

progressing westward. Only a far greater power in the State, the agricultural South, prevents the permanent establishment of Protectionist principles in legislation. A civil war ensues, and the South, not being in the national councils, no longer prevents. Some will say that but for the war debt the existing high duties would not have been imposed. The war hastened the protective tariff by some years, no doubt, but progress was already strongly and inevitably that way, war or no war. What has Buffalo become within twenty years past? An Eastern manufacturing city, set down on one of the Western lakes. Other cities, more Western in location, but Eastern in manufacturing enterprise, and in feeling on the subject in hand, are growing up. The country on the western margin of Lake Michigan now talks Free Trade, but in twenty years more it will have manufactures, and will then talk Protection. Protection travels westward, and spreads over the country, with the progress of what we may call the materialities of civilization. Of course the Tennessean, the Virginian and the Missourian are now Free Traders. But wait twenty years, or perhaps but half that period, and who lives to see the day will see these States as much Protectionist as Pennsylvania is, in virtue of their mineral manufacturing resources. This last is mere passing reference to what has not yet taken place, but it accords with all experience of what *has* taken place. As surely as water runs down hill does the development of a rude backwoods community into an advanced and more civilized one bring the inevitable change from Free Trade to Protection. And yet we have wise men amongst us, teachers of wisdom of a certain sort, who think they see in the "progress of the species" in America, the advance of Free Trade and the decay of Protectionism. These men read the signs backwards, or else shut their eyes and do not see them at all.

But while Protectionism is spreading westward, the Free Trade shipping and importing interest has been growing up behind it, to the eastward. Here we have the secret of the Free Trade movement of to-day on the seaboard. Hence the phenomenon of the East now actually divided against itself, making New York and Boston strongholds of Free Trade, while Philadelphia is more debateable ground. Can this interest keep pace in development with the manufacturing interest? By no means. It is limited to the large seaboard cities :