the same interposition. Upon this point there has been a harmony and a strength of expression, very seldom witnessed upon a similar question. The feeling seems to be almost universal that while so many were guilty of the actual killing of the lamented Steele, and so many more were principals in urging on, commanding and directing those who were so guilty, a punishment in the State Prison for life is a sufficient degree of severity to be executed toward those who stand in the second degree of moral guilt, as only parties to the felony which laid the foundation for the murder.

In speaking of the public expression, I refer more especially to that proceeding from the counties removed from the excitements which have brought about this insurrection, and from citizens of the highest standing and respectability, all of whom have a deep stake in the preservation of public order, and many of whom are directly and deeply interested in the very controversies which have led to these crimes. That a strong feeling of sympathy for these defendants should have prevailed in the counties pervaded by these excitements, and a strong ex-pressure in their favor should have come from them, were results to be anticipated; but that, from the counties where that had been but one opinion and one voice in relation to those disturbances; where all resistance to the law has been viewed with unqualified disfavor; and where this murder has been universally looked upon as the most aggravated offence in our whole calendar of crime, a united voice in favor of the commutation of the sentences of these defendants should be expressed, was not so naturally to have been expected. Yet such has been the fact in numerous instances; and it proves most clearly to me that while the published reports of these proceedings, and especially of these trials, have been anxiously scrutinized, and while the disposition and determination to sustain the law and punish crime are in no degree yielded, there is a jealous care that no appearance of undue severity in executing the law shall afford a cloak or apology for future violations.

Thirteen persons are already undergoing their punishment in the State Prison for this crime, four under sentences for life, and nine for terms varying from seven to ten years. In classification, these defendants are supposed to stand with the thirteen, and it seemed to be considered that their punishments should be assimilated to the most guilty of their class, and the extreme punishment of the law be reserved for those whose moral as well as legal guilt is without mitigation. This course, it is confidently asserted, will best promote the cause of law and order, because it will avoid all pretext for a complaint that inequality, or injustice, has characterized the execution of the law.

If I had not found the statements of the jurors in these cases, and especially in the case of O'Conner, controlling upon my action in this matter, these wide spread and strong expressions of a sound and unprejudiced public opinion, formed from a careful examination of the testimony in the cases, as publicly reported, recommending as they do the same commutations of the punishments, would have added great weight to those statements. The disposition apparent upon the face of these expressions, to sustain the law with the least practicable degree of rigor, and to try the effect of lenity rather than severity, wherever there is a ground for reasonable question as to the effect of the one or the other, upon the disturbed portion of the public mind, is worthy of an intelligent and patriotic people; and should have weight with their agents in the administration of the laws.

In addition to those reasons, inclining my mind toward the commutation of these sentences, four of the county Judges, who were members of the Oyer and Terminer, at the time of the trial of these defendants, have, with a feeling honorable to their characters as judges, communicated to me the fact that they have been solicited to sign petitions for the commutation of these sentences, and have declined to do so, not because their minds were made up in favor of the execution of the defendants, but because they did not consider it proper or expedient that they should interfere with the sentences of the court in that way. They state that their information, as to the recommendations of the respective juries, and as to the expressions of the public judgment, is not such as to enable them to form conclusions from these evidences; and that their impressions, derived from the trials, would leave them in great doubt as to what advice they ought to give, if called upon to give any; but they feel it to be their duty to advise me that, if my sense of public duty, from all the facts before me, shall lead me to the conclusion to commute the sentences, they shall most cheerfully concur in that decision. The remaining judge was absent from the State and could not be consulted.

I regret to be compelled to say that the evidences before me do not authorize the belief that all disposition to resist the law has been surrendered; and I have no right to hope that there are not those, in the excited Counties, who will seek to make the commutations of these sentences the foundation for new encouragement to their deluded followers, who have been engaged in opposition to its execution. I will hope that such efforts will be confined to the few, and that the many, who have been deceived and led away by unprincipled leaders and demagogues, have already seen enough of the unmixed evil of their unlawful course, to satisfy them that neither wealth, nor happiness, nor liberty, nor security, is to be found in that direction.

If, however, this reasonable expectation shall be disappointed, and the commutation of these sentences shall be made an encouragement to farther crimes, the public, as well as those intrusted with the execution of the laws, will be consoled by the reflection that lenient means were tried and spurned, before the rule of extremest severity is adopted as the only alternative.

I have been urged to find a ground for commuting these sentences, in the consideration that the offences are political and therefore entited to a different and more lenient treatment, than ordinary offences of similar grades. To my mind this consideration presents no meliorated aspect of this murder. If I could, in my classification, call this insurrection, commenced and prosecuted to resist the collection of admitted debts, a rebellion, or attempt at revolution of the State Government, I should find, I fear, much more room to add the crime of treason to the catalogue already made up, than to discover a ground for indulgence in its political character.

The other considerations, however, which I have presented, have induced me, not without much hesitation, to conclude that the commutation of these sentences may be more beneficial to the cause of law and order, than the execution of the defendants. If I have not mistaken that point, my public duty is plain, and its performance in entire accordance with the personal feelings which must prevail with every citizen. But for a firm belief in its imperious necessity, no one would desire a public execution, and when there appears to be even an equal probability that a mitigated punishment may produce equally salutary results upon the great interests of society involved, a trial of the lenient course would seem to me to be alike the dictate of duty and inclination.

I have, therefore, decided to commute the sentences of the prisoners in your custody, John Van Steenburgh and Edward O'Conner, from that of Death, pronounced by the Court, to that of imprisonment in the State Prison during the terms of their respective natural lives, and I shall send you herewith the necessary papers to authorize you to transport them to and deliver them at the proper prison. I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant.

SILAS WRIGHT.

HORRIBLE MURDER AND ABDUCTION OF A FEMALE.—We copy the following from the Gallatin (Tenn.) Union:

An outrage was perpetrated in this county, on the 10th inst. which resulted in the death of Wm. B. Norman, deputy sheriff of this county, and the abduction and supposed murder of Mrs. Sarah Dinning.

The particulars of the transaction are as follows:—Some twelve months since, Mrs. Sarah Dinning gave such information that her husband, James Dinning, Granville Dinning, Anthony Dinning, and Washington Morgan, who had been suspected for being engaged in repeated acts of larceny, as was sufficient to authorize their arrest upon the charge of stealing a barrel of whiskey. They were all indicted, and Washington Morgan was alone arrested. Sarah Dinning was the only witness against him, and great fears were entertained for her safety, several attempts having been made to get her off. Morgan was tried, which resulted in a mis-trial.—Sarah Dinning went to Madison Dinning's, her brother-in-law, and was staying at his house. He entertained fears for her safety, and endeavored to get persons to come to his house and stay of nights. On the morning of the 10th, he saw Norman and solicited him to come that night and stay, expressing his fears for the safety of Sarah Dinning. About this time Madison Dinning and his wife, and Sarah Dinning, who were in the house, were aroused by some one knocking at the door and calling; they recognised the voice of James Dinning, and refused to open the door. Several guns were fired; and Madison Dinning jumped out of the window and went off to the nearest neighbor. The door was broken open and James Dinning entered with his gun in his hand and demanded his wife, Sarah Dinning; and, after searching for her, found her where she had hid under a bed; he pulled her out, took her up in his arms, and bore her off—she struggling and screaming with all her might.

In the meantime, Madison Dinning returned with some of the neighbors and discovered the dead body of Norman about twenty feet from the house, shot in three places. M. Dinning and his wife did not know that Norman was there. It is supposed that while he was at the stable putting up his horse, James Dinning and his men went to the house and commenced knocking, and that Norman, hearing and seeing them, rushed upon them.—He had in his hand when found a revolving pistol, with three of the barrels empty. No trace, as yet, has been found of the course the murderers took. From the signs where their horses were, it is thought there were ten or fifteen of them. Great excitement prevails in the neighborhood, as Norman was popular, and as there was a great desire that Morgan should be convicted, which could alone be done upon the testimony of Sarah Dinning. We understand that a reward of between three and four hundred dollars for their apprehension has been made up, and likewise an application to the Governor to offer a reward.

EDISTO ISLAND, S. C. Nov. 12, 1845.

You will recollect that the Visiting Committee of our Agricultural Society reported, in September last, that the growing crop of Cotton would probably be one-third short of last year's. At a regular meeting of that body, held on Monday, it appeared that, while many of the members would not realize the estimate of the Committee, there was but one who expected to exceed it, and he by a few pounds only to the acre. Hence, it is now certain, that from the island we shall send to market at least one-third less than was done last season. The Potato crop, I regret to state, is a total failure.

[Cor. Charleston Mer.

FLOUR.—There has been a perfect avalanche of Flour pouring into our city yesterday and to-day. Every thing that could float has been loaded and forwarded to Albany. The basin is crammed. We venture to say that at least 40,000 barrels are to-day afloat in our harbor! [Albany Eve. Jour. Monday.

POTTAWATAMIES.—The Intelligencer says that on Friday the Pottawatamie Indians had another interview with the President, when Hal-Day, the Indian orator, through the Interpreter, informed him that their grievances had not been relieved, as they were unable to come to any satisfactory adjustment of their business before the Commissioners appointed to treat with them. The President replied that he would direct the negotiation to be reôpened, perhaps on a new basis. It is understood that the Indians declined the country offered them as a new home in exchange for their lands North-east of the Missouri River, and another location will in all probability be tendered to them.

☞ The Town Council of Edinburgh (Scotland) has carried a motion for the entire abolition of all capital punishments, by a majority of twelve to five.

THE TRIBUNE.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1845.

☞ GOV. WRIGHT'S LETTER to the Sheriff of Delaware County, announcing the commutation of the punishment of Death, decreed against Van Steenburgh and O'Conner, to that of Imprisonment for Life, is given in full in our columns to-day. We rejoice so deeply that the Governor has seen fit to choose the path of wisdom and mercy in this matter that we would gladly leave this document with no other than laudatory comment. All that the Governor says or implies about the necessity and duty of sternly upholding and enforcing the laws, meets our hearty approval. His intimation that he would not have commuted the sentence had he believed the men guilty of actual, intentional murder, is also right; for, while we abhor Capital Punishment, we insist on the Supremacy of Law over Governors as well as cobblers, and would not have men screened from the penalty denounced against them by the laws by any capricious or doubtful exercise of Executive clemency. Amend or repeal all bad laws, but while they exist enforce them; for so only can their defects be plainly shown and seen.

But we *do* regret—nay more: we complain—that, while Gov. Wright has seen fit to employ so large a space of our and every body's columns in the severest denunciations virtually of all the Anti-Renters, as guilty of a conspiracy to evade the payment of just and admitted debts, while he in effect accuses the 'Indians' of conspiracy and treason, and those who were gathered at Andes as substantially guilty of murder—painting their case in the blackest colors—he has chosen throughout to take for granted and treat as unquestionable the positions that the Distress Warrant was a legal process—one which the Sheriff and Deputies were bound to execute—that it was duly, lawfully issued, and was a subsisting, valid process at the time of the tragedy at Andes. Is this right? Is it the way subjects of such gravity and fearful consequence should be treated? Whatever the influences which induced the counsel for the defence at Delhi not to raise these questions on the trials, Gov. Wright cannot be ignorant that all these points *are* raised—that they were is the minds of the People before the trials, and that there have been set forth facts and arguments, which he must at least admit to be plausible, undermining the very basis of his whole superstructure. If the positions of 'George Clinton, Jr.' and others on the same side are fallacious, that should be made to appear. Why is it not done? And why does Gov. Wright, who cannot, dare not be ignorant of these views, pass them ever in silence? Surely, the laws must be enforced and their ministers amply shielded by the State; but if laws are assumed which are no laws, and officers take the responsibility of serving and executing process which is not legal process, at the time of service if it ever was, then the case is entirely changed. There must be ample protection for the officers; but the People also have rights, which the forms of process have notoriously been used ere this to evade; and shall not they also be protected? All must admit that the nature and degree of the crime committed at Andes depends materially on this very question of the legality or illegality of the Distress and sale; yet the side of severity is assumed by Gov. Wright as needing no argument or proof. This is most unwise. In assuming that those who really *did* fire at Steele are guilty of a deliberate, atrocious, unpardonable murder, the Governor has prejudged a case which will probably come before the Courts and before him for decision. He may then see and we trust will regret his error.

☞ The *Morning News* has over a column of Editorial pettifogging in behalf of Mr. Geo. T. Pierce, the Loco-Foco whom the Dutchess Board of Supervisors have counted into the Assembly, in place of Epenetus Crosby, elected by the People. If the article were of moderate length, we should gladly publish it, to let our readers see how bad a case a Loco-Foco organ can be induced to defend, for the sake of a fellow partisan. Half a column is devoted to the two votes in North-East, which were thrown out because the voters innocently enclosed their 'Convention' ballots in their 'State,' supposing that the law required this. Of course, they were not down on the poll-books as voting 'Convention,' so there was no lack of ballots in that box. Thereupon the pettifoggers contend that these two votes, being perfectly regular and right except as aforesaid, should be *rejected* and destroyed as double ballots!—which they were surely were not, either in fact or intent. A double ballot is one which contains some or all the names on a ticket *twice*, so as to give, if allowed, some candidate an undue vote. There was no shadow, no pretence of this in North-East. There was a simple error in the premises, which, whether it vitiated the two Convention ballots or not, could not have invalidated the votes for the Whig Assemblymen.

The five votes for *E.* Crosby are admitted, but the propriety of counting them for Epenetus Crosby is caviled at, without showing or pretending that there is any other *E.* Crosby in Dutchess Co. than Epenetus Crosby. But the News observes:

"If these initial votes be allowed, they would place Mr. Crosby three votes ahead of Mr. Pierce. But it is certain that one vote was counted for Mr. Crosby, from a ballot containing four names for the Assembly, one more than the requisite number, which he will certainly lose. A vote for E. P. Crosby was also counted for him, which he will also lose. These deductions would, giving him the initial votes, leave him but one majority. Then it is alleged that several aliens, minors, and non-freeholding negroes voted for him. The proof of one such would make a tie; two such would give Mr. Pierce his seat triumphantly. *It is clear, therefore, that the prospect of his being ousted is small indeed.*

Very well, gents! gouge Mr. Crosby out of the seat if you think it wholesome to do it! A Whig Member more or less this year is not so essential that we could not lose one if Dutchess might thereby be fixed on the right side by a round majority. Keep Pierce in the seat and you will see stars!

THE SUB-TREASURY.—*President Polk*, 'tis said, will recommend the Sub-Treasury in his Message to Congress, although an opinion seems to prevail that *it would be more judicious to wait the results of its adoption in the States* in which its friends are supposed to be in the majority, before urging it again upon the General Government. [*Sun.*

☞ First rate, that, and so quietly done, too!—Owning three or four Banks has given The Sun some better ideas on the subject of Currency and Finance. Why won't somebody give Moses a cotton-factory? Or if that is too much, just make him *believe* the stories the Locos tell about the profits of Manufacturing so that he would dip in of his own accord? A sly dig like the above in The Sun is worth having any day, when it is a dig on the right side.

CAUTION.—Application is now being made in the lower part of the city by a genteel looking young lady, for pecuniary aid "*to enable a poor, sick and bed ridden old lady to return to her friends in Louisiana or Mississippi.*" On investigation by the committee for the relief and improvement of the condition of the poor, "the sick lady" was found in good health and comfortable circumstances, owning a piano worth $400 to $500, and living at a very respectable boarding house, in good style, in the upper part of Broadway. [Journal of Commerce.

☞ Pauperism (next to Sin) is the ruling Social disease of our time, of which the obvious symptom is Beggary. Probably three-fourths of all the money given with charitable intent is squandered on idleness and vice. Yet how can a man refuse a dollar when he can spare one, and is told that it will help lift an unfortunate family out of hunger and misery? We must have a very different state of things around us before we can venture to tell men not to give. Meanwhile the impudent and rascally will live lazy and fat on the proceeds of that Charity which should but does not soothe the anguish of the bereaved and alleviate the miseries of destitution.

TO-DAY'S OUTSIDE.—On the *First Page* will be found Notices of Poe's Poems and of No. 4 of Wiley & Putnam's Foreign Library, and the commencement of Gov. Wright's official Letter of Commutation in the case of Van Steenburgh and O'Conner. On the *Last Page*, Miscellaneous Items, Sales of Stocks, Marine Journal, and Bank Note Table.

☞ The friends of Prof. Gouraud will be happy to learn that he has been pronounced out of danger by his physicians, of whom two are still attending him. He has had a very severe attack of pleurisy terminating in a collection of fluid in the region of the lungs. This has been at last, in part, dispersed and the Professor is slowly mending.

Freedom of the Public Lands.

Fourteen years ago, when the Editor of The Tribune came to this City, there was published here a small daily paper entitled the 'Sentinel,' devoted to the cause of what was called by its own supporters 'The Working Men's Party,' and by its opponents 'The *Fanny Wright* Working Men.' Of that party we have little personal knowledge, but at the head of the paper, among several good and many objectionable avowals of Principle, was borne the following:

"*Single Districts for the choice of each Senator and Member of Assembly.*"

We gave this proposition some attention at the time, and came to the conclusion that it was alike sound and important. It mattered little to us that it was accompanied and surrounded by others that we could not assent to, and was propounded by a party with which we had no acquaintance and little sympathy. We are accustomed to welcome truth, from whatever quarter it may approach us, and on whatever flag it may be inscribed. Subsequent experience has fully confirmed our original impression, and now we have little doubt that this principle, which was utterly slighted when presented under unpopular auspices, will be engrafted on our Reformed Constitution without serious opposition.

—We are reminded of this by a proposition recently started by a new party styled 'National Reformers,' composed of like materials and in good part of the same men with the old 'Working Men's Party.' Their idea is that *No more Public Lands should be sold by the Government*, but rather that the whole remainder being surveyed into quarter sections of 160 acres each, should be left open and free to actual settlers, to be held by them and their descendants until the Government shall decide otherwise, or probably, until our population shall have become so numerous that there is not 160 arable acres for each family, when it may be decreed that a farther division shall be made on the demise of any occupant. No man who owns or holds one tract shall be entitled to take another, or to acquire it by purchase or otherwise. An occupant may dispose of his right to any landless man, but cannot be dispossessed by the Sheriff, as the land is not his, and the right to land enough to live on is deemed inalienable.—Such is substantially the plan of the National Reformers. Its objects are, the securing to every man, as nearly as may be, a chance to work for and earn a living; secondly, the discouragement of land monopoly and speculation, and the creation of a universally landholding People, such as has not been since the earlier and purer days of the Israelite Commonwealth. These objects are not merely important; they are most beneficent and desirable; and, since the project contemplates the taking from no man of any thing he now has or can justly claim, we think it deserving of the most candid and earnest consideration.

—Yet we are not prepared to give it our unqualified approval. The consequences of such a change must be immense; who can measure or estimate them? Some of them may very possibly be evil; one objection strikes us now: that of injustice to the Old States. We are not absolutely and in all respects a Commonwealth; we have State interests and State rights. The blood and treasure of the Old Thirteen has been freely poured out in obtaining these lands—from Great Britain, from France, from Spain, and from the Indians. Will it be quite fair to make such a disposition of them as will tend absolutely to depopulate and impoverish the Old States without rendering them (as States) any recompense whatever? These are points to be considered; and there are doubtless more such. In the precise shape given it by its originators we doubt whether it ever can or should pass. But details may be modified and equivalents for injuries suggested. There really seems so much of beneficence, so much of promise, in the elementary idea of letting every body have ground to five on out of the land which now belongs to every body, that we cannot consent to see it lightly contemned and rejected.

—Will not those journals which have indicated hostility to this project oblige us by some real discussion of its merits? Calling it 'Agrarian' and its advocates 'Empire Club'-men and 'Butt-Enders' (untrue, by the way; we have not heard of one of the 'Empires' favoring the new party) does not satisfy us, nor will it satisfy the people. If the advocates of this scheme have very crude or bad notions on other Political questions, it is so much the more important that they should not be allowed the exclusive possession of any good idea, since this would be likely to give popularity and success to their errors. Let us see what are the strong objections to this new project, so that, if they outweigh the reasons for its acceptance, we may be able to oppose it with effect.

—The following letter, from one of the late Whig candidates for Assembly in our City, (and as ardent and thorough a Whig as any in the City) we copy from 'Young America.' It will explain itself.

NEW-YORK, Oct. 27, 1845.

Alvan E. Bovay, Esq.—Dear Sir: Your note of inquiry as to my views respecting the proper disposition to be made of the Public Land of the United States, I have carefully considered, and shall reply to it fully and frankly.

For the time that I have been an American citizen and a voter, now nearly a quarter of a century, the name of Henry Clay has been to me a polar-star of Political truth. I had learned to honor and confide in the *Statesman* before it was my privilege to know and love the *Man*, and surely there has rarely been one who, either as a statesman or a man, more embodied the affection or better justified the confidence of those who were proud to acknowledge him as a leader and champion. By his Report of 1832 and subsequent speeches was my attention first distinctly directed to the subject of the Public Lands, and by the facts therein adduced, and the arguments there enforced, I was led to the conviction that the present mode of consuming the proceeds of the National Domain in discharge of the ordinary expenses and responsibilities of the Federal Government is most wasteful, improvident, and indefensible.

Regarding the Public Lands as a great patrimony secured to the American people by the wisdom and valor of the Sages and Patriots who achieved our Independence, and by us held in trust for the benefit of future generations as well as of the present, I perceive no better moral right in our Government to sell off this patrimony by millions of acres per annum, and expend the proceeds in the payment of its ordinary expenses, than the holder of a leased or entailed estate would have to sell off all the timber, buildings and fences, and devote them to the payment of his annual score at the neighboring tavern. It is most clear to my mind that an imperative moral obligation rests on the American people to so husband these lands that the benefits thence resulting shall enure to their descendants through all coming time.

Thus believing, I have rarely lost an opportunity to oppose the present mode of consuming the Public Lands, whether in public or private. I have for years urged, within my humble sphere of action and influence, that the Lands should be so disposed of, that, if not they themselves, at least their proceeds, should be secured against this annual confiscation. I have steadily advocated, with what little ability I possess, such a disposition of these Lands that their Proceeds should be annually divided fairly among all the States of the Union, to be by them invested if they think proper in necessary works of Internal Improvements, but the annual income arising from such investment to be sacredly and inviolably appropriated to the great cause of Popular Education, so that its benefits might accrue to the whole people, but more immediately to the poor and their children.

Such is a bare outline of a plan which I have long cherished and advocated as the best possible for the disposition of any money accruing from the sale of Public Lands. But the great and good statesman who devised and twice carried through Congress this important and beneficent measure of safety to posterity, against the ever eager and reckless appetite for present plunder, is now in the shades of retirement. Successful in convincing two Houses of most determined adversaries, on the eve of an engrossing Presidential struggle, he was in both instances defeated, or rather struck down in the moment of triumph by that anomalous relic of Despotism, the Executive Veto, that lineal descendant of the "Divine Right of Kings," which has been engrafted on our Republican Institutions, to scourge us into a salutary realization of what they must suffer who abase themselves at the footstool of monarchy. The author and champion of Land Distribution, no longer the leader and guide of our National Councils, is now a simple farmer in Kentucky, and I do not anticipate that the position he has vacated will soon be as worthily filled.

In the Congress about to assemble, his friends and his measures will be decidedly in a minority in either house, and there is scarcely a possibility that, for the next four years at any rate, the policy of Land Distribution will be even seriously considered.

Now if it is to be regarded as settled that this policy is not to prevail, I can perceive no valid ground for opposing the virtual Freedom of the Public Lands to actual settlers. Regarding the mere proceeds, as at present employed, as rather pernicious than beneficial to the country, as so fluctuating in amount as to form a most unsafe reliance for National Revenue, and acquired with such apparent facility that they present unceasing temptations to prodigal expenditure when abundant, as calculated inevitably to lead to sudden and disastrous changes in the Tariff, which all agree ought to be stable and settled, I would decidedly prefer that the Union shall not make merchandise of the Public Domain rather than have the proceeds expended and consumed as they now are. As to the details of a Land system which should grant the occupancy rather than sell the fee of the lands to actual settlers, I am not prepared to express an opinion. Whether the proper quantity to grant to each settler be more or less than, or precisely the 160 acres you propose, is a question to be answered by experience and upon due deliberation.

I should not do justice to myself were I to conceal from you that the opinions here expressed are prompted by no abstract notions of the rightfulness of Landholding in large or small quantities. The great statesman of whom I am proud to be deemed an admirer has been exposed to much intemperate abuse for expressing the sentiment that "That is Property which the Law makes Property." I do not see how Government or Public Order is possible where this axiom is denied. If individual notions of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of any species of legal property are to be allowed to override the laws of the land, I see no escape from universal violence and anarchy. Little as is the property I have or can expect to have, I demand the protection from the Government in the full enjoyment of this, however invested or held in what the law recognizes as property. Whatever changes in law or public policy may be deemed expedient must of course be conformed to by every good citizen; but they can never justly interfere with the private rights while they are found legally existing.

Yours, &c. W. EDMONDS.

The Great South-Western Convention at Memphis.

Special Correspondence of The Tribune.

No. II.] On the MISSISSIPPI, Nov. 12th, 1845.

DEAR SIR—My last letter was written on the Ohio; this is penned on the broad waters of the Mississippi. After passing Cairo, we were joined by the delegates from the States bordering on the Mississippi, and from the remote Territories of the extreme North. We have spoken several boats upward bound; they report a great concourse of delegates from the South, South-East, and the 'far West.' A very interesting discussion is kept up on board the boat among the passengers, and the general opinion expressed is, that the West is determined on an enterprise worthy the ambition of its people. In these regions, men are not scrupulous in denouncing the strifes of party in Congress, on questions of comparative insignificance. I have no doubt that the proceedings of the Convention at Memphis will bring "to the scratch" the whole host of chameleon politicians who now value their personal importance more than their Country's welfare. We have a printed letter from Hon. A. S. Douglass of Illinois, to Mr. A. Whitney, on his Oregon Railroad. It is full of objections to Mr. Whitney's scheme, and fuller (if possible) of fallacies. I mention the circumstance merely to show that the leading men of the West are active pro and con. and that the subject is deemed of sufficient importance to lay it before the people.

And now for local matters, if the term local may be applied to the magnificent Mississippi. I have often, from hearing tales of the marvelous about this river, (or rather arm of the sea,) inquired as to its striking features; permit me to say they are indescribable; to me its grand characteristic is its dreamy and suggestive character. Its long reaches extend as a zone from shore to shore—its peculiar and not (as some say) monotonous shores, together with its untouched forests—its naked and lightning blasted trees, crouching beneath whose massive trunks reposes the log-cabin of the settler, strike not the eyes as much as the soul with the sentiment of the Infinite. A sunrise on the Mississippi, when both the distance of its belted bluffs and the misty exhalations arrising from its own and tributary waters, lend their aid to awaken the fancy of the plodding merchant, or the Westward-bound traveler appear in conjunction, an expanse bordering on dreariness is presented to view; to give the finishing touch, it is only necessary at the moment to glide with moderate concussion over a snag, with your eye fixed as mine was at the moment on the half-sunken wreck of a noble steamer looming up in the mist hanging over an adjacent sand-bar, around which were bowing and nodding to each other, a groupe of "sawyers and snags," like crocodiles and leviathans engaged in a country dance, or rather a Mississippi cotillion. I have no doubt, however, that to the unpoetic mind the prospect is one of dreariness, but dreaming is one cause of sensibility, and those who listen to the narratives of Frontier and Western life, need only feel their influence to excite a sympathy for the great undertaking which will soon alter the relation of parties, and direct the resources of the country towards the completion of a physiological system. T. W. W.

My next will give news from Memphis.

No. III.] MEMPHIS, Tenn. Nov. 13, 1845.

Memphis is alive with the delegates from all parts and the Convention is actively employed on the business for which it has assembled. Mr. Calhoun is its President, and has warmly entered into the question of Western improvements. He is decidedly in favor of all public works of a national character, and has in a most eloquent and patriotic speech, given an earnest of what he intends by a manly advocacy of the improvement of the Mississippi and the Ohio, and constructing a ship canal through Illinois to Lake Michigan. I must confess my astonishment at the readiness with which the Strict Constructionist goes for these great and necessary measures. That you of the East may form some idea of the intentions of this body of citizens, I subjoin a sketch of the different items under consideration:

Committees—Military and Naval Resources—Western Rivers and the Lakes—Western Armory—Military Road through Arkansas—Forts and Defences—Western Mails—Marine Hospitals—On Reclaiming the Public Lands on the Rivers—Railroad between Charleston and the Mississippi—On the Agriculture of the South—On Southern Manufactures.

I am afraid that Congress will be alarmed at the gigantic schemes held feasible by our Western men. Many of these suggestions I have no doubt will become law ere another session of Congress passes. It will be *the question*, and the only one for some time to come between the candidates and their constituents, and oblivion will be the fate of the man bold enough to resist these measures. It is believed here that Mr. Polk will gladly avail himself of the opportunity which the resolutions of this Convention will afford him to do the West a great good, and help materially to strengthen the nation in case of assault. The people here are comparatively indifferent on the Tariff, Sub-Treasury, and other questions. They believe, as does every sensible man, that no serious injury to the country can be done by Congress henceforth by legislation on these questions. There is far less zeal in the cause of the Annexation of Texas than I expected to find, and as to Oregon, no man seems to bestow a moment's consideration on it.—There will be much discussion during the week, all of which shall be forthcoming in due time.

Yours, T. W. W.

No. IV.] MEMPHIS, Tenn. Nov. 15th.

My last letter was a hasty sketch, containing what news I could pick up at the moment I landed. To-day the Convention was in full blast, and has referred to appropriate Committees every possible variety of subject. Mr. Calhoun has expressed himself in terms so favorable to many of the objects of the Convention that all men begin to wonder what next and who next will follow. The number of Delegates and persons interested cannot fall short of one thousand, and a nobler and more intelligent set of men I never beheld. It is to be hoped that the friends of Internal Improvement will not push matters to extremes. The President, (Mr. Calhoun,) C. C. Clay, and others, have intimated, in "defining their position," what works are fairly within the power of Congress. The clearing the Mississippi, the Ohio, the excavation of a Ship Canal through Illinois to Lake Michigan, are of the first importance, and meet their hearty support. Railroads, also, may have the aid of Government in the shape of alternate sections of land, and in a reduction of duty on iron rails. It is the general opinion here that we are on the eve of great changes in the matter of Internal Improvements; that the rising of the West and South to this work is the prelude to a more liberal policy, or the dismemberment of the Democratic party. No public man can resist the will of the Western people on this question but at the price of his place and position.—History, if I mistake not, says that the enemies of Washington, Hamilton and Adams, had to adopt the policy which they denounced when out of power. It will be a notable coincidence if the powers that now are should follow their example. Whether the Tariff question has become obsolete I know not; but that, and all other questions, not excepting even the Sub-Treasury, is entirely lost sight of by a people whose eyes are steadfastly fixed on the dawn of a comprehensive and liberal system of Internal Improvement. What a gratification is this to Mr. Clay and his friends! There is no feeling of consequence expressed here on the subject of Texas or Oregon, and much opposition to the latter. When the Delegations were called over to-day, at the announcement of Texas no one answered; "a kind a smile" came over the faces of men, and the "Lone Star" was as little thought of as "the lost Pleiad." The farming interest of the great West will be appealed to, and not in vain.—It is proposed, also, to reclaim valuable public lands on the banks of the great rivers, and to make embankments where they are needed. In short, two hundred thousand men may be employed in completing works of a national character, and in consuming the great surplus productions of the West. Such is the competition in agricultural avocations that unless the absorbing "powers that be" be increased, our staples will have no exchangeable value. I am surprised at finding so lively an interest felt by the Southerners in the establishment of manufactures. A few years ago, when Gen. A. Godwin (a gentleman who has often traveled over the Southern country, and whose knowledge of its interests and ultimate destiny is not surpassed by that of any man) said the South would become large manufacturers and good Tariff men, I thought the idea perfectly chimerical—but the General was right: the South has become so, and is becoming more so every day. Louisiana will fight hard for the Warehousing system; she may be silenced, however, by a liberal Northern support of Western improvements. Upon a review of all that is now taking place, and what seems to be aggregating into one mass and ascending to its culminating point, I think a great but quiet battle will be fought, in which, though many may be scared, none will be hurt—with which all will finally have cause to be satisfied; when it shall be said of Mr. Clay as was said of Sampson—"He slew more at his death than all he had slain in his lifetime before." The races are being held, but I have no gossip from that quarter, nor taste or inclination to go and see them.

An Address will be prepared for the people of the Union, and a general rally, you may depend on it, will soon be made over the length and breadth of the land. More anon. T. W. W.

No. V.] MEMPHIS, TENN. Nov. 17, 1841.

'At an early hour last night the Convention passed a resolution to adjourn *sine die*. The session was one of immense labor and much thought. The number and variety of schemes of internal improvement which have received the sanction of this large body of the first men of both parties, will soon be laid officially before the public. There was no mincing matters; it seemed as if Mr. Calhoun's presence had Mesmerized the stoutest Democrats into perfect agreement with himself. Among the delegates present were many who were regarded as oracles at home, when they chanced to quote Mr. Calhoun—Mr. Calhoun as he used to be, I mean, not as he is now. Even these were dumb before their idol. I am not much surprised at this. The impressiveness of his manner, the fascination of his eye (it is very fine), his great reputation, and his *je ne sçais quoi*, all tend to make him irresistible. The fact is, he who disputes with Calhoun has to run a muck, or at least submit to the deepest humiliation. But for Gov. Jones of Tennessee, the Convention would have sat a month longer. He very properly took out of the hands of the Convention all the reports which had been made, in order that a set of general resolutions might be submitted to the meeting. We had an amusing speech from Major-General Gaines. He talked of war in the most feeling manner. You would suppose that the old gentleman would not needlessly step upon a worm; yet, tottering as he is on the brink of the grave, and fervent even to an invocation on the Delty, yet he affects even to be witty on the conquest of California and Oregon. The General, however, was, as a matter of courtesy, permitted to ramble where he pleased, and no one attached much importance to his twattle. He made, however, some sensible remarks on a steam navy, and urged the employment of it in the snag and sawyer business of the Mississippi.

To Railroad iron the sliding-scale is to be recommended—that is, when the home price is over $60 per ton, then the duty is to be free. Your manufacturers will have no occasion for anxiety as regards the warehousing system at present. Much pains are taken, however, to enlighten the people, and the aid of the small country merchants will by and by be asked that New-Orleans may become a greater importer of foreign goods. Mr. Calhoun has, in his closing address, in reply to a vote of thanks, uttered some memorable sayings. "The whole country," he says, "will tell the members of this Convention that they have been the authors of a new era, that it will not rest satified till the measures recommended to the Government shall have been accomplished." On the whole, it is no exaggeration to say that the Southern Whigs have gone over to Calhoun, or *vice versa*, and that the Democrats are neither sullen, silent nor discontented. Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Wright (when Senator in '42) both bolted on the Tariff; and did I not believe Mr. C. incapable of reveng, I should say he had given them at this Convention "A Roland for an Oliver." The whole country will soon have laid before it the proceedings of this body, and the rallying words of "Calhoun and Internal Improvement" will fall strangely on the ears of the people.

The river is low and navigation much impeded. Memphis is going to be a fine city some years hence. Business is very brisk, and the large shipments of cotton give the wharves quite as busy an appearance as those of your city. T. W. W.

Inklings from the Metropolis.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON CITY, Nov. 24th, 1845.

In my letter on Saturday I gave you information of what I had been informed would be the tone of the Message on the three topics of the *Tariff*, the *Sub-Treasury*, and the *Oregon Territory*. In addition to these, I have been informed that the Message will contain a recommendation to Congress to make provision for the purchase of the Texas lands, so that the lands may not be brought into the market in competition with the lands of the United States, and at a lower price, while at the same time Texas will be furnished with money wherewith to pay her debts. I am informed that this will form a prominent feature of the Message, but I think it is hardly probable that such a measure will be sanctioned by the next Congress. Time will show.

Members of Congress continue to arrive and there appears every probability that there will be a quorum here on the 1st proximo. General Cass arrived here yesterday morning and put up at Coleman's Hotel, but did not put his name on the books as he did not want to have it known that he was here.

Senator ALLEN, of Ohio, has been here for a week and is trying to play the big man. He is filled with the idea that he is to be the leading man of the "Young Democracy" and was to be seen every day on the arrival of the cars watching for the arrival of new members and catch them by the button to caucus with them and impress them with the idea of his superlative greatness.

JOHN SLIDELL, M. C. from Louisiana, is in contemplation for the Special Mission to Mexico. He is a brother of Alex. Slidell Mackenzie, Commander of the Somers a short time ago. I do not know his particular aptitude for this mission. He is said to be the Magnus Apollo of his party in New-Orleans in the way of political management.

THOUGHTFUL.

NEW-YORK OFFICIAL.—Since publishing our table of the official vote of this State, except the counties of New-York and Dutchess, we have received those two counties. The following is the aggregate vote for Senators complete:

Whig 153,875; Loco-Foco 154,385; Abolition and Native 25,147; Loco-Foco over Whig 510; All others over Loco-Foco 24,637.

MASSACHUSETTS.—A second trial was made in several towns on Monday last to elect Representatives to the Legislature. The Boston Atlas gives the result in 6 towns, in all which the Whigs elected their candidates, as follows:

Salem	1	Brighton	1	Worcester	3
Danvers	2	Seekonk	1	Needham	1

In all 9 Whigs.

The Legislature, as far as heard from, stands now:

Whigs	184	Locos	53	Natives	5

Whig majority 126.

Delaware County.

Correspondence of the Albany Evening Journal.

DELHI, Nov. 21st, 1845.

A word or two about Delaware County. Judging from what appears from day to day in many of our public journals in reference to our late election, a very general impression seems to have obtained that the election is a verdict of some 1200 majority of the inhabitants of this County in favor of insurrection and murder.

Now this opinion is entirely unfounded. No one can put his finger upon any thing which has transpired in our county for the last two months to justify the belief that the Anti-Renters contemplate farther opposition to the laws. Judge Parker, in his charge to the Grand Jury in September last, said, in substance, (I write from memory,) that the Anti-Renters had grievances, many of which were within the reach of the Legislature, and exhorted them to appeal to the ballot-box. Now what does this peaceable remedy amount to, if he have no *right to vote their ticket* without being regarded as abettors of crime and insurr