, are there not elements in the very nature of the contest itself, which must drive the weaker nation, severed from their present associates, to Great Britain for alliance, and would not that alliance be but another name for protection? Must not re-colonization prove the inevitable doom of that nation so constituted and so neighbored?"

"The Committee would suggest to those who deny the power of this confederated Government to protect by the energy and the resources of the whole nation, a great and comprehensive, but not universal interest, that there is such an interest most deeply their own, protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and effectively protected by them:—Among the consequences from which a statesman of either portion of this Union cannot avert his eyes in contemplating that which must ensue from its severance, is the condition in which that great interest would be found immediately after the separation should have been consummated. The Committee will refrain from all further observation upon them: Representing, rather, the manufacturing interest of the country, they have been most anxiously desirous, in the bill which they should present to the consideration of the House, to adopt its provisions, not only to the interests, but to the feelings of that portion of the community which has considered itself most aggrieved by the existing Tariff. It has at the same time, however, been their equally anxious desire to make all the concessions required for the accomplishment of this object, without any essential sacrifice of the interest intrusted to them."

We insert, this morning, the Bill which has been presented by the Committee on Manufactures, in the House of Representatives at Washington. The Report which was submitted with it, by Mr. Adams, fills eleven columns of the National Intelligencer. We shall give the whole of this exposition to our readers, as soon as it can be reprinted in our office. For the present the Bill is of most interest and consequence for the parties immediately concerned in the Tariff Question.

The Report is distinguished, like all the elaborate compositions of Mr. Adams, by massive sense and knowledge, put forth with great strength of expression and earnestness of spirit. He explores both the roots and ramifications of his extensive subject, and grasps firmly every prominent part.

After laying too much stress, as we think, and spending too much rhetoric on the extinction of the National Debt, he proceeds to the two leading questions—"1st. What amount of the reduction of the revenue should be contemplated? 2d. To what portion of the public revenue should the reduction be applied?"—He admits that the revenue should be reduced to the point of the proper expenditures and duties of the government; but he contends that appropriations for Internal Improvement, and imposts for the protection of Domestic Manufactures, are among those duties and expenditures, being embraced within that object and text of the Constitution which makes it virtually imperative on Congress to provide for the common defence and general welfare. He observes that the common defence must be provided for as much against commercial rivalry as against warlike invasion; and he notices particularly the hostile commercial policy of Great Britain, proved by her statute book and her Orders in Council, and avowed by her statesmen. He says—

"The argument which denies the power of Congress to levy duties for the protection of domestic manufactures, pronounces unconstitutional the two first acts by which Congress exercised their powers—acts, among the most memorable, among the most beneficent exercises of power which have rendered the Constitution itself a blessing to the nation: It expunges from the Constitution the grant of power to provide for the Common Defence."

"To say that the extinction of the Public debt will not discharge the nation from the obligation, or divest Congress of the power of providing for the common defence, seems to be an observation exceptionable only for its extreme simplicity. And yet, the opinion that the payment of the debt should be seized upon as the occasion for the abandonment and sacrifice of all efficient measures for the common defence, is advanced and pressed upon the Public Councils, with a confidence, an eagerness, and a vehemence, which places it in no small degree beyond the pale of argumentative reason, and with a show of inflexibility which has an air of staking the Union itself on the question at issue."

Mr. Adams refers to the periods—those of our embargo, and our second war with Great Britain,—when "the conviction became general, that domestic manufactures, of all the articles essential to the comfort of human life, are among the primary elements of national independence." He avers that our restrictive system throughout, and the war, were pre-eminently Southern measures. He traces the formation of our manufacturing establishments, describing them as not "the estates of idle and pampered lordlings," but the abodes of productive industry and the palaces of the poor. He shews that 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 of it, this result is equally applicable whether the duty of impost be levied for protection or for revenue; and that the practical conclusions for which that doctrine was intended would involve the abolition of all duties of impost and a change of our whole system of taxation. He ascends to a high and luminous philosophy respecting the obligation and expediency of the improvement of the condition of the whole community by means of Government, as an object essential to that institution, and distinctive of our rational nature. He urges that the enlightened American people never could have meant so to frame their political institutions, and in fact did not so frame them, as to exclude the power and the purpose of full self-improvement, external and internal, and for after-ages as well as the present time.

We may quote here a few of the striking opinions of the Report.

"We are so far from considering the extinction of the public debt as presenting an occasion for casting off that portion of the burden of taxation which is devoted to the common defence, that the Committee do not hesitate to declare their belief, that it is the duty of Congress to retain a portion of the revenues, which have been applied hitherto to the discharge of the debt, for the purpose of enlarging the appropriations for the objects of internal improvement, already recognized as objects of great national importance."

"The principle of internal improvement is not confined to the construction of roads or digging of canals. The Breakwaters in the Delaware, and the Merrimack, the whole of our light-house establishment, to which we now annually appropriate upwards of two hundred thousand dollars, the acquisition of Louisiana and of Florida by purchase, the millions upon millions of square miles which we have purchased from the Indian tribes, are all to be considered in