

demand a proportional profit. And this profit is calculated at a rate to compensate the merchant, not only for the time and expense bestowed on the article sold, but for what is devoted to those also which cannot be sold, to those which are sold on credit and never paid for,—to those which are lost by other causes, and after providing for all these, to leave a residuum sufficient for a luxurious living. Hence the government by a tariff system even for revenue only, creates a needless demand for capital, the most needful of our wants, and consequently the most influential, and subjects the tax payer to the arbitrary power of the capitalist, and our country to a still greater dependence for capital and credit on the very country of which it is the professed object of the manufacturing policy to render us independent. The friends of the Tariff system insist however that our independence will be secured by the creation of a home market for produce, in manufacturing districts. In this case also the fallacy of the argument is concealed in imperfection of phraseology. For it is clear that without the existence of a single factory in the country, the people would eat as much, or rather more, than they would consume under other circumstances. If a part of them resort to manufacturing, it is certain they do not consume more than before, and consequently there is no greater market at home than before. The only change effected is the concentration of the consumers in manufacturing districts, and a diminished production of agricultural commodities. The process is not the creation of greater demand, but a curtailment of supply. And although one of the effects be the same in either case, yet the true expression of the result, has a very different effect on the public mind. It is a mistake however that we are made independent of foreign powers by non-intercourse. Such a conception of independence, although plausible is false. Independence of other nations can in fact be maintained only by power adequate to prevent or repel their attacks. And this power is promoted and even created by commercial intercourse.—This is peculiarly true of modern times, and of ourselves. We are separated from all powerful nations by the sea. On that element rather than on land is the fate of modern states decided. And success on that element in war depends essentially on extensive commercial intercourse in peace. The independence of non-intercourse has been completely tested by France and by China in their struggles with England—and failed.—Neither the genius of Napoleon at the head of embattled Continental Europe, nor the countless millions of Chinese men and money could maintain independence against the assault of that power which delights in a dependence for the elements of all its greatness, on the industry of foreign nations.

The policy of Tariff taxation is hostile not only to Agriculture whose products it confiscates in seizing a large portion of the value of foreign commodities, received in exchange for them, but it is still more specifically and directly hostile to labor. The consumable commodities of a country are of all its property that portion which is the most immediate product and possession of its labor. Cloth and Iron are what every body consumes, and are purchased by corn and cotton which almost everybody produces. Now when the government comes and demands its chief support, out of what is the chief support of the people, leaving the great mass of accumulated property, houses, lands, factories and stocks almost untouched, it evinces a desire to discourage labor, to oppress the person, that capital and property may be privileged. It is true there is dispute concerning the ultimate burden of all kinds of taxation: some supposing it to be borne entirely by labor, others that it is divided between labor and property. To us it is plain that the direct effect of a tax is to impoverish the class from which it is exacted. If this class consist of laborers it may seek indemnity by asking higher wages—if property be burdened it may attempt relief by demanding higher rents. But as the rates of both rent and wages are determined rather by the demand for property and labor than by the wants of the landlord or laborer, it is certain that permanent loss is the result of positive exaction. It is true that time may restore the equilibrium—wages may ultimately be advanced; but it is far more probable that time will aggravate the wrong. The weakness that invited the injury and submitted to it, will derive no strength from protracted suffering. Nor will usurpation learn self denial from indulgence. And in the struggle of the several classes for their rights, the partiality and power of Government is decisive, unless counterbalanced by events beyond the comprehension or control of political authority. And in the oppression of labor the West is a sectional sufferer—labor being her great element of wealth—and constituting a greater proportion of her resources than of any other section. We do not desire or delight to make frequent allusions to invidious distinctions of class or locality. But we are considering a law which delights in such distinctions and aggravate them into angry and obvious antagonism.

Thus far all we have said is applicable to a tariff for revenue alone. We have seen that such a policy fails to accomplish its professed object—the object for which it is tolerated. That it does not promote but prevents national independence. That in the prosecution of this abortive attempt the great principles of public liberty and prosperity are violated. That equality is sacrificed—stability renounced, agriculture depressed, labor overburdened, enterprise fettered and commerce destroyed. If these be the tendencies and results of a revenue tariff, where is the language to describe the enormity, the atrocity, the fatuity of a protective tariff which is simply an aggravation beyond the last limit of endurance of the worst features of a revenue tariff. It is the disgrace of our nature that the great hope of liberty is in the excess of oppression—that the great truths of life are learned from degrading experience not from reason—are derived from suffering not from

enjoyment. We could not question the utility of a National Bank until it almost became the government—but the discussion once begun, promises to result in dispelling the entire delusion of banking. So let us hope that the Tariff of 1842, the overdone exploit of monopoly, will accelerate the extinction of all privilege in the fiscal action of our government.

We have now to explain the operation of the existing Tariff on the Western Country—discussing a perversion—a depravity of political action, demonstrating but too well the fatuity of a free government like ours without the spirit for administering it. We have seen that the West has a common interest with the other sections of the Union, but a deeper one in the welfare respectively of Agriculture and of labor,—and consequently suffers with peculiar severity from tariff taxation. In addition to this the West has an interest more exclusively her own in our foreign commerce, and this interest is the greatest sufferer, and is in the greatest danger from the action of the present Tariff.

The West, including the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Michigan, and the Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa, had a population in 1840, according to the Census, of 4,131,370 persons, not quite one fourth in number of the Union. In that year the exports to foreign countries of products of the forest was \$5,323,085; of farming \$18,771,075; both amounting to \$24,094,160. These we assume went from the West, because they can be delivered in Canada, the West Indies and England, to which they are chiefly shipped via the Lakes and the Mississippi, cheaper than from any other part of the Union. In the same year the export of Tobacco was \$9,883,957, of which one third was Western product. If to these we add the Bale Rope and Bagging which enveloped the Cotton export of that year, and which was supplied principally by Kentucky, we shall have an aggregate of more than thirty millions of western produce out of the total domestic exports which amounted to \$113,895,634. So that the West with much less than one fourth of the population supplied more than one fourth of the exports to foreign countries direct—besides the enormous quantity of her provisions consumed in the South which entered into the production of Cotton and found their way in that shape to foreign ports—probably not less than ten millions more. Now as the other section of the Union possess much more capital than the West, they must with the same population produce more in value, and since their contribution to foreign commerce is less than ours, it is obvious that the proportion of our products dependent on foreign commerce is much the greatest.—Agricultural produce is the natural want of a dense commercial and manufacturing population like that of Europe and the natural product of such a soil and people as the West. If this trade is maintained the West will supply other sections of the Union with many manufactured fabrics, the proceeds of agricultural products, for by this process cloth is obtained by the Plough cheaper than by the Loom. It is apparent from the magnitude of Western exports in 1840 that this operation was actually going on. The West receiving in exchange for its produce and manufactured goods more than it wanted, exchanged them with New England and the Middle States for fish and such other manufactures as could not be profitably imported from abroad. The old States of the Union having assimilated to the condition of foreign industry, and being undersold in foreign markets by the West, no longer possessed a deep interest in foreign commerce, and therefore undertook to monopolize, by law, the rich fruits of Western industry and soil. The Tariff of 1842 was devised and adopted—and the East became the vender of manufactured goods to the West, instead of the purchaser. The change has acted with three-fold severity on the West. The freight of agricultural produce is, from the weight and bulk of such articles, an important element of their price in foreign markets. When a cargo of foreign merchandise, such as Iron Sugar, Salt, Woolen, or Cottons, could be obtained by the vessel that took out the export, the return freight would be so important an element of the voyage, as to diminish materially the cost of freight on the outward cargo. Now the freight on a shipment of produce, amounts to from ten to fifty per cent of its value at the place of export. A return cargo would diminish it one third. Hence a policy like the Tariff, restricting the importation of foreign goods, enhances the cost of our produce in foreign markets and diminishes its value at home, thus acting with two-fold power against us, diminishing consumption abroad, and discouraging production at home. The South compelled in the same manner to pay an increased price for the freight of its staple, Cotton,—to submit to a diminished consumption of it, to relinquish the profits of the return trade, is compelled to economize—or rather is reduced on that article to a rate of profit so low as to find it equally profitable or more so to cultivate her own supplies of provisions, and thus perishes the annual demand for ten millions of Western provisions unless they are also reduced in a corresponding degree. If to this it be replied that the West is compensated in the formation of a new market in the manufacturing districts for Western produce, the answer is that it is an obvious impossibility for the domestic manufacturer, to take produce for all the American consumption of his fabrics as foreign nations do. The manufacturer only wants as much provisions as he can consume, and that is but a part of his wages only, and but a very small part of the value of his fabric which is the work of machinery chiefly, that neither eats nor drinks. And for the supply even of the little consumed by the operative, the Eastern farmer possesses from his vicinity, an advantage over the Western which does not exist in their competition for foreign trade, but is reversed. The West is subjected to another great and peculiar disadvantage and danger

from the existing Tariff. The West is compelled in supplying its foreign customers with products, to encounter a formidable and in many cases triumphant rivalry from other foreign States. In every article we experience the competition of continental Europe, particularly the countries of the Baltic and Mediterranean. This is an evil not so much felt by the South which has but few and distant rivals in tropical productions. Here then is the West, struggling amid the difficulties and privations of recent settlement, with but little capital, its chief employment agriculture, its principal wealth in its labor, instead of being the object of political favor, doomed to encounter the hostility of government, in its trade, in its industry and its property. Instead of deriving aid from the public resources compelled to contribute out of its scanty means, an enormous excess over its proportion to the public treasury, and beyond that to make a still vaster contribution to swell the wealth of older and richer sections. The West has one hundred and twenty millions of acres of uncultivated land, worth even now from its availability, through all the prosecution of government, more than twice that number of dollars, and wanting but a small proportion of active capital to cultivate it, to render it, of comfort and enjoyment, the most productive investment in the world at five times that value,—yet government, itself an extensive proprietor, bestows enormous bounties for the attraction and detention of capital to manufacturing pursuits, in which millions of men and money are already engaged in the old world at starvation wages and bankrupt profits. Every investment now made in the teeming acres and flocks of the West, extends in geometrical progression the circle of cultivation and production, so as to transcend the conception of avarice. But government repels capital from such a function as this, and plunders from these very fields in the excesses of its burthens, an annual treasure, which although enormous in itself, is insignificant compared with the immensity of what would be its ultimate product if permitted to act undisturbed. The vast expanse of Western soil with a surface almost unbroken by mountain or rock, rich with the debris of ancient floods, and the fallen foliage of a thousand years, warm with a sunshine from the cloudless skies, yet fresh with the showers and dew that exhale from the most beautiful and majestic rivers, verdant, fragrant and variegated with flowers when visited by the zephyrs of the Southwest, and shedding its golden fringes in profusion with the first winds from Oregon,—such is the land from which Government has undertaken to divert the footsteps of its citizens, and the plough of the cultivator, by taking the produce of its harvests to endow the capital of a more sterile soil and a more, forbidding clime.

To be continued in our next.

From the St. Louis Republic. TRIAL OF COL. DAVENPORT'S MURDERERS—THEIR CONVICTION.

We learn from Rock Island, that the grand jury, at their session last week, found true bills against Burch, Baxter, the two Longs, and Young, for the murder of Col. George Davenport, on the 4th of July last. On Wednesday of that week, Young and the two Longs were put on their trial. The court appointed three members of the bar to act as their counsel. Nearly three days were occupied in the trial. On Friday evening, the case was given to the jury, and a verdict of murder rendered against each of them.—On Saturday morning, they were brought into court, and sentenced to be hung on the 29th of the present month. Full and voluntary disclosures have been made by Burch, in the hope of being permitted to become State's evidence, with a chance for pardon; but so complete was the testimony, independent of his confession, that he would be put upon his trial, and no doubt suffer the fate of those already condemned. In his case, and that of Baxter and the two Redings, a motion was pending for a change of venue, the argument of which was not concluded when our informant left. It was supposed that the change of venue would be granted; in which case, their trial was to have taken place in Carroll county on Monday last. The prosecution was conducted by Messrs. Knox, Grant, Mitchell, and Cook.

The individuals convicted of the murder of Col. Davenport have since been executed. One of them previous to the execution occupied the others from any connection with the crime.

From the New Orleans Tropic.

RECEPTION OF MR. CALHOUN.—About ten o'clock yesterday morning, the vicinity of the Pontchartrain Railroad Depot was densely thronged with citizens anxious to testify their respect for the distinguished statesman, John C. Calhoun. On his leaving the cars, the Mayor addressed him in an appropriate manner. Mr. Calhoun replied in a few words, thanking the citizens for this mark of their kindness. The procession then formed. In passing the *place d'Armes*, a grand salute by the Artillery Battalion was fired, under the command of Captain Augustin. The procession continued its march according to the programme of yesterday, occasionally greeted with manifestations of welcome in the various streets. The procession finally halted at the St. Louis Exchange, where the city's guest retired.

In the evening, a splendid banquet was given to Mr. Calhoun, the Mayor presiding, assisted by prominent citizens as vice presidents. On a complimentary sentiment from the president, Mr. Calhoun made some brief, but very appropriate remarks, toasting the city of New Orleans, and pledging his best services to the interest of Louisiana. During the evening, numerous toasts were drank, and at a late hour the banquet ceased.

By a census recently taken, it appears that the population of the city of New York has increased 58,392, since 1840.

KALIDA VENTURE.

JAMES MACKENZIE, EDITOR.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1845.

Legislative News.

Congress commenced its session yesterday, and the policy which may be pursued is of the utmost importance to the interests of the country. We anticipate that one of the first acts will be the establishment of the Independent Treasury, and the removing from the Banks the opportunity to speculate on the public burdens. The revision of the Tariff in accordance with revenue principles will be another great work for this Congress to effect. For the interests of Agriculture in the West we hope there will be no compromise with the policy of protection. We must ultimately lose the support of the manufacturing interest. With its servitude, its monopoly, and its partial legislation, Democracy can not be connected without defilement and loss of principle. The longer we strive to perpetuate an unnatural union we but increase the power of those who are the natural enemies of equal laws, and build up immense fortunes to be expended in reducing the masses to subservience to the few. On our first page will be found the commencement of a document upon this subject which does justice to the reputation of the glorious Democracy of Hamilton for sound principles and sterling ability. We expect to be able to conclude its publication before Congressional and State legislative news become pressing. What course Congress will take on the Oregon will best be determined after the receipt of the recommendations of the message.

Our State Legislature also met yesterday. Their character, and the circumstances of their elevation promise neither dignity, moderation, or sound discretion in their legislative measures. There is much on the Statute Book that might be repealed, and some good laws that might be enacted, to the advantage the State, independent of party political measures. The interests of this section demand that the Canal Lands either be appraised at a moderate value, or that a fixed amount be placed upon them which shall bring them within the reach of actual settlers, and the Legislature should limit them to those only who intend to settle or improve the land. But we do not expect any measure of public advantage to the country from whig legislators. They will do what the nabobs in and about Columbus desire. Banks, railroads, and laws licensing speculation we will have in plenty, but little to improve the condition of the mechanic or farmer.

We shall give abstracts, as early as possible, of all legislature news.

The West—Oregon, &c.

We extract the following paragraph from an article in the *Charleston Mercury*, relative to the "effects of war upon the different sections of the country."

"To the West also a war offers its bribes. No invader will trample their soil or burn their cities. The Western are a brave people;—indeed, if there is anything they love better than bragging, it is actual blows.—They will have all pleasures of bluster, turmoil and fighting, with none of the blight and horrors of war. They will have an eye to business also, and will not be insensible to the profit of feeding our armies at war-prices. In the last year they sold flour at their own doors for twenty dollars a barrel. What a forcible argument this, to prove that Western interests require war! Thus the Eastern manufacturers will flourish by a complete monopoly of the market of the Union,—and the Western farmers will flourish through the demands of the army for their produce."

A few months ago, to annex Texas, the *Mercury* was ready to have encountered all the horrors of war with England, and if need be, with France; but a change has come over the spirit of its chivalry. It is not the South now, but the West which is demanding the strong arm of our confederation to secure justice. And the selfishness of the West is dwelt upon to cover the fact that to preserve a market for Southern cotton there are those quite ready to surrender our territorial agents in Oregon. This charge of selfishness against the West is both ungrateful and unjust. There is not a single fact in Western history to support it. Our people are uncorrupted by the unequally distributed wealth of the East or the servitude of the South, and are ready to act with a degree of patriotism which neither of these sections appear to appreciate. They are never led into conjunction with Faneuil Hall Federalism; though they have stood by the South on the broad platform of democratic principles—they have respected their rights, and revered their Statesmen, and went for the annexation of Texas with an energy and unanimity which the South might parallel but did not exceed. They had no cotton growing interests or "peculiar institutions" to be affected by the measure. The advancement of the great principles upon which our Republic is founded—the "extension of the area of freedom"—independent of all other considerations—was their motive, and to Western influence is owing the consummation of this object of Southern desire. In the same national spirit will they deal with the question of Oregon, in which in truth they have no interest distinct from their fellow citizens of other sections of the Union.

The West has had few favors to solicit from the General Government. She has not even demand-

ed all to which she has been justly entitled.—Peace and patronage justify the due of her statesmen have hitherto flowed in other channels, and she has made but little complaint. But

"Westward the star of Empire takes its way," and while indifferent to minor considerations, she is conscious of her relative importance, and will make her influence felt in our foreign negotiations, in support of a magnanimous policy, commensurate with the character of her people.

But this flourish of arms, this continued cloudding of every question with the portents of war is as unwelcome as it is uncalculated. War with England is not even a probability. Pressed down by financial burdens which threaten revolution with every fluctuation of trade, England dare not provoke hostility. A firm and unyielding policy on the part of the American Government will accomplish all that war could effect, without bloodshed. It is only by a course of disgraceful concession—the Webster diplomacy supported by the Mercury, which can eventuate in ever bringing on that direct of human calamities. The west desires no war—nor fears it. The dissolution of the Convention of 1818 for mutual occupation of Oregon, and the establishment therein of a territorial Government on our part, will afford Great Britain no just grounds on which to base hostilities. The direct taxation which such an event would cause would bear heavily on the West, which now pays a large proportion of the public burdens, disbursed in the South and East in the maintenance of the Navy and the erection of fortifications and harbors. There is no certainty that the west would be relieved from the presence of war. In our last conflict she was not so. Her Southern market would be destroyed as well as that of the Southern Planter, and we doubt very much whether she would be any great gainer by the proportion of her taxes which she would receive in shape of payment for army provisions. Notwithstanding all this—the west demands the full maintenance of our National Rights. She values them higher than to be yielded up to secure a market. Financial considerations are of great importance, but they are not all absorbing, and no intelligent Statesman will hold them so. But we will soon know if the Mercury speaks the views of the South on this subject.

Winter.

Winter with his frosty locks, and chilling breath is once more upon us. The buds of spring, the blossoms of summer, and the delicious fruits of autumn have succeeded one another in rapid succession, and now the cold arms of winter encircle a world so recently beautiful and lovely.—The rough winds, as they whistle through the leafless trunks of the forest, chaunt the melancholy requiem of the departed seasons. They have passed where the eye cannot penetrate. Yet their scenes of good and evil are stamped upon the memory, from which time cannot eradicate them, and eternity will perhaps but render them the more intense. Yes, they dwell with the memory, whose potent power conjures up the spirits of the past, and causes them to converse with us as 'y' bills of the future.

Winter is not unfrequently regarded as the most dreary and inhospitable season of the varying year. To the indigent, the houseless, homeless, friendless poor this may be true. To those whose affections have been slighted, whose hopes have been blighted; over the confiding heart of whom the black mantle of despair has been cast; the deep gushing fountain of whose love for their species has been dried up, and whose heart has become a thing.

"O'er which destruction flaps his raven wing." To such winter is indeed peculiarly desolate.—The monotony of house hold enjoyments are so many aggravations of the madness of the mind.—Their malady seeks not the kind offices of man for its alleviation, but the glorious converse with nature in her own habitations, the green fields, the deep forests, the towering hills, and beside the running waters,

"To sit on rocks, to gaze on flood and fell,
To slowly trace the forest's shady scene,
Where things that own no man's dominion dwell,
And mortal foot hath ne'er or rarely seen;
To climb the trackless mountains all unseen;
With the wild flock that never needs a fold;
Alone o'er steep and foaming falls to lean;
This to them is not solitude; 'tis but to hold
Converse with nature's charms, and view her stores unroll'd."

To such winter is indeed a season of desolation, because it denies them their delightful intercourse with nature and forces upon them the society of man.

But to the world, winter is the season for the development of the social virtues—for the display of the charities of the heart—for the cultivation of the mind—for the cementing of friendships—for the meeting of hearts by the enduring ties of "friendship heightened into love." Yes, spring is joyous and promising as childhood; summer light and evanescent as the day dreams of youth; autumn, calm and serene as man when he has passed the summit level of life, and his matured nature sinks into the sea and yellow leaf of age; but winter collects around himself all the seasons of the year, and makes them minister to his wants and luxuries. He is the Patriarch of the race, for whom the others pour out their showers and diffuse their rays to grow and ripen the harvests, that winter may distribute his hospitalities at his ease, and render glad, and thankful the heart of man.

But winter is not only the season of enjoyment, but of promise, to all save the unenviable sceptic, who does not appreciate the glorious handiwork of Infinite Goodness, winter is a season big with promise, with the joyous anticipations of a bright and buoyant future. His icy embrace can not forever hold the beautiful creatures of the vegetable creation. The spring, with her re-invigorating store of dews and showers, and sunshine will come, and the dead will live.—"Beauty will spring out of ashes"—"the wilderness will bloom and blossom as the rose."

So when the cold winter of death has swept over him, Man

"New rising from the tomb
With lustre brighter far shall shine;
Be newed in ever during bloom,
Safe from disease and decline."

Will some of the journals in this section who are so anxious for Col. Tod's success, just inform their readers of the names and character of the other candidates for