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BY WILLIAM L. ADAMS.

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The proprietor of the ARGUS is happy to inform the public that he has just received a large stock of JOB TYPE and other new printing material, and will be in the speedy receipt of additions suited to all the requirements of this locality. HANDBILLS, POSTERS, BLANKS, CARDS, CIRCULARS, PAMPHLET-WORK and other kinds, done to order, on short notice.

COL. BENTON'S SPEECH,

Delivered at the Ratification Meeting in St. Louis, June 21st, 1856.

After the enthusiastic cheering which his appearance upon the stand excited, had subsided, Colonel Benton said:

Citizens: I appear before you in an unexpected character—that of candidate for the Governorship of the State of Missouri. It was a place which I had not sought, but which I feel bound to accept in the present condition of the country—its peace greatly endangered both at home and abroad, and the services of all good citizens required to aid in preventing the double calamity of civil and foreign war. The nomination for President made at Cincinnati encouraged me in the hope of seeing these calamities averted, and has chiefly contributed to my present course. I will assist the new President (for I look upon Mr. Buchanan's election as certain,) in doing, what I am very sure he will do, that is to say, all in his power to preserve the peace of the country at home and abroad, and to restore the fraternal feelings between the different sections of the Union—now so lamentably impaired.

I shall have to make some speeches, but not such as are usually made in a political canvass.—Attacks upon the opposite party or parties, usually constitute the burthen of such speeches: they are proper in other canvasses, but not commendable in a canvass for the Governorship. If elected, the candidate becomes the Governor of the State, not of a party, and should so demean himself as to give evidence of an impartial administration, and assurance of a respectful intercourse with all who may have occasion, or who may feel an inclination, to call upon him. Acting upon these principles, I shall make no disparaging reference to the parties opposed to me. I shall applaud my own party—the same which twenty years ago gave an exalted Democratic character to the State—but say nothing derogatory of others. In standing where I have stood for forty years in this State, and for all my years of manhood before I came to the State, I sufficiently show the preference which I give to my own, without impugning or disparaging others. I merely say that sectional, or one idea parties, have always received my opposition—far more than the Whig party, which, being national, and resting on a broad foundation, was the same with the Democratic in the ultimate object—the general good—differing about the means of obtaining it. With these few remarks, I say nothing more about parties, nor shall I say anything about myself. I rely upon a long public life, full of incident, to answer every question that concerns me—merely reminding my fellow-citizens that I am not a man of changes—that what they have known me in the past, I am still in the present, and expect to be in the future. I proceed to speak of the public affairs, now more troubled and disordered than I have ever known them.

Citizens, I take for my text the farewell words of the Father of his Country, addressing his last advice to the children over whom he had watched and guarded, and from whom he was about to be parted forever. A father about to die collects his children around him; bestows his paternal benediction upon them—exhorts them to fraternal affection—utters a prayer for their happiness—and resigns his soul to his Maker. Uppermost in his thoughts, and deepest in his heart, is the wish to family harmony, and for brotherly and sisterly affection. Peace in the family circle is the last aspiration of his lips—the last breath of his bosom. He dies praying for peace among his children. Such is the last farewell of the natural father, parting from the offspring of his loins. Washington had no children of his loins, but he took to himself a whole nation of beloved and cherished children. He was the father of his country! and styling himself the natural father, and off his benediction, his paternal blessing—his first advice—and his eternal wish, was for the national family which he had adopted—whose infancy he had protected—and whose future welfare and greatness was the supreme object of his heart. Peace and harmony was his prayer. No jealousies of heart burnings, no sectional divisions or antipathies, no geographical distinctions—no North—no South—was the prayer of his soul and the burthen of his invocation; and that last and parental prayer has been granted until lately. A transient cloud, dark and portentous, has sometimes threatened to mar this general harmony; but wise and patriotic men, by safe and gentle measures, had always carried off the threatening storm, and left peace and sunshine to overspread the land.

Four years ago we seemed to have attained the highest point of our harmony and felicity. We were in the fullest enjoyment of Washington's wish. The harmony and fraternal affection of the Union were complete. The felicity of the people, both politically and socially, was at its highest—A President was elected with unparalleled unanimity—twenty-seven States out of thirty-one voting for the same man, and he a Northern man. Two-thirds of each house of Congress corresponded in sentiment with the President, showing a unanimity in the national councils never before witnessed at the accession of a new Administration. The commencement of the session of Congress, 1853-'54, was a political millenium. Universal harmony prevailed. A brotherly feeling pervaded the two Houses. National good-will, and a desire to do well the public business, were the temper of all. It seemed that noting could ruffle or mar the universal good feeling which prevailed. Two members from the free States tried it, and failed. They delivered their customary harangues upon the evils of slavery—their harangues fell dead upon the floor, and were not repeated—they died out under the cold and silent indifference of the House. Abolition agitation was dead; extinct under public opinion and the laws of the land, which had settled it everywhere, and left not an inch of territory on which the question of slavery could be raised. It has been circulated that the compromise measures of 1850 settled it. It is a mistake—it was settled before; and the merit of that session was, not that of settling any question, but that of not disturbing what the laws had already settled. Its non-interference was non-interference with law; and the lesson which it taught was the wise lesson to let the laws alone. There was not an inch square of territory at that time in the Union on which the slavery question was not already settled by law. Look over the map of the Union and you will see it.

In the remnant of the Northwest Territory above Wisconsin, it was settled by the ordinance of 1787; in the former province of Louisiana it was settled up to the Rocky Mountains, and out to the British line, by the Missouri Compromise line of 1820; in Oregon it was settled by the organic territorial law of 1848; in New Mexico, Utah, and California, it was settled by the laws of Mexico; in the District of Columbia it was settled by the laws of the State from which the district had been acquired. This constitutes the entire extent of the United States territories at that time; all quiet under the operation of existing laws, and no way to open the slavery question anywhere except by repealing some of these laws; and that was a thing which the Congress of 1850 would not do, and did not do. Attempts were made to repeal the Mexican anti-slavery laws in New Mexico, Utah, and California; Congress refused to do it. Attempts were made to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific ocean; Congress refused to extend it. Attempts were made to confirm the Mexican laws by the Wilmot proviso; Congress refused to adopt the proviso. It would pass no new law upon the subject of slavery, because, to do that would require the repeal of some existing laws, and thereby reopen the slavery question. Congress refused to pass the Wilmot proviso, because the Mexican laws in the territories to which it was applied, had already abolished slavery there, and the proviso, while unnecessary in itself to the object of its friends, was pestiferous by re-opening the slavery agitation. At the session of 1850, and before it commenced, the question of slavery legislation had been foreclosed throughout the whole extent of our territories; foreclosed by previous legislation; and Congress refused to re-open the question by repealing, abrogating, or altering, in any way, that previous legislation.

This was the state of the slavery question, and the slavery agitation, when the first Congress met under Mr. Pierce's administration, in the session of 1853-4. The agitation was dead; legislation had closed up upon it; there was no way to re-open the question but to abrogate, or repeal, some existing law; no way to get up agitation but by breaking down law, and that was done. A bill was brought in to abolish the Missouri Compromise line, pretexted upon the principles established by the legislation of 1850. The pretext was a libel upon the legislation of that year, and especially upon the memory of Mr. Clay, who had taken a prominent part in that legislation. It was assumed by the authors of the repeal, that that legislation established the principle of non-interference with slavery in Territories. It was an assumption without foundation—contrary to the fact—and contradicted by recorded history. The principle established, as far as any principle could be established by negative action, was exactly the contrary! exactly the principle of not interfering with existing laws! exactly the principle of not re-opening the slavery agitation by altering or repealing any law that had foreclosed the subject; and that was the principle declared in the platform of 1852. And the pretext for the repeal of the Compromise was just as unfounded and gratuitous, as the act itself was deplorable and mischievous.

No, citizens! the authors of that repeal find, not justification, but condemnation, in the legislation of 1850. And the further pretext, (for a bad cause requires many pretexts, and even contradictory and inconsistent ones,) the further pretext that the Compromise was unconstitutional and void, is just as gratuitous and unfounded; and flagrantly contradicted by the previous conduct of its authors—all of whom are upon the record, in votes or in speeches, for the validity of that Compromise up to the time of the plot to destroy it.—They had voted for it in the Oregon Territorial bill of 1848—in the California bill of 1850—in the Minnesota Territorial act—and, above all, in the Texas annexation resolutions of 1845. This latter instance is an overwhelming argument in this case, and too little known to the public, and needs the elucidation of a preliminary statement to develope its nature, and to give force to its application.—That statement is this: contemporaneously with the enactment of the Missouri Compromise was the retrocession of Texas to Spain; and not the Texas as Spain had held it, bounded on the Red River, but as we retroceded it, extending north to the Arkansas river, and to that part of it which was north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude.—Here then was room for a slavery question when Texas came to be annexed in 1845. She was a slaveholding country. Her constitution and laws admitted slavery. The institution covered her territory—extended to all her borders—consequently, extended to the Arkansas river; for her boundary came to that river in north latitude 37 and 38, and followed the river up to its source in the Rocky mountains. Here then was a case for a future question, which prudence required to be immediately provided for; and it was done. It was clear that one-half of the Compromise line was abrogated by the law and constitution of Texas, and that the slave institution, to the extent of that abrogation, was extended north beyond the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes; and that it would remain so until the Texan law should be altered—which alteration could only be made by herself, if she should only be admitted without previously providing for the case. To do nothing, was to yield to the abrogation; to re-establish the line was to affirm both the constitutional power and the policy of slavery in the abrogated part, but not to add its length and breadth; in its whole length from the south-west corner of Missouri to the summit of the Rocky Mountains; and in its whole breadth, north and south, as far as the United States territory extended. Here is the act:

"ARTICLE III.—New States, of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, and having sufficient population, may hereafter by the consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the federal constitution. And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with, or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire; and in such State, or States, as shall be formed out of said territory north of the said Missouri Compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited."

These are the words of the annexation resolution, and they are a clear re-enactment of the original Missouri Compromise! and a re-enactment made at the instance of the free States, which would not otherwise vote for the admission. And now who made that enactment? In answer—the same party which made the first one—the South—comprehending every member of Congress who voted for the annexation of Texas, and also Mr. Calhoun who drew the resolutions and prompted their passage, and hurried them off in the expiring moments of Mr. Tyler's administration, for the acceptance of Texas. I do not read their names. The list is too long, but they may be seen in the second volume of the Thirty Years' View, in the chapter which treats of the admission of Texas. I will only say that the names of many who deny the constitutional power of Congress to legislate upon slavery in a Territory—the names of many who figured at the destruction of the Missouri Compromise—are in that list, and must be forever estopped, by their own act, from denying the power which they then exercised. I know their subterfuge. They say it was a compact with Texas. Granted! and so much the worse for them. Out of the frying pan into the fire. It could be only a compact under the constitution, and as a compact with a foreign power, could never be altered without its consent. It was a compact with Texas, and also something more. It was a compromise between the free and slave States—a new compromise—a new constitution, and for a consideration like that of the Missouri line, enuring to the benefit of the slave States.

The Missouri Compromise gained the admission of Missouri as a slave State into the Union. The Texas Compromise admitted one slave State, and provided for the admission of three more. Both were valuable to the South; and the Texas Compromise most so. Neither could be violated without a breach of faith; and in the case of the Texas Compromise, the breach would be double—both against the compact with Texas, and the compromise with the free States. But I have another answer for those who plead this compact. They consider it only as applying to the part of the line abrogated by the Texan laws. No such thing. It applies to the whole line! and is a new and independent enactment of the whole line, and that by its astronomical character, only referring to the Missouri line as descriptive, and able to stand without reference to that line as well as with it. It is a complete prohibition of slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min. It required the same power in Congress to make it which was required to make the original Missouri Compromise. It is a full and perfect re-enactment of that compromise, and was so treated by all the speakers at that time, and especially by Mr. Buchanan, then member of the Senate, and a leading advocate for the annexation—who said:

"The resolutions went to re-establish the Missouri compromise, by fixing a line within which slavery was to be *forever* confined. The controversy (the Missouri question) had nearly shaken this Union to its centre in an earlier and better period of our history; but this compromise, should it now be re-established, would prevent the recurrence of similar dangers hereafter. Should this question be now left open for one or two years, the country would be involved in one continued struggle. We should witness a feverish excitement in the public mind. Parties would divide on the dangerous and exciting question of abolition; and the irritation would reach such an extreme as to endanger the existence of the Union itself; but close it now and it would be closed forever. Was it desirable again to have the Missouri question brought home to the people to goad them to fury? That great question between the two great interests in our country had been well discussed and decided (in the Missouri compromise;) and from that moment he had set down his foot on the solid ground then established, *and there he would let the question stand forever*. Who could complain of the terms of that compromise?"

So spoke Mr. Buchanan in the year 1845,—the last year of his service in Congress; and it is well known that his sentiments continued the same until that solid foundation on which he meant to stand forever, and on which he held the harmony and the existence of the Union to rest, was taken from under his feet; snatched from under him by the hands of others, during his absence from the country, and when he had no power to raise his voice against the parricidal destruction. Being destroyed, he takes the part of wisdom and moderation. He lets bad enough alone. He will not make bad worse by attempting to restore what has been destroyed. To heal existing wounds, and not to open new ones, is his policy; to reconcile exasperated brethren, and not to increase their exasperation, is his aim; and in this benignant aim every good citizen should join.

The re-enactment of the Missouri Compromise at the admission of Texas, was an era and a resting point in our slavery legislation, and as such was often referred to, and relied upon by our public men, and commended to perpetual observance. It was called the "Texas Compromise," and was considered a confirmation of the first one, and a new one within itself. In that light it was treated, on a solemn occasion, by President Polk. In his message approving the Oregon Territorial act in 1848—the last year of his Administration, and which act prohibited slavery in Oregon—he took occasion to refer to the "Texas Compromise," and to present it as an independent measure, growing out of the same circumstances, and the same spirit, which had produced the Missouri Compromise; and, like it, not to be violated without endangering the Union. In that message he said:

"When Texas was admitted into our Union, the same spirit of compromise which guided our predecessors in the admission of Missouri, a quarter of a century before, prevailed without any serious opposition. The Joint Resolution for annexing Texas to the United States, approved March the first, 1845, provides, 'That such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying South of 36 deg. 30 min. North latitude, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with, or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission, may desire. And in such State, or States, as shall be formed out of the territory North of the said compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude, (except for crime,) shall be prohibited.'"

And having thus quoted the act, and shown that the Texas compromise, like its great predecessor, also settled a great slavery agitation, Mr. Polk goes on to class the two compromises together, to invoke equal perpetuity to each, and to foretel equal dangers to the Union from the violation of either—saying:

"Ought we now to disturb the Missouri and Texas compromises? Ought we, at this late day, in attempting to annul what has been so long established and acquiesced in, to excite sectional divisions and jealousies—to alienate the people of the different portions of the Union from each other—and to endanger the existence of the Union itself."

To this impressive appeal, I, as your representative, when the portentous question was legislatively put in the session of Congress 1853-'54, answered, No—but a majority in Congress answered, Yes—and with that answer has come every evil deprecated by Mr. Polk—jealousies, divisions, animosities, sectional hate, danger to the Union, and the country rapidly separating into two geographical parties, enraged against each other. For that answer, I lost the favor of my State, and regretted it,—regretted the loss of a favor I had so long enjoyed, but not the vote. Of that I am proud, and would not revoke it this day for the honors of the earth. [Great applause. Loud cries of "No, no! you did not lose their favor."] But I lost the office, which was the sign of the favor.

I know the scheme of those who contrived the deed, and the hard work they had in bringing some of its subsequent champions up to the sticking point. It was a plot for political power, hatched by politicians unknown to the people, and intended to make Presidents, by welding the slave States into a unit upon the slavery question, governing the nomination by the two-thirds rule, and procuring from the free States, by dint of Federal patronage, the 29 votes which were necessary to carry the election. This was the plot, and hard was the work to get it along. The bill was reported without the repealing section; the fault of the omission was laid upon a copying clerk, although the report which accompanied the bill declared the omission, and stated the reason for it—and although one of the party declares he forced the author to put it in. Then hard work to pass it—menacing the aspiring, coaxing the weak, seducing the venal. Indemnity in public offices was openly promised to this who would betray their constituents—a promise which has been faithfully kept, and the only one of all that it made, which has been kept by this administration—witness the violated pledges about the Pacific Railroad, the reduction of duties, and a long list of others. Finally, the deed was done,—the deed from which Mr. Calhoun recoiled—but the harvest has not been reaped. The President and his file leader took the field for the reward; they both entered the lists at the Cincinnati Convention, and were both miserably defeated—repudiated by their own party—the first instance of a President so repudiated in the history of our country.

I went to Cincinnati to be near that Convention—the first one I ever approached. I went to see how things were done, and to assist a little at a safe nomination. I found a garrison of office-holders inside of the Convention, and a besieging army of the same gentry on the outside of it. Packed delegates were there, sent to betray the people. Straw delegates were there, coming from the States which could give no Democratic vote. Members of Congress were there, although forbid by their duties from being at such a place. A cohort of office-holders from Washington City were there, political eunuchs in the Federal system, incapable of voting for the smallest Federal office, yet sent there by the Administration to impose a President upon the people—excluded by the Constitution from being even electors of the President, and yet sent here to vote for the Administration—and to vote upon the principle of the ox that knoweth his master's crib—upon the principle of the ass that knoweth the hand that feedeth him. Bullies were there from the custom house and the Five Points in New York—all with the approbation of the Administration; for the office-holders would not be there, (absent from their duties and drawing their pay,) without the consent of their employers. It was a scandalous collection. The members of Congress were in the double breach of their duties. They were neglecting their legislative duties, and doing what they had been interdicted from doing.

Thirty years ago, the nomination of Presidential candidates was taken from Congress on account of the corruption which it engendered, and given to delegates, intended to be fresh from the people and to obey their will; and the nomination removed from Washington to Baltimore, to get out of the reach of President-making members. But these members followed to Baltimore, getting proxies from some delegate when they could get no appointment from the people; and to get rid of them—to get entirely beyond their reach—the convention itself was removed from Baltimore to Cincinnati. Vain effort to escape them. They followed to Cincinnati, They broke up Congress to get to this forbidden place. Surely the new President will be very hard-hearted if he does not remember them when he comes to the distribution of office.—From Washington city came a new corps, never before put upon such service—the office holders in the city, clerks in the departments, heads of bureaus—men who have no vote in any federal election—political hybrids, unable to act a man's part in any election, but sent to Cincinnati, as a life guard, to support the Administration.

Such was the composition of nearly one-half of the whole convention—custom house officers, postmasters, salaried clerks, packed delegates, straw-delegates, political eunuchs, member of Congress, District Attorneys, federal marshals. The place in which they met, and which had been provided by a packed Administration Committee, was worthy of the meeting. It was a sort of den, approached by a long narrow passage, barricaded by three doors, each door guarded by armed bullies, with orders to knock down any person that approached without a ticket from the Committee—and a special order to be prepared with arms to repulse the Missouri delegation which came to vote for Buchanan—a repulse which they attempted, and got themselves knocked down and trampled under foot. This den had no windows by which people could look in, or see, or the light of the sun enter—only a row of glass like a steamboat skylight, thirty-five feet above the floor.—It was the nearest representation of the "black hole" in Calcutta, and like that hole had well nigh become notorious for a similar catastrophe. The little panes of glass above were hung on pivots, and turned flat to let in air. A rain came on, drove into the den—and to exclude it, the panes were turned up. Smothering! smothering! was the cry in the den; and the glass had to be turned again. Over this place was a small box for the admission of spectators, its approach barricaded and guarded, and entrance only obtained upon tickets from the same packed committee; and to whom they gave tickets was seen when the first votes were given for Buchanan—and when each State that voted for him was hissed—even Virginia! and the hissing only stopped by a threat to clear the galleries. Such is the pass to which the nomination of President is now brought. But this is a view of only one side of the Convention—the Administration side of it. There was another side—a majority—on the contemplation of which it was pleasant to dwell: substantial men, real delegates, fresh from the people, and anxious to do their will, and the best for the country. They were the majority, but paralyzed by the two-third rule, and cheated and out maneuvered in the preliminary steps on which the result may often be made to depend, by the old intriguers who had everything "cut and dry," for the occasion—committees packed, officers fixed, rules prepared, platforms drawn up. It was not until it came to the dead vote that they stood for anything;—then they gave their votes for Buchanan; but the minority held a veto upon that nomination in the nullification two-thirds rule, which was invented to enable the minority to govern the majority; and that game, so successfully played before, was intended to be played again.

That was the inside of the convention; the outside presented a different spectacle, and one to gladden the patriotic heart.—Tens upon tens of thousands of the yeomanry of the country (Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and other States) were there; farmers, mechanics, professional men, patriotic in their spirit, intent upon the public good; and come to prevent packed delegates from betraying the people. Fifteen hundred, as they told me, came from one district in Ohio to attend one of these scamps, smuggled in by the administration officials: and they did govern him—made him toe the mark, and vote the will of the district; and so of many others. Seventy thousand was the estimate of the number of these patriotic citizens; their weight of character was still greater than their numbers.—They were for peace, peace at home and abroad, and for Buchanan, as the best chance for saving this peace. They expected the nomination to have been made on the second day; it was delayed until the fifth, by the management of the minority, who had the machinery, and staved off the business; but the farmers would not be tired out. They would not be tired out. They would not quit the ground, expensive as it was to remain at their own cost, and to the neglect of their business, while office holders were all on public pay, and neglecting, not their own, but the public business. From the first Buchanan had the majority on each ballot, fourteen times successively. An adjournment was had, and the utmost anxiety prevailed on the subject of what the night might bring forth. The most sinister rumors prevailed; it was clear that the old game was to be played—the majority baffled, worried, tired out; and then some pet, held in reserve by the old intriguers, suddenly produced as the compromise candidate.

The majority in the Convention, and still more, the many ten thousands of good citizens on the outside of it, were determined that that game should not be played; and the resolution was taken to defeat it by a decided step. It was resolved that, if the minority persevered in this game the next day, a resolution should be offered declaring that Mr. Buchanan, having received the majority of the votes, was duly nominated according to the democratic principle that the majority was to govern, and to proclaim him accordingly. This was the determination, and the balloting opened on Friday morning in a way to bring that determination to a test. Mr. Pierce was withdrawn, and his vote of sixty, which would have nominated Mr. Buchanan, was given, not to the majority, but to the minority.—It was evident then that the old game was to be played out, that Pierce and Douglas were in concert, and that the majority were to be defeated. The excitement became immense. Several ballotings were had, when the inside commotion and the outside pressure became irresistible. Douglas was withdrawn, as Pierce had been, and Buchanan was nominated in a hurrah. It was a complete take in to the office holders, (especially those from Missouri,) who intended, if they could not kill off Buchanan, to elect him—to vote for him at last, when voting against him would no longer keep him down—crossing over like the Saxon army at the battle of Leipsic, deciding the fate of the day, and claiming for reward their own continuance in office. The sudden explosive nomination frustrated their plan, put an end to the attempts to kill off Buchanan, and left the trimmers without the merit of saving him. But they could not give up the chance for the spoils, and shouted loudest, and were the first to run into the streets and proclaim his nomination; and will be among the first to demand reward. The defeat of the Administration has been complete and overwhelming, and of the most mortifying kind. It is a defeat by his own party, a repudiation by his own friends. No President, seeking a second election, has ever been so repudiated before. Several, so seeking, have been defeated by their adversaries, but no one has been defeated by his own party.

The elder Mr. Adams was defeated by the Democratic party, then called Republican; the younger Mr. Adams was defeated by the same party; Mr. Van Buren was defeated by the Whigs. But each of these gentlemen had the consolation of having preserved the respect and confidence of his own party. Not so with Mr. Pierce. He is repudiated by those who had exalted him. After four years' trial, he is condemned and thrown away—the victim of his advisers. It is the most humiliating termination of a public career that ever was witnessed.—His whole vote was some sixty—only five dozen out of near three hundred; and if from these are deducted the intrusive votes which ought not to be counted—those of the office holders, the packed delegates, the straw delegates, the members of Congress, and the complimentary votes which were begged for him to lessen the shame of the miserable defeat—if all these were deducted, as they ought to be, he would be left without a single vote—left to go out as he came in; with the unanimous consent of his party. What a fate for a man who came into office upon twenty-seven States, with two-thirds of each house of Congress, and the united Democracy of the whole Union. After all, the result was due to the *place* where the Convention was held. If it had been in Baltimore, where the outside pressure would have been on the other side, the office holders would have carried the day.

Let it not be forgotten that the *place* governed this nomination—the place convenient to the solid men of the country; but that cannot be relied upon to save future nominations. The old intriguers, the permanent professional President makers, will not be caught in such a place again. They will go where the farmers cannot come; and there is no safety except in the amendment of the constitution, and giving to the people a direct vote for President.—Already it is reported that they go next time to Charleston, S. C., where no Western farmer can get at them. If you ask how can this be known now? I answer, very well. Each convention now appoints a committee of its own body, 31 in number, to sit from four years to four years, and manage everything. These committees do the cheating in the recess of the conventions.

Such a fall announces the most deplorable administration which our country has ever seen; and such is the fact. At home and abroad—in all its acts and policy, both foreign and domestic—flagrant misconduct has been the order of the day. The field of its bad acts is too large to admit of a full survey on an occasion like the present: I can only seize and present the most prominent, taking those which concern our home affairs first—the foreign afterwards; but, first, I must show who I mean by the Administration, for it by no means consists of all whose names compose it.

In the first place, then, I do not mean Mr. Pierce. I leave him out entirely. He is a kind man, tender hearted, and will cry for anybody's sorrows; but he has neither head nor nerve, and is as helpless in the hands of his managers as a babe in the arms its of nurse. I have to give a signal instance of this helplessness which concerns yourselves as well as myself, and which admits of no question, because I was party to it, and know what I say. Mr. Pierce sent for me soon after his inauguration, desiring me to call upon him the next evening at eight o'clock. I went according to the request. He told me he wished to speak to me about the Missouri appointments, and know if they could not be put off for a while? I answered yes, that they were all four year appointments, and to be out of themselves in the course of the spring and summer—that I despised the business of removing men who were doing their business well, and whose terms would soon expire, and had rather wait for the vacancy to come of itself. He replied that these were exactly his own sentiments; and it was readily agreed that the appointments should stand over until my return from Missouri, which would be in six weeks.—On this agreement, thus volunteered by himself, I left the city, and in two weeks was followed by a list of the appointments—and you know what kind of appointments they were—all made from my enemies, and to work in the election against me—a thing which they have faithfully done, and are still doing. Even the post office in my own town was so filled as to render it impossible for me to use it, and drove me to the resource of sending my correspondence through Adams & Co. This is what happened between the President and myself, and is one of the innumerable instances to prove his nullity in his own administration. I did not get angry with him for it. I knew he was sincere at the time he spoke with me, and pitied his inability to keep his own word voluntarily given. I expressed no resentment, because I knew they would not let him do as he wished; but self respect required me to avoid his house, and I have not been there since. Still we meet handsomely when accident brings us together, sometimes meeting in evening rides, when the respective hats immediately rise high in the air—sometimes on foot, in an evening walk, when we rush to the salutation, and so pressingly that an observer might suppose it was a pair of old bosom friends—Damon and Pythias—just getting together again after a long and cruel separation.

In the next place, I do not mean Mr. Marcy. He leaves himself out by permitting others to dominate in his department, and by publicly agreeing to what he privately condemns. I leave out also the Secretaries of the Treasury, of the Interior, of the Navy, and the Post Master General, and only condemn them for remaining in a cabinet in which they are without influence, and sharing the odium of measures in which they have no part in the paternity.

This brings me to the Secretary at War, and the Attorney General who, with an outside force of determination nullifiers are the whole Administration. Of these but little need be said of the Secretary at War. He is a martinet, puffed up with West Point science, dogmatical and pragmatical, within his circle; but that circle is a narrow one, and he moves uncontrolled within it. He is an avowed secessionist. Of the outside force of nullifiers still less remains to be said. They govern when they please, and always in the same style—by presenting a menacing front. Of all these the Attorney General is the master spirit. He is a man of talent, of learning, of industry—unscrupulous, double sexed, double gendered, and hermaphroditic in politics—with a hinge in his knee, which he often crooks, "that thrift may follow fawning." He governs by subserviency; and to him is deferred the master's place in Mr. Pierce's cabinet. When I heard that he was to come into the cabinet, I sat down Mr. Pierce for a doomed man, and foresaw the swift and full destruction which was to fall upon him. I had known Mr. Cushing as an Abolitionist, voting against Arkansas because she was a slave State, and backing Slade, of Vermont, in the attempt to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. I had known him as a Whig, attacking the Democracy and all their measures, and as a Tylerite, auctioneering offices for Tyler as long as he had an office to go to the hammer. I could have no faith in an administration so led, and foretold its calamitous fate from the moment it was seen who was to be in it.

Now for their acts:

1. The violation of the Missouri and Texas compromises. With the facts of this violation, its wicked and corrupt intent, and foul means of getting it done, and its disastrous and bloody consequences, you are all sufficiently acquainted; and I only come it to give it its place at the head and front of all the evil measures of this Administration.

2. Prostitution of the whole appointing power to electioneering purposes. This was openly done from the first mandat of