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THE TRIBUNE.

MR. WEBSTER'S SPEECH,

Delivered at the Great Mass Convention in Philadelphia, October 1, 1844.

Fellow Citizens of Pennsylvania, I am very happy to meet you in this assembling of yourselves together to manifest the interest which you take in the great cause—the cause which has convened this vast multitude—the result of the great, the important election now before you. But, fellow citizens, I come here, with no expectation of adding any thing of information or argument to that side of the controversy which you and I espouse. All the great questions connected with it, have been discussed before repeatedly, and certainly by able men on all sides—Almost all reading men have had full opportunity of examining these great questions—all thinking men have certainly had full time to reflect, mature their judgment, and come to a decision upon them—to know how to decide—how to act, so as to meet the approbation of their fellow countrymen. One feels cheered—and I feel cheered by the sight of the glad and excited countenances of the many friends now before me, who are bound up in one common purpose to produce the same results, and all equally and fervently united in patriotic devotion to their common country.

If this convention have the valuable effect of doing away *with any remissness of purpose or of action—if it make the conviction of a duty to be performed* sink deeper into men's hearts—if it awakens them fully to what the present crisis calls on them to perform—then will this assembling together do good, and we shall retire from it with the pleasing consciousness of having served the public in what all must regard as its greatest interests.

Although the great subjects before the country have been discussed repeatedly and fully, yet there is something a little peculiar in the condition of things in this Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The country is divided into two great parties; and there is one great topic on which these two parties are divided at the Polls. You will all, of course, understand me to allude to the Protective question. There is certainly a very large as well as very important majority of one of these great parties in favor of a full and adequate protection to our domestic interests; whilst the whole (without any sensible difference) of the other great party is in favor of Free Trade, and directly opposed to protecting the domestic interests of the country. That is the simple truth, my friends: that is the exact state of the case. This has become the great prevailing party distinction. Thus, for instance, in the part of the country where I live, there is a very large majority is in favor of the Protective policy. And yet, in certain districts where the political majority is in favor of the other party, a contrary policy in regard to the Protective principle is also found to prevail. Thus, even in New England, there are to be found States that are opposed to the Protective policy. This is the case, for instance, in Maine and in New Hampshire; and in many of the States south of the Potomac, the feeling seems to be an almost universal one, where the politics of the opposite party prevail. Thus, then, we say, that this great question divides the two great parties by a line so broad and distinct that he who runs can readily define it—PROTECTION OR NO PROTECTION! TARIFF OR NO TARIFF!

Then here we have the peculiar feature in the position of Pennsylvania in the coming contest. Pennsylvania we all know to be a Tariff State. A majority of its population is favorable to a Protective Tariff. Let us see, then, what is the policy of those who are opposed to this Tariff, when they come into this State to get your votes. Do they sail into your latitude under their own flag? Do they come here with the avowed purpose of showing you that you ought to be Anti-Tariff? Do they, in any way, exhibit any hostility to the present Tariff? [Cries of 'No!']—Certainly not—not at all!—not at all! They sail in amongst you, like a pirate, under false colors. They say to you, "Oh, you are in favor of this Tariff: well, we are in favor of that Tariff also!" However this may be regarded as desirable doctrine to be advanced to intelligent men, by those who use it, I can only say that it is *very bold policy*—it is somewhat presumptuous, at least.

In all those States where the anti-Tariff policy prevails, Mr. Polk is 'supported because he is anti-Tariff up to the hub.' And here he is recommended to the support of the people of Pennsylvania, because he is for Protection *up to the same hub!* If Mr. Polk should suddenly find himself in the midst of a circle of his friends from various sections of the Union, his situation would be, to say the least of it, somewhat perplexing. On his right, we will suppose him to have twelve citizens of South Carolina; on his left, twelve citizens of Pennsylvania; and he is about to submit to them the grounds of his claim to be chosen President of the United States. What would he say?

He would have no difficulty in addressing those from South Carolina; he would say, and say truly—"All through my life I have been opposed to Protection—all my votes and speeches prove it—I now repeat it that I am opposed to the Protective policy, and I now prove it again." If he should then turn to address his Pennsylvania friends (I will not put into his mouth any thing so incoustent as a declaration that should be directly adverse to what he had said to his South Carolina friends) but if he might be supposed to utter to his Pennsylvania friends what his Pennsylvania friends have uttered for him, and what the papers have made him say, why then he would say—"Gentlemen of Pennsylvania, I do not know whether you heard what I have just said to my South Carolina friends or not, but I wish to say to you that I am rather a better Tariff man than Henry Clay himself is."

He would say, "I am for incidental protection"—and that means in our language transcendental protection, and transcendental it is, for incidental protection overrides all other protection in the world. There is one of the old plays which is known by the title of "Which is the Dupe?"—And that question as applied to the political position of this State, will be answered ere long. If Mr. Polk should by any remote possibility be elected President of the United States, in the very first message which he sends to Congress, those passages in it relating to the Tariff will answer it to your satisfaction beyond a doubt.

I have no intention, my friends, on this occasion to make any attempt at oratory or eloquence or display. If I ever once had any desire of that nature, the time for it has long since passed away, and my desire is to be useful for what remains to me of this life. And it is the desire to be useful which has brought me here to-day. And I shall speak directly and earnestly—as an honest man ought to speak on the important topics which now agitate the country, to men who are directly and earnestly interested in those topics. It is no trifling business which you have to consider and dispose of in the coming contest. It is serious as far as any thing earthly can be serious. It is a question directly affecting the welfare and even the perpetuity of the best institutions of our beloved country. shall use no ornament—no flourish—I shall resort to no trope, no metaphor, in treating of such subject. I shall speak to you but from the fullness of an honest heart, and I beg of you to receive what I say in that feeling.

It is a wonder that all who address themselves to Pennsylvania with the hope to get the vote of this State, are or profess to be, in favor of the Tariff policy. It is no wonder that the people of Pennsylvania themselves are in favor of the Tariff policy! She has her manufactories scattered in thick profusion over every portion of the State—she has work shops in every city and town in the State for the production of every conceivable description of manufactured article—she has workers in all the metals—she has workers in wood—and workers in leather—she has thousands of hand loom weavers in this very city. And of her manufactories that are to such a great extent spread all over the State there is not a man who works therein, not a man in any way connected therewith, but has a direct interest—an interest touching his very bread in this great protective policy. But there is another—a larger view that is to be taken of this subject—one which every patriotic man should be proud of as he is a Pennsylvanian. There is not a spot on the globe with one exception, if it be an exception—there is not a spot on the globe with the exception of England, if that be an exception, so full of wealth—so full of all the means that will afford satisfaction to human labor, as this same State of Pennsylvania. You have a most salabrious climate—you have a good location, situated near the sea, and on what might be called an arm of the sea, and which is easily navigable for our largest vessels—which in various parts is intersected by large navigable rivers—you have an admirable soil—particularly so as regards the soil which characterizes my country—you have a temperate climate—you have even of what is striking to the eye all that is attractive to man. But then, in order to touch your riches, we must go beneath the surface;—your increase aggregate mineral wealth has never been surpassed by any part of the globe that has ever been known. And this is a reason why the interests of all in this State are bound up in a proper protective policy. You have coal—you have iron! What are the great interests of England? In what do they consist? What has made her what she is? She has her millions of subjects at home and her millions in the East Indies and in the West Indies; and some have supposed her power and her wealth to consist of or be connected principally with these. But an intelligent and profound writer says that all her resources in the East Indies and in the West Indies are nothing compared to those of her Black Indies! that is, her coal beds! The conquest of the Empire of the Great Mogul was nothing—the conquest of Mexico or Peru, which she could easily make if she choose to make it—would be nothing compared to this.—Every man of sense then admits this to be the case. And how do you compare with England? Pennsylvania is nearly as large as England and Wales. In England and Wales there are 57,000 square miles, and in Pennsylvania there are 43,000 square miles; that is all the difference.—Pennsylvania has as great a *variety* of coal as England; and whether the coal pits here be worked so as to yield as large a proportion of coal as those of England, is unimportant at present, since both are inexhaustible for a thousand years. And this is the wealth—the inexhaustible wealth—buried in the bosom of the earth—out of which the happiness of Pennsylvania remains to be wrought.

We must take along with us in this view of the subject, the invention of the power of steam and the discovery by which anthracite coal can be applied to its production. This of itself has so changed everything that the world seems no longer the same world that we once knew it—in commerce and in business all our affairs are so changed that it seems as if this orb had become some other globe; it has outrun the wind—revolutionized the earth—enabled man to penetrate its recesses, and endowed him with new hopes, new purposes, as if there were a new creation.—Now, it is singularly fortunate that in Pennsylvania the coal and the iron are in close proximity, and so favorable for application to steam purposes. Let us look at this in a practical view. Pennsylvania, it is true, does not produce so much as England in a year. England produces 30,000,000 of tons annually; at the common prices at which coal sells at the pit's mouth this would produce the sum of $60,000,000. Pennsylvania produces 2,000,000 of tons annually—1,000,000 of anthracite and 1,000,000 of bituminous coal; this is all she now produces, with a capacity to produce as much as England now produces or more where there is a demand for it.

Now, how does this working of the coal beds effect the interest of the great mass? If this be an interest that is profitable only to the few then it is questionable policy to pursue it. But I put it to every man, who toils for his existence, and endeavors thus to obtain a living for his children if this be not a policy that is beneficial to the great mass of mankind? The right of mining and digging for the coal can be obtained for 30 cents a ton; and when by human labor and ingenuity the coal has been brought to the surface, it is worth $2 to $2 25 a ton. The result is, that out of this amount, 30 cents goes to the proprietor, and $1 90 to the laborer for the exercise of his skill and the labor of his strong hands. And this topic of the creation of wealth by human labor is a vast topic; and I remember that 10 or 11 years ago, in addressing an assembly at Pittsburg, I said the same as I now say in regard to the advantage of pursuing a course of policy which judiciously demands and appropriately compensates human labor.

I will now advert to another source of wealth. England produces 1,500,000 tons of pig iron every year. This product has trebled within the last ten years. Now we can all see that this increase in the manufacture of iron will produce a corresponding demand for labor in procuring coals. This quantity of iron consumes 6,000,000 tons of coal annually to work it. We see, then, how much money is paid for the labor that raises the coal to smelt this; and, by pursuing the subject, you may see how much of every ton of manufactured iron goes to pay for agricultural labor. It is correctly calculated that as high as $25 a ton, and not lower than $20 a ton, is paid in this way; and this sum goes to meet the demand for agricultural labor and productions on every ton of iron produced. And not only this State, but several other States, are deeply interested in the article of iron. Tennessee, New-Jersey, New-York and Maryland, for instance. Now what has been proposed by the opposite party on this important subject? To bring down the duties on iron to 20 per cent. *ad valorem.*

Let us inquire what has England thought herself upon this very subject of duties on iron? It is true that there is no use for duties on iron in that country now. But in the progress of her workings of iron from the ore to the manufactured article, she found it necessary to impose higher duties than we have now in operation under the Tariff of 1842. And I desire those who are so found of copying after Great Britain, as they say, in all that relates to the imposition of duties, to go and examine the British Tariff. The *ad valorem* duties average £43, or £42 19. 6d. is the lowest average of duties on the whole mass of foreign importations taken into England.

It is not wonderful, then, that Pennsylvania industry being thus supported out of this class of Pennsylvania wealth—the people of Pennsylvania should be inclined to support by every means in their power a protective policy. Nor, is it wonderful that the Government of Pennsylvania should feel a similar interest in a similar policy. That Government has repeatedly cherished this policy. She has contracted a great debt, in constructing railroads, and canals, and other great public works, in order to bring into operation these masses of wealth, which afford so much useful occupation to men. Now, from this, it is evident that the Government of Pennsylvania must desire the development of these resources. *Pennsylvania needs no assumption of the United States to pay her debts.* She has contracted them herself, and she can pay them herself. But there is one thing neither the Government of Pennsylvania can do, nor the people of Pennsylvania can do. It can construct canals and railroads or have them constructed—and the people can open the mines and bring out the vast amount of wealth contained therein. But they can neither of them protect these great interests by just and well considered Custom House regulations. And we all know that these great interests cannot be regulated but by Custom House duties. Now it is well known that Pennsylvania gave this power of imposing such duties to the General Government, with the clear and distinct understanding that the power she thus parted with, and placed in the hands of the General Government, should be so exercised as to discriminate, and by discriminating to protect American Pennsylvania labor.—And the General Government violates her obligation to Pennsylvania and to every other State, if, after taking this power out of their hands she will not use it herself. That is a demand of duty made on the United States Government. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania cannot lay duties; they parted with that power to the General Government, with the plainest proof in the world that this power should always be so exercised as to protect Home Industry. And unless these interests are protected by wise, steady, and stable legislation, no security, no permanent prosperity, can by possibility accrue to us.

Now, this debt of hers was incurred by Pennsylvania to do her part to bring out this wealth. *All expect—I certainly expect—this debt will be paid!* I should despair of the practicability of self-government—I should cease to be the defender of our high and popular form of government—if Pennsylvania should sneak away from paying her debt. (Loud cries of "never—never;" No,—I say never—never! There may be found between this and Pittsburgh—there may be a few black spots discovered upon the surface of this glorious old Commonwealth—there are black spots upon the sun—but the general effulgence of that golden orb hides and eradicates the effect of those dark spots. There may be a man found here and there throughout the State who may think that a debt honorably contracted ought not to be paid, if you can possibly avoid it; but such a man if he can be found would not dare to open his lips, or even to hold up his head, amid the patriotism and integrity of the mass of the people of Pennsylvania, and amid the loud shouts of indignation that would assail him from all quarters of the State.

I have seen enough to know that there cannot be any such thing as disloyalty to, or a want of integrity in meeting their obligations on the part of the people of Pennsylvania. Repudiation cannot be committed by any one of its sons, who knows anything of the blood of the Pennsylvanians that runs through his veins—or that knows anything of the history of his State since the day that William Penn first put his foot on its soil.

But the time is now come when the policy of a reasonable permanent Protection must be settled. (A voice in the crowd shouted, 'Now or Never.') *I say, now or never!* It is a question that is most exciting to the whole country, and important to the interests of the people of Pennsylvania and of all—and it is "NOW OR NEVER!"

And now, it is very important that we should not be deceived in the men whom we choose for our rulers! Let us know all about 'em! If we do take Mr. Polk for our Chief Magistrate, let us take him for what he is, not for what he is not. I trust we have too much consciousness of truth for—(Here a voice cried out "we won't have him at all.") Well I'm pretty much of that opinion myself. But let us take our ruler for what he really is, not for what he is not; and thereby show that we have been duped and deceived.

Now, let us see what are the sentiments of Mr. Polk on the Protective policy? Is he with us? or is he against us? What does he say himself on the subject. I know no reason why he should not be believed. I don't go back to the time of his boyhood. I don't go back to the days of his grandfather Ezekiel Polk. I don't go back to the period of his Congressional services—but I will take the Mr. Polk of last year, running for a popular office—not that of President of the United States, but that of Governor of Tennessee—You know that in that section of country, it is common for the candidates for popular offices to go forth and state frankly to the people whose suffrages they solicit, what their opinions are on all the great subjects, social and political, of the day. Now, what does Mr. Polk say of himself on this occasion? He met a Mr. Brown as an antagonist, and this is his own statement of his own views to Mr. Brown. He said, April 3d, 1843, at Jackson:

"He was opposed to direct taxes, and to prohibitory and *protecting duties*; and on favor of such moderate duties as would not cut off importations. In other words, he was in favor of reducing the duties to the rates of the Compromise Act, where the Whig Congress found them the 28th June, 1842."

There are his own words—his own opinions, from his own speech; and as the lawyers say, I lay the venue, and I give the date in order that there may be no misunderstanding. It is from his speech of April 3d, 1843, in reply to Milton Brown, at Jackson, and was published in the Nashville Union, of May 5th, 1843.

Now it we do not wish to cut off the importations of coal and iron, the various products of English manufactures, then we shall agree with Mr. Polk; but if we do wish to cut off these importations, then we shall disagree with him and disagree with his policy, for he would have *only such moderate duties* as would not cut off importations, but he goes farther, and I thank him for it—he would reduce the duties to the rates of the Compromise Act as they existed in 1842, when they afforded no protection at all; but there is a Tariff in existence at present, and some questions were put to him to this effect. Are you in favor of that Tariff, or are you not? And to this question he stands mute. There are humane considerations occasionally employed in Courts of law, when persons stand mute; but when a man can answer and don't answer—when he is perfectly able, but entirely unwilling to make a reply, then we have a right to put our own construction on the case.—But it was entirely unnecessary to put these questions to Mr. Polk; he had already stated that he wanted the duties reduced to the Compromise standard. The duties in June, 1842, had come down to 20 per cent. without discrimination; so therefore Mr. Polk was in favor of bringing down the duties to twenty per cent. on all imported goods whatever.

But in a letter to the people of Tennessee soon afterward, he gives his formal views at length on this subject, to this effect:

"*To the People of Tennessee.* WINCHESTER, May 23, 1843.

"The object which I had in proposing to Gov. Jones at Carrolville, on the 4th of April last, that we should each write out and publish our views and opinions on the subject of the Tariff, was that our respective positions might be distinctly known and understood by the people. That my opinions were already fully and distinctly known, I could not doubt. *I had steadily, during the period I was a Representative in Congress,* been opposed to a Protective policy, as my recorded votes and published speeches prove. Since I retired from Congress I had held the same opinions. In the present canvass for Governor, I had avowed my opposition to the Tariff of the late Whig Congress, as being highly *Protective* in its character, and not designed by its authors as a Revenue measure. I had avowed my opinion in my public speeches, that the interests of the country, and especially of the producing classes, required its repeal, and the restoration of the principles of the Compromise Tariff Act of 1833."

Here, he says, he wishes his opinions to be distinctly known and understood by the People. I hope he means still that his opinions shall be distinctly understood by the People; for, he says, I have been steadily opposed to a Protective policy while in Congress, and I have held the same opinions ever since. Now, there cannot be any thing more explicit than this declaration, out of the mouth of the man himself; and he will no more deny this than he will deny his own name, that he is ardently opposed to a Protective policy.

But, let us see again. How did those regard him who brought him forward as their candidate—take the case of the South Carolina members for instance? Here is the resolution brought forward by Mr. Elmore, in Charleston, by which the People resolved to go for him, with all their hearts—this is the resolution:

"*Resolved*, That by the election of James K. Polk, and the defeat of Henry Clay, a substantial victory will be gained by the Constitution—the Presidential power and influence will be in the hands of a Southern man, a *friend of Free Trade*, and identified with us in our Institutions, and an enemy of the Protective policy and Abolitionism; and we ought not, by any action of our State, to embarrass or lessen the chances of his election, in which much may be gained—or cause his defeat, by which so much must be lost, and by which we shall draw on ourselves the blame of our friends in other States; change their kind feelings into coldness, perhaps resentment and hostility, by unnecessarily weakening and embarrassing them; and thus increasing the numbers and spirit of our enemies, and adding to our difficulties in obtaining justice."

They said, therefore, in Charleston, (S. C.) after Mr. Polk's nomination, and I wish you to remember this, notwithstanding all you hear of his being favorable to Protection, that they will go for him because he is the avowed, unswerving enemy to the whole Protective System. I saw a letter from Mr. Pinckney, written to the Committee of the Macon Democratic Mass Meeting, on the 19th August last, in which he says:

"It is the policy of the Whigs, and some of our Democrats too, to represent Mr. Polk as a Tariff man, in consequence of his recent letter to Mr. Kane of Philadelphia. But no *charge was ever more unfounded. It is contradicted by the whole tenor of his political life. It is refuted by all his Speeches and votes* in relation to the Tariff or a long series of years.

"His doctrine of a Tariff for Revenue, as the primary object, with incidental Protection to *Manufactures, is the very doctrine of South Carolina. It is the doctrine of the Baltimore Convention, in which he concurs,* and which has been generally asserted to by the Democratic party of South Carolina. It is the doctrine of the *Exposition published by the Legislature of this State*, and has always been recognized as the creed of the State Rights party."

Once more, and I depart from this part of the subject. It is the opinion of Holmes, the Representative in Congress from Charleston, S. C.—a gentleman who had a great deal to do with the political movements connected with the nomination at the Baltimore Convention. Mr. Holmes is a man of high honor and character, and a letter was written to him, propounding certain questions in relation to Mr. Polk, and calling for answers to those questions. The first question was:

"Are you in favor of the election of Mr. Polk and Mr. Dallas, the Democratic candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States? and are you, or not, of the opinion that the vote of South Carolina should be given, in good faith, for them?"

The second question was:

"Whatever may be your opinion of Mr. Polk's ability, in the event of his election, to effect a repeal of the Tariff of 1842 and to break down the Protective system, have you any doubt of the sincerity of his opposition to the entire system of Protection, and that the influence of his high office will be in good faith exerted to subvert it?"

To these questions Mr. Holmes returned this answer:

"GENTLEMEN. I have just received your letter, in which two queries are distinctly put, and as distinctly will I reply.

"1st. I am in favor of the election of Mr. Polk and Mr. Dallas, and am decidedly of the opinion that South Carolina ought to vote for them.

"2d. *I have no doubt of Mr. Polk's sincerity, when he declared his opposition to the Tariff system of Protection, and, if elected, he will endeavor to subvert it.*

This is the declaration of Mr. Holmes, who took a great part in the politics connected with Mr. Polk's nomination, and he speaks the language of his State in relation to it.

I remember another thing. In one of his speeches, Mr. Polk says he is opposed to the duty on wool; and I hope all our friends who have, or can make the opportunity, will tell this fact to the people of the great county of Washington—that the triumph of Mr. Polk and his party is the triumph of the anti-Tariff policy. So in regard to the great election in Maine—as soon as the result of that election was known with certainty, the leading press of that party declared that it seals the doom of the Tariff party, and prostrates Protection in the dust.

Then in his letter to Mr. Kane Mr. Polk says that he is in favor of *incidental* Protection—not because he desires Protection at all—(and those who argue from that letter that he is in favor of Protection, do so on very slight grounds)—but because he is in favor of what he can't help; he acquiesces in it, not because it is his desire, but because it is beyond his control.

There are some who say that even if Mr. Polk be an Anti-Tariff man, and should be elected President of the United States, yet he cannot repeal the Tariff or overcome our policy. Strange doctrine! We choose him that he may not triumph over us after choosing him—we elect him that he may not destroy the policy he is opposed to! *We choose him to prevent his destroying that which we think ought to be preserved!*—Strange argument for sensible men! If we knew that he would not carry out his policy, or exercise that power which the office would give him, would that be a reason why he should withhold opposition? Not at all! not at all! There is the evil of perpetual agitation—of perpetual doubt—of perpetual uncertainty—there is the evil of perpetual opposition to the duration of the Protective policy. Will capital be employed to bring out the mineral wealth of this great State, if it be doubtful whether those so employing it will be protected in their enterprise or not? No! once more, most assuredly no! What the country needs is security and stability—a permanent settled policy—that enterprising and industrious men may be enabled to elevate their capital and means, and labor with the assurance, with the unshaken confidence, that there will be no violent fluctuations in the state of the law.

Now, gentlemen, as a citizen of Massachusetts, I have no particular interest in the protection given to Pennsylvania coal and iron. But we all have interests in common of the same system. We wish for, we can have, no separate interests. The interests of the people of those two great States—the interests of the people of all the States—are bound up in one bond. But I say if he be elected President of the United States, with the general concurrence of the popular branch of the Legislature either the Tariff will be repealed, or so much disturbed as to dishearten its friends, and make them turn from it with disgust. This is a thing of the deepest interest. It rests with you of Pennsylvania to decide it. For without the vote of Pennsylvania I undertake to say he cannot be elected President of the United States. It is for you to say. Give me your assurance that he will not get the vote of Pennsylvania, and I'll give you my assurance that he will not be elected President of the United States. Any man may make the canvass—any man may go over the votes from Maine to Missouri, but he must be convinced that it is absolutely certain that Mr. Polk cannot be elected without the vote of the Keystone State! And it is equally certain that without the vote of this State, he remains privately at home, a private and respected and respectable citizen of Tennessee.

I wish every man in Pennsylvania to consider this—that on his vote and the vote of his fellow citizen, his neighbor, or his kinsman, depends the issue whether Mr Polk be elected President or not. And I say that any man who attempts to convey the impression to another—any man of information—whether it be done in the highways or byways, in parlor or kitchen in cellar or garret, who shall be found telling him that Mr. Polk is in favor of the Tariff, he means to cheat an honest Pennsylvanian out of the fair use of the elective franchise! And if there be not spirit enough in Pennsylvania to repe so gross a misrepresentation, then Pennsylvania is not that Pennsylvania which I have so long respected and admired. I am admonished my friends by the descent of the sun that I must bring my remarks to a close. I was desirous of saying a few words to you about Texas.

Well I will tell you, in relation to Texas, that you will find in the archives of your own State that which is far more important than all I can say upon the subject. But I do say, that the annexation of Texas *would* tend, and *must* tend to extend the duration of African slavery on this continent. I have long held that opinion, and I would not now suppress it *for any consideration on Earth!* And because it does increase the evils of slavery—because it will increase the number of slaves and extend the duration of their bondage—because it does all this, *I oppose it with qualification, and without qualification—this time—and all times*—NOW AND FOREVER!

In 1780 the Legislature passed an act abolishing slavery in this State; it was introduced by a grateful acknowledgment to God, for the achievements of American Liberty—for that assistance by which they were enabled to break the chains of a foreign power, and by the enjoinment and assumption of a duty conformable to that to do all that they could to break all other chains and set the world free!

That preamble was the work of your fathers! they sleep in honored graves; there is not, I believe, one man living now who was engaged in that most righteous act. There are words in that preamble fit to be read by all who inherit the blood—by all who have the name—by all who cherish the memory of an honored and virtuous ancestry. And I ask every one of you now present ere eight and forty hours pass over your heads, to turn to that act—to read that preamble—and if you are Pennsylvanians the blood will tingle in your veins! There are arguments in that document far surpassing any thing that my poor ability could advance on the subject.

In answering an invitation to address you a short time ago, I said I had a desire to say a few words to the people of this place—I have said words to the people of this place. If you do not them. The election turns on you. If you do not desire to concur in the choice of Mr. Polk for President, he cannot be chosen. I desire to put this to you strongly. I have shown that he must have your concurrence, or not be elected; I have shown that there is not a State in the Union so deeply concerned in the Protective policy as this State—and I have shown that Mr. Polk the candidate of the other party, is deadly hostile to the whole principles of the Protective Policy. These things I had a desire to say and I have said them.

We are all in Massachusetts interested in the manner you give your votes at the coming election, and you are as much interested in the manner in which we give ours. But there is another election to be shortly decided in this State besides the Presidential one. It would ill become me to interfere in the elections of another State, and I will not do so farther than to say that the manner in which this next election of yours is conducted, will have a great effect on the hopes and prospects of the Whigs on the one which is so soon to come after it.

I need not tell you that there is a great curiosity among the Whigs of other States—*curiosity* is a term that is not strong enough for the feeling that exists; there is deep and strong anxiety prevailing all over the Union in relation to the way in which the Whigs shall conduct this next election in this State. Because it is perfectly plain to every man, that if the venerable man who was introduced to you this day—if that distinguished son of this distinguished State, who was recently here on this platform, shall be elected, there will be a brightening of the skies—there will be an illumination, at the sight of which every true Whig will rejoice.

I have a few words to say to the people of this city—this fair and beautiful city of yours—the city of the Declaration of Independence—this city in which was matured and perfected the glorious Constitution of the United States, this noble city which is connected with so much of the early history of our country and its subsequent prosperity! Can there be a doubt of the side which this city will take in the coming contest? I ask every young man to sit down and ask his conscience how he can give a vote for the subversion of all the best interests, of the only correct policy of our beloved country!

One word more and I take my leave of you. There are questions on which honest men may differ—there are questions of subordinate difference of not much importance to the great general interests of the whole People, on which a difference of opinion may properly be permitted—but there are questions which are attached so vitally to all the present interests, to all the future interests, of the whole Union, that brethren of the same family must not be allowed to differ on them. I have not transcended my position in these remarks—I will not pursue them farther. But when all the great principles of our country are at stake—when all its permanent institutions are at stake—I do say, and I repeat it, that men who agree in its great policy must not allow themselves to divide themselves so as to destroy those principles and those great institutions.

What we do now, we can't undo! We are to do it now—we are to do it forever! And in this work being well done, depends so much of our prosperity—so much of our happiness—that I say, from the bottom of my heart, *once more*,—brethren of the same family, brethren of the same principles, *must not be allowed to differ with regard to* MEN AND MEASURES.

The cheering that followed this was absolutely deafening, and Mr. Webster was followed to his carriage by thousands cheering him the whole way.

TO CONTRIBUTORS FOR THE 17TH FAIR OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE.

NIBLO'S GARDEN will open on Friday and Saturday, the 4th and 5th inst. for the reception of articles for competition or exhibition. The Garden will be fitted in a style much beyond former years. A new room will be in readiness expressly for Hardware, Cutlery, Fire Arms, &c. One hundred feet of the promenade will be appropriated for Vegetables, Fruits, Flowers, &c. Contributors are earnestly requested to bring in their contributions at an early hour to avoid confusion, and to afford time for arranging so as to open on Monday the 7th inst. of 3tc

IVORY BLACK.—30 barrels Ivory Black of superior quality now landing from ship Cincinnati, and for sale by
o3 tf J. R. BLEECKER & CO. 59 William st.

PATAPSCO OSNABURGS—4 4, 7 8, 28 and 37 inch heavy Cotton Osnaburgs, 31, 32 and 36 inch Twilled Canvas, for bags and boat sails, for sale by
McCURDY, ALDRICH & SPENCER.
o2 6t 47 Exchange Place.

TO WOOLEN FACTORS—The subscribers are constantly receiving, upon consignment, Rag and Stocking Wool, which they offer to manufacturers for sale, or in exchange for woolen fabrics. J. R. BLEECKER & CO.
o2 tf 59 William street.

SEGAR BOX PAPER.—The subscribers have a full assortment of papers for segar boxes, viz: white Spanish paper, labels of various brands, cotton paper, colored medium papers, fine glazed papers, and all kinds generally used. H. & S. RAYNOR, Bookseller, 76 Bowery.

PIECE DYED BLACK CLOTHS.—10 cases of superior style French finish piece dyed black Cloths, for sale by
McCURDY, ALDRICH & SPENCER.
o2 6t 47 Exchange Place.

SATINETS.—200 cases, a large assortment, blacks, blues, Oxford, cadet, drab and fancy mixtures, ribbed, plaid and plain, of all qualities, for sale by
McCURDY, ALDRICH & SPENCER.
o2 6t 47 Exchange Place.

WOOLEN CARPET FILLING, white and grey, of different qualities, constantly receiving from the manufacturers and for sale by J. R. BLEECKER & CO.
o2 tf 59 William street.

ELASTIC SHIRRED SUSPENDERS—Entirely new article, constantly on hand, of my own manufacture, and will warrant the quality better than those made by Goodyear's imperfect patent system. For sale by the case by
HORACE H. DAY.
o2 Successor to Roxbury India Rubber Co. 25 Maiden Lane.

COTTON BATTS—Of various qualities, in bales of 50 and 100 lbs.—constantly on hand, and for sale at Manufacturers' prices, by J. R. BLEECKER & CO.
o2 tf 59 William-street.

COTTON SHEETINGS.—300 bales 4-4, various sizes, heavy Southern Sheetings, for sale by
McCURDY, ALDRICH & SPENCER,
o2 6t 47 Exchange Place.

CABLE CORD KERSEYS—Black, brown and white, Mallory Cable Cord Kerseys, all wool filling, and very heavy, for sale by McCURDY, ALDRICH & SPENCER.
o2 6t 47 Exchange Place.

REPACKED COTTON.—200 bales, suitable for Twine, Wick, or Batts, for sale by
o2 ADAMS, TIFFANY & CO., 75 Pine street.

FOUNDATION MUSLINS—2500 pieces Foundation Muslins of different qualities, on consignment, for sale by
o2tf J. R. BLEECKER & CO. 59 William-st.

BROWN DRILLS.—30 bales "Phœnix Mills," for sale by
o2 ADAMS, TIFFANY & CO.,
75 Pine street.

SHOVELS AND SPADES—
300 dozen Cone Iron,
200 dozen Steel,
100 dozen Cast Steel, Bright,
50 do Scoop Shovels,
25 do low priced Shovels, for sale by
MACKIE & LEVERETT, 107 Water-st.
s27 7t

HARDWARE.

A. W. SPIES & CO. 218 Pearl street are now opening their usual supply of Shelf Hardware for the Fall trade—embracing the usual variety of Shelf Goods; Small Cutlery; Tools; Anvils; Vices; Chains; Hoes; &c. &c. For sale on the most accommodating terms. sep4

FURS AND CAPS—The undersigned, manufacturer and dealer in Fancy Furs, Stuffs, and every style of Caps adapted to the trade particularly invites Country Merchants and all others dealing in the above articles to call and examine before purchasing elsewhere, as he is confident that he can sell lower than any other dealer in the city. H. FROST,
s21 1y 258 Pearl street, U. S. Hotel Building.

BRAZIER'S AND SPIKE RODS—A full assortment, from ⅝ of an inch upwards, for sale by
BLEECKER & OOTHOUT.
s25 1w Cliff, corner of John-street.

TO CONFECTIONERS—25 bbls Ivory Black suitable for Confectioners, for sale low to close a consignment, by
J. R. BLEECKER & CO.
s13 2w 59 William street.

HAIR SEATING—A constant supply kept on hand, for sale by JAMES WEEKES,
s10 81 Maiden Lane, up stairs.

COFFIN PLATES—Britannia Coffin Plates, assorted sizes and patterns, for sale by JAMES WEEKES,
s10 81 Maiden Lane, up stairs.

COFFEE—Cheap, cheap, only 8c. for 7 or 1s. and 2d. per ℔. for *Old Government Java*, roasted and ground daily, high flavored and warranted to give satisfaction. Please try it, all lovers of good Coffee. W. P. MOODY, 141 Bowery,
s21 3m* Successor to Perkins & Towne.

DRY GOODS.

FLANNELS REDUCED
FROM FOUR TO EIGHT CENTS
PER YARD LESS THAN THE AUGUST PRICES!

A LARGE STOCK, comprising every style, quality and color, can be examined and purchased, either by the Bale or Piece, AT THE CASH STORE of
J. O. TAYLOR & CO.
59 Cedar-st. o1

NEW FIGURED CHAMELEON SILKS.—Just received at W. D. GREGORY & CO., 175 Spring street, 1 case heavy figured Chameleon Silks, very rich colors, direct from auction, and selling at 87½ per yard; rich Plaids for 87½ per yard; heavy wide Grosde Rhine for Long Shawls, very stable and very cheap, at 175 Spring street. o1

C. STANTON, 49 Beaver-st. has on hand, and is constantly receiving, the following Domestic Goods, viz: Cottonades—Cases comprising blacks, blues, browns, olives, green, wool and piece dyed, low and medium.
Satinettes—Fancy Doeskins and mixed; also stripe and black.
Satinets—Black, blue, French gray, Cadet and Oxford red, and fancy colors of every variety.
Shirtings—7, 4 and 4-4 Shed Shirting.
Sheep Grey Cloth—Wide and plain.
Cotton Yarns—Best quality.
Ginghams—Madras and Britannia Cloth.
Spool Cotton—Apjacon cases and imitation Lisle thread.
Cotton Batts and black Wadding, which he offers for sale on reasonable terms. o1 6t

CHAMBAZINES—A large assortment of Lupin's celebrated Jet and black Bombazines, at great bargains. Also, Chameleon Lustres, rich shades, for Cloaks and Dresses, a lot of Lupin's Thibet Merino Cloths, all direct from auction and great bargains, at
W. D. GREGORY & CO'S, 175 Spring-st.

TO COUNTRY MERCHANTS—Brown sheetings and shirtings, of every style and width, all the known brands, both heavy and fine, Stark Mills, Lawrence C. Indian Head, Robt A. Chicopee D. Merrimack, Exeter's, Unknown's, &c. may be had at Manufacturer's prices, on the second floors of Nos. 18 and 20 Cedar street, half a block above Pearl street—and wide sheetings at 6½ cents; also, batts, wicks, twine, yarn and wadding, also best Southern cotton yarn, Nos. 6 to 10 and 7 to 12.
T. N. UNDERHILL, 18 and 20 Cedar street.

NEW DE LAINES—1,000 yards Mousseline de Laines, high colors, direct from auction, at 25 61 per yard. Also, Broadcloths, Cassimeres, Satinets, Linens, Sheetings, Flannels of every variety, at such prices as are well calculated to give general satisfaction. Call and see.
W. D. GREGORY & CO., 175 Spring-st.

J. S. DONNELLY & CO., No. 257 Grand-street, cor