THE PITTSBURGH GAZETTE.

PUBLISHED BY WHITE & CO.

PITTSBURGH:

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 7, 1848.

PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN. Advertisements and Subscriptions to the North American and United States Gazette, Philadelphia, received and forwarded from this office.

NEW YORK EXPRESS. We will receive and forward free of expense, advertisements and subscriptions for this paper.

COMMERCIAL LIST AND PHILADELPHIA PRICE CURRENT. Subscriptions to this valuable paper will be received and forwarded from this office.

☞ The Pittsburgh Daily Gazette is published Daily, Tri-Weekly, and Weekly.—The Daily is Seven Dollars per annum; the Tri-Weekly is Five Dollars per annum; the Weekly is Two Dollars per annum, *strictly in advance.*

Democratic Whig Nominations,

FOR PRESIDENT,

ZACHARY TAYLOR,

OF LOUISIANA.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT,

MILLARD FILLMORE,

OF NEW YORK.

ELECTORAL TICKET.

SENATORIAL ELECTORS.

Thomas M. T. McKennan, of Washington.
John P. Sanderson, of Lebanon.

DISTRICT ELECTORS.

1. Joseph G. Clarkson,	13. Henry Johnson,
2. John P. Wetherill,	14. William Calder,
3. James M. Davis,	15. William M'Ilvaine,
4. Thos. W. Duffield,	16. Charles W. Fisher,
5. Daniel O. Hiester,	17. Andrew G. Curtin,
6. Joshua Dungan,	18. Thos R Davidson,
7. John D. Steele,	19. Joseph Markle,
8. John Landis,	20. Daniel Agnew,
9. Joseph Schmucker,	21. Andrew W Loomis,
10. Charles Snyder,	22. Richard Irvin,
11. William G. Harley,	23. Thomas H Sill,
12. Francis Tyler,	24. Sam'l A. Purviance.

FOR GOVERNOR,—

WILLIAM F. JOHNSTON,

OF ARMSTRONG COUNTY.

FOR CANAL COMMISSIONER,

NER MIDDLESWARTH,

OF UNION COUNTY.

Antimasonic and Whig Nominations.

FOR CONGRESS,

MOSES HAMPTON,

OF PITTSBURGH.

FOR ASSEMBLY.

LEWIS C. J. NOBLE, of Indiana.
CHRISTIAN SNIVELY, of Wilkins.
M. SWARTZWELDER, of Pittsburgh.
HENRY LARGE, of Allegh.

RECORDER.

HEZEKIAH NIXON, of Lower St. Clair.

SHERIFF.

JOHN SCOTT, of Ross.

CLERK OF THE COURTS.

DANIEL MCURDY, of Elizabeth Borough.

FOR COMMISSIONER,

WILLIAM BENSON, of Allegheny city

AUDITOR,

JOHN K. FOSTER, of Baldwin.

Snowden Township.

An Anti-masonic and Whig meeting will be held in Snowden Township, at the school house on the property of Dr. Sterett, on Thursday the 15th inst. at 7 o'clock P. M. The whigs of Snowden Tp. are earnestly requested to attend. Speeches will be delivered by Moses Hampton, Walter Forward and others. sep7

Whig Meeting.

A meeting of the friends of Taylor, Fillmore & Johnston will be held at the public school room in the 9th Ward, on Saturday evening Sept 9th, at 7 o'clock.

HALLO! RALLY!! RALLY!!!

Addresses may be expected from Saml. Palmer, M. Swartzweider, and Chas. B. Scully Esqs.

Notice.

A public discussion of the principles of the Whig and Democratic parties will be held at the house of James Allabaugh, in Wilkinsburg, on Saturday the 16th inst. at 2 o'clock P. M. Members of both parties, as well as others, are especially requested to attend. sep7

Teachers' Association.

The friends of education are respectfully invited to attend a meeting of the Association of Pittsburgh and vicinity, for promoting the interests of education, this (Thursday) evening, Sept. 7th, in the chapel of the University.

See next page for Telegraphic News.

See First Page for Miscellaneous News.

Mr. Webster's Speech.—Our readers, we feel assured, will not complain at the want of our usual variety to day, when we regale them with the splendid speech of Mr. Webster, delivered by him on his own farm, at Marshfield, on last Friday afternoon, to some 800 persons, but really to the whole people of the United States, before whom it will be generally spread, and read with deep interest. Mr. Webster spoke nearly two hours, with great earnestness, and with his remarkably persuasive power. The report of the speech we publish, is from the Boston Traveller, for which paper it was reported by Dr. Stone, of Boston, Mass., an experienced Phonographer, and is said to be a remarkably accurate report of what Mr. Webster said. We commend the speech to the careful reading of every American citizen, and particularly to every wavering Whig.

Local Affairs.

REPORTED FOR THE PITTSBURGH DAILY GAZETTE.

The Free Soil Convention assembled at the Court House yesterday, and organized by calling Richard Lavery to the Chair. The list of delegates having been called over, a committee of five was appointed to draft resolutions. Mr. John A. Wills was called on to address the Convention during the absence of the Committee. Mr. Wills offered amendments declaring it impolitic to nominate either a candidate for Governor or a county ticket, and urged the Free Soil men to disband during the coming State contest, and vote for the Whig Gubernatorial and County tickets, because of the resolution in favor of Free Territory, passed by the Whig Gubernatorial Convention. Dr. E. D. Gazzam replied. Mr. Wills rejoined, and was followed by Mr. P. R. Sawyer, to whom Mr. W. again replied, when Mr. W. Larimer, Jr., offered a few remarks, which excited considerable feeling on the part of Mr. Wills. "Question" being now called, as to the best means of cooling the order of debate, Mr. W's. amendment was rejected by a large majority. The Convention then proceeded to nominate a county ticket, and after a short adjournment, the following gentlemen were preferred by acclamation.

Congress—Geo. W. Jackson, of Pittsburgh.

Assembly—John F. Dravo, James McCabe, of Elizabeth; Wm. E. Stevenson, Pittsburgh; Thos. M. Carothers, Allegheny.

Auditor—A. H. Burns, of Findlay.

Register—Luke B. Davidson, of Peebles.

Recorder—Jamison Dougherty, of Elizabeth tp.

Clerk of Court—Stephen H. Sarber, of Lawrenceville.

Commissioner—Thomas Dickson, of Wilkins.

A large delegation to the Reading Convention was appointed, and the County Convention unanimously recommended Dr. E. D. Gazzam, of this county, as the candidate preferred by that body.—

A number of clever speeches were made during the day, and much interest and zeal were manifested. We are compelled to confine ourselves to a brief notice.

A touching sight was witnessed by us yesterday on the Monongahela Wharf. A rough, ragged looking man, with beard enough for a Turk, was carrying a pretty little child of three years or so.—The man stopped to drink, and set the child down near the tavern door. The little creature seemed to be conscious that all was not right, and when the father offered again to carry her she repelled him, shaking her head. He then got a glass of water, and sipped it before the child, who, after tasting it herself, jumped into his arms and went on cheerfully, kissing and caressing her parent.—He had no doubt deceived her about the water, but the child had remembered its mother's warning, perhaps when the father had forgotten. He seemed considerably touched, and the child's lesson may be treasured better than the mother's

Proceedings in Council.

Monday, Sept. 4, 1848.

EXTRA MEETING.

Council met—Present, Messrs. Armstrong, Bell, Coleman, Cunningham, Hartley, Leonard, Lewis, Livingston, McClelland, McCollister, McKelvy, Mitchel, Porter, Sawyer, Schaffer, Scott, Smith, Von Bonnhorst, and Wilson.

Mr. Von Bonnhorst, President pro tem. in the Chair.

Mr. Wilson presented a petition asking the repeal of an Ordinance entitled 'An Ordinance relating to the grade of Liberty Street,' passed August 28, 1848, which was read.

Mr. M'Kelvy presented a remonstrance against the repeal of said ordinance, which was also read.

Mr. Wilson presented an ordinance repealing the said ordinance, which was read twice, and the question being—Shall the ordinance be read a third time?—the yeas and nays were asked for, and three was a second, and the ordinance was rejected by the following vote, viz:

Yeas—Messrs. Hartley, McCollister, Mitchel, Porter, Sawyer, Scott, and Wilson—7.

Nays—Messrs. Armstrong, Bell, Coleman, Cunningham, Leonard, Lewis, Livingston, McClelland, McKelvy, Schaffer, Smith and Von Bonnhorst—12.

Mr. Hartley then offered the following resolution, which was read three times and adopted, viz:

Resolved, That the clerks of Councils be and are hereby instructed and directed not to record an ordinance entitled 'An Ordinance relating to the grade of Liberty street,' passed August 28, 1848, and that a Committee of 5—two from the Select Council, and three from the Common Council—in conjunction with the Recording Regulator, examine the whole matter, and report at the next regular meeting of Councils. Adjourned.

Superior Court.—Sept. 6—Present all the Judges. Dale vs. Metcalf—Error to the district court of Allegheny county, argued by T. Williams for Plff. in error, M'Candless & Woods for Dft. in error.

Dunlavy vs. Deprey, error to the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County—Argued by G. P. Hamilton for Plff. in error, Austin for Dft. in error.

SPEECH OF THE

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER,

TO THE WHIGS OF MARSHFIELD, MASS.

Giving his Views on the Three Presidential Candidates.

DELIVERED SEPTEMBER 1, 1848.

Photographic Report for the Boston Traveller.

BY DR. STONE.

THE SPEECH.

Although it is not my purpose, during the recess of Congress, to address public assemblies on political subjects, I have felt it my duty to comply with your request, as neighbors and townsmen, and to meet you to-day. I am not unwilling to avail myself of this occasion to signify to the people of the United States my opinions upon the present state of our public affairs. I shall perform that duty certainly with great frankness—I hope with candor.

It is not my purpose to-day to endeavor to carry any point—to act as any man's advocate—to put up or put down any body. I wish and I propose to address you in the language and in the spirit of conference and consultation.

In the present extraordinary crisis of our public concerns, I desire to hold no man's conscience but my own.

My own opinions I shall communicate freely and fearlessly with equal disregard to consequences, whether they respect myself or respect others.

We are on the eve of a highly important Presidential election. In two or three months the people of this country will be called upon to elect a President of the United States; and all see and all feel that great interests of the country are to be affected, for good or evil, by the result of this election.

Of the interesting subjects over which the person who shall be elected must necessarily exercise more or less control, there are especially three, vitally connected, in my judgment, with the honor and happiness of the country.

In the first place, the honor and happiness of the country imperatively require that there shall be a chief magistrate elected who shall not plunge us into further wars of ambition and conquest.

In my judgment, the interests of the country and the feelings of a vast majority require that a President of these United States should be elected, who will neither use official influence to promote, nor who feels any desire in his heart to promote, the further extension of slavery in this community, [*Great Cheering,*] or the further influence of it in the public councils.

In the third place, if I have any just estimate—if an experience, (not near a short one,) in public affairs has enabled me to know anything of what the public prosperity demands—then in the next place I say, that the state of the country does require an essential reform in the system of revenue and finance, such as shall restore the prosperity, by promoting the industry and fostering the labor of the country in its various branches.

There are other things important. I will not allude to them. These three I hold to be essential.

There are three candidates presented to the choice of the American people.

General Taylor is the Whig candidate, standing upon the nomination of the Whig Convention. General Cass is the candidate of the opposing and now dominant party in the country; and a third candidate is presented in the person of Mr. Van Buren, by a convention of fellow citizens assembled at Buffalo, whose object—or whose main object—as it appears to me, is contained in one of these considerations in which I have mentioned; and that is, the prevention of the further increase of slavery. An object in which you and I, gentlemen, so far as that goes, entirely concur with them. I am sure.

Most of us who are here to day are Whigs—National Whigs—Massachusetts Whigs—Old Colony Whigs, and Marshfield Whigs. [Cheers]; and if the Whig nomination made at Philadelphia were entirely satisfactory to the people of Massachusetts and to us, our path of duty would be plain.

The nomination of a candidate for the Presidency made by the Whig Convention at Philadelphia, is not satisfactory to the Whigs of Massachusetts; that is certain; and it will be idle to attempt to conceal the fact.

It is now more just and more patriotic to take facts as they are, and things as they are, and declare our own conviction of duty from what exists before us.

However respectable and distinguished in the line of his own profession, or however estimable as a private citizen, Gen. Taylor is a military man and a military man merely. He has had no training in civil affairs. He has performed no functions of a civil nature under the Constitution of his country. He has been known, and is known only by his brilliant achievements at the head of an army.

Now the Whigs of Massachusetts, and I among them, are of opinion that it was not wise, nor discreet, to go to the army for the selection of a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. It is the first instance in our history in which any man of mere military character has been proposed for that high office.

Washington was a great military character; but by far a greater civil character. He had been employed in the councils of his country from the earliest dawn of the Revolution—he had been in the Continental Congress—he had established a great character for civil wisdom and judgment.

After the war, you know, he was elected a member of that Convention which framed the constitution of the United States; and it was one of the most honorable tributes ever paid to him, that that assembly of great and wise men, he was selected to preside over their deliberations, and had his name first attached to the Constitution under which we live. President Harrison was bred a soldier, and at different periods of his life rendered important military services. But President Harrison, nevertheless, was for, a much greater period of his life, employed in civil, than in military service. For twenty years he was either Governor of a Territory, member of one or the other Houses of Congress, or Minister abroad, and during all these duties to the satisfaction of his country.

This case, therefore, stands by itself; without precedent or justification from anything in our previous history. It is on this account, as I imagine, that the Whigs of Massachusetts feel dissatisfied with this nomination. There may be others—there are others—they are, perhaps, of less importance and more easily to be answered.

If I may venture to use a mercantile expression, I may now proceed to say that there is another side to this account. The impartiality with which I propose to discharge my duty to day, leads me to consider of that. And in the next place, it is to be considered that Gen. Taylor has been nominated by a Whig Convention, holden in conformity with the usages of the Whig party and by the party fairly nominated, so far as I know.

It is to be considered, also, that he is the only Whig, before the people, as a candidate for the Presidency; and no citizen of the country with any effect can vote for any other Whig, let his preferences be what they might or may be.

In the next place, it is proper to consider the personal character of Gen. Taylor and his political opinions, relations and connections, so far as they are known.

Now, gentlemen, in advancing to a few observations on this part of the case, I wish everybody to understand that I have no personal acquaintance whatever with Gen. Taylor. I never saw him but once, and that but for a few moments in the Senate. The sources of information are open to you, as well as me, from which I derive what I know of his character and opinions. But I have endeavored to obtain access to those sources. I have endeavored to inform and instruct myself by communicating with those who have known him in his profession as a soldier, in his associations as a man, in his conversations and opinions on political subjects; and I will tell you frankly what I think of him, according to the best lights which I have been able to obtain.

I need not say that he is a skillful, brave and gallant soldier. That is admitted by all. With me, all that goes but a very little way to make out the proper qualifications for President of the United States. But what is more important, I believe that he is an entirely honest and upright man. I believe that he is modest, clear-headed, of independent and manly character, possessing a mind trained by proper discipline and self control. I believe that he is estimable and amiable in all the relations of private life. I believe that he possesses a reputation for equity and fair judgment which gives him an influence over those under his command, beyond what is conferred by the authority of station. I believe that he is a man possessing the confidence and attachment of all who have been near him and know him. So much for what I think of the personal character of General Taylor.

I will say, too, that so far as I have observed, his conduct since he has been a candidate for the office of President it has been irreproachable. I hear no intrigue imputed to him, no contumelious treatment of rivals. I do not find him making promises or holding out hopes to any men or any party. I do not find him putting forth any pretensions of his own, and therefore I think of him very much as he seems to think of himself—that he is an honest man of an independent mind and of upright intentions. As to his qualifications for the Presidency, he is unwilling to have any more to say about it.

And now, friends and fellow townsmen, with respect to his political opinions and relations, I can say at once, that I believe him to be a Whig; I believe him to hold to the main doctrines of the Whig party. To think otherwise, would be to impute to him a degree of tergiversation and fraudulent deception, of which I believe him to be entirely incapable.

Gentlemen, it is worth our while to consider in what measure General Taylor has become a candidate for the Presidency of these United States.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that he was made such merely by the nomination of the Philadelphia Convention; for he had been nominated for the Presidency in a great many States, by various conventions and meetings of the people, a year before the Convention at Philadelphia assembled.

Gentlemen, the whole history of the world shows, whether in the most civilized or the most barbarous ages, the affections and admirations of mankind are always and easily carried away towards successful military achievements; all history proves this. And we know in the case now before us, that so soon as brilliant success had attended Gen. Taylor's operations on the Rio Grande, at Palo Alto, and other places, spontaneous nominations sprung up for him.

And here let me say; that generally these were Whig nominations. Not universally, but generally, these nominations, made at various times before the assemblage of the Philadelphia Convention—generally these were Whig nominations. General Taylor was esteemed, from the moment that his military achievements brought him into public notice, as a Whig general.

You all remember that when we were discussing his merits in Congress, upon the question of giving thanks to the army under his command, and to himself, among other questions, the friends and supporters of Mr. Polk's administration denouncing him as being, and because he was, a Whig General.

My friends near me, whom I am happy to see, too, belonging to the House of Representatives, will remember that a leading man of the party of the Administration declared in his place in Congress, that the policy of the Administration connected with the Mexican war would never prosper till the President recalled those Whig Generals, Scott and Taylor. The policy was a Democratic policy. The argument was, that the men to carry out this policy should be Democratic men. The officers to fight the battles should be Democratic officers, and on that ground, the ordinary vote of thanks was refused to Gen. Taylor, on the part of the friends of the Administration.

He was nominated, gentlemen, mainly thus.

I speak of these spontaneous nominations by Whig assemblies, and Whig conventions, and Whig meetings.

Let me remark, in the next place, that there was no particular purpose connected with the advancement of Slavery entertained, generally, by those who nominated him. As I have said, they were Whig nominations, more in the Middle and Northern, than in the Southern States, and by persons who never entertained the slightest desire by his nomination, or by any other means, to extend the area of slavery of the human race, or the influence of the slave-holding State in the Councils of the Nation.

The Quaker city of Philadelphia nominated Gen. Taylor; the Whigs all over the union nominated him, with no such view. A great convention was assembled in New York of highly influential and respectable gentlemen,—very many of them well known to me,—and they nominated Gen. Taylor with no such view.

Gen. Taylor's nomination was hailed, not very extensively, but by some enthusiastic and not very far-seeing people in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

There were, even among us, Whigs quite easy enough in manifesting their confidence in this nomination—a little too early it may be, in uttering notes of exultation in our anticipated triumph. It would have been better if they had waited.

Now the truth is, gentlemen—the truth is, and no man can avoid seeing it, unless, as sometimes happens, the object is too near our eyes to be distinctly discerned—the truth is, that in these nominations, and also in the nomination at Philadelphia—in these Conventions, and also in the Convention at Philadelphia, Gen. Taylor was nominated exactly for this reason: That, believing him to be a Whig, they thought he could be chosen more easily than another Whig. This is the whole of it—*That sagacious, wise, far-seeing doctrine of AVAILABILITY lies at the bottom of the whole matter!*—[Tremendous enuthsiasm and applause.]

So far, then, from imputing any motive to these Conventions over the country, or to the Convention at Philadelphia, as operating on a majority of the members to promote slavery by the nomination of Gen. Taylor, I do not believe a word of it—not one word. I see that one part of what is called the platform of the Buffalo Convention, says that the candidates before the public were nominated under the dictation of the slave power. I do not believe a word of it.

In the first place, the Convention at Philadelphia was composed, in a very great majority, by members from the Free States. By a very great majority they might have nominated any body they chose. And in the next place, it is true that there were persons from New England, most zealous and active, and who were most earnest in procuring the nomination of Gen. Taylor, and men who would cut off their right hands before they would do any thing to promote slavery in the United States. I do not admire their policy,—understand that; but I acquit them of bad motives. They had the leading men in that Convention. I think I understand the motives that govern them. Their reasoning is this: Gen. Taylor is a Whig; not eminent in civil life—not known in civil life—but still a man of sound Whig principles. Circumstances have given him a reputation and eclat in the country. If he is the Whig candidate he will be chosen; and with him, there will come into the two Houses of Congress an augmentation of Whig strength. The Whig majority in the House of Representatives will be increased. The Locofoco majority in the Senate will be diminished. That was the view, and that was the motive—however wise or however unwise—that governed a very large majority of those who composed the Convention at Philadelphia.

Now, gentlemen, in my opinion this was a wholly unwise policy; it was short-sighted and temporising on questions of great principles. But I acquit them of any such motives which have been ascribed to them, and especially what has been ascribed to them in a part of this Buffalo Platform.

Such, gentlemen, are the circumstances connected with the nomination of Gen. Taylor. I only repeat, that those who had the most agency originally in bringing him before the people were Whig Conventions and meetings in the several States—Free States, and, that a great majority of that Convention which nominated him in Philadelphia were from the Free States and might have rejected him if they had chosen, and selected any body else on whom they could have united.

This is the case, gentlemen, so far as I can discern it, and exercising upon it as impartial a judgment as I can form—this is the case presented to the Whigs, so far as respects the personal fitness and personal character of Gen. Taylor, and the circumstances which have caused his nomination.

Now, fellow citizens, if we were weighing the propriety of nominating such a person to the Presidency, it would be one thing; if we are considering the expediency, or I may say the necessity, (which to some minds may seem to be the case,) of nominating and patriotic Whigs to support him after he is nominated, that is quite another thing. And that leads to the consideration of what the Whigs of Massachusetts are to do, or such of them as do not see fit to support Gen. Taylor. Of course they must vote for Gen. Cass; or they must vote for Mr. Van Buren; or they must omit to vote at all.

I agree that there are cases in which, if we do not know in what direction to move, we ought to stand still till we do. I admit there are cases in which, if we do not know what to do, we had better not do we know not what. But on a question so important to ourselves and the country, on a question of a popular election under Constitutional forms in which it is impossible that every man's private judgment can prevail, or every man's private choice succeed, it becomes, then, a question of conscientious duty and patriotism, what it is best to do upon the whole. And that leads to the considerations which should influence Whigs, in my opinion, upon the question now before us.

Under the practical administration of the Constitution of the United States, there cannot be a great range of personal choice in regard to the candidate for the Presidency. In order that their votes may be effective, men must give them for some one of those who are prominently before the public. This is the necessary result of our form of government, and from the provision of the Constitution. And it does, therefore, bring men sometimes to the necessity of choosing between candidates, neither of whom would be their original, personal choice.

Now, what is the contingency!—What is the alternative presented to Whigs of Massachusetts!—In my judgment, fellow citizens, it is merely one the question is between General Taylor and Gen. Cass. And that is the whole of it.—[Great sensation.]

I am no more skilled to foresee political occurrences than others. I judge only for myself. But in my opinion, there is not the least probability of any other result than the choice of General Taylor or General Cass.

I know that the enthusiasm of a new formed party—that the popularity of a new formed name, without communicating any new formed ideas, [Enthusiasm,] may lead men to think that the sky is to fall and the larks are suddenly to be taken. I entertain no such expectations. I speak, without disrespect, of the Free Soil Party. It has its platform, and though I think there are some rotten places in it, I can stand on it pretty well. But I see nothing in it new or valuable. What is valuable is old, and what is new is not valuable.

If the term of Free Soil Party, or Free Soil men, designate one who is fixed and unalterably in favor of the restriction of slavery—so he to day and was so yesterday, and has been so for some time, [Laughter]—then I hold myself to be as good Free Soil man as any of the Buffalo Convention. [Much clapping.] I pray to know who is to put beneath my feet a freer soil than that upon which I have stood ever since I have been in public life! I pray to know who is to inspire into my breast a more resolute and fixed determination, to resist the advance and encroachments of the slave power than has inhabited it since I, for the first time, opened my mouth in the councils of the country! [Enthusiastic excitement.]

The gentlemen at Buffalo have placed at the head of their party Mr. Van Buren, a gentleman for whom I have all the respect that I should entertain for one with whom I have been associated, in some degree, in public life for many years. But really, speaking for myself, I should think that if I were to express confidence in Mr. Van Buren and his politics on any question—and more especially this very question of Slavery—I think the scene would border upon the ludicrous, if not upon the contemptible.

I never proposed anything in my life of a general and public nature that Mr. Van Buren did not oppose. Nor has it happened to me to support any important measure that he did propose. And if he and I now were to find ourselves together under the Free Soil flag, I am sure, that with his accustomed good nature, he would laugh. [Laughter.] If nobody were present, we should both laugh [Increased laughter from the audience] at the strange occurrences and stranger jumbles of political life that should have brought him and me to sit down cosily and snugly, side by side, on the same platform.

Gentlemen, my first acquaintance in public life with Mr. Van Buren was when he was pressing with great power, the election of Mr. Crawford to the Presidency, against Mr. Adams. Mr. Crawford was not elected, and Mr. Adams was. Mr. Van Buren was in the Senate nearly the whole of that Administration; and during the remainder of it, he was Governor of the State of New York. And it is notorious, that he was the soul and centre, throughout the whole of Mr. Adams' term, of the opposition made to him. And he did more to prevent Mr. Adams' election in 1826, and to obtain Gen. Jackson's election, than any man—yes, than any ten men.

Gen Jackson was chosen. Mr. Van Buren was appointed his Secretary of State. It so happened that in July, 1829, Mr. McLane went to England to arrange the controverted, difficult and disputed point on the subject of trade. Mr. Adams had held a high tone on that subject. He had demanded, as a reciprocity and a right, the introduction of our products into all parts of the British territory freely; since Great Britain was allowed to bring her produce into the United States upon the same terms. Mr. Adams placed this upon terms of reciprocity and justice. Great Britain would not yield. Mr. Van Buren, in his instructions to Mr. McLane, told him to yield that question of right; and then went on to say, that the administration in which he was Secretary of State—that is General Jackson's, ought not to be debarred in England by the English Government, from the enjoyment of boon, or a privilege. Gen. Jackson's administration, he said, ought not to be refused on that, on account of the misbehavior of Mr. Adams' administration. That is the sum and substance of it.

Well, gentlemen, it was one of the most painful duties of my life, on account of this, to refuse my assent to Mr. Van Buren's nomination. It was new in our history, when an administration changes, that the new Administration shall seek to obtain privileges on the ground that they have abandoned the ground of their predecessors. I suppose that such a course is holden to be altogether undignified by all public men. When I went into the Department of State under General Harrison, I found in the conduct of my predecessor many things that I wished otherwise. Did I retract a jot or title of what Mr. Forsyth had said? I took the case as he had left it, and conducted it upon the principles which he left. And I should have considered that I disgraced myself, if I had said, 'Pray my Lord Ashburton, we are more rational persons than our predecessors, we are more considerate than they, and intend to adopt an entirely new policy. Consider, my dear sir, how much more humble and available we, the successors are, than our predecessors.'

But now, on this very subject of the extension of the slave power, I would by no means do the least injustice to Mr. Van Buren. If he has come up to some of the opinions expressed in the platform of the Buffalo Convention, I am very glad of it. I do not mean to say that there may not be very good reasons for those of his own party who cannot conscientiously vote for Gen. Cass, to vote for him, because I think him much the least dangerous of the two.

But in truth, looking at Mr. Van Buren's conduct as President of the United States, I am amazed to find that he should be placed at the head of a party professing to be, beyond all other parties, the friends of liberty and enemies of African slavery in the Southern States. Why, the very first thing that Mr. Van Buren did after he was President, was to declare that if Congress, in any manner or degree—that if Congress interfered in the least degree with slavery, he would veto that action—the only instance in which I remember that a President agreed to veto acts before they were passed. I must go into the Presidential chair, said the 'indexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia against the wishes of the Slave Holding States;—and also with a determination to resist any exercise of power against the wishes of the Slave Holding States.'—That is, if Congress pass any law upon that subject, he will meet it with the exercise of his constitutional power.

In the next place we know, for I remember that, Mr. Van Buren's casting vote was given for a law of very doubtful propriety—a law to allow Postmasters to open the mails and see if there was any incendiary matter in them, and if so, to destroy it. I do not say that there was no constitutional power to pass such a law. Perhaps the Southern statesmen thought it was necessary to protect themselves from insurrections. So far as any thing endangers the lives and property of the South, so far I agree, that there may be such legislation in Congress as shall prevent such results.

But, gentlemen, no man has exercised a more controlling influence on the conduct of his friends in this country than Mr. Van Buren. I take it, that the most important, or one of the most important events in our time, tending to the extension of slavery and its everlasting establishment on this continent, was the annexation of Texas, in 1844—there was Mr. Van Buren then? Let me ask—been at the head of what is called the Spoils Party. He had not been been at the head of the Soil, or Free Soil Party.

Every friend of Mr. Van Buren, so far as I know, supported the measure. The two Senators from New York supported, and the members of the House of Representatives from New York supported it. Allow me to say that no body resisted but Whigs.

And I say in the face of the world, I say in the face of those connected with or likely to be benefited by the Buffalo Convention. I say to all of them, that there has been no party of men, and no party in this country, which has firmly and sternly resisted the progress of the Slave power but the Whigs.

Why, look to this very question of the annexation of Texas. We talk of the dictation of the slave power. At least they do—I do not. I do not allow that any body dictates to me. They talk of the triumph of the South over the North. There is not a word of truth or reason in the whole of it. I am bound to say, on my conscience, that of all slave territory, the North has borne its full part in the infliction. Northern votes, in full proportion, have been given in both Houses, have been given for the extension of territory—and for the extension of slave territory; and this, too, in both Houses of Congress.

We talk of the North. The Free States have been no North. I think the North Star is at last discovered; I think there will be a North; but up to the recent session of Congress there has been no North.

In regard to firm principles against Slavery, they have always existed there. Pope asks

"Where's the North? At York, 'tis on the Tweed; In Scotland, at the Orcades; and there, At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where."

A country united in its just sentiment, strong in opinion and action against the further extension of slavery—if there has ever been such a North—if it has ever existed anywhere, it has existed, the Lord knows where, I do not. Why, on this very question of the admission of Texas, the north bit Texas. The Whigs, North and South, resisted Texas. Ten Senators from slave-holding States, in the Whig party, resisted Texas. Two only, as I remember voted for it. But the Southern Whig votes against Texas were overpowered by the Democratic votes from the Free States, and had not been votes from New England in favor of Texas, Texas would have been out to this day—Yes, if men from New England had been true Texas would have been nothing but Texas still.

There were four votes in the Senate from New England in favor of the admission of Texas—Mr. Van Buren's friends—Democratic members one from Maine; two from New Hampshire; one from Connecticut. One of them a gentleman who had held high office under Mr. Van Buren. They voted to pass the resolutions which introduced Texas into the Union. And that leads to the truth of it my friends.

When northern members of Congress voted, in 1819, for the Missouri Compromise, against the known will of their constituents, they were called 'Dough Faces.' I am afraid, fellow citizens, that the generation of 'dough faces,' will be as perpetual as the generation of men.

In 1844, as we all know, Mr. Van Buren was a candidate for the Presidency, on the part of the Democratic party, but lost the nomination at Baltimore. And we now learn from a letter from Gen. Jackson to Mr. Butler, that Mr. Van Buren's claims were superseded because, after all, the South thought that the accomplishment of the annexation of Texas must be more safely entrusted to Southern hands. We all know that the Northern portion of the Democratic party were friendly to Mr. Van Buren. Our neighbors from New Hampshire, and Maine, and elsewhere, were Van Buren men. But the moment it was ascertained that Mr. Polk was the favorite of the South upon the ground that I have mentioned—a man more certain to bring about the annexation of Texas than Mr. Van Buren—these friends of Martin Van Buren in the North all "caved in;" not a man of them adhered. Mr. Van Buren himself wrote a letter very complimentary to Mr. Polk and Mr. Dallas, and found no fault with the nomination.

Now, gentlemen, if they were 'dough faces' who voted for the Missouri Compromise, what epithet shall describe these men, here in our New England, who are so ready, not only to change or abandon his cause, from the very moment they found it not worth their support, and for the reason, to make more sure the annexation of Texas.

They nominated Mr. Polk at the request of gentlemen of the South, and who went to vote for him, through thick and thin, till the work was accomplished.

For my part, I think that 'dough faces' is an epithet not sufficiently reproachful. Now, I think, such persons are dough faces, and dough heads, and dough souls; [shouts of laughter] that they are all dough; that the coarsest potter may mould them into any vessel of honor or dishonor,—most readily to vessels of dishonor.

Now we do we see? Repentance has gone far. There are among these very people—these very gentlemen—persons who espouse, with great zeal, the interest of the Free Soil party. I hope their repentance is as sincere as it appears to be. I hope it is honest conviction, and not merely a new chance for power, under a new name and a new party. With all their pretensions, and with all their patriotism, I see dough sticking on some of their cheeks. And therefore I have no confidence—not a particle. I do not mean to say, that the great mass of the people, especially those who went to that Convention from this State, I have not the highest and purest motives. I think they acted unwisely: I acquit them of dishonest intentions. I have no respect to others, and those who have been part and parcel—those who have brought all very into this Union—I distrust. If they repent, let them, before we trust them, do works worthy of repentance.

I have said, gentlemen, that in my opinion, if it were desirable to place Mr. Van Buren at the head of Government, there is no chance for him. Others are as good judges as I am. But I am not able to say that I see any State in the Union of which there is a reasonable probability that he will get the vote. There may be. Others are more versed in such statistics than I am. But I see not, and therefore I think that the issue is reduced exactly between Gen. Cass and Gen. Taylor.

You may remember, that in the discussions of 1844, when Mr. Birney was drawing off votes from Mr. Clay, I said that every vote for Mr. Birney was half a vote for Mr. Polk. Is it not true that the Liberty vote, abstracted from Mr. Clay's vote in the State of New York, made Mr. Polk President? That is as clear as any historical fact. And in my judgment, it will be so now. I consider every Whig vote given to Mr. Van Buren, directly aiding the election of Mr. Cass. Mark, I say, *Whig* vote. Now there may be. States in which Van Buren may draw from the other side largely. But I speak of Whig votes, in this State and in any State. And I am of opinion that any Whig vote given to Mr. Van Buren inures for Gen. Cass.

Now as to Gen. Cass, gentlemen. We need not go to the Baltimore platform to instruct ourselves into what his politics are, or how he will conduct the Government. Gen. Cass will go into the government as coming in by the same party that elected Mr. Polk; and he will "follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor." [Laughter.] I hold him, I confess, in the present state of the country, to be the most dangerous man in whom the powers of the Executive Chief Magistracy could well be placed. He has described himself not as a conservative, not as protective to present institutions, but as belonging to the party of Progress. He believes in the doctrine of American destiny; and that that destiny is to go through wars, and invasions, and armies of aggrandizement—to establish a great, powerful, domineering government over all this country. We know that if Mr. Cass could have prevented it, the treaty with England in 1842 would not have been made; we know that if Mr. Cass could have prevented it, the settlement of the Oregon question would not have been accomplished in 1846.

We know that General Cass could have prevented the Mexican war; and we know that he was first and foremost in pressing the war. We know that he is a man of talent, of ability, of some celebrity as a statesman, in every way superior to his predecessor, if he should be the successor of Mr. Polk. But I think him a man of rash politics, formed on by a rash party, and committed to a course of policy, as I believe, not in consistency with benefit to the country. Therefore, it is for you, and for me, and for all of us—Whigs—to consider, whether in this state of the case we can, or can not, we will, or we will not, give our votes for the Whig nomination. I leave it to every man's conscience. I have endeavored to state the case as it presents itself to me.

Gentlemen, before Gen. Taylor's nomination, I stated always, when the subject was mentioned by my friends, that I did not and could not recommend the nomination of a military man to the people of the United States, for the office of President. It was against my conviction of what was due to the best interests of the country, and the character of the Republic. I stated, always, at the same time, that if General Taylor should be nominated by the Whig Convention, fairly, I should not oppose his election. I stand now upon the same declaration.

Gen. Taylor has been nominated fairly, so far as I know, and I cannot, therefore, and shall not, oppose his election. At the same time, there is no man who is more firmly of opinion that such a nomination was not fit to be made. But the declaration, that I would not oppose General Taylor if nominated by the Whig party, was of course subject, in the nature of things, to some expectation. I believed him to be a man who would plunge the country into further wars for the purpose of ambition or conquest, I would oppose him. let him be nominated by whom he might. If I believed that he was a man who would exert his official influence for the further extension of the Slave Power, I would oppose him, let him be nominated by whom he might. But I do not believe either.—[Applause.]

I believe that he has been, from the first, opposed to the policy of the Mexican war, as improper, impolitic, and inexpedient. I believe from the best information I can obtain—and you will take this as my opinion, gentlemen—I believe, from the best information I can obtain, that he has no disposition to go to war, or to increase the limits of Slavery, or to allow of the annexation of new States to this Union.

Gentlemen, so much for what may be considered as belonging to the Presidency as a national question. But, the case by no means stops here. We are Whigs of Massachusetts. We have supported the present government of the State for Whigs were satisfied with the administration of the State Government in the hands of those who have had it. But now it is proposed, on the basis of the Buffalo Platform, to try this into the State elections, as well as into the national elections. There is to be a nomination of a candidate for Governor, against Mr. Briggs, or whoever may be nominated by the Whigs; and there is to be a nomination of a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, against Mr. Reed, or whoever may be nominated by the Whigs; and there are to be nominations for Congress.—Now, what is the utility of that? We have ten members in the Congress of the United States. I know not ten men of any party who are more zealous, and firm, and inflexible, in their opposition against Slavery in any form.

And what will be the result? Suppose that a considerable number of Whigs recede from the Whig candidate and go to a candidate of this new party—what will be the result? Do we not know what has been the case in this country? Do not we know that this District has been unrepresented from month to month, and from year to year, because there has been an opposition to as good an anti-slavery man as breathes the air of this District? On this occasion and in this presence, I may allude to our present Representative, Mr. Hale.

I want a man to give a better vote in Congress than Mr. Hale gives? Why, I undertake to say that there is not one of the Liberty party,