The Daily Morning Post.

L. HARPER, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

PITTSBURGH:
SATURDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 27, 1847.

☞ E. W. Carr, United States Newspaper Agency, Sun Buildings. N. E. corner of Third and Dock, and 440 N. Fourth street—is our only authorised agent in Philadelphia.

The Death Penalty.

On the 9th instant, at Whitesborough, in New York, Mary Runkle was *legally* sent into eternity, to answer to her God, for having deprived her husband of that, which no earthly power could restore to him; and which no mortal can justifiably take from another, unless as a last resort in self-defence. Mary Runkle had been found guilty of taking the life of her husband; and the offended "*majesty* of the law" required, that she should forfeit her life, to *avenge* the act! And who and *what* was Mary Runkle? A horrid looking creature, whose very looks would make men tremble; and whose death dealing arm could fell to the earth the stalwart frame of man? A very demon—young, powerful, and vigorous, to whom the walls of a prison would oppose no barrier; but who, thirsting for human blood, must again have found her way to the home of some feeble mortal, and desolate a happy fireside? If these questions could have been answered in the affirmative, still the considerations arising out of them, would all have been insufficient, in our view, to justify the sacrifice which was made.—But no;—poor, and miserable, and unfortunate being—she afforded to the *blood thirsting* philanthropist no such reasons, for demanding her death. The editor of the Oneida Morning Herald, published in Whitesborough, says;—

"During the day, up to the time of her execution, she lay almost motionless upon her bed; her eyes half closed, and her right hand resting upon the bed clothes on her bosom. Her fingers only moved slowly, and as if she was engaged in deep and unhappy thought. She spoke only in whispers, and assisted some in dressing herself for the event.

She said she was prepared for death, having made her peace with her Maker.

At two minutes past twelve o'clock, she was carried down to the room assigned for her execution, and placed in the chair under the spot where the cord passed down.

Having been placed in this position, the jailer seated beside her, she rested her head upon his shoulder, while a feeling and appropriate prayer was made.

The Sheriff then asked her—

'Mary Runkle, have you any word to say to this jury—to these people'

To which she gave no answer.

The bell rang!—the cord was cut!—and she was launched into eternity! Not a word—not a motion, but a little heaving of the chest."

And thus the "majesty of the law" was satisfied!—She said she had "made her peace with her Maker." If so, it would seem to have been the better course, to let her live on earth, until the time when, in the ordinations of Him who gave that life, it should by His providence be taken away. If she had "made her peace with her Maker," she was predared to do that which, perhaps, she had never before seriously thought of. Perhaps she might have become an instrument of good to her fellow-creatures—perhaps have atoned, by a long life of repentance, and toil, and devotion to her race, for this one sin, to atone (!) for which man has said she must live no longer! But no;—Mary Runkle had long passed the meridian of life. She had numbered nearly *sixty* years! No long career of probable usefulness, or of toil for the suffering ones of earth, or of exertion to gain that purity and holiness, without which none can be happy hereafter, was before her; but, on the other hand, a long line of years past—perhaps of wretchedness, of agony, or of crime, required more time, in which she might be enabled, by a contemplation of the deformity and hideousness of vice, to prepare for enjoying that holy state, which the virtuous soul ever strives for on earth; and which is at last gained, only through much trial, and persecution, and tribulation.

But *she* seemed "as if she was engaged in deep and unhappy thought." And yet we are told that "she had made her peace with her Maker." This "unhappy thought," on the verge of the eternal state of man, gives but a poor evidence of "peace," That peace which "passeth all understanding" does not give "unhappy thought," even on the instant of dissolution. The mortal who has obtained that "peace," can "smile at the drawn dagger, [aye, at the block, or the stake, or the scaffold,] and defy its point," and their power." "The soul, secure in her existence," is doubly armed with the assurances of that peace; which proclaims that, though this body may be dissolved and unite with its original elements, the soul is enduring—eternal.

And then, supposing that this poor, unfortunate, "unhappy" being—too far overcome with bodily weakness to perform the most ordinary offices of humanity—*had not* "made her peace with her Maker?" and the strongest presumption is that she had not; that the few powers of mind left to her were employed to call up the wretched, the miserable, the horrid *past;* rather than to contemplate that "peace" and joy, and eternal looking forward to greater perfection, which must distinguish those, who secure a blissful immortality? Suppose her soul was hurried into the immediate presence of the Almighty, *unprepared* for entering upon a state of rest, of happiness, of joy and peace? What is the inevitable conclusion? That *man has usurped the prerogative of Deity alone*, and has consigned to eternal misery a being, who, had she been left to the Providence of God, *might* yet have attained to that "peace which the world cannot give," and which, if attained, no mortal power can overcome.

These are a few thoughts connected with authorized *murder*, which, we think, should claim the attention of every professing Christian. We look upon the death penalty as one of the many relics of the barbarous ages still remaining. We consider it altogether at variance with the mild, and gentle, and peaceful government of Christ; and utterly at war with that glorious principle of *human progress*, of which the doctrines of Christ is the basis; and, so far as our observtion has extended, we find that those who still contend for the retention of this revolting feature in our laws, are almost exclusively to be found among the timid and cautious in society, who fear to do anything, lest they may do wrong; and those who do not believe that man is capable of becoming a more reasonable and perfect being.

Reply to Mr. Clay's Speech.—A Democratic meeting is called at Lexington, Kentucky, this day, Saturday, to listen to a speech from Robert M. Wickliffe, Esq, in reply to the speech of Mr. Clay, and to pass resolutions sustaining the President and the war.

Dramatic Premium.—Mr. Edwin Forrest continues his munificent offer of three thousand dollars for the best original tragedy, in five acts, which shall be written by an American citizen. Here is a fine opportunity for some gentleman of genius to secure a snug sum of money.

Mr. Clay's Speech.

With a view to enable our readers to form their own conclusions, in relation to the late gladiatorial effort of Mr. Clay, we have concluded to lay his entire speech before them. We say *gladiatorial effort;* because, notwithstanding his very modest assertion, that he is only "a private and humble citizen;" he has voluntarily entered the political arena, and, brandishing aloft his weapon, invites to the contest. We wished to comment on this speech; and, therefore, conceived that it would be doing him and his followers full justice, to give all he has said, and make our comments afterwards.

This speech, in some respects, is equal to any of Mr. Clay's former efforts. There is to be found in it much of oratorical beauty, and highly finished appeal to the party of which he is a member; but for weakness in argument, far fetched assumptions of fact, in some cases, and positive misstatements in other cases, we have seldom seen its equal. Indeed we cannot, in brief, do it more ample justice, than by quoting the observation of a distinguished Whig, a few days since, when he had carefully perused it. "He said, "Mr. Clay is in his dotage; or he never would have sanctioned the publication of such a thing as this. It abounds in gross misstatements; which may be disproved by almost any one. It is made up of false and feigned issues; and is only fit to be sent forth to be read by old women."

We intend to devote a portion of our paper, for some time to come, to an examination of the sentiments contained in it; and, in doing this, we will deal as fairly with him, as we think justice to all parties demands. We publish Mr. Clay's speech with the more pleasure, because of the proof it affords, that we entertain no fears of any ill effects upon the Democratic party, from its general publication throughout the country; and, as affording a striking contrast to the course or our opponents, in relation to the late able speeches of Mr. Dallas.

THANKSGIVING SUPPER.

A Gathering of "Live Yankees."—The sons and daughters of the Pilgrims of New England, who have taken up their abode in Pittsburgh, met, pursuant to previous arrangements, at the St. Charles Hotel, on Thursday evening, to partake of a Thanksgiving Supper. The number in attendance was estimated at about 250, nearly one-half of whom were ladies. Their presence imparted life and joy to the assemblage, and made the entertainment pass off with the greatest *eclat*.

At 9 o'clock, the door of the spacious dining room of the St. Charles was thrown open, and the great family of "live yankees" entered to partake of the delicious repast served up in our friend Miller's best style. The Committee of Arrangements announced the following officers for the occasion: President, Hon. Charles Shaler; Vice Presidents, John M. Austin, Esq., of Uniontown, Harvey Childs, and Luke Loomis, Esqrs., of this city; Chaplain, Rev Dr. Dyer.

The company was composed chiefly of New Englanders; but still, a number were present as invited guests, who did not hail from Yankee land. The City press was fully represented. We noticed Mr. Brooks, of the Gazette; Mr. Kaine, of the Journal; Mr. Whitney, of the Chronicle; Mr. Foster, of the Dispatch; Mr. Biddle, of the American; Mr. Kinsloe, of the Day Book; and Mr. White, late of the Gazette.

After a blessing had been asked by Mr. Dyer, the company partook of the best supper, (without a doubt) that was ever served up in Pittsburgh. It is impossible to enumerate one half the rich and delicious things which were bountifully piled upon the table, like Pelion upon Ossa. Suffice it to say, that the most ample justice was done to the repast by those present. When the feast was over, Judge Shaler delivered an exceedingly happy and appropriate speech, which was received with cheers and smiles. Mr. Austin followed in a brilliant and humorous speech, which, of course, was well received. Then came Mr. Alden, in one of his original, rich, waggish and side splitting speeches, which convulsed the audience with laughter.—Speeches were made by several other gentlemen present, but we regret that we have not room to allude to them particularly in this morning's paper. Toasts innumerable were offered, amidst the heartiest plaudits, in a cup of good tea, or a glass of pure Allegheny water; no intoxicating drinks (not even a mug of old fashioned cider) being allowed a place on the table. The toasts were collected by the Committee of Asrangements yesterday, and we understand were handed to our neighbor of the Gazette. Various songs, "from grave to gay, from lively to severe," were sung by the ladies and gentlemen; those by Mrs. Wade, particularly, were very sweet and touching, and were warmly applauded.

The company retired at about 12½ o'clock, all highly pleased with the entertainment and with each other. Before adjournment, however, a resolution was offered by H. W. Williams, Esq., and adopted, authorizing the President to appoint a committee of six, who, in conjunction with the President and Vice Presidents, are to prepare a Constitution and by laws for a New England Society in this city.

Importation of Iron and Steel.—It is stated, on the authority of the Register of the Treasury, that the quantity of *manufactured* iron and steel imported into the United States from Great Britain alone, during the last fiscal year, was upwards of 65,000 tons, valued at $3,627,313. A considerable portion of this amount was in cables, anvils, and sheet and hoop iron. We call the attention of our iron men to the fact here presented. Pittsburgh has facilities for manufacturing the articles specified, equal to England, and yet we hear constant complaints in relation to foreign competition. Yankee ingenuity, it is said, can accomplish any thing, and we think the time is not far distant when all kinds of hardware will be manufactured by our people.

"*Revelling in the Halls of the Montezumas.*"—An officer of the South Carolina volunteers writes from the National Palace of Mexico, under date of Oct. 16th, as follows:—"Much has been said about *revelling* in the Halls of the Montezumas, but we have seen but little of it yet. If sleeping on two blankets on a hard table, and covering with one, can be called revelling, then I can say *I do* revel. But when one comes to try it, the romance of the thing vanishes."

A Great Loss.—There are on hand in this country about three hundred thousand bales of cotton; and in England as much more, making 60,000 bales of American cotton, chiefly of the crop of 1846. The value of the whole has declined, within six weeks, twenty dollars a bale, making a total loss of twelve millions of dollars. What is sending away a few millions of gold, for which we get well paid, compared with this irretrievable loss? It would seem sufficient to empty a great many pockets. Yet all things go on quietly as if nothing has occurred,—and nothing very important has occurred. It is only one of the turns of trade, and caused, to a very considerable extent, by the unparalleled weather, which enables the cotton planters to keep on picking, picking, and increasing the crop, until the prospect is, that the laborers of the world will have an unusual blessing in the cotton crop of 1847.

London Correspondence of the Morning Post.

London, 3d November, 1847.

Resuming our respects to the 4th ultimo, we are sorry to state, that the Commercial pressure and distress, have continued, throughout the month, increasing the list of failures most frightfully. The government, however, having made some relaxation in the Bank Charter, it is expected that considerable relief will be given to trade, and that confidence will be, in a measure, restored. Still we cannot expect any very sudden benefit, as the condition imposed upon the Bank, for the indulgence of issuing more notes than allowed by law, is, that the minimum rate of interest to be charged for the same, should be at the rate of eight per cent.

Our markets may be noted as follows:

Beef—has given way in its quotations, in consequence, partly, of unexpected arrivals at a time when the season is considered nearly over.

Pork—remains as last noted, and would recover some of its lost quotations, (as the direct supplies have fallen off,) but that samples from Liverpool are offered at extremely low rates.

Bacon and Middles—Old Bacon and Middles of Pork, are only nominally quoted, as sales are difficult to effect at any price.

Hams—in Pickle and dry Salt, have been cleared at low rates, from 26 to 36s. per cwt.

Grain and Flour—There have been several fluctuations in the value of Breadstuffs during the month, the extreme difference on Flour, amounting to 5s. per barrel. The last market, however, closed with considerable firmness, and recovered, from its lowest point, fully 4s. The present value may now be quoted 26 to 27s. per barrel.

Lard—The demand for this article, has been rather slow, excepting for any thing very fine, for which quality high rates may be made.

Tallow—has felt the pressure for money, and declined in consequence The present quotations range from 44 to 46s, and is obtainable exactly in the proportion, whether sold for cash or credit.

Cheese—sells steadily at reduced quotations.

Linseed Cake—meets with a brisk enquiry and is readily sleable at from £8,10s. to £11 per ton.

Turpentine—The imports have been rather more liberal; 11s. is asked for rough in merchants hand, but buyers do not come forward at this price.

We remain, yours very respectfully,

On!—The editor of the Cincinnati Atlas, seeing how Mr. Clay's late speech and resolutions are rejected by all parties in the country, tries to help him out of the dilemma, thus:

"It is consistent with Mr. Clay's resolutions—as the language imports, and as, *we presume was intended by him*—to treat for the Rio Grande, or any other line, as the boundary of Texas, and also not off Upper California against the Mexican indemnities we have been obliged to assume, or other pecuniary compensation."—*Oh!*

Pittsburgh and Cleveland Railroad.—The Trumbull (O.) Democrat, of the 22d inst; contains a long Report, prepared by a committee of the citizens of Warren, relative to the contemplated rail road from this city to Cleveland, thro' the valley of Mahoning. The report shows most conclusively (says the Democrat) that this is far the best, shortest, and cheapest route for the contemplated road.

THE BATTLE OF ATLIXICO.

Bombarding the Town.—We find among the army dispatches in the Washington Union, of Saturday evening, Gen Lane's official report of the battle of Atlixico. The following extract sums up the whole engagement:

"Our infantry for the last six miles had been straining themselves to the utmost to overtake the enemy, pressing forward most admirably, notwithstanding the forced march of sixteen miles since 11 o'clock. Owing to the nature of the road, almost entirely destroyed by gullies, the artillery could only advance at a walk. As soon as the infantry again appeared in sight, the enemy again retreated. So worn out were our horses, (the sun having been broiling hot all day,) that they could pursue the enemy no further. The column was pressed forward as rapidly as possible towards the town; but night had already set in, giving us, however, the advantage of a fine moon light. As we approached, several shots were fired at us, and deeming it unsafe to risk a street fight in an unknown town at night, I ordered the artillery to be posted on a hill near to the town and overlooking it, and open its fire. Now ensued one of the most beautiful sights conceivable. Every gun was served with the utmost rapidity; and the crash of the walls, and the roofs of the houses when struck by our shot and shell, was mingled with the roar of our artillery. The bright light of the moon enabled us to direct our shots to the most thickly populated parts of the town.

After firing three-quarters of an hour, and the firing from the town having ceased, I ordered Major Lally and Col. Brough to advance cautiously with their commands into the town. On entering, I was waited upon by the ayuntamiento, desiring that their town might be spared. After searching the next morning for arms and ammunition and disposing of what was found, I commenced my return.

Gen. Rea had two pieces of artillery, but as soon as he was aware of our approach, he ordered them with haste to Matamoras, a small town eleven leagues beyond. The enemy state their own loss in this action to be 400 killed and 300 wounded.—On our part we had one man killed and one wounded. Scarcely ever has a more rapid forced march been made than this, and productive of better results. Atlixico has been the headquarters of guerillas in this section of country, but of late the seat of government of this State. From hence all expeditions have been fitted out against our troops. So much dread has been impressed upon them, at thus having war brought to their own homes, that I am inclined to believe that they will give us no more trouble.

☞ Hon. Lewis Cass arrived at Albany on Friday.

The time has come when coughs and colds are rife, when consumption insinuates its changeful form—nips many a lovely bud, and lurks within the present blooming flower, the beautious cheek now deadly pale, now flushed with crimson hue, bespeaks the presence of a foe, a direful foe, who flatters to destroy. To drop the metaphor, such is Consumption, often brought on by neglected coughs and colds, wet feet, &c. Beware, and use the sovereign remedy, Doctor Sherman's All Healing Balsam, a certain and never failing remedy for coughs, colds, consumption, asthma, pain in the side and breast, whooping cough, palpitation of the heart, liver complaint, bronchitis, &c. Price, 25 cents and $1 per bottle. Sold wholesale and retail by W. Jackson, at his Boot and Shoe Store, and Patent Medicine Warehouse, 89 Liberty street, Pittsburgh, and by duly appointed Agents in every town in the U. States. See advertisement. nov23

GREAT ITALIAN REMEDY.

Philadelphia, April 26, 1846.

Being afflicted for some 8 years with that most distressing disease, the asthma, and for the last 3 years much of the time confined to my room, and at several different times my life was despaired of; I concluded to obtain some of Marconi's Sicilian Syrup, which was recommended to me by a friend from New York, who stated that it had cured some of the most inveterate cases known to the medical profession. Suffice it to say, that, after using the above medicine for about 4 weeks, I was entirely relieved, and I believe radically cured. Yours with respect,

OLIVER W. OWEN,
No 176 Bertram st., Philad'a.

Hays & Brockway, Wholesale and Retail Agents; see advertisement. feb22

LOCAL MATTERS.

Quarter Sessions.—Yesterday the most important case was *Commonwealth* vs. *George Beale*, who was indicted for keeping a gambling house. There were two counts in the indictment; the first under the law of 1847; the second under that of 1816. We were not present during the trial, but understand that the principal witness was Mr. Alexander, a bar keeper in Beale's Restaurant.—He testified that parties of gentlemen were in the habit of calling at the house, taking a room, and sending witness for cards, with which they played for liquor, suppers, &c. Witness sometimes saw money upon the table. The Jury was addressed by Mr. Alden, for Defence, who endeavored to smash the gambling law, in so far as it had reference to a case of this kind. Mr. Eyster spoke on the part of the Commonwealth, in his usual candid and argumentative style. The Court charged in relation to the different acts of Assembly under which the indictment was made out, and submitted the case to the Jury. After retiring for a short time, they rendered a verdict of "Guilty under the first count; and not Guilty under the second." During the progress of the trial, there were intimations thrown out by Defendant's counsel, that the case would not stop here, should a verdict of Guilty under the new law be rendered. What may be moved next we do not know.

A few Tippling House cases were disposed of. *Commonwealth* vs. *Col. Dichl.*—The offence charged in this case, we believe, is an assault upon a *Preacher* of Native American filth, named Sharp, for the purpose of preventing him from using the market stands for his harangues. The Jury retired, and had not returned at the adjournment of the Court.

Another Flood.—The rivers commenced rising on Wednesday, and on Thursday afternoon they were bank full. The rise was principally in the Allegheny. The houses in "the bottom" were *flooded*; the inhabitants driven to the upper stories or frightened off entirely. Immense loss was caused to business men, and others doing business on the rivers. We have heard of no lives being lost. The injury to property holders along the river has been serious, as we had evidence in the shattered frames, &c. that passed down. The drift wood was not as plentiful as usual during high water, no doubt on account of the clean sweep made by the last rise.

This is the highest water we have had since the great flood of 1832.

The Fancy Ball was very creditable, very pleasant, and all present were happy, (notwithstanding the failure on the part of the editorial fraternity to appear in the characters allotted to them.) The evening was exceedingly disagreeable, which no doubt prevented many from attending who otherwise would have been on hand. The dresses were fanciful enough—but all in good taste, if we note two or three exceptions. We can not give a detailed description of the affair; but we noticed that at least six "locals," (not *the* six, however,) were busy gathering items. We are glad to hear that the managers saved themselves pecuniarly, which, we may remark, is not often done by those who take the responsibility of getting up Balls. All were gratified with the munificent arrangements made for the party. The supper, by Peck, Thompson & Co., was very good.

☞ The "Young Whigs" have organized a Club in this city. Why are not the "Young Democracy" up and doing. There is need of such Associations. Good results from them always, when conducted with a view to instruction, which should be the only object in political gatherings.

☞ The Bible Presentation which was to have come off in Lawrenceville on Thursday, was postponed, on account of the inclemency of the weather.

☞ A Rev. Harris, from New York, (an associate of A. J. Davis,) is lecturing in Cleveland, on Clairvoyance. He will be here, we presume.

☞ Manager Porter and his company left on Thursday for Vicksburgh, in which city they will perform for a short season, and then, we learn, go to Jackson, (Miss.) in which place they will also remain for a short season. The Pittsburgh Theatre will be open again in March or April.

☞ In Mr. Wills' Address, published on Thursday, there were numerous errors; which have been corrected for our weekly. Persons wishing a correct edition for preservation or the mail, will find it at our counter, to-day.

☞ There won't be much excitement in Allegheny city, on the subject of the Mayoralty, this year. The Democrats intend supporting a good whig, who will administer the affairs of the city with liberality and justice.

The Athenæum.—We understand that Mr. Foster intends offering a series of attractions at this magnificent Hall, during the winter. He is now negotiating with some of the most distinguished artists of the country. An announcement will shortly be made.

☞ We are under obligations to Mr. Hamilton, the obliging and gentlemanly Clerk of the steamer American Eagle, for late New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis and Cincinnati papers, for which he will please accept our thanks.

CARD.

The Committee of Arrangements for the New England Supper on Thanksgiving evening, return their thanks to Mr. Miller, the gentlemanly proprietor of the St. Charles Hotel, for the prompt (only two day's notice) and splendid manner in which the Feast was prepared and conducted.

We can cheerfully recommend Mr. Miller and his House to the attention of New Englanders, assuring them that the style of his House, the ease and comfort imparted to his guests, by his prompt attention, aided by his gentlemanly assistants, will make the St. Charles a home to the traveller, or those making a more permanent sojourn.

L. WILMARTH,
R. H. PALMER,
WM. S. CALDWELL,
E. S. AINSWORTH,
BENJ. H. HERSEY,
[Committee.

DEA NUTS—300 bushels, a first rate article, for sale by SMITH & SINCLAIR. nov27

LARD—A few Kegs No. 1, for sale by SMITH & SINCLAIR. nov27

SWEET Malaga Wine—18 Bbls and India barrels Sweet Malaga Mountain Wine, for sale at low prices, by JACOB WEAVER, nov27 Wine Store.

STRAYS—Seven head of stray Sheep came to the subscriber, living in Mifflin township, Allegheny county, about the 1st inst., with different marks on them. The owner is requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges, and take them away, or they will be disposed of according to law. THOMAS SCOTT, nov27-3tw Mifflin Tp.

DRUMS! DRUMS! DRUMS!—An assortment of Bass and Tenor Drums, just received direct from the manufacturer, and for sale low, by JOHN H. MELLOR, nov27 81 Wood st.

GUM ELASTIC SHOES—WATER PROOF Boots—calf Dress Boots. A large assortment, just received and for sale at D. A. Olmsted's Boot and Shoe Store, corner of Market and Liberty sts. nov27-3t

ASSAFŒTIDA—1 case, just received and for sale by B. A. FAHNESTOCK & Co., nov27 cor of 1st and Wood sts.

PILL Boxes—300 papers "wood," just received and for sale by B. A. FAHNESTOCK & CO., nov27 cor of 1st and Wood sts.

RAD, VALERIAN—3 bales English and German, just received and for sale by B. A. FAHNESTOCK & Co., nov27 cor of 1st and Wood sts.

CAMWOOD—70 Bbls "New York ground," just received and for sale by B. A. FAHNESTOCK & Co., nov27 cor of 1st and Wood sts.

CLAY'S SPEECH,

AT A MASS MEETING AT LEXINGTON,
On Saturday, November 13th, 1847.

After the organization of the meeting, Mr. Clay rose and addressed it as follows:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The day is dark and gloomy, unsettled and uncertain, like the condition of our country, in regard to the unnatural war with Mexico. The public mind is agitated and anxious, and is filled with serious apprehensions as to its indefinite continuance, and especially as to the consequences which its termination may bring forth, menacing the harmony, if not the existence of our Union.

It is under these circumstances, I present myself before you. No ordinary occasion would have drawn me from the retirement in which I live; but, whilst a single pulsation of the human heart remains, it should, if necessary, be dedicated to the service of one's country. And I have hoped that, although I am a private and humble citizen, an expression of the views and opinions I entertain, might form some little addition to the general stock of information, and afford a small assistance, in delivering our country from the perils and dangers which surround it.

I have come here with no purpose to attempt to make a fine speech, or any ambitious oratorical display. I have brought with me no rhetorical bouquets to throw into this assemblage. In the circle of the year, autumn has come, and the season of flowers has passed away. In the progress of years, my spring time has gone by, and I, too, am in the autumn of life and feel the frost of age. My desire and aim are to address you, earnestly, calmly, seriously and plainly, upon the grave and momentous subjects which have brought us together. And I am solicitous that not a solitary word may fall from me, offensive to any party or person in the whole extent of the Union.

War, pestilence and famine, by the common consent of mankind, are the three greatest calamities which can befal our species; and war, as the most direful, justly stands foremost and in front. Pestilence and famine, no doubt for wise though inscrutable purposes, are inflictions of Providence, to which it is our duty therefore to bow with obedience, humble submission and resignation. Their duration is not long, and their ravages are limited. They bring, indeed, great affliction, whilst they last, but society soon recovers from their effects. War is the voluntary work of our own hands, and whatever reproaches it may deserve, should be directed to ourselves. When it breaks out, its duration is indefinite and unknown—its vicissitudes are hidden from our view. In the sacrifice of human life, and in the waste of human treasure, in its losses and its burthens, it affects both belligerent nations; and its and effects of mangled bodies, of death, and of desolation, endure long after its thunders are hushed in peace. War unhinges society, disturbs its peaceful and regular industry, and scatters poisonous seeds of disease and immortality, which continue to germinate and diffuse their baneful influence long after it has ceased. Dazzled by its glitter, pomp and pageantry, it begets a spirit of wild adventure and romantic enterprise, and often disqualifies those who embark in it, after their return from the bloody fields of battle, from engaging in the industrious and peaceful vocations of life.

We are informed, by a statement which is apparently correct, that the number of our countrymen slain in this lamentable Mexican war, although it has yet been of only eighteen months existence, is equal to one half of the whole of the American loss during the seven years' war of the Revolution! And I venture to assert that the expenditure of treasure which it has occasioned, when it shall come fairly to be ascertained and footed up, will be found to be more than half of the pecuniary cost of the war of our independence. And this is the condition of the party whose arms have been everywhere and constantly victorious!

How did we unhappily get involved in this war? It was predicted as the consequence of the annexation of Texas to the United States. If we had not Texas, we should have no war. The people were told, that if that event happened, war would ensue. They were told that the war between Texas and Mexico had not been terminated by a treaty of peace; that Mexico still claimed Texas as a revolted province; and that, if we received Texas in our Union, we took along with her the war existing between her and Mexico. And the Minister of Mexico formally announced to the Government at Washington, that his nation would consider the annexation of Texas to the United States as producing a state of war. But all this was denied by the partizans of annexation. They insisted we should have no war, and even imputed to those who foretold it, sinister motives for their groundless predictions.

But notwithstanding a state of virtual war necessarily resulted from the fact of annexation of one of the billigerents to the United States, actual hostilities might have been probably averted by prudence, moderation, and wise statesmanship. If General Taylor had been permitted to remain, where his own good sense prompted him to believe he ought to remain, at the point of Corpus Christi; and, if a negotiation had been opened with Mexico, in a true spirit of amity and conciliation, war possibly might have been prevented. But, instead of this pacific and moderate course, whilst Mr. Slidell was bending his way to Mexico with his diplomatic credentials, General Taylor was ordered to transport his cannon, and plant them in a warlike attitude, opposite to Matamoras on the east side of the Rio Bravo, within the very disputed territory, the adjustment of which was to be the object of Mr. Slidell's mission. What else could have transpired but a conflict of arms?

Thus the war commenced, and the President, after having produced it, appealed to Congress. A bill was proposed to raise 50,000 volunteers, and, in order to commit all who should vote for it, a preamble was inserted, falsely attributing the commencement of the war to the act of Mexico. I have no doubt of the patriotic motives of those who, after struggling to divest the bill of that flagrant error, found themselves constrained to vote for it. But I must say that no earthly consideration would have ever tempted or provoked me to vote for a bill, with a palpable falsehood stamped upon its face. Almost idolizing truth, as I do, I never, never could have voted for that bill.

The exceptional conduct of the federal party, during the last British war, has excited an influence in the prosecution of the present war, and prevented a just discrimination between the two wars. That war was one of National defence, required for the vindication of the National rights and honor, and demanded by the indignant voice of the people.—President Madison himself, I know, at first, reluctantly and with great doubt and hesitation, brought himself to the conviction that it ought to be declared. A leaning, and perhaps the most influential member of his cabinet, (Mr. Gallatin,) was, up to the time of its declaration opposed to it. But nothing could withstand the irresistable force of public sentiment. It was a just war, and its great object as announced at the time was "Free Trade and Sailor's Rights," against the intolerable and oppressive acts of British power on the ocean. The justice of the war, far from being denied or controverted, was admitted by the federal party, which only questioned it on considerations of policy.—Being deliberately and constitutionally declared, it was, I think, their duty to have given to it their hearty co-operation. But the mass of them did not. They continued to oppose and thwart it, to discourage loans and enlistments, to deny the power of the General Government to march the militia beyond our limits, and to hold a Hartford Convention, which, whatever were its real objects, bore the aspect of seeking a dissolution of the union itself. They lost, and justly lost, the public confidence. But has not an apprehension of a similar fate, in a state of case widely different, repressed a fearless expression of their real sentiments in some of our public men?

How totally variant is the present war! This is no war of defence; but one unnecessary and offensive aggression. It is Mexico that is defending her fire-sides; her castles and her altars, not we. And how different also is the conduct of the Whig party of the present day, from that of the federal party during the war of 1812! Far from interposing any obstacles to the prosecution of the war, if the Whigs in office are reproached at all, it is for having lent a too ready facility to it, without careful examination into the objects of the war. And out of office, who rushed to the prosecution of the war with more ardor and alacrity than the Whigs? Whose hearts have bled more freely than those of the Whigs? Who have more occasion to mourn the loss of sons, husbands, brothers, fathers, than Whig parents, Whig wives, and Whig brothers, in this deadly and unprofitable strife?

But the havoc of war is in progress, and the no less deplorable havoc of an inhospitable and pestilential climate. Without indulging in an unnecessary retrospect, and useless reproaches on the past, all hearts and heads should unite in the patriotic endeavor to bring it to a satisfactory close. Is there no way that this can be done? Must we blindly continue the conflict, without any visible object, or any prospect of a definite termination? This is the important subject upon which I desire to consult and commune with you. Who, in this free government, is to decide upon the objects of a war, at its commencement, or at any time during its existence? Does the power belong to the Nation, to the collective wisdom of the Nation, in Congress assembled, or is it vested solely in a single functionary of the government?

A declaration of war is the highest and most awful exercise of sovereignty. The Convention, which framed our federal constitution, had learned from the pages of history that it had been often and greatly abused. It had seen that war had often commenced upon the most trifling pretexts; that it had been frequently waged to establish or exclude a dynasty; to snatch a crown from the head of one potentate and place it upon the head of another; that it had been often prosecuted to promote fallen and other interests than those of the nation whose chief had proclaimed it, as in the case of English wars for Hanoverian interests; and, in short, that such a vast and tremendous power ought not to be confided to the perilous exercise of one single man. The Convention, therefore resolved to guard the war-making power against those great abuses, of which, in the hands of a monarch, it was so susceptible. And the security, against those abuses, which its wisdom devised, was to vest the war-making power in the Congress of the United States, being the immediate representatives of the people and the States. So apprehensive and jealous was the Convention of its abuse in any other hands, that it interdicted the exercise of the power to any State in the Union, without consent of Congress. Congress, then, in our system of government, is the sole depository of that tremendous power.

The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power to declare war, and grant letters of marque and reprisal; to make rules concerning captures on land and water; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; and to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces. Thus, we perceive that the principal power in regard to war, with all its ancillary attendants, is granted to Congress. Whenever called upon to determine upon the solemn question of peace or war, Congress must consider, and deliberate, and decide upon the motives, objects and causes of the war. And if the war be commenced without any previous declaration of its objects, as in the case of the existing war with Mexico, Congress must necessarily possess the authority, at any time, to declare for what purposes it shall be further prosecuted. If we suppose Congress does not possess the controlling authority attributed to it; if it be contended that a war having been once commenced, the President of the United States may "act it to the accomplishment of any object he pleases, without consulting and without regard to the will of Congress, the Convention will have utterly failed in guarding the nation against the abuses and ambition of a single individual. Either Congress or the President must have the right of determining upon the objects for which a war shall be prosecuted. There is no other alternative. If the President possesses it, and may prosecute it for objects against the will of Congress, where is the difference between our free government and that of any other nation which may be governed by an absolute Czar, Emperor or King?

Congress may omit, as it has omitted in the present war, to proclaim the object for which it was commenced, or has since been prosecuted, and in cases of such omission, the President, being charged with the employment and direction of the national force is, necessarily, left to his own judgment to decide upon the objects, to the attainment of which that force shall be applied. But whenever Congress shall think proper to declare, by some authentic act, for what purposes a war shall be commenced or continued, it is the duty of the President to apply the national forces to the attainment of those purposes. In the instance of the last war with Great Britain, the act of Congress by which it was declared was preceded by a message of President Madison enumerating the wrongs and injuries of which we complained against Great Britain. That message therefore, and without it the well known objects of the war, which was a war purely of defence, rendered it unnecessary that Congress should particularize, in the act the specific objects for which it was prosecuted. The whole world knew that it was a war waged for Free Trade and Sailor's Rights.

It may be urged that the President and Senate possess the treaty making power, without any express limitation as to its exercise; that the natural and ordinary termination of a war is by a treaty of peace; and, therefore, that the President and Senate must possess the power to decide what stipulations and conditions shall enter into such a treaty. But it is not more true that the President and Senate possess the treaty making power, without limitation, than Congress possesses the war making power, without restriction. These two powers, then, ought to be so interpreted as to reconcile the one with the other; and, in expounding the constitution, we ought to keep constantly in view the nature and structure of our free government, and especially the great object of the Convention, in taking the war making power out of the hands of a single man, and placing it in the safer custody of the representatives of the whole nation. The desirable reconciliation between the two powers, is effected by attributing to Congress the right to declare what shall be the objects of a war, and to the President the duty of endeavoring to obtain those objects by the direction of the national force at his command.

I am broaching no new and speculative theory. The Statute Book of the United States is full of examples of prior declarations by Congress, of the objects to be attained by negotiation with foreign powers; and the archives of the Executive Depot furnish abundant evidence of the accomplishment of those objects, or the attempt to accomplish them by subsequent negotiation. Prior to the declaration of the last war against Great Britain, in all the restrictive measures which Congress adopted against the two great beligerent powers of Europe, clauses were inserted in the several acts establishing them; tendering to both or either of the beligerents the abolition of those restrictions, if they would repeal their hostile edicts, or modify decrees and orders in council operating against our commerce and navigation. And these acts of Congress were invariably communicated through the Executive, by diplomatic notes to France and Great Britain, as the basis upon which it was proposed to restore friendly intercourse with them. So, after the termination of the war, various acts of Congress were passed from time to time, offering to foreign powers the principles of reciprocity in the commerce and navigation of the United States with them. Out of these acts have sprung a class, and a large class of treaties, (four or five of which were negotiated whilst I was in the department of State) commonly called reciprocal treaties, concluded under all the Presidents, and from Mr. Madison to Mr. Van Buren, inclusive. And, with regard to commercial treaties, negotiated without the sanction of prior acts of Congress, where they contained either appropriations, or were inconflict with unrepealed statutes, it has been ever held as the republican doctrine, from Mr. Jay's treaty down to the present time, that the passage of acts of Congress was necessary to secure the execution of those treaties.

If in the matter of Foreign Commerce, in respect to which the power vested in Congress to regulate it and the treaty making power may be regarded as concurrent. Congress can previously decide the objects to which negotiaiton shall be applied, how much stronger is the case of war, the powea to declare which is confided expressly to Congress.

I conclude, therefore, Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens, with entire confidence, that Congress has the right, either at the beginning, or during the prosecution of any war, to decide the objects and purposes for which it was proclaimed, or for which it ought to be continued. And, I think, it is the duty of Congress, by some deliberate and authentic act, to declare for what objects the present war shall be longer prosecuted. I suppose the President would not hesitate to regulate his conduct by the pronounced will of Congress, and to employ force for the diplomatic power of the nation to execute that will. But, if the President should decline or refuse to do so, and in contempt of the supreme authority of Congress, should persevere in waging war, for other objects than those proclaimed by Congress, then it would be the imperative duty of that body to vindicate its authority, by the most stringent, and effectual, and appropriate measures. And, if, on the contrary, the enemy should refuse a treaty, containing stipulations securing the objects designated by Congress, it would become the duty of the whole government to prosecute the war, with all the national energy, until those objects were obtained by a treaty of peace. There can be no insuperable difficulty in Congress making such an authoritative declaration. Let it resolve, that the war shall or shall not be a war of conquest; and, if a war of conquest, what is to be conquered. Should a resolution pass, disclaiming the design of conquest, peace would follow in less than sixty days, if the President would conform to his constitutional duty.

Here, fellow-citizens, I might pause, having indicated a mode by which the nation, through its accredited and legitimate representatives in Congress, can announce for what purposes and objects this war shall be longer prosecuted, and can thus let the whole people of the United States know for what end their blood is to be further shed and their treasure further expended, instead of the knowledge of it being locked up and concealed in the bosom of one