lonial vassalage, from which we were rescued by the wisdom, courage, and patriotism of our fathers.

It would afford me great pleasure to dwell on these most interesting topics, but I am admonished that my hour is rapidly passing away. As there are many gentlemen on this floor who are abundantly able to advocate the interests of the various branches of industry in their respective States, I shall confine myself chiefly to those branches of industry and enterprise embraced in, or affected by, the manufacture of iron in Pennsylvania.

In order, Mr. Chairman, to a right understanding of the importance of this subject, it will be necessary to lay before you some facts and statistics, not generally known by those whose interests are not immediately affected by them.

For the following statistics, I am indebted to the labors of a convention of iron manufacturers which met in Philadelphia, in Dec. 1849, and they are believed to be correct:

The total number of counties in the State is 67
Of these, the number now containing iron works is 17

The number containing no iron works is 50

Of these seventeen counties, however, nine contain abundance of iron ore and coal, but having no facilities of getting to market, they remain untouched, leaving only eight counties out of the sixty-two in the State not suited to the manufacture of iron.

PRODUCTION OF IRON FROM THE ORE.

	Furnaces.	Tons of Ore.	Tons of Coal.	Tons of Limestone.	Tons of Iron.
Anthracite coal	31	421,000	121,000	104,000	91,000
Bituminous coal	12	175,000	45,000	52,000	35,000
Charcoal hot blast	4	15,000	4,000	4,000	3,000
Charcoal cold blast	46	63,000	20,000	18,000	15,000
Bituminous & charcoal	1	2,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Total	94	676,000	191,000	179,000	145,000

The following table shows the number of furnaces of each kind, and the capital invested in the business, including lands, buildings, and machinery, their probable make of iron, the actual make in 1847, 1848, and the probable make of 1850.

	Furnaces.	Capital Invested.	Probable make 1850. Tons.	Actual make 1847. Tons.	Actual make 1848. Tons.
Anthracite coal	31	$1,275,000	91,000	80,000	85,000
Bituminous coal	12	475,000	35,000	22,000	25,000
Charcoal hot blast	4	15,000	3,000	2,500	2,500
Charcoal cold blast	46	315,000	15,000	12,000	13,000
Bituminous & charcoal	1	2,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Total	94	$2,082,000	145,000	117,500	126,500

Of the 298 furnaces in the State, 149 or one half only were in blast during the year 1848, and probably not more than two-thirds have been in operation during the year 1849.

Fifteen furnaces were sold by the sheriff during the first four months of the last year, and other sales under execution will reduce the number in blast still lower. A comparison of the make of 1850 with that of 1847, shows a decrease of 198,500 tons, or 49 ⅔ cent. in three years. If the present rate of things continues, the make of 1851 will not exceed 100,000 tons.

CONTRASTS OF CAST INTO WROUGHT IRON.

The following table shows the number of forges and rolling mills in the State; the investment in lands, buildings, and machinery; the total number of converting fires, and their capacity per annum, and their make in 1847 and 1849.

	Invested.	No. of Forges.	No. of Fires.	Capacity Tons.	Make 1847 Tons.	Make 1849 Tons.
Charcoal forges	121	$2,020,000	407	.....	60,250	39,997
Rolling mills	79	8,564,000	.....	436	174,400	153,760
Total	200	$7,580,000	407	436	234,650	193,757

The amount made in 1849 shows a falling off from that of 1847 of 66,874 tons, or thirty three per cent.

In the eastern part of the state, every description of manufactured iron that comes in competition with the English, is, to a great extent, driven from the market, and its manufacture has been almost entirely suspended. All the markets at all accessible from the lakes or the sea, have been supplied from abroad.

But little railroad iron is manufactured, and that only for the interior of the State. In this branch of manufacture, small as it is, the following decline is shown:

Present capacity of the State,	64,400 tons rails.
In 1847 were made,	40,966 do.
In 1849 were made,	18,973 do.
Decrease in two years,	21,993 tons, or 54 per cent.

The other rolling mills that are attempting to run at all, are chiefly sustained by the manufacture of boiler plates and cut nails, which are not so much affected by foreign competition, though the demand and prices have been much reduced by it.

Cut nails are exclusively of American invention and manufacture. The number of nail machines in the State in 1846. The annual productions of each machine average 1000 kegs, of 100 pounds each—making 606,000 kegs, or 30,300 tons a year. Of the product of the forges, two thirds are sold in the form of blooms to the rolling mills, and are manufactured into boiler plates, horse shoe rods, and bars, for the manufacture of scythes, axes, edge tools, and cutlery, and other articles requiring a high polish. The remaining one third is sold in the form of hammered bar iron in competition with Swedish and Russian iron.

We have in the State thirteen works engaged in the manufacture of steel—seven in the eastern and six in the western part. Those in the east are situated in Philadelphia, Lancaster, and York counties. Those in the west are all in the county of Allegheny, which composes ony one district. These works produce annually over six thousand tons of steel.

RECAPITULATION.

The total number of iron works in the State is 504.	
The capital invested in lands, buildings, and machinery,	$20,502,076
The number of men employed,	30,103
The number of horses employed,	13,562

The capital invested includes only such lands and buildings as belong to the iron manufacturers, and such as are directly dependent on iron works for their value.

Thus the value of farms, grist, and saw mills, and similar property, horses, wagons, tools, &c., and the dwellings of workmen near large cities, are excluded, because, though belonging to the works, and their value greatly affected by them, yet they have, to some extent, an independent value.

The value of all coal lands has also been excluded, both for the reason before given, and because it is the custom generally to purchase coal delivered at the works. The capital and men employed in mining and transporting this coal to the works, and carrying the iron to market, have not been included in the above account, because nothing more than a mere conjectural estimate can be formed without more accurate information than I possess at present.

More than one half of the anthracite furnaces, and a portion of the charcoal furnaces, purchase their ore of the farmers in their vicinity. There are other large ore banks in the State belonging to parties who work them and sell the ore to the furnaces in their neighborhood. The value of all these ore banks, and the number of laborers employed at them, are also excluded from this account.

Estimates have been made, however, from data believed to be reliable, of the number of laborers not in the pay of the iron manufacturers, but directly dependent on the iron works for support, amounting to 7,091 for blast furnaces, and 4,432 for rolling mills, forges, &c., making together, 11,513, to be added to the number before stated, or a grand total of 41,616 men dependent on the iron business in the State. "Allowing five persons to each laborer, which is believed to be an under estimate, we have a population of 208,080 persons, or nearly one tenth of the entire population of the State, dependent on the manufacture of iron.

The consumption of fuel in all the iron works of the State, in 1847, was as follows:

Anthracite coal, 483,000 tons, at an average value of $8 per ton,		$1,449,000
Bituminous coal, 9,007,600 bushels, at 5 cents per bushel,		450,380
Wood, including cost of converting into charcoal, and delivering at furnace,		2,980,504
Total value,		$4,879,884

About the year 1842 a great impetus was given to business, owing to the discovery a few years before that of the value of anthracite coal for the purpose of making iron. The reduction of duties, under the compromise act of 1833, having reached its lowest point in 1842, and the passage of a new tariff in that year, together, produce the curious result of twenty new works built, and twenty failures.

The number of new works then increases steadily, and the number of failures decreases, until, in 1846, they stand *fifty three* new works built, to *four* failures. But in that year the tariff of 1842 was repealed, and the present ad valorem duty laid on the price of foreign iron, which was then excessively inflated, by the railway fever in England, and in the next year (1847) the number of new works, and the number of failures, are again nearly even, (25 to 24) as in 1842, but with this important difference, that in 1842, distress was decreasing, while the difficulties of 1847 were only the beginning of more serious troubles. This is shown by the regularly diminishing number of new works, and the constantly increasing number of failures, until in 1849 only TEN new works were erected, while the failures amounted to the fearful number of FORTY ONE.

The coal interest of Pennsylvanian, Mr. Chairman, especially of the western part of the State, is also suffering severely under the operation of the present tariff. Under the tariff of 1842, millions of bushels of bituminous coal were mined on the western slope of the Allegheries, by which all the towns and cities bordering on the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans were supplied with this article. Vast quantities were sold at the latter place for shipping purposes; and in return, our market was supplied with their sugar, cotton, molasses, &c. By this exchange of the products of labor, the industry, enterprise, and capital of both were mutually stimulated and benefitted. Now, under the reduced duties of the tariff of 1846, our principal market, New Orleans, is taken from us entirely, and given to the foreign importer, who brings in a full supply of that article as ballast—thus saving the freight entirely.

I regret, Mr. Chairman, that I have not within my reach sufficient data from which to form a correct estimate of this great interest, which embraces within its range thousands of our citizens, as well as those who are immediately engaged in mining and transportation, as the owners of the coal lands, the farmer, the mechanic, and manufacturer, who supply them with the necessaries of life, and the means of carrying on their business.

The allegation has often been made that a tariff is only calculated to benefit the *manufacturer*, and that the farmers of the country have no interest whatever in it. Let us examine this question for a few moments.

The farmer is interested, as all others are, in buying as cheaply and selling as dearly as he can. If he could find a ready market, at as good prices, and cash payments, for all his agricultural products, *independently* of the manufacturing establishments of the country as *they* afford, there might be something in the assertion. In other words, if the farmer had nothing to sell, but always paid cash for all his purchases, it would be best for him to buy in the cheapest cash market. But if he has no market for his wheat, corn, oats, hay, tobacco, hemp, horses, cattle, hogs, &c., where is the money to come from to enable him to buy in this "cheap market?" Under such circumstances, it matters but little whether the market be cheap or dear. General Jackson once said, if you will take six hundred thousand men, women, and children, from agriculture, and put them into manufactures, you will create a better home market for the farmer than is furnished by all the world beside. Sound philosophy, as well as experience and observation, all teach us that the highest degree of prosperity and happiness will be found wherever labor is equally divided and mingled together, that the producer and consumer mutually furnish and supply a market for each other, with the least expense for transportation. The ready exchange of the products of labor and capital combined, is the great *desideratum*, tending to the rapid development of the resources of the country and its greatest degree of prosperity. But time will not permit me to dwell on this interesting topic.

Let us, Mr. Chairman, for a moment, survey the effect of a single furnace on the markets of the neighborhood where it is located.

The average number of men employed at a charcoal furnace making 1,000 tons of pig iron, a year, is not less than seventy: making a population immediately dependent of not-less than 350. The amount of grain used will not vary much from 2,500 bushels of wheat, 2,000 bushels of corn, 3,000 bushels of oats, 1,000 bushels of rye, 80 tons of hay, and 3,000 bundles of straw, while the amount of merchandise sold will be near $8,000. And besides all this, the farmer finds a ready market for a vast amount of bacon, veal, potatoes, butter, &c., a part of which will not bear transportation to a foreign market.—From the single instance of one furnace, employing only seventy hands, furnishing such an extensive market to the farmer, some idea may be formed of the extent of the demand created by all the iron works in the country, and the incalculable benefits arising to the farmer from the manufacture of this article at home. And what must be thought of that policy which would destroy this home market, and expose the farmer to all the changes and fluctuations of foreign trade? After all that can be done to increase the demand at home, we shall always have a surplus of agricultural products sufficient to supply the foreign demand.

But, sir, suppose we extend our sphere of inquiry beyond the limits of Pennsylvania, and see how the prostration of the iron works throughout the United States would affect the farming interests of the country.

It is estimated at not less than forty millions of dollars are paid out annually to the public, through the operation of all the iron works in the United States, when the business is prosperous. With what truth, then, can it be said, that protection is a tax upon the many, for the benefit of the few? It is true that iron, at the present time, is furnished at low prices by Great Britain; but let the home manufacture be destroyed, and it will immediately be dear again.—It cannot be doubted that if all the iron works in the United States should be closed for only one year, and we should depend upon England for our entire supplies, the price of British iron would be greatly enhanced, and the country, at the end of the year, would be well nigh bankrupt, by the drain of the immense amount of specie necessary to pay for it.

But the advocates of free trade contend that we would pay for it by the exportation of our bread-stuffs. Let us see whether this is so or not.

Political economists allow for each individual in this country, a consumption of the product of the land, to the value of fifty dollars per annum. The number of people supported by the iron business of the United States has been estimated at about six hundred thousand dollars, who, at fifty dollars each, consume annually about thirty millions of dollars worth of breadstuffs. If they cannot find employment in manufacturing, they must become producers, and thus is a home market to this immense amount lost to the American farmer.

The total exports of breadstuffs from this country to all the world, for the year ending December 24th, 1849, amount to only $22,895,782, of which Great Britain and Ireland took $11,157,656 worth—not equal in value to the iron we imported from that country that year. Thus is the prediction of General Jackson more than verified, because the iron business alone furnishes a better and larger market to the farmer at home, and at better prices, than all the world besides. And furthermore, that great Britain, which offers to make all our iron, and, indeed, everything else, takes less than one half of the farmers' products consumed by the iron manufacture at his side.

Instead, then, Mr. Chairman, of discouraging the progress of the home manufacture of iron, as the advocates of free trade do, for the avowed benefits of the farmers, no policy having this tendency could be more injurious to their interests. On the contrary, that policy would be the best for the producers of this country—the farmers and laborers—which would tend to double the present home manufacture of iron, in accomplishing which they would at once create six hundred thousand new customers, entirely dependent upon them for *thirty millions of dollars' worth more* of breadstuffs, which is more than the boasted market of the world takes from them.

Every complete iron works, capable of producing ten thousand tons of bar iron per annum, supports about six thousand persons, and makes a market for the farmers in its neighborhood, to the extent of three hundred thousand dollars per annum. Suppose one thousand farmers to participate equally in the advantages of this market, supplying grain, beef, pork, mutton, vegetables, &c., this will give to each ready sales to the extent of three hundred dollars, one half of which would be for perishable produce that would not bear transportation.

If we resolve our importations of iron and manufactures of iron and steel into their original elements of cost, we shall find that in this shape we have been large importers of British breadstuffs, coal, iron ore, limestone, labor &c. Let us examine into this matter a little, because it is a question which deeply concerns the farmers, mechanics, and laborers of this country, whether their money is to go to buy British breadstuffs, and pay British labor, while they themselves are without a market and without employment.

The imports of iron into the United States for the fiscal year, ending 30th June, 1849, were as follow:

	Tons.	Value.
Bar iron	173,473	$6,660,958
Hammered iron	16,266	547,256
Hoops and Sheets	11,114	543,256
	195,252	$7,751,970
Pig iron	109,622	1,495,013
Steel	6,000	327,128
Manufactures of iron, steel, &c.		6,226,416
Total	11,824	
Total No. tons	312,875	Total value $15,800,561

Coal used in the manufacture of this iron in Great Britain.

Of 195,252 tons of bar iron hammered &c., at 2½ tons per ton ..... 476,225 tons.
Of 109,622 tons pig iron, at 2½ tons per ton ..... 274,055 "
Of 6,000 tons steel at 8 tons per ton ..... 48,000 "
Of 11,824 tons manufactured at 10 tons per ton ..... 118,824 "
Total coal imported in form of iron 1,412,249

Iron ore used in Great Britain.

For bars hammered iron, hoops, and sheets, at 2½ tons ..... 1,046,817 tons.
For pig iron, 2½ tons ..... 246,646 "
For steel at 2½ tons ..... 28,400 "
For manufactures of iron, steel, &c., at 2½ tons ..... 827,676 "
Total ore imported in the form of iron 2,149,539
Limestone used there also.
For bars hammered iron, hoops, and sheets, at 1½ tons ..... 260,727 tons
For pig iron at 1 ton ..... 109,622 "
For steel, at 2½ tons ..... 14,200 "
For manufactures of, &c., at 2½ tons ..... 31,824 "
Total lime stone imported in form of iron 414,376

BRITISH LABOR EMPLOYED.

About *nine-tenths* of the value of iron, we have said, consists of the labor bestowed upon it—*nine-tenths*, then, of *fifteen millions fifty-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty-one dollars*, the value of British iron imported during the fiscal year ending 30th of June, 1849, were taken out of the pockets of the farmers, mechanics, and laboring men of this country, to pay for British labor, betowed on the manufacture of iron brought here, and sold in our own market, while our own laborers are turned out of employment.

During the last fiscal year, I learn from the official report, that our imports of iron and manufactures of iron and steel, have amounted to *over eighteen millions and a half of dollars*—nine-tenths of which enormous sum have gone to pay the pauper labor of Europe, instead of being paid out to our laborers at home.

The farmer who sends his wheat to a foreign market, is dependent upon, and affected by all the fluctuations of price, according to the supply and demand, and is obliged to sell for whatever it will bring, in competition with all the world. What he sells at home is at his own price, and is sold or retained accordling to his own discretion. Well cultivated lands dependent on a foreign market, are worth from $6 to $20 per acre; while those having the full benefit of a home market are worth from $50 to $150. If the productions of iron in Pennsylvania were kept in full activity for ten years, it would greatly enhance the value of their own lands, and contribute largely to the value of other lands and property beyond her limits.

If it be impolitic for the farmer to send abroad his grain to be exchanged for iron, it is equally so for the planter to send his raw cotton to England to be exchanged for manufactured cotton, or any other foreign goods. The cotton plantations of the South are capable of feeding the operatives necessary to manufacture nearly or quite all the cotton at present produced, and such a policy would increase the value of every cotton plantation in the country now cultivated, and offer new and powerful inducements to clear up and cultivate the millions of acres of cotton lands yet untouched, in order, if desirable, to supply the foreign demand. To produce this additional quantity of food would probably require but few, if any, more laborers than are now employed in growing cotton. It would only require that division of labor which is as important to the success of the planter as to that of any other producer.

The manufacture eight hundred thousand tons of iron, estimated to be about the present capacity of the United States, would give support to upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand persons, to whom at least twenty millions of dollars in wages must be paid. Of this sum $4,000,000 would be expended in coarse cotton fabrics for clothing and furniture, $3,000,000 for woolens, and $3,000,000 more for other items of clothing and domestic comfort. The $20,000,000 earned by the operative in iron would thus be diffused over the whole country, giving vigor, life, and activity to every branch of business. The South would furnish cotton, sugar, rice, hemp, and tobacco; the Middle and Western States, bread, potatoes, and meat; and the Northern States the products of the loom; whilst thousands of tailors, hatters, shoemakers, and other tradesmen would find constant employment in supplying the necessities of the makers of iron, consuming themselves an additional quantity of food and clothing.

The estimate I have given of $20,502,000 is limited to the capital invested in *lands, buildings, and machinery* alone. To this is to be added at least an equal amount, necessarily employed in carrying on the works, which, with the sum already mentioned, will swell the investments to *forty millions of dollars* in the manufacture of iron in the State of Pennsylvania alone. And what has been done in that State by way of developing her resources, enhancing the value of her lands, furnishing a market for the farmer, giving employment to the mechanic, and laboring man of every description, and diffusing life, energy, and activity through every branch of business, may, by a wise and judicious system of legislation, be done in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Missouri, and perhaps other southern and southwestern States.

THE FREE TRADE ARGUMENTS CONSIDERED

It is said, Mr. Chairman, by the advocates of free trade, that we should buy where we can buy the cheapest, and that if Great Britain, or any other country, can bring their manufactured articles into our market, and sell them cheaper than the cost of manufacturing them in this country, they should be allowed to do so, and for this purpose all restrictions should be removed. But is not this argument deceptive? The present manufacture of iron in this country amounts, probably, to five or six hundred thousand tons. Suppose you cease making iron entirely, change your investments, and thus give assurance to the foreign manufacturer that you will no longer compete with him in the market, but will purchase from him this five or six hundred thousand tons which you formerly made, how long would your market continue cheap? You suddenly create a demand on the foreign manufacturer for five hundred thousand tons of iron more than he has heretofore had sale for—and that amount you must have, you cannot do without it,—would not the price be instantly raised to a point far above the present prices for American iron? It is a well established law of trade that the demand and the supply regulate the prices. Here you diminish the supply to the extent of five hundred thousand tons; while you increase the demand to the same extent, and, as an inevitable consequence, raise the price in the same proportion. What, then, becomes of your free trade theory about the *cheap market?* It vanishes into thin air, as most of your theories do, when submitted to the sober test of fact and experience.

The same may be said of the other branch of this splendid theory of free trade, viz: that if we cease manufacturing in this country, and buy all we need from Great Britain, she will take our bread-stuffs in payment, and thus furnish a ready market for our farmers.

When, Mr. Chairman, did she say so? When did she ever buy from us one barrel more of flour than was necessary to supply the deficiency in her own agricultural products, or keep her operatives from starving to death? and then only, when she could buy from us cheaper than elsewhere? If every manufacturing establishment in the United States were abandoned to-day, Great Britain would not, on that account, purchase one dollars worth more of our bread stuffs than she does now.

I have before said, that about six hundred thousand persons are dependent upon the iron works of the United States for support. These are all consumers, and are supplied with breadstuffs by the farmers of the country, to the amount, it is supposed, of about $30,000,000 worth. Now, if the iron works of this country are all abandoned, these six hundred thousand persons must become farmers, and by this means not only is the demand for the $20,000,000 worth of breadstuffs which they consumed destroyed, but by becoming producers they add greatly to the supply, already too abundant in the market, and, as a necessary consequence, reduce the price; thus working a two-fold injury to the honest and industrious farmer, by diminishing the demand for his bread stuffs and increasing the supply.

Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to be misunderstood. While advocating an increase of duties on iron and coal, I am equally anxious to see such a modification of the present tariff as will embrace every other interest that needs legislative aid; and I am only restrained from an examination of all these branches of business, by the rapid manner in which the hour allotted me for my remarks is passing away. Any just measure looking to the great object will receive my most cordial support.

The evils inflicted on the country by the operation of the present tariff, are manifold, and should be instantly removed by its modification. They are everywhere felt and known by men of all parties, and all trades and occupations. The system of levying ad valorem duties on the foreign value, is a wide door is opened for fraud and perjury, which seem to have been practiced to a fearful extent. The Treasury of the country is defrauded out of millions by means of false invoices, made expressly for that purpose, being presented at the custom house and sworn to, in which the value of the article imported is set down at a price far below their cost in a foreign market. The duties, therefore, levied and collected on this under valuation, are far less than they should be, and the Government loses the revenue.

Again: the honest importer is driven out of the business, because he will neither defraud the Government nor commit perjury. His less conscientious rival, willing to do both, can well afford to undersell him in the market, and yet make large profit by his dishonesty. This system, therefore, practically offers a reward for vice, while it sets a premium on the head of every honest importer. By this means a very large proportion of all the importations is in the hands of foreigners, and carried on through their agents or consignees in this country. But I cannot dwell ont is point.

Again: by the system of ad valorem duties whenever an article commands a high price abroad, if imported, it would pay a high duty, and thus not only increase the revenue, but afford protection to our own manufactures. But when the article commands a high price in the foreign market, it will not be brought into this country—and therefore, at such time we need no protection. When, however, there is an over supply in the foreign market, the prices fall, and the surplus is thrown upon us. Then we need most protection, because the importations are large; but the prices being low in the foreign market, and the duties assessed on those prices correspondingly low, we have but little protection. Thus, by this ad valorem system, when we need the least protection we have the most, and when we need the most, we have the least. By this means, the capital, industry, and enterprise of the country are constantly exposed to all the changes and fluctuations of the foreign market, without the ability to exercise any control over it, or derive the least advantage from it. Many other evils are inherent in the present tariff, of which my time will not permit me to speak, among which is that provision which discriminate *against American*, and in *favor of foreign* labor, by imposing a higher duty on the raw material than on the article manufactured from it.

But I must pass on as rapidly as possible.—What are the remedies required for all these evils? In my judgment, the President of the United States, in his recent able, manly, and dignified message, has pointed out the best mode of relief. The system of ad valorem duties must, under every possible safeguard that the wisdom of the Legislature can devise, forever remain liable to abuses in various forms, and productive of much derangement and injury to the business of the country; while that of specific duties is simple, plain, uniform in all the ports of the United States, and not liable to any of the objections or abuses to which I have referred. By adopting this system, with a moderate but sufficient increase of duties on many of the leading articles imported, similar to those manufactured here, it is believed one great desideratum would be obtained, viz: permanency and stability in our legislation; without which we can have no prosperity.

This subject, Mr. Chairman, has been too long connected with party politics. It ought never to have been made a mere party question. The great interests I have attempted to describe, have for years been made a mere football for politicians to play with—country has been sacrificed to party, and its best interests offered up on the altar of unhallowed ambition. Sir, these things should not be; and I call upon every gentleman on this floor, without respect to party names, to come forward and lift this question from the slough of party politics, and make it what it really is, a national question—an American question. Under a national system of legislation on this subject, wisely and judiciously adopted, and patriotically adhered to for a series of years, what pen could describe, or imagination conceive, the degree of happiness, prosperity, and greatness that awaits us as a nation. Sir, we would come to be in *fact*, what we now are in name and in resources, the most prosperous, as well as the most powerful people on the face of the earth. We have a country, I had well nigh said, boundless in its extent, reaching "from sea to sea," and from the rivers almost "to the ends of the earth"—embracing every variety of climate, soil, and production. Its mountains are filled with the richest ores, its rivers are literally beded with gold, and its forests outtop even the "cedars of Lebanon." Time and space have been annihilated by American genius, which extends one arm over the sea and the other over the dry land, awakening, stimulating, and imparting influences that ere long will govern and control the world. The name of Fulton and of Morse will be remembered as long as an ocean remains to be traversed, or mind to commune with mind.

The great national highway about to be constructed across the continent, connecting itself by means of steam communication with Europe on the east and the Celestial Empire on the west, while it invites to our shores the choicest fruits of foreign commerce, will so develop the resources, and stimulate the industry, enterprise, and capital of the country, as, united with other causes, will give us the control of the commerce of the world. Sir, if we are true to ourselves—to the great principles on which our free institutions are founded, of *equal and exact justice to all*, a high destiny awaits us. Our principles have already gone forth beyond the sea. They have penetrated the dark corners of the earth, breaking the sceptres, and demolishing the thrones of kings and princes—unfettering the mind of man, and sending it abroad to roam, at will, over the vast field of thought and investigation. These pure and lofty principles are indefinitely expansive and progressive in their character, surmounting all obstacles, and breaking down all opposition; bearing as rapidly onward as a nation to fulfil the high and holy mission intrusted to our hands, of giving new life, and new laws to the whole human race.

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE.

PUBLISHED BY WHITE & CO.

PITTSBURGH.

FRIDAY MORNING, JANUARY 31, 1851.

Whig State Central Committee.

THE Members of the Whig State Central Committee will meet at Gerrity's Hotel, in the Borough of Harrisburg, on Tuesday, the 5th February next at 7 o'clock, P. M. for the purpose of fixing the time and place of holding the Convention to nominate candidates for Governor, Judges, &c.

A full and prompt attendance is request d.

HENRY S. FULLER, Chairman.

Wilkesbarre, January 15, 1851.

FIRST PAGE.—Washington, New York, and Harrisburg correspondence—Hampton's speech on the Tariff.

Third Page.—House of Refuge—Local and Telegraphic.

Fourth Page.—Confessions of an Attorney, conclusion.

MR. HAMPTON'S SPEECH.—We give to-day the able speech of our Representative in Congress, Mr HAMPTON, on the Tariff question. It is an able, clear and condensed argument on the subject of which it treats, and reflects great honor upon its author. We trust it will be widely published, and extensively read in Pennsylvania.

The concert at Wilkins Hall to night is by the Blakely family, who make their first appearance in Pittsburgh. This troupe comes here with a high reputation, and will no doubt command a full house. See advertisement

PITTSBURGH AND HER RAILROAD CONNECTIONS.

The future welfare of this city must greatly depend upon her position in relation to the magnificent lines of Railroads, projected and constructing, between the Atlantic seaboard, and the almost illimitable region of the Mississippi valley. Our position in relation to what the best interests of this city required, was taken years ago, after a careful survey of the whole ground, and we have never wavered from it for one moment, nor have we seen cause to change our opinion in the slightest manner. In the steady and persevering advocacy of a western Railroad diverging from the Ohio at Beaver, and gaining and keeping upon the table lands between the waters of the Lake and the river, we are convinced we have faithfully discharged a high duty, and in this course we have been amply rewarded by the brilliant results which have followed, and which, if they have not been promoted by our labors, show that our opinion has been sustained by the majority of our leading and public spirited citizens. During this time, repeated and persevering efforts have been made by opposing interests, to distract and divide the attention and energies of the people of Pittsburgh for the benefit of rival routes, which, however well enough in themselves, were beyond the present ability of Pittsburgh to accomplish, and had their claims been sustained, would have prevented the success of any one object. In these distracting efforts, a portion of the press here has lent its aid from time to time, without much influence, however, upon this community, but of deleterious effects abroad, which it has taken much effort to neutralize

But the most mischievous articles which have emanated from the press of Pittsburgh, on railroad topics, have been some of recent date, bearing the editorial impress published in the *Journal*, one of which we noticed incidentally a few days since, in replying to some comments of a Zanesville paper. In these articles the ground is taken, or the admission made, that the Hempfield Railroad project presents the shortest route between the central part of Ohio and Philadelphia; that Pittsburgh is too far north; that the "route from Philadelphia to the far west ought to pass through Wheeling;" that it was settled that the Hempfield Railroad would be built, and much more to the same purpose. Having presented these alarming positions for the contemplation of our citizens, the editor very properly asked, "what is Pittsburgh to do?" Here was a question pregnant with immense interests, affecting the prosperity and growth of Pittsburgh for all time—and how was it answered. Here we will let the editor speak for himself. He says:

"If then the Hempfield Railroad will be made, what ought Pittsburgh to do? Will she sit idle and take her chance of being a village between Pennsylvania and Ohio road, with the Hempfield road, which is 62 miles nearer; or will she endeavor to avert as far as possible the injury to her business that may result otherwise? *A rival road to Wellsville, as suggested, or direct to Steubenville, will cost a great deal of money*—and must still be exposed to *rival competition on a shorter route. The probability is, therefore, that the profits would not remunerate the investment.* An intersection at Washington is liable to the same objections. There seems, therefore, to *be no other expedient within our reach* than a PLANK ROAD, either alongside of the present turnpike to that place—or an independant work by another route." —*Pittsburgh Com. Journal, Jan. 18.*

Here is the sovereign remedy for this great evil, this beautiful air-line railroad, which is to carry past our doors all the trade of the mighty west! A *Plank Road!* from the decayed village of Pittsburgh to the prosperous city of Washington. A railroad to Wellsburg or Steubenville won't do—they will cost too much money, and be exposed to "rival competition" on the shorter Hempfield route: the profits would not "remunerate the investment" nothing but a "Plank Road" to Washington will answer; this is to be our deliverer, but in what way, we leave the editor himself to reveal. This "Plank Road" scheme had got so strong a hold on the imagination of the editor, that he held on to it with the grasp that a shipwrecked mariner gives to the last plank that intervenes between him and the dark caves of the ocean, and in his paper of Wednesday last, he reverts to it again, in an article on the Hempfield Railroad, in the following language:

"In this [the Hempfield Railroad] is to become a connecting link between the central roads of Ohio and Pennsylvania—and, by its means, the intercourse of travel and trade *is to be drawn from our city*, we should be looking at it—in order that we may obviate the disadvantages as far as we can. We must have a connection with it—and by some convenient avenue. Washington is the nearest point of intersection. A *rail road*, if within reach of our means, and if it should be thought the business would furnish a fair remuneration upon the capital invested in it, would certainly be the best work that could be contructed for the purpose. But it is doubtful whether the money can be obtained—and *more* doubtful, whether, *with the competition of a shorter route, it will yield a sufficient return. It is our decided opinion, under all the circumstances, that a good plank road to Washington, is our only available expedient.*"—*Pittsburgh Com. Journal, Jan. 29.*

A Plank Road is the only *available expedient!* Only this relief awaits us in the approaching calamity! Even a Railroad would not pay—having to compete with the shorter Hempfield route, it would not yield sufficient returns! A Plank Road to Washington is the only salvation for Pittsburgh!

Another day passes. The editor reads the Gazette's incidental comments on his first article, and lo! a complete change as wrought in his views—another panacea is discovered for impending ills; to wit, the previously discarded Railroad to Steubenville, as will appear by the following extract:

"We have indulged in some '*bodinage*' with the editor of the Gazette, but it is not the way to treat a grave concern. Facts, and evidence, and argument should be prescribed—and the people urged to action. We differ as to the mode of operating—not as to the result sought. The idea of carrying a railroad round the great bend of the Ohio, from Pittsburgh to Wheeling, we regard as preposterous. The Hempfield road, nearer by 62 miles, *with a bridge at Wheeling which may be arranged for a viaduct with little expense, must certainly take the travel and transportation.* There is BUT ONE WAY TO DEFEAT IT; that is, by *making a railroad to, Steubenville*—and endeavoring to secure the junction of the Central Ohio road at that point. This may defeat the Hempfield road, if undertaken with spirit. Should it not, however, the investment will be a loss."—*Pittsburgh Com. Jour., Jan. 30.*

A perusal of the above extracts forces upon the mind the conviction that the editor of the Journal is writing upon subjects of which he is wholly ignorant. He seems to imagine that a straight line Railroad can be made from Wheeling to Greensburg, when any one, with any correct knowledge of the topography of the country, and the direction of the streams, knows that a direct Railroad between these points would traverse the hilliest and most difficult region west of the mountains, crossing all the great and many of the smaller streams at right angles, requiring alpine grades, short curvatures, high embankments, and numerous tunnels, as the report of Mr. McKnight admits, after only a superficial examination, with a strong desire to present a favorable appearance for the project. A very tyro ought to know that this serial Railroad would have to cross the Monongahela and Youghiogeny rivers where they are but a few miles apart, presenting the most formidable obstacles, and involving immense expense, sufficient to deter any sane men from the undertaking unless there was no possibility of finding any other route. Nor is this all; there is the right of way to be procured from Virginia, and the obstruction offered by the Ohio river itself; for, notwithstanding the editor, by the dash of his pen, has converted the Wheeling bridge into a viaduct for the passage of Railway trains, it is well known that it is wholly unfitted for that purpose, having a grade of 211 feet to the mile, and of almost impossible access by a Railroad, both as to grades and curvatures, and withal possessing a vibration wholly unfitting it for Locomotives weighing 42,000 pounds, and heavy railway trains. Then, again, we thought the bridge was to go down; or at least go up twenty feet higher. It is only some twelve months since the Journal editor resorted to the most threatening and reprehensible language for the purpose of showing his zeal in promoting the abatement of this nuisance, and now, while the case is still pending in the Supreme Court, he tamely gives up the question in dispute, and very benevolently suggests to the Wheeling people that they may proceed to prepare it for a railway viaduct to carry the rich treasures of the west past the doors of Pittsburgh and sagely advises this travel forsaken city to compensate herself with a Plank Road to Washington.

The idea of a Railroad by the river from Pittsburgh to Bridgeport, opposite Wheeling, the editor regards as preposterous, and he asserts that the Hempfield road would be by 55 miles the shortest route. He should be careful of his facts, especially when he is arguing against the claims and welfare of his own city, and in support of one of the most chimerical of projects, the only real existence of which will be on paper, and the only injury it will do to Pittsburgh will be in leading astray ill-informed and unsettled minds, who may thus, like the editor, see the western trade passing by us, and Pittsburgh, as a last resource, contenting herself with a Plank Road to Washington! We say, he should be careful of his facts, for correct data show that he is as much in error in these as in his air-line railroad; From Wheeling to Greensburgh, Mr. Latrobe gave it as his opinion, a road could not be built short of ninety miles, and other competent Engineers have expressed the same opinion. Mr. M'Knight makes it somewhat less in his estimate made after a superficial examination. As it would be absolutely necessary to follow the course of the streams to a greater or less extent, it would not be unfair to estimate it at one hundred miles But say it is ninety miles, it would be only twenty five miles shorter than to follow the course of the river through to this city—a slight difference of thirty miles in favor of Pittsburgh over the Journal's estimate. And when, also, it is considered that the route by the river is almost a dead level, and can be run at high speeds, while the Hempfield route has to cross the Ohio river, and then encounter grades of eighty feet to the mile, and curvatures of six hundred feet radius, and five tunnels to boot, we may safely set it down that the river route can be run in less time than the Hempfield, and is therefore really the shortest and best. Then, as to the expense, the route can be constructed at a cost of $1,000,000, while the Hempfield road will cost $3,000,000. Who does not know that a cheap road can work cheap, and thus defy competition.

Furthermore, all those arguments which are founded on the assumption that the Hempfield road would take all the trade of the west, or any large proportion of it, are more twaddle. The Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad will command all the trade of the region through which it passes, and all north and north west of it, including the vast Lake country. It will also successfully compete with any road running to Wheeling, and with the Hempfield road, if it is ever built, for the trade and travel west of Columbus, including the travel from Cincinnati. This, we could demonstrate did time and space serve us, and were it necessary.

We have been constrained to offer these remarks, to neutralize the injurious effects of the statements and declarations of the Journal.—Coming from a Pittsburgh paper they are calculated to destroy confidence in our position, in the value of our real estate, in the stability of our stocks, and in our continued and increasing prosperity; and especially to injure the character of our Western Railroad, as a great trunk line, and thus weaken confidence in the value of its securities. They have already been used by papers in favor of the Hempfield Railroad to bolster up that project, and promote the success of enterprises antagonistical to the interests of this city.

PLANK ROAD MEETING.—We invite attention to the report of the proceedings of a meeting of the citizens of Washington county, held for the purpose of ta