

sincerely deplore the fact, but I should be guilty of exciting false and delusive hopes in my constituents, if I did not declare it. Sir, no man who will reflect upon the progress of this system for the last twelve years, can indulge the slightest hope that it will ever be abandoned by those who imposed it upon us. From year to year the duties have been increased and the system extended, and at each successive enlargement of the circle of monopoly, the majority in Congress has uniformly increased. So far from perceiving any indications of a reaction here, it seems obvious to me that the more odious and oppressive and intolerable the system is rendered to the people of that portion of the Union whose rights it grossly violates, and whose interests it is calculated to destroy, the more determined and obstinate are the majority in adhering to it, and extending its operation. Placing the question then upon the footing on which it is placed by the advocates of this system—conceding to them the right and the capacity to judge of their own interests—yielding the point, as I am compelled to do, that the prohibitory system does really promote what they regard as their true interest, I shall proceed to demonstrate, as I think I can most conclusively, that the interest of the majority thus to be promoted, consists in the absolute annihilation of the rights and interests of the minority.

In this state of facts a very grave and momentous question irresistibly forces itself upon the consideration of this body: how far it is the right of the majority to destroy the separate and peculiar interests of the minority; and how far the minority are under any constitutional or moral obligation to submit to so monstrous an outrage?

Sir, I am well convinced that the people of the United States have not realized, even in a partial degree, the nature and extent of the oppression under which the people of the Southern States are laboring. I shall proceed, therefore, to inquire, in the first place, what is the operation of your system of impost duties upon the various portions of the Union, regarding it merely as a system of revenue?

Has it any pretension to be regarded as a just and equal system of taxation? Is not the fact undeniable, that almost the whole burthen of federal taxation, is thrown upon those branches of productive industry which furnish the exchanges of our foreign commerce, while all the other branches of domestic production are free from taxation, and a large portion of them derive considerable bounties. Indirectly, from the very burthens imposed upon those productions which constitute the staples of foreign commerce? If I have not entirely mistaken the true operation of the revenue laws of the United States, there never was a more unequal and unjust system of taxation, devised by any Government, of ancient or modern times.

A reference to the Treasury statements of the commerce of the United States, will show that the whole amount of the domestic productions annually exported to foreign countries, taking an average of years is something less than fifty-eight millions of dollars. Taking this to be the aggregate value of the domestic exports of the Southern and Southwestern States, which are engaged in the production of the great agricultural staples of cotton, tobacco and rice—constituting less than one third part of the Union—export to the amount of thirty-seven millions of dollars; and those portions of the States just mentioned, which are engaged in the production of cotton and rice—constituting less than one fifth part of the Union—export to the amount of thirty millions of dollars. Now, Sir, it would be difficult to imagine a proposition in political economy more undesirable, than that the amount of imports which belong to each respective portion of the Union, must be proportioned to their exports. It is wholly immaterial who are the carriers and importers of the merchandise received in exchange for domestic productions, or through what custom house it happens to pass. It must still be regarded as constituting the commerce of that portion of the country in exchange for the productions of which it is obtained; and every imposition of duties upon that commerce is a burthensome taxation thrown upon the domestic industry by which it is sustained. If, therefore, you would know what stake any particular portion of the Union has in the foreign commerce of the country, you have only to ascertain what proportion the exports of domestic productions, from that part of the Union, bear to the whole amount of foreign merchandise imported for consumption. How, then, are the burthens imposed by this Government regarding the impost duties as a mere system of revenue—distributed among the various States and sections of this Union? If I shall succeed in showing that the States engaged in the production of cotton, tobacco and rice, are taxed by the Federal Government in proportion to the amount of their exports, it will follow that those States pay very nearly two-thirds of the whole amount of the Federal revenue. It will also follow, that the States engaged in the production of cotton and rice

alone, with a population of little more than two millions, pay more than one half of that revenue. I am aware, Sir, that these propositions are calculated to startle those who have not examined the subject attentively. Gentlemen will think it scarcely possible that any population in the world could have existed, in tolerable comfort, under such a weight of taxes. I will proceed, then, to the proof of the proposition, that the exports of the planting States indicate the proportion of Federal taxes paid by these States, taking fairly into view the entire operation of our fiscal system. And I beg that those gentlemen who are in favor of the existing policy, will examine my argument critically, and if they can detect any fallacy in it, that they will expose it to this Committee. My sincere desire is to arrive at the truth. If I am in error, it is my anxious wish that it may be clearly pointed out, as very important issues may probably hang upon it.

If the Southern planters were to export their own productions in their own snip and import, in the same way, the merchandise obtained in exchange for it, would any doubt exist that they actually paid into the Treasury an amount of taxes proportioned to their exports? Exporting productions to the amount of thirty-seven millions of dollars, they would pay, assuming the average rate of the duties even at forty per cent., \$14,800,000; while the States producing cotton and rice would pay twelve millions.—Now, as the importing merchant is nothing more than the agent of the planter, the true operation of impost duties will be much more clearly perceived by dispensing with this agency. It tends to confuse the inquirer, by keeping out of view the real parties to the proceeding. The merchant certainly bears his own share of the burthens of Federal taxation; but the burthens of the planter are in no degree diminished by that fact. I assume, then, that the planter is subjected to precisely the same burthen, as a planter, that he would be if he had no factor or commercial agent, but exported his own produce himself, and imported what he obtained for it abroad. Why, then, is it denied that he is taxed in proportion to the amount of his exports? It is denied, Mr. CHAIRMAN, upon the assumed ground that the producer pays no part of the tax, as a producer, but that the whole burthen falls upon the consumer of the articles subjected to impost duties.—Now, although, as I shall hereafter attempt to shew, the condition of the planter would be very little better, even if it were true that the consumer paid the whole tax, yet I deem it important to refute the common error, that indirect taxes, laid upon production, fall ultimately and exclusively on consumption. I know, Sir, that indirect taxes do not exclusively rest upon those classes from whom they are actually levied. But upon what principle of reason or common sense can it be maintained that no part of them rests there? (To be continued.)

MR. RENCHER'S CIRCULAR.

To the Freedom of the Fourth Congressional District of North Carolina.

(CONCLUDED.)

The bill providing for the removal of the Indians West of the Mississippi has been one of deep interest, and fruitful of misrepresentation and abuse of those who have supported it. It has been viewed as an administration measure, and has therefore received the most violent and vindictive abuse from the minions of party, "for it is their vocation, &c." But if we examine this matter candidly, we shall find that the removal of the Indians West of the Mississippi has received the approbation of every administration, from Thomas Jefferson down to the present time, and was a favorite object with, and warmly recommended by, our late President. In 1826, 1827, and 1828, bills were passed almost unanimously, and large appropriations made, with the ultimate object of removing the Indians West of the Mississippi; and in 1829, a bill similar to the one passed at this session was introduced, but not finally voted on for the want of time. In the report which accompanied that bill, speaking of the gradual decay of the Indians, the committee use the following strong language: "How are they to be preserved? The committee can perceive but one way, and that is by adopting the policy proposed by the Government, for their removal and collocation without the limits of the States and organized Territories. The President of the United States also approves of and recommends this course, and, among other reasons by him assigned, is the unanswerable one of the difficulty likely to arise from the formation of independent governments among the Indians within the limits of sovereign States claiming to be independent of ours." Such were the views of the late administration; such are the views of the present; and I confess I was greatly surprised to find men who had supported this measure under the late administration, arrayed in one solid phalanx (with one honorable exception) against it when recommended by President Jackson.

The bill does not contemplate the exercise of any force, or the violation of any treaty, as has been misrepresented, but simply authorizes the President to exchange lands West of the Mississippi with such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside, and remove there, embracing those Indians, the title to whose land the General Government is bound to extinguish, and those whose lands, the title being extinguished, belong to the General Government.

The good faith of the Nation, the harmony of the Union, and the preservation of these unfortunate Indian tribes, all strongly recommended the adoption of this measure. In 1802 the State of Georgia ceded to the United States an extensive territory, now forming the States of Alabama and Mississippi, upon the express condition that the United States should extinguish the Indian title within the State as early as the same could be done on reasonable terms. Georgia has waited for twenty-eight years, and called on the Government to fulfil her obligations, which we could not refuse without a base violation of our national faith.—Our own interest likewise forbade that we should any longer delay this matter. The Cherokee country in Georgia comprises a rich and valuable territory of six millions of acres. The whites and the half-breeds who have incorporated themselves with the Indians are making valuable improvements in this country, and the longer we defer the purchase of the Indian title, the more exorbitant will be the price we shall be forced to pay for it.

But there is another grave and important consideration. The Indians within the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, under the influence of interested white men, have formed separate governments, claiming to be independent of, and superior to, the laws of those States.—The States, protesting against this exercise of sovereignty within their limits, have appealed to the General Government, under the Constitution, which declares that "no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of another State," and have determined to extend their laws over them. The Indians, in turn, have appealed to us for protection, and their pretended friends in Congress seem to think that, under existing treaties with them, the President should levy an armed force, and march to the slaughter of our Southern brethren and friends, or make them bow to Indian sovereignty. Without feeling it necessary to decide upon the relative merits of these conflicting obligations, I have felt anxious to avoid the difficulties and calamities which seem likely to arise, by effecting, if possible, a peaceable removal of our red brethren from a situation which must be a constant source of irritation and collision, to one more congenial with their habits, where, under the parental protection of our Government, they may enjoy their own customs and their own laws, and none to molest or oppress them.

Conscious that I was justified by these great national considerations in support of this measure, I have felt peculiar pleasure in doing so, from the conviction that I was advancing the best interests of my own State, and acting in harmony with her views on this delicate and important subject. The number of Cherokee Indians in North Carolina is about three thousand, inhabiting a fertile and valuable territory of upwards of a million of acres. Upon the removal of the Indians under this bill a new field will be opened for the enterprise and industry of our hardy population; and a fresh and valuable source of revenue to the State. Deeply impressed with the importance of this measure, the Legislature of North Carolina, in 1827, addressed a memorial to Congress, in which the obligation of the General Government of removing the Indians West of the Mississippi, is expressed in the following clear and most forcible language: "The extinguishment of the Indian title to this district of country, and the removal of this unfortunate race beyond the Mississippi, are of momentous importance to the interests of this State. The fertility of the soil, the extent and value of the territory, are sufficient inducements to urge the extinguishment of the Indian title, especially as we think we have just claims upon the General Government. These are not the only inducements. The red men are not within the pale of civilization. They are not under the restraints of morality nor the influence of religion, and they are always disagreeable and dangerous neighbors to a civilized people. The proximity of those red men to our white population subjects the latter to depredations and annoyance, and is a source of perpetual and mutual irritation. It is believed this unfortunate race of beings might easily be induced to exchange their lands in this State for territory beyond the Mississippi, whether so many of their brethren have already gone. It is unnecessary to recite facts or urge arguments to prove that such removals will not only be beneficial to the citizens of this State, but to the Indians themselves." Such were the views of our own State in 1827, and such are now the views of the General Government.

In our relations with foreign Powers, we have much cause for congratulation.

We continue to receive from all, the most unequivocal assurances of reciprocal good feeling; and the last advices from our minister at London give us reason to hope that we shall shortly be restored to the benefit of a free trade with the British West India Islands. It is well known that, during the late administration, our trade with those islands was lost to us; and the embarrassment and injury sustained by the Southern country in consequence of it, is equally well known. We hail, therefore, with peculiar pleasure, the cheering prospect of being re-admitted into a market which is valuable to the country generally, but which, from its proximity, is particularly so to us.

I fear I have been too tedious, and my only apology is my anxious desire to be fully understood by you. I will mention but one subject more, and that but briefly. It is the veto which the President has thought proper to put upon bills which passed Congress, making large appropriations for internal improvement in some of the States. During the whole of this session, there has been a constant and disgraceful scramble for the public money; and if all the projects which have been before Congress at this session had passed and been approved by the President, they would have involved us in an expenditure equal to half of our public debt. Some of them, however, were defeated in their progress through Congress; and others, which were forced through by political combinations, have been defeated by the President's veto. He has taken a high and interesting stand, in which the people will sustain him. He bottoms himself, on the Constitution of his country, which he is sworn to support; and further adds, that, if this exhausting mode of appropriations is persevered in, the plain consequence must be, either a continuance of the national debt, or a resort to additional taxes. He recommends the proper course to be pursued—pay the national debt, reduce the burthens of the people, and then, if any surplus fund should be left, apply it beneficially to some well digested system of internal improvement; that shall be equitable among all the States. Influenced by such considerations, I have uniformly voted against all such measures; for I saw very clearly that, unless this wild, wasteful, and corrupt system could be arrested, the nation would be involved in endless bankruptcy and ruin. I rejoice, therefore, that an individual has been found firm enough to make one mighty effort to save his country. It will produce, it has already produced, great political excitement. He has been impelled by a sense of duty to take this step, in opposition to the wishes of many of his personal and political friends. But the whole history of Andrew Jackson proves, that he lives only for his country, and verifies the language of the poet—

"An honest man is still an unmoved rock,
"Wasst white, but not shaken by the shock."
I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
A RENCHER.
Washington, June 1, 1830.

THE WEST INDIA COLONIAL TRADE.

Numerous speculations have already appeared in the newspapers in relation to the West India Colonial Trade and the probability of recovering it through the negotiations of Mr. McLane. These speculations are not confined to the papers of this country. The journals of Upper & Lower Canada show even a greater sensitiveness on the subject than what might be supposed to be felt in the United States. Ever since the subject was introduced in the House of Representatives, at the last session, the Montreal and Quebec journalists have made it their every day topic—the peg on which to hang all sorts of surmises, hopes and expectations.

Since the pedlar like negotiations of Mr. Adams were terminated by the late Mr. Canning, an interest has grown up in the Canadas and Nova Scotia, founded in the entire and eternal exclusion of American shipping from the West Indies, and drawing its nourishment and its stimulus from the belief that the general interests of the British empire would consist to be sacrificed to the avaricious gratification of a small knot of speculators in the islands and in the colonies.—The impulse given to the newspapers beyond these lines has been communicated by this knot of men. On this side of the lines, a certain set of journalists who have generally been opposed to the true interests of their own country, and who were the defenders of the egregiously blunders performed by the late administration, have assumed their natural position, write heart and soul, in the narrow and exclusive views of the Canadians. The proceedings of Congress and the message of the President aroused the jealousy of this small interest in Canada. Evidence was produced rendering it very plain that the two greatest and most independent nations of the world after a hostile attitude of nearly half a century, was beginning to understand their true interest; and under the wise administration of men of sound sense without pretensions to rhetorical or diplomatic nonsense, were approaching each other in that manly, direct, and decided manner which ought always to have characterized the intercourse of free peo-

ple and free nations. This was sufficient to rouse the spirit of avarice beyond the lines, and the spirit of anti-patriotism within them.

We shall be mistaken, however, in the character and reputation of the present British administration, if half a dozen men in the Canadas, sitting at their desks with pens behind their ears, shall controul the wisdom—obscure the foresight—or succeed in blinding the eagle eyes of the negotiators of St. James. The British government is not made of those materials which will surrender to a Chamber of Commerce in a distant Province, a course of policy affecting her relations with all Europe and America. In the present condition of Europe—in the present state of the public mind on both sides of the Atlantic—small interest must give way to great measures of public policy—and if the restoration of the intercourse between the United States and the West Indies can become the first step in a new course of policy that may change the destinies of Europe, it will not be sacrificed to the noisy appeals of selfishness or the mere reasonings of profit and loss. What has the British government to expect from the Canadas or Nova Scotia? What controul or influence have these bleak northern provinces over the public mind in Europe or America? If the balance of power in Europe should be quivering between England and any of her rivals, can the bill of lading men in Halifax or Quebec, make it kick the beam by flinging into the scale their whole batch of West India invoices?

The permanent interests and the future prosperity of England will be consulted in these negotiations, antecedent to the local or personal views of a few shipping merchants on the rocks of Halifax or Quebec. The good temper and the good sense of the two nations have returned. In a short time we shall see the effects of that temper and that sense in the colonial relations about to be established between them. The misrepresentations of the opposition in the United States joined to the avaricious jealousy of the few Canadian shippers will, we have every reason to believe, be met in such a manner as both deserve. The destinies of two great empires are no longer guided by men who excel at puns—are elegant in the choice of rhetorical flowers—and can say fine things with little heart and less honesty. N. Y. Courier & Enquirer.

The following extract is from "Paul Clifford" a new novel of Bulwar, the author of "Pelham Bay" which has just come from the press. The characters drawn by Bulwar are always unusually interesting, whilst his descriptions, are the most striking and picturesque, that can be imagined. He is evidently well skilled in the human affections, and the scenes which move or lull them. His morals are excellent in several novels, in which he deduces one from every chapter. We think highly of his capacity for novel writing—the following extract is beautifully descriptive of one of his female characters.

In the next box to the one our adventurers adorned, they remarked more especially than the rest of the audience, a gentleman and a young lady seated next each other; the latter, who was about thirteen years old, was so uncommonly beautiful, that Paul, despite his dramatic enthusiasm, could scarcely divert his eyes from her countenance to the stage. Her hair, of a bright and fair auburn, hung in profuse ringlets about her neck, shedding a softer shade upon a complexion in which the roses seemed just budding, as it were, into blush. Her eyes, large, blue, and rather languishing than brilliant, were curtained by the darkest lashes; her mouth seemed literally girt with smiles; so numberless were the dimples that, every time the full, ripe, dewy lips were parted, rose into sight, and the prominent ment of the dimples was aided by two rows of teeth more dazzling than the richest pearls that ever glittered on a bride. But the chief charm of her face was its exceeding and touching air of innocence, and girlish softness; you might have gazed forever upon that first unspeakable bloom, that all untouched and stainless down, which seemed as if a very breath could mar it. Perhaps the face might have wanted animation; but, perhaps, also, it borrowed from that want of attraction; the repose of the features was so soft and gentle, that the eye wandered there with the same delight and left it with the same reluctance, when it experienced in dwelling on, or in quitting those hues which are found to harmonize the most with its vision.

In philosophy, equally as in poetry, it is the highest and the most useful prerogative of genius, to produce the strongest impressions of novelty, while it rescues admitted truths from the neglect caused by the very circumstance of their universal admission. Extremes meet. Truths of all others the most awful and interesting, are too often considered so true, that they lose the power of truth, and lie bedridden in the dormitory of the soul, side by side with the most despised and exploded errors.

The degree of Doctor of Laws has been conferred by the University of Göttingen, upon David Hoffman, Esq. Professor of Law in the University of Maryland. N. Y. Courier & Enquirer.