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MORNING LEADER.

SPEECH

OF SENATOR THOMPSON, OF KENTUCKY,

On the Acquisition of Cuba.

[*Concluded.*]

Then, instead of going on in this way, I should like to have some reflection, some thought bestowed upon the subject. If we get Cuba, we must certainly hold it by fortifications; and I should like to send a Commission there to examine it, such as we sent out in the Crimean war to examine the Russian fortifications and the armaments of the allied armies, and I would add to that Commission the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Davis), for I have more confidence in his military ability than in any man now in the United States; and I would also put on it the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Shields). Let them go down and survey Cuba as a man would survey a piece of land before he bought it. Let them come back and tell us whether there is any Cronstadt there, such as the Russians have to defend St. Petersburgh.—Let them tell us whether there is a place where a fortification may be built such as was built at Sevastopol under the genius of the immortal Todtleben. Let them tell us whether there are any places for a Redan and a Mamelon tower to rear their heights in such grandeur as to be able to beat back an English fleet. I would wish to be satisfied on all these points, because, when we come to get it, I should suppose we want to hold it.

I spoke before of our going in debt, for four hundred years, to build the Pacific Railroad. I think that if we should get into a war on account of Cuba, we should be so crippled that we should never get out of debt. I think I propose a fair way of trading. A man does not buy a horse without looking at it.

I do not care for all the popular clamor down South about buying Cuba. They do not know anything about it. If you talk to the people in the South about it, and tell them what a fine country it is, they are very willing to have it; but our people have been so petted and so spoiled on this subject, again and again surfeited, like a great child whose appetite is vitiated by sweetmeats, that they are eternally whining because their stomach is not as big as their eyes, and they cannot swallow everything they see. [Laughter.] They ought to have somebody who is willing to tell them the truth.—When you talk to them about the acquisition of Cuba, they think it is all right. Men say—"Uncle Sam foots the bill; and who knows that there may not be a windfall for him; that I may not draw a ticket in the lottery? I do not know how it will come out." And so men go on, just as an adventurer, without knowing anything about the population, habits, pursuits or character of the people. I have heard a man rant about Cuba, and if you landed him on the Island he would be the most lonesome poor creature in the world. Imported African negroes would palaver and jabber at him, and supercilious Cubans would look at him scornfully and walk around him as a turkey looks at a snake in a rain [laughter]; and the very negroes would not wait on him; and they would not wait on him for a very substantial reason—they would not know what in the world he said, and he would not know what they said.

The people of Cuba speak a different language, they profess a different religion, and they are of different extraction from us; and our people have regarded them as aliens and outlaws from the pale of humanity and civilization. That is the feeling of our population out West, I know. Suppose we annex them; by the annexation you have the high prerogative of taking them under your wing. You have to protect them in war, and attend to them in peace. You marry them as a man does his wife, "for better or for worse." If the Senator from Louisiana gives a true account of Cuba, I would rather, before she comes into the family, consult a little further and a little longer about it. Saying nothing about color, I think I have been at more respectable weddings than it would be to bring her into the household.—[Laughter.] She is to be civilized and christianized, and all this under the guardianship and protection of the United States. It is a heavy job. No doubt the spirit of our people can accomplish it, for they have achieved wonders; but it is certain that there would not be many of the natives of Cuba left there long.

Well, Sir, what is the immediate haste for this measure now? There is no necessity for any haste about it. We are at peace with England, we are at peace with France, and we are at peace with Spain. Why make this attempt in time of profound peace, when even the authorities cited in the able report of the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Slidell) admit that we ought not to make any effort to take the island while it remains under Spanish rule. England and France proposed to us a tripartite treaty, guaranteeing that we would not seize the island; but Mr. Everett refused to agree to it.—They see that we eventually look to it, and we have all avowed it here, and still they do not interfere. I ask you, is not this bill calculated to create a rupture between the three nations? They may protest; they may not fight; but I ask, at this time, is it not premature, uncalled for, unnecessary? We had better pay the debts we owe now. I have known several very respectable old Virginia gentlemen, of Anglo-Saxon blood, out in Kentucky, get broke just by paying taxes on too much land. Ragged negro after ragged negro would go; but they would still hold on to their land, and at last it would be eaten up by taxes, and they be insolvent; and, in some cases, after their death, their estates would not be worth enough to pay their funeral expenses. I have known one or two absolutely ruined by having too much land.

I think we have a pretty good sized country now; and it would have been entirely too large but for the fortunate turn-up of gold in California. That was a god-send to the country; and if it had not been that we found gold there to redeem the country from the position it was in, the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo would have been a blistering sore to us for years and years to come. So, when we bought Louisiana, we made a lucky hit; but in buying Cuba there is no chance of anything of that sort. We buy the negroes for the owners to keep them; and we buy the land for the owners to keep it. We trade for the sovereignty; that is, the burden of taking care of them and protecting them and civilizing them. There is no god-send left there.

Why do you want Cuba? Some gentlemen talk about gravitation, and say it gravitates this way; and others tell us that there is a political necessity for our side of emigration going in that direction. Well, Sir, I know that if you go out into the country and talk to the people, you will find them in favor of the next war, or some war, and of getting more land; and it is a pretty safe platform to go upon.

Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams were not at the head of the Government when they spoke of this gravitation. They spoke of it, I suppose, as a sort of humbug for the South; but they put off the time of acquiring it indefinitely, until Buchanan at last has brought it up. After Mr. Clay wrote his letter, and John Quincy Adams came into power, did they practice what they said? Not at all. They held it up as a happy delusion to all the Gulf States that they must eventually have Cuba, and would have it at no remote day; that such was manifest destiny and passional attraction, according to the free-love school; that Cuba would just rush into our arms any how. [Laughter.] It is said she is gravitating toward us; that is the term. Well Sir, she has not gravitated an inch from where she stood when they wrote; and if the Cubans understand how the Americans will treat them, it will not, with their consent, gravitate this way much longer, but they will keep "panting for liberty." I say that, because the report seems to insinuate that the population are willing to come to us. I do not know whether they are or not; upon that subject I have no information. They seemed at Cardenas to welcome "with hospitable hands to bloody graves" the men who, it was said, went there to aid them in obtaining freedom. You may say those who did that were the soldiery.—Well, that Spanish soldiery is a mixed up affair, and I suppose that most of it is collected from the Cuban peasants who live on the mountains, and they will do the same thing again.

There is nobody to be benefited by this except Spain, who would get largely more than the island would be worth, and we would be cursed with a burden. The Cubans might stand their ground until they could sell out. Negroes are much cheaper there, I understand, than they are in Louisiana, and the annexation of the island would cause them to rise immensely in value there. The Cubans could sell out to the Gulf-State men, who wanted to go over there; and even if they were forced sales, they would get more than they are worth now. That is the way they would go off; that is the way the island would be settled up; but I do not take it for granted that they desire it, except as a mere matter of ambition, a matter of avarice—avarice of the meanest sort—and that avarice which the Senator from Louisiana says makes the Cuban planter annually count what is the value of a negro in sugar. He supplies him from the coast of Africa, and by his infernal alchemy, makes him into molasses or sugar. If the best of the population, the planters, are so cruel as to be professional pirates and negro traders, and regularly make calculations upon a negro's life in that way, I do not think they are fit to come into this Union. With their barbarism and their cruelty, they would not suit us.

Mr. President, there are many other things to which I should allude; but I know the time of the Senate is precious. Perhaps I should be indulged with a continuance; but, condensing as well as I can, I will make an effort to get through with what I have to say. I have an objection to the terms of this bill itself—an insuperable objection. It provides—

"That the sum of $30,000,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to enable the President to make a treaty with Spain for the purchase of the Island of Cuba, to be used by him in the event that said treaty, when signed by the authorized agents of the two Governments, and duly ratified by Spain, shall call for the expenditure of the same, or any part thereof; full and accurate accounts for which expenditure shall be by him transmitted to Congress at as early a day as practicable."

What does this mean? O'Donnell, or Espartero, or somebody else, is at the head of Donna Isabella's Government. Who is in power, I do not know; but the intention is, that the money is to be drawn out and lodged safely with our Minister, Mr. Preston, under the flag of the United States, and then we are to wait for a revolution in Spain, then we are to make a trade with the incoming Government—say it is a *de facto* Government—get them to sign a treaty, and the thing is finished. They will have got $30,000,000 of our money as a prepayment. It is to be in had in readiness to take advantage of the nick of time; for it cannot be supposed it is to be used in any other way, or any other juncture, or at any other time. Some *pronunciamento* or a *coup d'etat* upsets the Government, and there is a trade of this sort. Well, Sir, I am not much for that kind of negotiation; and, beside, I am for keeping the money where it is.

The Constitution provides that the President may make treaties, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States—two thirds of them concurring. The framers of the Constitution were so cautious in regard to this matter that they put upon the President the check of requiring two-thirds of the Senate to ratify any treaty he might make, before it should be binding. In the beginning of the Government the Senate was regarded as a consulting Executive Chamber. How many Senators the President has consulted about this matter, I do not kow; what Senators he has consulted, I cannot tell. The money, however, is to be drawn out of the Treasury, and we are not to know how it is to be used; but, after it has been spent, the President is to file full and accurate accounts. What is filing full and accurate accounts?

Suppose the money is misspent, suppose it is lost or fooled away; you have granted him a vote of confidence, and I would as soon grant a vote of unlimited confidence as to have no further security than this. He is to file accounts of what he spends. He is to have this vast amount of money in his pocket under his control. He is anxious to distinguish his Administration—anxious, if possible, to do something by which posterity will remember him and connect his name with Cuba. In addition to his natural ardor, and the opinions he already has on this subject, he might think, if you vote him this money, that he was under obligations to do something—that he must move. Well, Sir, I will not put any such embarrassing obligation on him. I do not care how fair or how accurate his accounts may be, whenever they come in there will be an eternal scandal and gossip in the politics of this country, and a supposition that all was not right. People will so talk and will so think, and you cannot help yourselves.

Besides, when the Senate come to ratify the treaty, I do not think it is fair for them to have such a constraint imposed upon them as the payment of such a large sum would be. When my successor comes here to act upon the treaty, I want him to be untrammeled, to act according to his dictates of duty under his oath, and according to his conscience; but if you have already paid $30,000,000, that will hang like a millstone around his neck. The Senate will act, under the fear of losing this large sum, and the demand will be, "Come down with the balance to secure what you have already anted, or you will lose what you put up." That is not the Constitution; that is not the way the Constitution contemplates. It is not the way, in my judgment, to carry it on.

Mr. President, in reflecting on the proposition of the Senator from New York to let off the spirit of fillibustering, I must say a word or two to him. He is a man of eminent ability and genial in feeling. I do not think his election would be a *casus fœderis*—no breach of the league between the States. He is a constitutional man, and if he should be elected, there must be some overt act of oppression, or rebellion, or dereliction from duty, before you could complain. My opinion is, that he is such a generous-hearted man that he would rather lean toward the South, by way of showing that he was impartial. But, Sir, I do not want him to talk any more about that gang of Austrians, Netherlandmen and Irishmen, in the Rocky Mountains, making his Pacific Railroad, with the idea that he is going to work off the fillibuster spirit. It reminds me of an anecdote which I heard about a countryman of my friend from South Carolina. For the first time in his life he saw some monkeys, and from the agility with which they jumped from prong to prong with their nice little fingers, he thought it would be the grandest speculation in creation to train them to cotton picking, and he got some for that purpose. A friend met him afterwards and asked him how he had made out.—"First rate," said he, "except that it took two overseers to watch each monkey." [Laughter.] That will be precisely the way you will work the fillibusters out, according to the plan of the Senator from New York.

Mr. President, this is a mischievous thing for another reason. It brings up agitation on the negro question inevitably and certainly. I was in hopes that after we had got rid of Kansas, the country would have some quiet. I have been now, off and on, nearly twenty years in Congress, and trusted that for one session, at least, I should live here in peace, and hear no more about negroes. Now, we have the same old story again. I do not say that the President proposes any such thing, or that he has any designs or views in it; but I know this: the other morning the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Bigler), who, it was said, represented the President—and he did not deny it when he was called upon by the Senator from New Hampshire—gave us his views on the tariff. As the Senator from New Hampshire said the President had not been invited to the Democratic caucus, or from some other cause, he did not agree with them and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, representing the President's views on the tariff, went in for a pretty large incidentalism on iron for Pennsylvania. If his Cuba horse, his Cuba hobby, can tickle the South, and upon the iron question he can hang the old Keystone State to him by bars of iron and hooks of steel, he will be very apt to stand in a pretty good position for demanding a nomination—a position where he can say: "Gentleman, just step upon the platform; here is your candidate: you must take him; you cannot do without him." It looks to me mightily that way.

I know Mr. President, that it has been mentioned often, laughingly, that there has been a belief that if nothing else, your luck would kill him; that you got everything you ever went for, all you wanted, and that if there was nothing else in his way he would never survive your luck. [Laughter] Well, sir, I have taken a good look at him. He looks firm, pretty substantial, and strong, and I tell you the white of your eye is too white, and all the conjuration and witchcraft, and incantations of which you may be master, cannot avail. I give it as my opinion—I am some what a doctor, acquainted with hygiene—I give it as my decided opinion that he is good for ten years, and I profoundly ask your pardon for saying so [Laughter.] I know he has said that he only wanted to run for one term, but Jackson talked that way, and I suppose Jackson was nearly as firm a man, and probably as pure a man as Mr. Buchanan. Of Mr. Buchanan personly, I desire to say nothing. Although Gen. Jackson only wanted one term, he was willing to serve another. Cæsar thrice put away the crown, and yet he took it. But beyond all history or example, I never knew a Scotchman when he had got a grip upon anything and had it in his grasp, who would ever let go, if it was a good thing, until death. He will hold on, unless you wrench it from him; and then if it were in his power, he would send it to some lineal, favorite son of his—in politics, I mean, for none he has otherwise [Laughter.]

I hear a great many gentleman taking about it; and they say it is getting near time to have a Southern President. Perhaps it will be after Mr. Buchanan shall serve eight years, according to the usage of the earlier Presidents; and he flatters himself that he can get Cuba as Jefferson got Louisiana; and I think, by that time, it will come to be the turn for a Southern man once more; and, although it has been said that "Old Virginny never tires," I think, before then she will be getting a little impatient; and her descendants are not so patient as the old Commonwealth; they will get tired of waiting.

Well Sir, that is a fight in which I have no hand. Let them make it up among them. I do not wish to say anything harsh or severe about the Democracy. I admonish you of that, because in my position here,

"I feel like one,
Who treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted,
Whose lights are fled,
Whose garlands dead,
And all but he departed."

When I was in politics, and I may say, when I was alive [laughter], and old man Clay battled against the Democratic party, lion-hearted as he was, like Richard Coeur de Lion himself, when he went into the Holy Land to rescue it from the custody of the Infidels, Mr. Clay, with a lion's heart, and his battle-ax uplifted, fought to rescue what he believed to be the Constitution and the rights of the country from the Democratic party, that he thought was disloyal and untrue to them; then, Sir, I fought and felt like a Field Marshal.

Well Sir, as to the Democratic party I do not know that I could very well join them unless I see a little further into them. I could not be a Locofoco anyway, and I understand that the discipline is extremely rigid. [Laughter.] They muster their men with great severity, according to regular drill, and if a man does not chalk up to the mark, overboard he goes; and the rule is, that it is better to have an enemy out of the camp than a friend in the camp cutting capers and cutting shines. John Randolph, of Virginia, said of the Democratic party—but I will not say it of them—that all they wanted was men enough to lead, and fools enough to follow [laughter]; and if any man could not subscribe to these principles and went into the party as a leader who had not sense enough to lead, he ought to be turned out. I believe you did cashier one or two. I do not know what the severity of the discipline is. If I can get a private conversation with my friend from Illinois, (Mr. Douglas) before I leave here, I should like to know if he has not learned something on that subject. [Laughter.] I wish, just privately and confidentially, to know from him if the discipline is not excessively tight. If I was to go in, I do not know upon what sort of probation or trial I should be put. I suppose it would be long enough to make them certain that they had got all the old, genuine, gentlemanly, Whig principles and feelings out of me, and that I really had the true religion, and was converted. Then they might put me in the kitchen of the household of the Locofocos until they believed I was really a Christian, and showed it evidently. I do not know how I should be treated, I think I shall look a little farther before I go in.

I say platforms are fixed up in that way for the Presidency. Now, I do not know what may be the result of the next Presidential election.—I expect to take no part in it. I have been favored much by my own State of Kentucky, cherished beyond my merit, upheld always, except recently, when my successor was elected. I love her, even as a strong-hearted man loves his own mother. Whatever may be her waywardness in politics, or my own fortunes, I can only say that I hope that all day long the dews of Heaven may fall lightly upon her fields and upon her forests, and the sunshine set brightly upon them.

Mr. President, my strength is failing me, but I must say something more. I utterly condemn this rampant spirit and cry for war. It is a wrong cry; it is a wrong teaching for the country; and I predict that, if we get into a calamitous war with France and with England on this account, we shall repent it to the latest day of our lives. Do not pass this unnecessary bill, and insult a neighbor by this proposition, which is every way unadvised and uncalled for. When you get into a war, you will find that fighting John Bull is not talking. When England sent men here in the last war, and burned this Capitol, it was a mere by-play for her. She was upholding all continental Europe then, against the colossal power of Napoleon; and yet she came here just as a by-play, and troubled us as she did.—Our people think we whipped England, and you hear them say throughout the country that we whipped Wellington's invincibles; and they believe that we absolutely whipped the veterans who fought the battle of Waterloo, although that battle was not fought until the 18th of June after the 8th of January, when our battle of New Orleans was fought. They are stuffed up in that way, and inflamed with a war spirit.

Old John Bull, as I said, is a bloody old bruiser. If the Senator from Georgia was here, I would ask him if he did not see how Spain and Sardinia sent off their quota to the Crimean war at the request of England, although they had just about as much interest in it as we had. England just said to them, "if you do not fight on my side I will whip you." That is the whole of it. They follow England in that kind of way. John Bull, if I may use a familiar illustration that will be understood in the country, is like a great unruly mastiff, a bull dog. Old Bull goes prowling about, hunting up fights. Along in his train follow Cæsar and Pompey, Jumper and Jupiter; and though the first two are Romans of high degree, and the last a god, they follow in his train with fear and trembling. When he nails a dog they leg him, and nip him, and down they get him until he is throttled to death, and there is a nation blotted from the map of the earth; or if after worrying him and crippling him, and wounding him, they send him home, it is in pain to work the balance of his days to pay the expenses of his fight.

Well, Sir, I do not know the Senator from Georgia's idea about it; but I take it that in making up a fight, there ought to be some sense about it, as there is about anything else. There ought to be some reason for it. Now, Sir, the United States comparatively is a bull-terrier that is as game as ten thousand lions, and superadded to his natural pluck, he has the spirit of the seven devils that were driven out of Mary Magdalen. Do you suppose I would hiss him on that old bull, if I thought anything of the dog? and I know I love my country better than I could any dog. I do not want to make up a fight of that kind.

Sir, these men who are so ready to talk about fighting, very often are the last men to do it.—Whenever I see a man out in a muster field or in a court-yard, blustering and talking about his willingness to shed his last drop of blood, I would rather see somebody who would be willing to shed the first drop. [Laughter.] If we get into this war we must go through with it at all hazards, at every expense, and at every loss. Our commerce, our progress, everything would be loss and ruin to us. We, with our insufficient navy, should be utterly unable to cope with those two powers. They do not seem inclined to fight us; they do not want to fight us; they were willing to share fairly with us. I suppose the talk about fighting just means this, and no more: men know that there is in this country a deep rooted popular sentiment of dislike, an inveterate feeling of hatred, toward England—I mean with the lower orders. It comes down traditionally from our revolutionary war. It was revived by the last war we had with her. It is a safe thing in any ignorant crowd to curse England, and you will not find anybody of any party who does not back you. I suppose it is a popular theme for declamation; but I think it is time we had quit it. I believe that is the prevailing, dominant feeling with the ignorant portion of our population. Whether it is just or unjust, I will not pretend to say, but it is an element in the American character; an element like their ignoring the rights of a Mexican or a Spaniard. It is a feeling they have.—They hate a red-coat and a Britisher. Mr. Dallas and Lord Napier may have as many suppers and feasts as you please; they may talk about the same language and reading the same Milton and the same Shakspeare and about a common blood and fraternity and all that. Very well, that is just as nice as two ladies who hate each other like the Devil, gossiping very pleasantly over a tea table. [Laughter.] That is what it amounts to. Folks do not feel that way. It is as harmless, and just about as foolish, as the ovations to the success of the Atlantic telegraph. That was another one of your schemes—a dead failure. It is said, now, that it is doubtful whether Mr. Buchanan ever did get that message of the Queen.

I have seen it stated that, so far from any of that sort of conversation passing, it was a trick of trade. The stockholders got up the messages, and they were conveyed as the Government's, and the shrewd ones got out, and the soft people got bit. Those not in the trick were left in the lurch. Whether that is true or not; I do not know; but I do not reckon any message was ever sent. Two years ago, the Senator from Louisiana, who is so enthusiastic now about Cuba, predicted repeatedly that we should have great results from this telegraph. I told him it would be a failure. I pointed out that you were contributing money to make a line of telegraph both ends of which would belong to England; and I said that, throughout such an extent of ocean, a shark could bite it in two, or a whale could knock it in two, or it would be cut in two in running over the mountains in the sea. Practically, in my mind, there was no chance for the thing.

Now, Sir, you are here after Cuba. It seems to be a favorite project of Mr. Buchanan. I have not the time or ability to say all that I want to say, or to say it in such a style as I should like to be in trim to say it. I think Mr. Buchanan is hardly consistent upon this subject. When he was Secretary of State, he wrote about it to Romulus M. Saunders, our Minister at Madrid—a rough, coarse, North Carolina man—a gentleman, though; but I reckon, from his manner and his walk, and his look (for he was ugly, although he was clever), the last man in the world to send upon such an errand. So keen and eager was Mr. Buchanan then to get Cuba, that he wrote a letter to Mr. Saunders on the subject. I will not put it in my speech, but I will ask somebody to comment on it who can explain it. He told him to approach the Spanish Government, not in the ordinary diplomatic way, by notes, but to talk to the Spanish Minister in a sort of *quasi* unofficial conversation, in a friendly chat. "Do not send notes, "because they may bind the next Government "against us, but make the suggestion;" and he told him how, in the most delicate and the most insinuating and plausible way, to approach the Queen's Government. One hundred million dollars was the limit; and if the proposition was not listened to, was not entertained at all, Mr Saunders was to say, "Really, I intended nothing at all; I purposed no insult to your Majesty." Here he comes again with this proposition, now by a sort of forced sale, warning off all other bidders, and he wants $30,000,000 to start on. He will never get $30,000,000 by my vote to hang as a millstone around my successor's neck; and if a treaty were made in that way, I would vote to reject it anyhow, even at the risk of losing the $30,000,000, just to vindicate the independence of the Senate.

Mr. President, I believe I have spoken nearly to the extent of my strength and power to-day. [The honorable gentleman, from physical debility, had been compelled to be seated while he spoke.] I will not ask for a continuance to any other day, because I know that the time of the Senate is precious. I can only say, in relation to this whole project, that it will re-agitate the country with the Slavery question; that it is, I think, contrary to the spirit of our institutions to put money in the President's pocket, I suppose to be sent to Madrid, for Mr. Preston to use in an emergency. I think it would be improper, unjust, and ungenerous to our successors, who are to ratify the treaty, to take this advantage of them. I think it is an unfair way of negotiation. I think it would injure Louisiana above all the States in the Union. I think that at this time we ought to compact and bind together and build up and strengthen what we have. We are young. Let the gristle grow into the bone; let us get our muscles developed. Let us feel strong before we enter into such a contest; let us cultivate the arts of peace, for "Peace hath its victories, no less renowned than war." That would be my policy, and I hope it will be the policy enforced upon the President by Congress. I am going to look for some sensible man for the next Presidency—a sound man, I would rather he had no platform; I do not want to run him in blinds. I confess to you that, in my opinion, my colleague (Mr. Crittenden) would, of all men on the face of the earth, suit me the best. If you will give him a chance, I will risk him upon my personal confidence, without laying down a creed of faith for him to go by; I do not want to stand a man upon a platform, or run him in blinds.

Besides, these platforms are all nonsense.—Let me say to my friend, the Senator from New York, if he should ever get to be President, I want him to recollect that this platform business is all humbug; and when he gets in power, to kick down the ladder by which he got there. The two or three last platform Presidents we have had, when they got in the car of State and safely seated, all around, everywhere, you could see, "do not stand on the platform when the cars are in motion." [Laughter.] That is the way they manage it. There is always some emergency, or something to justify a departure from it. Well, Sir, I hope I shall be forgiven. I have been to four or five conventions myself, on account of Mr. Clay, chiefly, and once, I believe, on account of my colleague, to keep him out of a scrape of some sort, and I know a good deal about them. In the time I was in politics, and we were dominant, I always knew a long time before the Convention came on who would be Governor. It used to be said that you never could know who was Governor until the election was over; but it was all fixed up—all done in advance. I wish the country to get on prosperously and peacefully and gloriously, without any Slavery agitation. I want a man of sound heart and sound head, who will administer the Government with that view. I can say for myself, as was said by the immortal Webster, that I trust it will be one and indivisible, now, and forever, and that the God who overrules us and guides us now, as heretofore, and as I hope for ages to come, will so shape our ends that all will result in good.

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