

[Concluded.]

farmer there, to give a higher money price for manufactures to the domestic establishments, which will take the productions of his farm in exchange, than to obtain these manufactures at a much lower rate from the foreign establishments, which will take scarcely any thing he has to give. A new demand, and almost a new value, are created for his productions, by the domestic factories; and while he gives, nominally, more for manufactures, he gives, really, much less. And it is strange that it should not be perceived, that what is true of the northern farmers, is equally true of the southern planters. The European manufactures furnish the natural market for the latter, for the same reason precisely that the northern manufactures furnish the natural market for the former. That reason is, because the European manufactures will take, in exchange for their manufactures, nine hundred thousand bales of cotton, which the northern manufactures will not, and cannot take. It is, therefore, in all respects as unjust and tyrannical, to obstruct or impede the free intercourse of the southern planters with their natural markets abroad, as it would be to obstruct or impede, in like manner, the free intercourse of the northern farmers, with their natural markets, the domestic manufactures.

If Congress should entirely repeal the duties upon imported manufactures, and levy an excise duty upon domestic manufactures, equal to that which is now laid upon those imported, it would be nothing more than returning to the lips of the northern manufacturers, and their associates, the poisoned chalice which they have so long held to the lips of the southern planters. It would be taxing their productions, and exempting those of the south, precisely as the productions of the south have been taxed so many years, while those of the north have been exempted. But the committee have not yet finished the exposition of the evils inflicted on the planting States by the protecting system, taken in connexion with the fiscal operations of the government. No just estimate can be formed of the oppressive action of the Federal Government upon the southern states, which does not add to the inequality of its exactions, the still greater inequality of its disbursements. To levy one half of the federal revenue from cotton and rice alone—the productions of one-fifth part of the federal population—would be, in itself, sufficiently oppressive; but to levy this most unequal contribution from that part of the Union where imported manufactures are produced, and expend it, almost exclusively, in that part where untaxed protected manufactures are produced, is almost to duplicate the burthen, and is quite enough to account for the general decay and desolation which have silently overspread, and are still overspreading, the devoted region of the south. To sum up and express the intolerable grievances of the southern states, in a single phrase, they are reduced to the very worst condition of colonial bondage to the tariff states. They are prohibited from exchanging their productions with the best and most extensive customers on earth, under a penalty of forty per cent. on their value, for the avowed purpose of compelling them to make their exchanges with the very worst customers in the world. In other words, they are prohibited, under the penalty stated, from trading with all parts of the world but the manufacturing states, precisely as the British American colonies were prohibited from trading with all parts of the world but the mother country. The principle of the prohibition is strictly identical in both cases, and we have only to substitute "manufacturing states" for "mother country," and "southern states" for "American colonies," to have the story of the wrongs and oppressions of our common ancestors, literally transferred to a portion of their posterity. In point of fact, however, there is this striking difference: The colonial restrictions of our ancestors were almost purely nominal, because the mother country afforded them the best market in the world, both for their sales and purchases. The very reverse of this is true as it regards the restrictions imposed upon the trade of the southern States. The markets from which those restrictions are intended to exclude them, are the very best in the world, while that to which they are intended to confine them, is decidedly the worst. Conclusive proof of this is found in the fact, that they still continue to trade to the proscribed markets, paying the heavy penalty, rather than trade with the manufacturing states, without paying any penalty at all. Regarding the protecting duties in the light of fines and forfeitures for violating this new code of colonial restrictions, we have only to see the revenue derived from this source squandered in improvements, and other forms of expenditure, in the favored region, to have a perfect picture of Rome and Italy, flourishing in bloated prosperity upon the plunder of the subject provinces.

In confirmation of the views here presented, all the phenomena exhibited in the manufacturing States, will be found equally with those exhibited in

the planting States, to correspond with the idea that the protecting duties are specific and ruinous taxes on the industry of the south, and sustaining bounties to the industry of the north. With a very small share of the natural advantages enjoyed by the planting States, the manufacturing States are everywhere covered with monuments and evidences of a thriving and prosperous industry, which has scarcely any parallel, while the former are equally covered with melancholy memorials of thriftless toil, impoverishment, and ruin.

It is impossible that these phenomena can exist without cause, and no known cause so naturally accounts for them as the unequal action of the government. The most intelligent advocates of the manufactures allege, that the repeal of the protecting duties would produce a scene of desolation in the manufacturing States, as striking as that which is now exhibited in the planting States. This is a distinct admission of all that the committee have said of the unequal operation of the protecting duties. Congress has no alchemic powers, and certainly has not yet discovered the philosopher's stone. Its taxation cannot, therefore, diffuse wealth over one part of the Union, without taking it from another. And however disguised and complicated the process by which the transfer is made, no degree of pecuniary prosperity can be communicated to the manufacturing States, by taxing the rival productions of the exporting States, without diminishing, in an equal or greater degree, the wealth of the latter. In a pecuniary point of view, must assuredly, taxation can only be a blessing to those who receive the taxes, directly or indirectly; and the allegation, that the repeal of the discriminating taxes upon imports would ruin the manufacturers, is an admission that they, in effect, receive those taxes. What right of the manufacturers would be violated by reducing the duties to a revenue scale? Would it be any thing more than the assumed right of taxing their fellow citizens? How would the reduction of the duties injure them? Could it, by human possibility, be in any other way, than by substituting some other productions of domestic industry, for the protected manufactures? And can it be doubted, that the producers of the substituted articles have a natural, unalienable, and constitutional right to introduce and use them, and that they will be as much benefited by the restoration of their right so to introduce and use them, as the manufacturers can possibly be by their exclusion.

In conclusion, the committee will present, in a few words, the estimate they have formed of the relative burthens and benefits imposed and conferred by the protecting system upon the three geographical divisions of the Union, the northern, the southern, and the western States. So far as the protecting duties operate merely as taxes upon consumption, there can be no great inequality in the burthens they impose upon the different portions of the Union, and whatever inequality there may be, as it is founded upon a larger consumption, it may be fairly presumed to be accompanied by a corresponding ability to consume. But regarding the protecting duties as taxes—discriminating and partial taxes—upon production, there is nothing but inequality in their operation. As the committee have already stated, the protected manufacturers do not bear any part of the burthen imposed upon the community by the enhanced price of their own productions. On the contrary, as most of them sell those productions to a much larger amount than will equal the amount which they consume of all productions, foreign and domestic, enhanced in their price by import duties, it follows, that the bounties they receive on their production, are much greater than the taxes they pay on their consumption. The committee will now go one step further. It will not be denied that the manufacturing States produce a larger amount of protected manufactures than will equal the amount consumed by their entire population, of protected and rival foreign manufactures. Viewing the manufacturing States, therefore, as a consolidated community, the aggregate amount of the burthens imposed upon them by the whole protecting system, is not equal to the amount of the bounties conferred upon them by that system; a fact which fully explains, what to many seems to be unaccountable—the untiring perseverance and increasing unanimity with which the protecting system, in all its branches, is maintained by those States. Regarding the protecting system, therefore, as it operates both upon production and consumption, it imposes no burthen at all upon the manufacturing States, considered as one entire community.

The operation of this system upon the southern or planting States, is almost precisely the reverse of what it is upon the northern or manufacturing States. The former certainly consume as largely of articles affected by the protecting duties, as any of the oth-

er States; and consequently bear their due proportion of the burthens imposed by those duties on the consumption of the country. But the whole of the burthen which these duties impose upon production, falls almost exclusively upon the planting States, through their productions, for the same reason, and to at least the same extent, that they operate as bounties to the rival productions of the manufacturing states. It is scarcely a possible supposition, that discriminating taxes levied upon the productions of the planting States, can diminish the exchangeable value of those productions, less than they increase the exchangeable value of the rival productions of the manufacturing States. The former result is both the cause and the measure of the latter. The lowest estimate that can be reasonably made of the diminution produced in the exchangeable value of the southern staples of exportation, is 20 per cent. or one half of the protecting duty imposed upon their conversion into manufactures, by the foreign exchange. It is believed to be, in point of fact, much greater. But even according to this estimate, the specific and exclusive burthen imposed upon the exports of the planting States would be seven millions of dollars, assuming that their exports amount to thirty-five millions, and that imposed upon cotton and rice alone, would be six millions. But as the value of the cotton, tobacco, and rice, consumed in the United States is as much diminished as that which is exported, an additional burthen of upwards of a million of dollars, is, in this way, imposed upon these productions; of which sum, nine hundred thousand dollars, as has been heretofore shown, is an exclusive burthen upon the cotton planters, for the exclusive benefit of the protected manufacturers. It thus appears that the people of the planting States, sustain an annual uncompensated burthen of at least eight millions of dollars, in addition to the burthen which they bear, in common with the people of the other States, as consumers of imported and protected articles, and this burthen is rendered almost doubly injurious to the planting, and beneficial to the manufacturing States by the inequality of its disbursement.

The western States, while they derive scarcely any advantage from the protecting system and bear their due proportion of the taxes imposed upon consumption, also sustain a peculiar burthen upon their productive industry, which deserves explanation. It has been already stated that these States annually sell to the planting States, live stock to the amount of three millions of dollars; and it cannot be reasonably doubted, that if the planting States enjoyed a free trade, the vast increase which it would produce in the income and prosperity of the planters, would enable them to purchase double the amount of live stock which they now purchase from the western States, and to pay better prices for it. To this extent, the western States sustain an injury in the diminished demand for their productions, and consequent diminution of their price, in addition to the taxes they pay as consumers; and for which they receive scarcely any indemnification from the protecting system. This is particularly the case with Kentucky. It would seem to be almost a suicidal policy in that State, to tax the productions and diminish the incomes, of her best customers, in order to give a preference to the productions, and to increase the incomes, of those who will purchase scarcely any thing she has to sell. Notwithstanding the existing restrictions, how small a portion of the productions of that State, find a market in the manufacturing States, in comparison with the demand for them in the planting States.

Upon the whole, then, the protecting system is utterly ruinous to the planting States; injurious to the western States, and exclusively beneficial to the manufacturing States, and ought to be abandoned with all convenient and practicable despatch, upon every principle of justice, patriotism, and sound policy.

BALTIMORE, FEB. 7.

The Slave Insurrection in Jamaica.
The schooner *Harvey*, Capt. Snow, came up yesterday evening from Montego Bay, Jamaica, whence she sailed on the 5th January. Captain Snow reports that the whole island was in a state of confusion and alarm, in consequence of the insurrectionary movements of the slaves. The troops had been called out, and had attacked them, and all who did not surrender at discretion were shot. Many slaves, it is added, had met that fate. Martial law had been declared, and the vessels in port were not permitted to sail. The *Harvey*, however, being full, and having applied for a clearance several days before the declaration of martial law, was allowed to depart. Three British frigates had arrived there from Kingston, with 500 marines on board. The insurrection was not quelled when the *Harvey* sailed, and Captain Snow

saw several large fires burning at a distance. A negro hut had been examined, and 800 stand of arms found therein. The insurgents appeared to be well armed.

Horrid Murder!—We learn from a respectable source, that on the 21st ult. a man residing in the Gore District, Upper Canada, whose name is *Sovereign*, murdered his wife & six of his children, comprising his whole family, except one child who, as we understand, was in bed with two others, who were killed, but being small, had crowded down under their clothes, and was not discovered by his cruel father. The circumstances as related to us, were as follows. *Sovereign*, who was an intemperate man called at his brother's who lives near, and keeps a tavern, asked for liquor which was refused.—From this he became enraged, went home & threw one of his children on the fire and proceeded to kill his wife and the rest of his children, but by what means, our informant did not learn. After completing the work of destruction, he returned to his brother's and told him that two negroes had been at his house and killed all his family, and requested his brother and brother's son, to take their rifle and go with him to the spot. They accordingly went, and just as they were entering the door; he endeavored to get the young man's rifle to kill them also; but the persuasion of his brother prevented the delivery of the rifle, and this in all probability saved their lives. He has been arrested, and is now in jail to await his trial. He had stabbed himself in several places, but the wounds were not considered dangerous. *Buffalo Bulletin.*

Dissection.—The horror in London, by the recent discoveries of the practice of *Burking* in that metropolis, has led to much discussion as to the best mode of encouraging dissection by law. Among others, a Colonel Jones, a noted Radical addressed a letter to the *Times* on this subject, in which he advocates the propriety of the middle and higher ranks leaving their bodies for the benefit of science, as an example for the lower ranks to do the same.—The Colonel states that he has bequeathed his own body to the Anatomical Theatre of the London University.

The Union.

Each day's intelligence from Washington, strengthens our conviction that the republic is in danger. An adjustment of the tariff, without which the hope of tranquillity is vain, is scarcely within the compass of possibility, while the turbulent elements of civil commotion, continue at work. Clay and Calhoun are still gonging on to madness, the different parties, which look to them as leaders. Surrender nothing! maintain your monopolies! crush the South! is the feeling and almost the language of one; while the other exclaims, "down with the tariff; nullify the law; disunion and dismemberment!" The glowing eloquence of these advocates of revolution, brings before the "mind's eye" the clash of arms, and all the frightful desolations which mark the progress of domestic war. As an evidence of the desperate excitement kindled in the South, we quote an extract from the speech of Mr. Cook upon the floor of Congress, in opposition to the removal of Gen. Washington's remains to the capitol. He called upon Congress,

"To contemplate the day when these twenty-four states shall or may become twenty-four independent governments, engaged in all the horrors of war." "Leave to us, Virginians," said he, "the sacred remains of our beloved Washington, that we may visit the tomb and do reverence to his name in peace. Do not compel us to go through hostile territory, to visit the sacred spot where lies the father of his country."

In the course of the same debate, Mr. Thompson of Georgia, used the following language:

"I presume there is scarcely an individual within this hall, or within the United States, at all conversant with passing events, and political aspects, who does not feel compelled to look to the possibility of a severance of this Union. Indeed some profess to think that such an event is probable. Remove the remains of our venerated Washington from their association with the remains of his consort and his ancestors, from Mount Vernon, and from his native state, and deposit them in this capitol, and then let a severance of this Union occur, and behold! the remains of Washington on a shore foreign to his native soil."

Such is the gloomy presentiment of national disaster which is felt by the South—such is their deep, and embittered disaffection to the Union. Calhoun has no oil to pour upon the stormy tide of popular excitement—he has mounted the tempest, and is striving to direct it where to pour its fury. Mr. Clay witnesses these appalling exhibitions of hostility to the Union, springing from the oppressions of his American System; but so far from relaxing the aggravating despotism of its operation, he sternly presses forward in his heedless and ambitious career. All must see with the bitterest sorrow, two men with such reckless ambition, of such desperate, selfish, and abandoned purposes, destined by some fatality to prove the bane and curse of the republic. A disastrous juncture

is at hand, and it behooves every man to be up and doing, and contribute his influence to baffle the treasonable machinations which the worst of men have thrown into action. It will require but little reasoning on the part of the people to place this subject in its true light. The "passing events and political aspect," spoken of by Mr. Thompson, as menacing a dissolution of the Confederacy, it is well known, originated with and are now controlled by Clay and Calhoun. The President has declared that "the Union must be preserved;" and this sentiment has been invoked upon the head of the intrepid patriot, the implacable hatred of all who are aiming at its dismemberment.

It is in this fearful and troubled hour, that is to try the strength of our institutions, and decide the experiment of self-government which we are making, that all true patriots should rally round the President, and support him in the stand he has taken. True to his country, and disdaining to connect himself with any of the factions formed and fomented by ambition, he has assumed the middle ground, and at the altar of public good, asks all parties to sacrifice something to a common sentiment of patriotism. Alike opposed to the monopolies of the North and the nullification of the South, he is striving to effect a compromise which shall re-establish public repose. Should not all good men lend him their sanction and their aid in this patriotic undertaking? Would the fall of Clay and Calhoun, or the fall of our country, be most deplorable? It is better that our manufactures should fatten upon the spoils of the people for a season, and our free institutions crumble to the dust; or that those manufactures should be driven into a competition that may reduce that profits, and our happy government be preserved from the shock of civil strife? Patriotism has but one answer for these questions. *Louisville Ad.*

The next election. It seems to be settled that the next election of President will be governed by the apportionment under the late census, and Congress will probably fix the ratio of representation at 47,700. There will, then, be 288 electoral votes—145 being necessary to elect the President. This number will be obtained by Gen. Jackson in

New Hampshire	7	Conceded to Jackson in the West	
Maine	10		
New York	42	Tennessee	15
Pennsylvania	30	Alabama	7
Maryland	5	Mississippi	4
Virginia	23	Missouri	4
North Carolina	15	Illinois	5
South Carolina	11	Indiana	9
Georgia	11		
			44
Without the west	154		154
		Total	198

This statement demonstrates that Gen. Jackson will receive a sufficient number of votes to elect him, without taking into the estimate any of the votes of the western States. But, the west will not desert him. He is certain of the votes of six of the western states, (14 in number,) and we believe those of Ohio, Louisiana and Kentucky, may be added to his majority.

Mr. Clay will receive the votes of the following states:

Massachusetts	14
Rhode Island	4
Connecticut	8
Total	26

Mr. Wirt will probably receive the votes of Vermont—7.

Delaware, and 5 votes in Maryland, may be considered doubtful.

The nine western states will give under an apportionment of 47,700, 85 electoral votes. Should they all vote for the re-election of General Jackson, he will probably receive 239 out of 288 votes—leaving 49 to be divided between Messrs. Clay and Wirt.

If we yield to the opposition all they claim, say

Massachusetts	14
Rhode Island	4
Connecticut	8
Vermont	7
New Jersey	8
Delaware	5
Kentucky	15
Ohio	21
Louisiana	5
In Maryland	5
	92

They will then have only ninety-two votes, being less than one third part of the whole number. The comparative rectitude of our estimate and their claims must be tested by the result. The credulous portion of the Clay party are recommended to peruse the above statement thrice, with spectacles, if necessary. The knowing ones have long since "given it up." They have "knocked under" in reality, but "hiss on" the ignorant, to keep up appearances. *Louisville Ad.*

In North Carolina there are 53 white and two hundred and forty-seven colored people, over 100 years of age.