

MR. ADAMS' SPEECH.

Having seen and heard a great deal of a Speech recently made in the House of Representatives, by Mr. Adams, (the late President) in which he is represented as having touched upon a very inflammable topic in an injudicious manner, we copy from the National Intelligencer that portion of his remarks, to which we presume exception has been taken.

Mr. Adams said, the position he had assumed was, that the Government was bound to protect the great interests, all the great interests of the citizens. Wherever any great interest existed in the community, there the protection of Government must of right be extended. But protection might be extended in different forms to different interests. It was true, that the interests of one portion of the community could often be protected only at the expense of some other portion of it. It was the complaint of the nullifiers that the Government took money out of the pockets of one portion of the Union, to put it into the pockets of another. And, in extending protection, this must always more or less be the case. But then, while the rights of one party were protected in this way, the rights of the other party were protected, equally, but in a different way.

He would illustrate this position. In the Southern and the Southwestern portions of this Union, there existed a certain interest, which he need not more particularly designate, which enjoyed under the Constitution, and the Laws of the United States, an especial protection peculiar to itself. It was protected first by Representation. There were on that floor upwards of twenty members who represented what in other States had no representation at all. Mr. A. believed that it was not three days since, he had heard it declared by a gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Clayton) that the species of population he now alluded to constituted the "Machinery of the South." Now that Machinery had twenty odd Representatives in that Hall; representatives elected not by the machinery, but by those who owned it. Was there any such representation in any other portion of the Union? Did the manufacturers ask for any representation of their machinery? He believed their looms and factories had no vote in Congress; but the machinery of the South had more than twenty representatives on that floor. And if he should go back to the history of this Government, from its foundation, it would be easy to prove, that its decisions had been effected in general by less majorities than that. Nay, he might go farther and insist, that that very representation of which he had spoken, had even been in fact, the ruling power of this Government. Was this not protection? Was it not protection at the expense of another portion of the community? If it did not literally take money out of the pockets of some, and put it into the pockets of others, still it operated in precisely the same way. Yes, this very protection had taken millions and millions of money from the free labouring population of this country, and put it into the pockets of the owners of Southern machinery. Mr. A. did not complain of this. He did not say that it was not all right. What he said, was that the South possessed a great protected interest—an interest protected by that instrument—(Mr. A. held the Constitution in his hand.) He was for adhering to the bargain, because it was a bargain. Not that he would agree to it, if the bargain was now to be made over again.

This interest was further protected by another provision of that same instrument. No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

What was this but protection to the owners of the machinery of the South?—And let it be observed, that a provision like this ran counter to all the tenor of legislation in the free States. It was contrary to all the notions and feelings of the people of the North, to deliver a man up to any Foreign authority, unless he had been guilty of some crime. And but for such a clause in the compact, a Southern gentleman who had lost some article of his machinery could never recover him back from the free States.

The Constitution contained another clause extending still further protection to the same interest. It guaranteed to every State in the Union a republican government. "The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall PROTECT each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence."

This, to be sure, was a general provision operating alike on every portion of the Union. But every body knew, that where this sort of machinery existed, the State was more liable to domestic violence than they were elsewhere, because that machinery sometimes exerted a self-moving power. Such a power had been exerted. The call for this protection had very recently been made; and it had been answered; and the power of the Union had been exerted to insure the owners of the machinery against domestic violence. Mr. A. would say one word more on this guarantee of a republican form of Government. It was a serious question in his mind, whether that part of the Constitution was not at this very time on the eve of being called into execution. He had no hesitation in saying, that if South-Carolina were not at this moment under a government not republican, she was at a very little distance from it. It deserved

serious consideration, whether the ordinance of the Nullifiers had not placed South-Carolina without the verge of Republican Governments. When he endeavored to reflect upon what the proceedings of South-Carolina had been, and asked himself whether the power now operating there could truly be described as a Republican Government, he felt himself unable to answer the question. He should not further enlarge on this point at present. But it was a serious question, and it deserved serious consideration.

Such was the protection extended by the Constitution to a particular interest in this Union. But that same interest was further protected by the laws of the United States. It was protected by the existence of a standing army. If the States of this Union were all free Republican States, and none of them possessed any of the machinery of which he had spoken, and if another portion of the Union were not exposed to another danger, from their vicinity to the tribes of Indian savages, he believed it would be difficult to prove to the House the necessity for any such thing as a standing army. What, in fact, was the occupation of the army? It had been protecting this very same interest. It had been doing so ever since the army existed. Of what use to the District of Plymouth which he there represented, was the standing army of the United States? Of not one dollar's use and never had been. He would go farther. The Army was not of one dollar's value to the whole manufacturing interest. The persons engaged in manufactures were, and ever had been, most orderly and exemplary in their obedience to the laws. No army was necessary to keep them in order. Now the United States kept up an army of six thousand men. What to do? To protect the owners of this machinery, and to defend the settlers on our western frontier. In what had it been occupied during the last summer? In protecting the factories? No. In suppressing an Indian War. The army existed only for the protection of the South and of the West. Of what value was it to those manufacturers or agriculturists, at whom the House was going to strike by this Bill. There was not one among the poorest shepherds who tended their flocks on Mr. A's native hills, that did not pay his quota towards the support of this army. Was not this taking money out of the pockets of one to put in the pockets of another? Yet what was the ground of the complaints? While the people of Massachusetts were spending their money to support the South and West, what show of right had gentlemen from the South—he would do the members from the West the justice to admit that they said no such thing, but what right had the representation from the South to come on that floor and tell them "We will not submit to pay one single cent to protect you?"

As for ourselves, we are utterly indifferent to whom may be given the credit of the reconciliation, so that the country is pacified. We think we see in Mr. Clay's bill more of the elements of success than we can find elsewhere. If, however, the Administration—or if Mr. Webster can devise a better plan, or any plan, indeed, that will succeed, we will not be found backward in according the honor wherever the honor belongs. This is a matter in comparison with which the common and ordinary political topics that are discussed sink into insignificance. They are not worthy to be thought of in connection with the settlement of this great question, on which depends the preservation of the Peace and Union of this great Confederacy. Let not then, petty personal considerations be suffered to intrude or obstruct the progress of adjustment, or to mingle afterwards in the recollections of those engaged in the glorious work now before them.

Every day he saw the breach widen and his own situation grow more and more precarious. In this condition, it is no wonder that he gladly accepted the olive branch of reconciliation held Mr. Clay—that he turned towards the light thus suddenly let in upon him, and which opened a way of safe and honorable retreat to his native, much beloved, but misguided State.

But this is the plain, the natural—the true construction to be put upon the conduct of both these statesmen. Why then the necessity for resorting to the hackneyed tricks of party to explain that which is itself so evident that "he who runs may read." It is indeed clear, that there can be no bargain or coalition between Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun. No man who knows their characters would ever accuse them of such unworthy means to obtain a desired end. If Mr. Clay, in his speech, did not seek to disgrace and degrade South-Carolina, he at least spoke in decided and unequivocal disapprobation of her conduct, and subsequently in correcting a remark, of Mr. Rives, he emphatically declared that he had said nothing, he had felt nothing in extenuation even of her proceedings.

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MR. CLAY'S BILL.

From the Alexandria Gazette.

We perceive, by infallible tokens, that Mr. Clay's bill will have to encounter the opposition, open or disguised, of the present Administration. The satellites of the men in power and the friends of Mr. Van Buren, are alarmed lest the credit of settling the great Tariff question should attach to Mr. Clay, whom they imagine a stumbling block in the way of the Vice-President elect. The Globe, last Saturday, took great pains to show that the President and his financial Secretary have all along urged the reduction of the Tariff, and that their scheme is preferable to Mr. Clay's. Other party organs, having their axe, assert that the whole matter is a political manoeuvre, to save Mr. Calhoun from utter ruin, who, in return, is to help Mr. Clay hereafter. These, and a hundred ridiculous tales about bargain and coalition—and other such stuff—are made to resound through the newspapers in the interest of particular persons and parties.

The true state of the case is this: The country was brought to the verge of ruin. One party was for demolishing, root and branch, the Tariff—the other was for upholding and supporting the Tariff at the expense of the Union. South-Carolina nullified the laws of the country, and Massachusetts declared that resistance was proper if the laws were altered. Men's minds became soured—fraternal feelings were forgotten—and obstinacy had assumed its sway over our legislators. Up to this moment, Mr. Clay had faithfully, consistently, and nobly supported the Tariff policy. He had stood by it through evil and through good report—he had sustained it, when to have wavered in his purpose might have secured his political advancement. He now saw that the Tariff must be altered—that the violence and improper conduct of one State alone prevented the entire South from making common cause against its continuance—that, in fine, the Union was in danger—that Union, the value of which is inestimable and incalculable—and which, at any hazard, "must be preserved." In this emergency, with a heart glowing with patriotism—an ardent love of country, which had strengthened with his years—and a disposition untainted by mortified pride or disappointed ambition—he voluntarily came forward, to sacrifice many of his own cherished opinions upon the altar of peace and harmony; and, if possible, once more to unite his fellow-citizens as a band of brothers. What, on the other hand, was the situation of Mr. Calhoun? He stood, almost alone, in defence of the most unwarrantable and unjustifiable measures of his own State—he felt that that State was fast losing every hold upon public feeling—that the ground he occu-

pled untenable. Every day he saw the breach widen and his own situation grow more and more precarious. In this condition, it is no wonder that he gladly accepted the olive branch of reconciliation held Mr. Clay—that he turned towards the light thus suddenly let in upon him, and which opened a way of safe and honorable retreat to his native, much beloved, but misguided State.

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MESSAGE.

From the President of the U. States.

Transmitting, in compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, the Orders given to the Land and Naval Forces at Charleston.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12th, 1833.

To the Senate: In compliance with the Resolution of the Senate requesting the President of the United States to lay before it "copies of the orders which have been given to the commanding officers of the military forces assembled at and near Charleston, South-Carolina, and also copies of the orders which have been given to the commander of the naval forces assembled in the harbor of Charleston; particularly such orders, if any such have been given, to resist the constituted authorities of the State of South-Carolina within the limits of said State." I transmit herewith papers numbered from one to seventeen, inclusive, embracing the orders which have been given to the commanding officers of the land and naval forces assembled in and near the city of Charleston, and within the limits of the State of South-Carolina; and which relate to the military operations in that quarter. No order has at any time been given, in any manner inconsistent therewith. There is a part, however, of the letter of the Secretary of War, dated December 24, 1832, omitted, which, being conditional in its character, and not relating to the operations of the troops, is deemed improper in the present state of the service to communicate.

No order has at any time been given "to resist the constituted authorities of South-Carolina, within the chartered limits of said State."

ANDREW JACKSON.

The following is the latest letter, and concludes the correspondence:

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, Jan. 26, 1833.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 23d inst., and am directed by the President to communicate to you his wish that you repair to Charleston, with the least possible delay, and assume the command of the troops in that quarter, under the view and instructions heretofore communicated to you. This information would have been given before, but I supposed it was your intention to return, and therefore I unwillingly, by any expression of my expectation, to hasten it, at the expense, perhaps, of inconvenience to yourself.

An express has been established between here and Charleston, and will be continued as long as the state of things there may permit and require it. Should, however, any circumstance delay or prevent it, you are at full liberty, whenever you think the public interest requires it, to make other arrangements for the conveyance of your despatches. You can employ pilot boats as you suggest, when these are necessary. I did not know till yesterday, that you were ordered to Savannah. Your course respecting that officer was equally firm and direct, and met my entire approbation. I have directed he should be immediately relieved and withdrawn from that quarter.

All your despatches have been communicated to the President, and your general views and proceedings have been approved by him. The three orders to which you refer, I shall briefly allude to.

It is the most earnest wish of the President, that the present unhappy difficulties in South-Carolina should be terminated without any forcible collision; and it is his determination, that if such collisions occur, it shall not be justly imputable to the United States. He is therefore desirous, that in all your proceedings, while you execute your duty firmly, you act with as much discretion and moderation as possible. On this course he has never doubted you will adopt.

Self-defence is a right, belonging as much to military bodies as to individuals; and officers commanding separate forts are responsible, at all times, for their defence, and are bound to use due precaution to avoid danger. If a body of armed men approach Sullivan's Island, with apparently hostile views, it will be proper to pursue the course indicated by you to Colonel Bunkhead. That is, to warn their commanding officer to retire, and to inform him of the course which you will be compelled to adopt, in the event of his continued approach. Should this warning be useless, and the armed body attempt to land, you will be justified in resisting the attempt. But before this unfortunate alternative is resorted to, rely upon your patriotism and discretion, to endeavor, by all reasonable and peaceable means, to induce any such armed body to abandon their enterprise. The subject is

committed to you, in full conviction, that while you discharge your duty as an officer, you will be mindful of the great delicacy of the subject, and of the anxiety of the President to avoid, if possible, a resort to force. But whatever the first rights of self-defence require, must be done, should a case occur, involving such a question.

Your order to Colonel Twiggs was right, in the event of his being compelled to abandon his post. But before the receipt of your letter, while we were here, in much anxiety about the Arsenal at Augusta, and had not learned the prudent measures taken by you for its defence, Col. Twiggs was directed to defend himself, if attacked, to the last extremity. In such a case, your officer must reject all other considerations, and maintain his position as long as he has the means of resistance. It would certainly be better to destroy the arms and ammunition in the Arsenal, than they should fall into the hands of any assailants. But that is a result I do not suffer myself to anticipate, while a valuable officer as Col. Twiggs is in command, and is supported by an adequate garrison.

The course you have directed respecting those officers, if any there may be who hesitate in their allegiance to their country in the hour of trial and peril, meets the entire approbation of the President. I flatter myself that none such will be found; but if it should, they should be immediately known, when their cases will become the subject of special consideration. When I received your letter respecting — and — I directed Gen. Martin to order Col. Bunkhead to call upon all the officers under him, who had not already done so, to take the oath of allegiance, and to sign the rules and articles of war.

Since writing the above paragraph, I learn on enquiry, that the directions I gave respecting the oath of allegiance, were omitted to be carried into effect. I have renewed the order. I will thank you to report any facts which may come to your knowledge, tending to show that, upon the great question of duty, any officer has embraced views which would probably affect his performance of any trust which might be reposed in him; and you are at liberty to order from South-Carolina or its borders, any such officer.

It has been represented that the Martello Tower, on James's Island, and the Fort at the mouth of Stone Inlet, might be important positions for you to occupy. Please to examine those points, and take such measures on the subject as you may deem necessary.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, LEWIS GASS. Maj. Gen. Sec'y. U. S. Army. New York.

CONGRESS.

IN SENATE.

Saturday, Feb. 16.

Mr. Chambers expressed a wish to take up the Resolution appointing a day for the election of a Public Printer, if it should be understood that the Senator from Missouri would not now be inclined, after what had passed elsewhere, to occupy the Senate at any length with remarks on the subject.

Mr. Benton said that he had introduced his joint resolution because he considered that the election of a Printer for the next Congress, by the Congress now in session, was a violation of the constitution and inherent rights of that Congress. His course would be in no way affected by what had passed elsewhere.

Mr. Chambers then gave notice that he should ask the Senate on Monday to consider the resolution.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the Special Order, being the bill to provide further for the collection of the duties on imports.

Mr. Calhoun rose and spoke more than an hour in conclusion.

Mr. Webster then rose, and addressed the Senate until 3 o'clock, when a recess took place until 5 o'clock, at which hour Mr. W. resumed and spoke till past 8.

The press of the immense concourse of both sexes which filled the galleries, the lobbies, and even the floor of the Senate chamber, during the evening sitting, was greater, if possible, than it was during the forenoon. At the conclusion of Mr. Webster's speech, the close of which is represented as eloquent and impressive beyond even his former great effort, there was a spontaneous burst of applause from the galleries.

Mr. Poindexter moved an adjournment; but the President ordered the galleries to be cleared, and would not receive the motion to adjourn until the order had been executed; when the Senate adjourned.

Monday, Feb. 18.

On motion of Mr. Chambers, the Senate took up the Resolution appointing a day for the election of Public Printer; which Mr. Chambers modified so as to read Tuesday.

Mr. Grundy moved to strike out Tuesday and insert Thursday, which motion was negatived, there being but 12 votes in favor of it.

Mr. Benton then gave his reasons for introducing his joint Resolution. The principal of which was, that each Congress ought to appoint its own printer.

Mr. Calhoun said, he had not anticipated this question for this morning. When it was put, he hoped there would be a full Senate. He moved the postponement of the further consideration of the bill till to-morrow.

Mr. Forsyth hoped the postponement would not take place, as the Session was drawing to a close. He had a desire to address the Senate on the question before it, but was not disposed to do it to-day. He had come here this morning, expecting to hear the honorable Senator from Mississippi. He would suggest that, if no additional amendments were to be offered, the bill should be passed to a third reading, and discussed on its passage.

Mr. Calhoun. The third reading of a bill, as the Senator knows, is the most trying question. Having a solemn conviction of the importance of the question, he wished it to be taken in full Senate. Among the absentees was the colleague of the Senator from Georgia, whose high character in the United States, and great influence in his own State, rendered it desirable that his vote should be given on the question.

Mr. Forsyth said, the absence of his colleague did not render necessary any delay in the action of the Senate. He would be here as soon as he was notified that the question is to be taken. He wished to delay his remarks on the bill until it was ascertained whether it was to pass the Senate. He wished to speak of it as a law which was to go to the people.

Mr. Calhoun had no other object, he said, than to procure a full discussion of the measure, and he regretted the inability of the Senator from Mississippi to proceed at present. If any gentleman wished to offer an amendment, or to address the Senate, he would withdraw his motion to postpone.

The motion having been withdrawn, Mr. Forsyth moved to amend the bill, by striking out the words "1st and 5th sections" therefrom. The object and effect of this amendment was to limit the existence of the entire act to the end of the next Session of Congress, instead of limiting the existence of the 1st & 5th sections only. He regarded the measure merely as one intended to meet a certain exigency which he hoped would soon pass away. He asked for the Ayes and Nays which were ordered.

After some discussion, this motion was negatived 26 votes to 18.

Mr. Poindexter then rose and stated, that it must be evident, that to carry into effect the provisions of the bill some appropriation was necessary. The bill authorized the calling into operation the military force of the country, but provided no means for defraying the expenses. The Constitution had prohibited the withdrawal of any money from the Treasury, unless under an appropriation by law. The Senate was now about to employ the army and navy to carry into effect the provisions of the bill, and the President ought to be limited in the expenditures for this purpose. He concluded with moving to amend the Bill by inserting a new section, providing that for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this bill, the sum of ——— dollars, shall be and is hereby appropriated.

Mr. Grundy expressed a hope that the gentleman from Mississippi would fill up the blank with some sum.

Mr. Poindexter said, he would leave that to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Grundy said, the Judiciary Committee wanted no money. But, if the gentleman from Mississippi was disposed to grant an appropriation, it would be agreeable to the committee to know how much he was willing to give.

Mr. Calhoun expressed his surprise that the gentleman from Tennessee should oppose an appropriation. If the Senate intended to give the President the sword, they must give him the purse also.

Mr. Grundy replied, the gentleman from South-Carolina knew best whether there would be any necessity of employing force. If there would be none, then there would be no expense. The Committee hoped there would be no collision, and had therefore made no appropriation.

On the question being put, the following were all the votes in favor of it—Messrs. Bibb, Calhoun, Mangum, Moore and Poindexter.

Mr. Bibb then moved to amend the bill by adding a section limiting the expenditure to three millions. And on this question the yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. Forsyth commenced a series of observations on this motion, which he continued until 3 o'clock. His argument, commencing with the precise motion before the Senate, gradually expanded into a view of the whole subject under debate. Before he concluded—

At 5 o'clock, the Senate, according to its new rule, adjourned to meet again at 5.

EVENING SESSION.

After Mr. Forsyth had concluded his remarks against the amendment, the question on it was taken and negatived, there being only the following four votes in its favor: Messrs. Calhoun, Miller, Moore & Tyler.

The question was at length taken on engrossing the bill for a third reading, which was carried 32 votes to 8. The negatives were the same as above enumerated, with the exception of Messrs. Benton and Rives.

Tuesday, Feb. 19.

Mr. Clay, from the Select Committee to which was referred the bill to modify the several acts imposing duties on imports, reported the bill with various amendments. Mr. C. stated, that he was also authorized to say that at a previous time another amendment would be offered on the subject of the valuation of goods, which would be calculated to conciliate the conflicting opinions which had prevailed in reference to that point. He was happy to say, that although there was a short interval for the action of the two Houses on this bill, the Committee entertained strong hopes that it would be found practicable to effect some accommodation of this question before the close of the present session. He was directed to move that the amendments be printed, and further to move that the bill and amendments be made the special order for to-morrow, with the understanding that the measure now pending before the Senate should not be disposed of by that time; the bill now reported would not be pressed to interfere with that discussion.

The order was made accordingly. The Senate then proceeded to consider the resolution fixing a day for the election of a Public Printer.

Mr. Benton made an enquiry if any report on his joint resolution had been made by the Committee on the Library.

Mr. Robbins stated that no report had yet been made, but, as far as he had ascertained the opinion of the Committee, it was against the joint resolution.

Mr. Benton then repeated his protestation against any election now which would interfere with the rights of the next Congress.

The resolution was then modified, so as to read that the Senate proceed this day to the election of a printer.

Mr. Benton moved to strike out the words "this day" and insert "to-morrow at half past 11 o'clock." Ayes 26.

Mr. Calhoun moved a reconsideration of the vote, having been out of his seat, and being counted by a mistake among the affirmatives. Mr. C. said he could see no cause for delay, as the Senate was now full, and important business was fixed for to-morrow.

The motion to reconsider was then negatived—Ayes 23, Noes 24. The resolution, as amended, was then agreed to.

The Senate being about to pass to the third reading of the bill to provide further for the collection of the duties on imports.

Mr. Calhoun's said, as there seemed to be a desire to press this bill to its passage to-day, in order that the Tariff might be taken up to-morrow, and as he was desirous to be heard on the resolutions which he had offered in reply to the Senator from Massachusetts, he would now move the Senate to take up the resolutions with a view to make them the order for Monday next. Agreed to.

Mr. Wilkins then gave notice that it was the intention of the friends of the bill to press the passage of the bill this day. The bill was then read a third time, and the question being on its passage—

Mr. Poindexter rose and addressed the Senate at large in opposition to the passage of the bill. Mr. P. continued his remarks until 3 o'clock, when the Senate adjourned, to meet again at 5 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The Senate met again at 5 o'clock. When Mr. Poindexter resumed his remarks, and continued until 20 minutes past six o'clock, when he complained of fatigue.

Mr. Black then moved that the Senate now adjourn—Ayes 18, Noes 18. The President voted in the affirmative, and the Senate then adjourned.

Wednesday, Feb. 20.

The bill concerning the duty on sheathing copper was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

The Senate then proceeded to the election of a Printer for the next Congress, when after nine balloting, (Duff Green and F. P. Blair constantly receiving the highest votes) Green was elected.

The Revenue Collection bill was taken up, when Mr. Poindexter concluded his speech in opposition to the bill, and Mr. Grundy obtained the floor, and spoke the evening sitting at length in favor of the bill. After which the question was taken on the final passage of the bill, and carried 32 votes to 1.

Thursday, Feb. 21.

After some minor business (among which was the rescinding of the rule requiring a recess at three o'clock until five)—

On motion of Mr. Clay, the Senate proceeded to consider the special order, being the bill introduced by Mr. Clay, to modify the various acts imposing duties on imports—Ayes 23.

The bill was then read, and the amendments made by the Select Committee were agreed to, as in committee of the Whole.

[The amendments reported by the select committee to the bill were chiefly the following: to add to the present free articles, iron, tin, iron nails and iron crowbars, and to exempt sewing silk from the duties proposed to be made free; to add to articles to be made free after 1842, sulphur, crude saltpetre, steel, gun-stones, refined borax, emery, iron, and to take out of the same list some manufactured cotton, and all other things denominated patent articles in the bill. The above amendments do not change the principle of the bill.]

One or two verbal amendments, introduced by Mr. Clay, were then agreed to.