

The agricultural lands should, however, be surveyed and brought into market with as little delay as possible, that the titles may become settled, and the inhabitants stimulated to make permanent improvements, and enter on the ordinary pursuits of life. To effect these objects it is desirable that the necessary provision be made by law for the establishment of land offices in California and Oregon, and for the efficient prosecution of the surveys at an early day.

Some difficulties have occurred in organizing the Territorial governments of New Mexico and Utah; and when more accurate information shall be obtained of the causes, a further communication will be made on that subject.

In my last annual communication to Congress I recommended the establishment of an Agricultural Bureau, and I take this occasion again to invoke your favorable consideration of the subject.

Agriculture may justly be regarded as the great interest of our people. Four-fifths of our active population are employed in the cultivation of the soil, and the rapid expansion of our settlements over new territory is daily adding to the number of those engaged in that vocation. Justice and sound policy, therefore, alike require that the Government should use all the means authorized by the Constitution to promote the interests and welfare of that important class of our fellow-citizens. And yet it is a singular fact that, whilst the manufacturing and commercial interests have engaged the attention of Congress during a large portion of every session, and our statutes abound in provisions for their protection and encouragement, little has yet been done directly for the advancement of agriculture. It is time that this approach to our legislation should be removed; and I sincerely hope that the present Congress will not close their labors without adopting efficient means to supply the omissions of those who have preceded them.

An Agricultural Bureau, charged with the duty of collecting and disseminating correct information as to the best modes of cultivation, and of the most effectual means of preserving and restoring the fertility of the soil, and of procuring and distributing seeds and plants, and other vegetable productions, with instructions in regard to the soil, climate, and treatment best adapted to their growth, could not fail to be, in the language of Washington, in his last annual message to Congress, a "very cheap instrument of immense national benefit."

Regarding the act of Congress approved 28th September, 1850, granting bounty lands to persons who had been engaged in the military service of the country, as a great measure of national justice and munificence, an anxious desire has been felt, by the officers entrusted with its immediate execution, to give prompt effect to its provisions. All the means within their control were, therefore, brought into requisition to expedite the adjudication of claims, and I am gratified to be able to state that near one hundred thousand applications have been considered, and about seventy thousand warrants issued within the short space of nine months. If adequate provision be made by law to carry into effect the recommendations of the Department, it is confidently expected that, before the close of the next fiscal year, all who are entitled to the benefits of the act will have received their warrants.

The Secretary of the Interior has suggested in his report various amendments of the laws relating to pensions and bounty lands, for the purpose of more effectually guarding against abuses and frauds on the Government, to all of which I invite your particular attention.

The large accession to our Indian population consequent upon the acquisition of New Mexico and California, and the extension of our settlements into Utah and Oregon, have given increased interest and importance to our relations with the aboriginal race.

No material change has taken place, within the last year, in the condition and prospects of the Indian tribes who reside in the Northwest Territory and west of the Mississippi river. We are at peace with all of them; and it will be a source of pleasure to you to learn that they are gradually advancing in civilization and the pursuits of social life.

Along the Mexican frontier, and in California, and Oregon, they have been occasional manifestations of unfriendly feeling, and some depredations committed. I am satisfied, however, that they resulted more from the destitute and starving condition of the Indians than from any settled hostility toward the whites. As the settlements of our citizens progress towards them, the game upon which they mainly rely for subsistence is driven off or destroyed, and the only alternative left to them is starvation or plunder. It becomes us to consider, in view of this condition of things, whether justice and humanity, as well as an enlightened economy do not require that, instead of seeking to punish them for offences which are the result of our own policy towards them, we should not provide for their immediate wants and encourage them to engage in agriculture, and to rely on their labor, instead of the chase, for the means of support.

Various important treaties have been negotiated with different tribes during the year, by which their title to large and valuable tracts of country has been extinguished, all of which will, at the proper time, be submitted to the Senate for ratification.

The joint commission under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo has been actively engaged in running and marking the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. It was stated, in the last annual report of the Secretary of the Interior, that the initial point on the Pacific and the point of junction of the Gila with the Colorado river had been determined, and the intervening line, about one hundred and fifty miles in length, run and marked by temporary monuments. Since that time a monument of marble has been erected at the initial point, and permanent landmarks of iron have been placed at suitable distances along the line.

The initial point on the Rio Grande has also been fixed by the commissioners at latitude 20° 22', and at the date of the last communication the survey of the line had been made thence westward about one hundred and fifty miles to the neighborhood of the copper mines.

The commission on our part was at first organized on a scale which experience proved to be unwieldy and attended with unnecessary expense. Orders have, therefore, been issued for the reduction of the number of persons employed within the smallest limits, consistent with the safety of those engaged in the service, and the prompt and efficient execution of their important duties.

Returns have been received from all the officers engaged in taking the census in the States and Territories, except California. The superintendent employed to make the enumeration in that State has not yet made his full report, from causes, as he alleges, beyond his

control. This failure is much to be regretted, as it has prevented the Secretary of the Interior from making the decennial apportionment of representatives among the States, as required by the act approved May 23, 1850. It is hoped, however, that the returns will soon be received, and no time will then be lost in making the necessary apportionment, and in transmitting the certificates required by law.

The Superintendent of the Seventh Census is diligently employed, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, in classifying and arranging, in tabular form, all the statistical information derived from the returns of the marshals, and it is believed that when the work shall be completed it will exhibit a more perfect view of the population, wealth, occupations, and social condition of a great country, than has ever been presented to the world. The value of such a work, as the basis of enlightened legislation, can hardly be over-estimated; and I earnestly hope that Congress will lose no time in making the appropriations necessary to complete the classifications, and to publish the results in a style worthy of the subject and of our national character.

The want of a uniform fee bill, prescribing the compensation to be allowed district attorneys, clerks, marshals, and commissioners in civil and criminal cases, is the cause of much vexation, injustice, and complaint. I would recommend a thorough revision of the laws on the whole subject, and the adoption of a tariff of fees which, as far as practicable, should be uniform, and prescribe a specific compensation for every service which the officer may be required to perform. This subject will be fully presented in the report of the Secretary of the Interior.

In my last annual message I gave briefly my reasons for believing that you possessed the constitutional power to improve the harbors of our great lakes and seacoast, and the navigation of our principal rivers, and recommended that appropriations should be made for completing such works as had already been commenced, and for commencing such others as might seem to the wisdom of Congress to be of public and general importance. Without repeating the reasons then urged, I deem it my duty again to call your attention to this important subject. The works on many of the harbors were left in an unfinished state, and consequently exposed to the action of the elements, which is fast destroying them. Great numbers of lives and vast amounts of property are annually lost for want of safe and convenient harbors on the lakes. None but those who have been exposed to that dangerous navigation can fully appreciate the importance of this subject. The whole North West appeals to you for relief, and I trust their appeal will receive due consideration at your hands.

The same is in a measure true in regard to some of the harbors and inlets on the seacoast. The unobstructed navigation of our large rivers is of equal importance. Our settlements are now extending to the sources of the great rivers which empty into, and form a part of the Mississippi, and the value of the public lands in those regions would be greatly enhanced by freeing the navigation of those waters from obstructions. In view, therefore, of this great interest, I deem it my duty again to urge upon Congress to make such appropriations for these improvements as they may deem necessary.

The survey of the Delta of the Mississippi, with a view to the prevention of the overflows which have proved so disastrous to that region of country, has been nearly completed, and the reports thereof are now in course of preparation, and will shortly be laid before you.

The protection of our southwestern frontier, and of the adjacent Mexican States, against the Indian tribes within our border, has claimed my earnest and constant attention. Congress having failed, at the last session, to adopt my recommendation that an additional regiment of mounted men specially adapted to that service should be raised, all that remained to be done was to make the best use of the means at my disposal. Accordingly, all the troops adapted to that service that could properly be spared from other quarters have been concentrated on that frontier, and officers of high reputation selected to command them. A new arrangement of the military posts has also been made where, by the troops brought nearer to the Mexican frontier and to the tribes they are intended to overawe.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to realize all the benefits that are expected to result from these arrangements, but I have every reason to hope that they will effectually check their marauding expeditions. The nature of the country, which furnishes little for the support of an army and abounds in places of refuge and concealment, is remarkably well adapted to this predatory warfare; and we can scarcely hope that any military force, combined with the greatest vigilance, can entirely suppress it.

By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo we are bound to protect the territory of Mexico against the incursions of the savage tribes within our border "with equal diligence and energy" as if the same were made within our territory or against our citizens. I have endeavored to comply, as far as possible, with this provision of the treaty. Orders have been given to the officers commanding on that frontier to consider the Mexican territory and its inhabitants as equally with our own entitled to their protection; and to make all their plans and arrangements with a view to the attainment of this object. Instructions have also been given to the Indian commissioners and agents among those tribes, in all treaties, to make the clauses designed for the protection of our own citizens apply also to those of Mexico. I have no reason to doubt that these instructions have been fully carried into effect. Nevertheless, it is probable that, in spite of all our efforts, some of the neighboring States of Mexico may have suffered, as our own have, from depredations by the Indians.

To the difficulties of defending our own territory, as above mentioned, are superadded, in defending that of Mexico, those that arise from its remoteness, from the fact that we have no right to station our troops within her limits, and that there is no efficient military force on the Mexican side to co-operate with our own. So long as this shall continue to be the case, the number and activity of our troops will rather increase than diminish the evil, as the Indians will naturally turn towards that country where they encounter the least resistance. Yet these troops are necessary to subdue them, and to compel them to make and observe treaties. Until this shall have been done, neither country will enjoy any security from their attacks.

The Indians in California, who had previously appeared of a peaceable character, and disposed to cultivate the friendship of the whites, have recently committed several acts of hostility. As a large portion of the reinforcements sent to the Mexican frontier were drawn from the Pacific, the military forces now stationed there is considered entirely inadequate to its

defence. It cannot be increased, however, without an increase of the army; and I again recommend that measure as indispensable to the protection of the frontier.

I invite your attention to the suggestions on this subject, and on others connected with his Department, in the report of the Secretary of War.

The appropriations for the support of the army during the current fiscal year ending 30th June next, were reduced far below the estimate submitted by the Department. The consequence of this reduction is a considerable deficiency, to which I invite your early attention.

The expenditures of that Department, for the year ending 30th June last, were \$9,000,265 55. The estimates for the year commencing 1st July next and ending June 30, 1853, are \$7,898,775 83; showing a reduction of \$1,161,492 75.

The Board of Commissioners, to whom the management of the affairs of the Military Asylum created by the act of 3d March last was entrusted, have selected a site for the establishment of an Asylum in the vicinity of this city, which has been approved by me, subject to the production of a satisfactory title.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy will exhibit the condition of the public service under the supervision of that Department. Our naval force afloat during the present year has been actively and usefully employed in giving protection to our widely-extended and increasing commerce and interests in the various quarters of the globe, and our flag has everywhere afforded the security and received the respect inspired by the justice and liberality of our intercourse, and the dignity and power of the nation.

The expedition commanded by Lieutenant De Haven, despatched in search of the British commander, Sir John Franklin, and his companions in the Arctic Seas, returned to New York in the month of October, after having undergone great peril and suffering from an unknown and dangerous navigation and the rigors of a northern climate, without any satisfactory information of the objects of their search, but with new contributions to science and navigation of the unexplored polar regions.

The officers and men of the expedition, having been all volunteers for this service, and having so conducted it as to meet the entire approbation of the Government, it is suggested, as an act of grace and generosity, that the same allowance of extra pay and emoluments be extended to them that were made to the officers and men of like rating in the late exploring expedition to the South Seas.

I earnestly recommend to your attention the necessity of reorganizing the Naval Establishment, apportioning and fixing the number of officers in each grade, providing some mode of promotion to the higher grades of the navy, having reference to merit and capacity, rather than seniority or date of entry into the service, and for retiring from the effective list upon reduced pay those who may be incompetent to the performance of active duty. As a measure of economy as well as of efficiency in this arm of the service, the provision last mentioned is eminently worthy of your consideration.

The determination of the questions of relative rank between the sea officers and civil officers of the navy, and between officers of the army and navy, in the various grades of each, will also merit your attention. The failure to provide any substitute, when corporal punishment was abolished for offences in the navy, has occasioned the convening of numerous courts-martial upon the arrival of vessels in port, and is believed to have had an injurious effect upon the discipline and efficiency of the service. To moderate punishment from one grade to another is among the humane reforms of the age; but to abolish one of severity, which applied so generally to offences on ship-board, and provide nothing in its stead, is to suppose a progress of improvement in every individual among seamen which is not assumed by the Legislature in respect to any other class of men. It is hoped that Congress, in the ample opportunity afforded by the present session, will thoroughly investigate this important subject, and establish such modes of determining guilt, and such gradations of punishment as are consistent with humanity and the personal rights of individuals, and at the same time shall ensure the most energetic and efficient performance of duty and of the suppression of crime in our ships of war.

The stone dock in the navy yard at New York, which was ten years in process of construction, has been so far finished as to be surrendered up to the authorities of the yard. The dry dock at Philadelphia is reported as completed, and is expected soon to be tested and delivered over to the agents of the Government. That at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, is also nearly ready for delivery; and a contract has been concluded, agreeably to the act of Congress at its last session, for a floating sectional dock on the Bay of San Francisco. I invite your attention to the recommendation of the Department touching the establishment of a navy yard in conjunction with this dock on the Pacific. Such a station is highly necessary to the convenience and effectiveness of our fleet in that ocean, which must be expected to increase with the growth of commerce, and the rapid extension of our whale fisheries over its waters.

The Naval Academy at Annapolis, under a revised and improved system of regulations, now affords opportunities of education and instruction to the pupils quite equal, it is believed, for professional improvement, to those enjoyed by the cadets in the Military Academy. A large class of acting midshipmen was received at the commencement of the last academic term, and a practice ship has been attached to the institution, to afford the amplest means for regular instruction in seamanship, as well as for cruises during the vacations of three or four months in each year.

The advantages of science in nautical affairs have rarely been more strikingly illustrated than in the fact stated in the report of the Navy Department, that, by means of the wind and current charts, projected and prepared by Lieutenant Maury, the Superintendent of the Naval Observatory, the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific ports of our country has been shortened by about forty days.

The estimates for the support of the Navy and Marine Corps the ensuing fiscal year will be found to be \$5,856,472 19, the estimates for the current year being \$5,900,621.

The estimates for special objects under the control of this Department amount to \$2,684,220 89, against \$2,210,980 for the present year, the increase being occasioned by the additional mail service on the Pacific coast and the construction of the dock in California, authorized at the last session of Congress, and some slight additions under the head of improvements and repairs in navy yards, buildings and machinery.

I deem it of more importance to a just economy, and a correct understanding of naval ex-

penditures, that there should be an entire separation of the appropriations for the support of the naval service proper from those for permanent improvements at navy yards and stations, and from ocean steam-mail service, and other special objects assigned to the supervision of this Department.

The report of the Postmaster General, herewith communicated, presents an interesting view of the progress, operations, and condition of his Department.

At the close of the last fiscal year, the length of mail routes within the United States was 196,290 miles; the annual transportation thereon 53,272,252 miles; and the annual cost of such transportation \$3,421,754.

The length of the foreign mail routes is estimated at 18,349 miles; and the annual transportation thereon at 615,206 miles. The annual cost of this service is \$1,472,187, of which \$448,937 is paid by the Post Office Department, and \$1,023,250 is paid through the Navy Department.

The annual transportation within the United States (excluding the service in California and Oregon, which is now, for the first time, reported and embraced in the tabular statements of the Department) exceeds that of the preceding year 6,162,855 miles, and an increased cost of \$547,110.

The whole number of post offices in the United States, on the 30th day of June last, was 19,796. There were 1,698 post offices established, and 256 discontinued, during the year.

The gross revenues of the Department for the fiscal year, including the appropriations for the franked matter of Congress, of the Departments, and officers of Government, and excluding the foreign postages, collected for and payable to, the British post office, amounted to \$6,727,866 78.

The expenditures of the same period, (including \$20,599 49, paid under an award of the Auditor, in pursuance of a resolution of the last Congress, for mail service on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in 1832 and 1833, and the amount paid to the British post office for foreign postages collected for and payable to that office) amounted to \$6,024,566 79; leaving a balance of revenue over the proper expenditures of the year of \$703,299 99.

The receipts for postages during the year (excluding the foreign postages collected for and payable to the British post office) amounted to \$6,345,748 21, being an increase of \$907,610 79, or 16.65 per cent, over the like receipts for the preceding year.

The reduction of postage, under the act of March last, did not take effect until the commencement of the present fiscal year. The accounts for the first quarter, under the operation of the reduced rates, will not be settled before January next; and no reliable estimate of the receipts for the present year can yet be made. It is believed, however, that they will fall far short of those of the last year. The surplus of the revenues now on hand is, however, so large that no further appropriation from the treasury, in aid of the revenue of the Department, is required for the current fiscal year; but an additional appropriation for the year ending June 30, 1853, will probably be found necessary when the receipts of the first two quarters of the fiscal year are fully ascertained.

In his last annual report the Postmaster General recommended a reduction of postage to rates which he deemed as low as could be prudently adopted, unless Congress was prepared to appropriate from the treasury, for the support of the Department, a sum more than equivalent to the mail services performed by it for the Government. The recommendations of the Postmaster General, in respect to letter postage, except on letters from and to California and Oregon, were substantially adopted by the last Congress. He now recommends adherence to the present letter rates, and advises against a further reduction until justified by the revenue of the Department.

He also recommends that the rates of postage on printed matter be so revised as to render them more simple, and more uniform in their operation upon all classes of printed matter. I submit the recommendations of the report to your favorable consideration.

The public statutes of the United States have now been accumulating for more than sixty years, and, interspersed with private acts, are scattered through numerous volumes, and, from the cost of the whole, have become almost inaccessible to the great mass of the community. They also exhibit much of the incongruity and imperfection of hasty legislation. As it seems to be generally conceded that there is no "common law" of the United States to supply the defects of their legislation, it is most important that legislation should be as perfect as possible, defining every power intended to be conferred, every crime intended to be made punishable, and prescribing the punishment to be inflicted. In addition to some particular cases spoken of more at length, the whole criminal code is now lamentably defective. Some of the offences are imperfectly described, and others are entirely omitted; so that flagrant crimes may be committed with impunity. The scale of punishment is not in all cases graduated according to the degree and nature of the offence, and is often rendered more unequal by the different modes of imprisonment, or penitentiary confinement, in the different States.

Many laws of a permanent character have been introduced into appropriation bills, and it is often difficult to determine whether the particular clause expires with the temporary act of which it is a part, or continues in force. It has also frequently happened that enactments and provisions of law have been introduced into bills, with the title or general subject of which they have little or no connexion or relation.—In this mode of legislation so many enactments have been heaped upon each other, and often with but little consideration, that, in many instances, it is difficult to search out and determine what is the law.

The Government of the United States is emphatically a government of written laws. The statutes should, therefore, as far as practicable, not only be made accessible to all, but be expressed in language so plain and simple as to be understood by all, and arranged in such method as to give perspicuity to every subject. Many of the States have revised their public acts with great and manifest benefit; and I recommend that provision be made by law for the appointment of a commission to revise the public statutes of the United States, arranging them in order, supplying deficiencies, correcting incongruities, simplifying their language, and reporting them to Congress for its action.

An act of Congress approved 30th September, 1850, contained a provision for the extension of the Capitol, according to such plan as might be approved by the President, and appropriated one hundred thousand dollars to be expended under his direction, by such architect as he should appoint to execute the same. On examining the various plans which had been submitted by different architects, in pursuance

of an advertisement by a committee of the Senate, no one was found to be entirely satisfactory, and it was therefore deemed advisable to combine and adopt the advantages of several.

The great object to be accomplished was to make such an addition as would afford ample and convenient halls for the deliberations of the two Houses of Congress, with sufficient accommodations for spectators, and suitable apartments for the committees and officers of the two branches of the Legislature. It was also desirable not to mar the harmony and beauty of the present structure, which, as a specimen of architecture, is so universally admitted. Keeping these objects in view, I concluded to make the addition by wings, detached from the present building, yet connected with it by corridors. This mode of enlargement will leave the present Capitol uninjured, and afford great advantages for ventilation and the admission of light, and will enable the work to progress without interrupting the deliberations of Congress. To carry this plan into effect I have appointed an experienced and competent architect. The corner stone was laid on the 4th day of July last, with suitable ceremonies, since which time the work has advanced with commendable rapidity, and the foundations of both wings are now nearly complete.

I again commend to your favorable regard the interests of the District of Columbia, and deem it unnecessary to remind you, that although its inhabitants have no voice in the choice of representatives in Congress, they are not the less entitled to a just and liberal consideration in your legislation. My opinions on this subject were more fully expressed in my last annual communication.

Other subjects were brought to the attention of Congress in my last annual message, to which I would respectfully refer. But there are more of more than ordinary interest to which I again invite your special attention. I allude to the recommendation for the appointment of a commission to settle private claims against the United States. Justice to individuals as well as to the Government imperatively demands that some more convenient and expeditious mode than an appeal to Congress should be adopted.

It is deeply to be regretted that in several instances officers of the Government, in attempting to execute the law for the return of the fugitive from labor, have been openly resisted, and efforts frustrated and defeated by lawless and violent mobs; that in one case such resistance resulted in the death of an estimable citizen, and in others serious injury ensued to those officers and to individuals who were using their endeavors to sustain the laws. Prosecutions have been instituted against the alleged offenders, so far as they could be identified, and are still pending. I have regarded it as my duty, in these cases, to give all aid legally in my power to the enforcement of the laws, and I shall continue to do so wherever and whenever their execution may be resisted.

The act of Congress for the return of fugitives from labor is one required and demanded by the express words of the Constitution. "That no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." This constitutional provision is equally obligatory upon the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Departments of the Government, and upon every citizen of the United States. Congress, however, must, from necessity, first act upon the subject, by prescribing the proceedings necessary to ascertain that the person is a fugitive, and the means to be used for his restoration to the claimant.—This was done by an act passed during the first term of President Washington, which was amended by that enacted by the last Congress, and it now remains for the Executive and Judicial Departments to take care that these laws be faithfully executed. The intention of the Constitution is as preemptory and as binding as any other; it stands exactly on the same foundation as that clause which provides for the return of fugitives from justice, or that which declares that no bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed, or that which provides for an equality of taxation, according to the census, or the clause declaring that all duties shall be uniform throughout the United States. The important provision that the trial of all crimes shall be by jury.—These several articles and clauses of the Constitution, all resting on the same authority, must stand or fall together. Some objections have been urged against the details of the act for the return of fugitives from labor; but it is worthy of remark that the main objection is aimed against the Constitution itself, and proceeds from persons and classes of persons, many of whom declare their wish to see the Constitution overturned. They avow their hostility to any law which shall give full and practical effect to this requirement of the Constitution. Fortunately, the number of these persons is comparatively small, and is believed to be daily diminishing, but the issue which they present is one which involves the supremacy and even the existence of the Constitution. Cases have heretofore arisen in which individuals have denied the binding authority of acts of Congress, and even States have proposed to nullify such acts, upon the ground that the Constitution was the supreme law of the land, and that those acts of Congress were repugnant to that instrument; but nullification is now aimed not so much against particular laws as being inconsistent with the Constitution, as against the Constitution itself, and is no longer to be disguised that a spirit exists and is being actively at work to read and usurp this Union, which is our cherished inheritance from our revolutionary fathers.

In my last annual message I stated that I considered the series of measures, which had been adopted at the previous session, in reference to the agitation growing out of the Territorial and slavery questions, as a final settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting subject of the Constitutional question, and I recommended adherence to the measures then adopted, until time and experience should demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against evasion or abuse. I was not induced to make this recommendation because I thought those measures perfect, for no human legislation can be perfect. Wide differences and jarring opinions can only be reconciled by yielding something on all sides, and this result had been reached after a angry conflict of the most anomalous, in which one part of the country was arrayed against the other, and violent convulsion seemed to be imminent.—Looking at the interests of the whole country, I felt it to be my duty to seize upon this compromise as the best that could be obtained amid conflicting interests, and to insist upon it as a final settlement, to be adhered to by all who value the peace and welfare of the country. A year has now elapsed since the recommendation was made. To that recommendation I still adhere, and I congratulate you and the country upon the general acquiescence in these measures of peace, which has been exhibited in all parts of the Republic. And not only is there this general acquiescence in these measures, but the spirit of conciliation which has been manifested in respect to the Territories, the slavery question has removed doubts and uncertainties in the minds of thousands of good men concerning the durability of our popular institutions, and given renewed assurance that our Liberty and our Union may subsist together for the benefit of this and all succeeding generations.

MILLARD FILLMORE.  
WASHINGTON, December 2, 1851.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM DOWNING.  
Downingville, down East in the State of New York.

The Downingville Platform.  
Mr. GALES & SEATON: Since another long talk with Uncle Joshua the rickety consarn of our politics in the country, and about contriving a platform to stand on, Uncle Joshua hold of the business like an old hand liberty. He says something more or we are a gone goose people, never get along in this way, some twenty parties, and every one has all the rest. When we didn't have but two parties, he says, one of them most always stood a chance to take of the ship, and trim the sails, and thought best, and man the helm, and her moving on the voyage. He says one again nineteen every where in the country, and if the good folks get ashore in the squabble, or the rocks somewhere, it must be a that'll save her.

"Ye see, Major," says Uncle Joshua, "we must malgamate these two parties into two parties again, some other. I can't exactly see yet how it; but the thing must be done, it's gone goose with us. All the ways run out after awhile and begin anew. It can't be helped, nater of the thing. All crops get out if you keep 'em too long in the field; and when you find the crop bear hardly nothin but weeds, the way to change the crop at once, so with the first two old parties, Federalists and Republicans; they had thing to fight about and keep it for some years. One was stronger, dederal Government wasn't strong, to get along well, and t'other wasn't it was too strong. And so they battle out year after year, till one got used to the working of the Government, and found it didn't want in either way. And so they malgamated, except a little once in a while, fun of it; and the two parties were sociable like, and to talk across from one rank to t'other, and afraid to come up so near as to chew of tobacco across to the pint of the baganot. At last, kind of mixed up like, and some side and some t'other, and for a side they belonged to. And so Uncle Monroe come in and look'd round how the ranks stood, his first was 'Why, fact, what Jefferson once are all Federalists; we are all Republicans has come to pass.' And here the old parties died out, and new ones set up and took their places.

Here Uncle Joshua got up and the fire and knocked the ashes out of the pipe and put in a little more tobacco and set down again.

"Well, now, Major," says he, "jest so with the last two great parties Whigs and Democrats. As long as I had any think to fight about, I kept their ranks straight and tight, was who, and they did it for many years. One wanted a very low tariff, and t'other didn't; one wanted to drink like all possess'd, with making canals and the like, and t'other wanted to go a step that way. And drew the lines and fit it out. He and how hard they fit I needn't say. Major, for you and General Jackson a hand in it and know all about it, after a while both parties found they could do as well without a grand bank as they could with one. They dropped that quarrel. Then some that wanted a very high tariff, but think they had pitched it rather low, and were willing to take one a little lower. And some of them wanted a very low tariff begun to feel too, that they had pitched it low, and begged for one a little higher. So the jig was up, and more party fightin on that score, as for roads and canals, they found out at last that them parties would go ahead any how, party or no, and there was no sort of use to 'em. So there was the end of the old parties have had their day, and you, Major, they are both dead as rins; they've died a natural death."

"Why, Uncle Joshua," says he, "to me you are getting wild. Do the old parties are dead? Whigs and Democrats in every mouth from mornin till night? We got Whig papers and Democrat papers from one end of the country to t'other, we every day hear of Whigs and Democrat meetings in the States? Haven't Mr. Donaldson got things all cut and dried for a Baltimore Convention to nominate a president? And ain't the Whig papers time talking about a national convention to nominate a President on the Democratic parties are dead?"

Here Uncle Joshua laid his head on the table, and said, "Uncle Joshua laid his nittin work down, and he was in earnest too. And Uncle Joshua turned round to me, and says, 'I tell you the old Whig and Democrat parties are dead as two stones, names may be alive yet, and some may think for a good while to come are fightin agin the Whig party, the Democrat party, jest as Mr. thought he was fightin agin the Federal party for more than twenty years, ter they was all dead. But what defines the names when the life is gone out into a line again and t'other as they used to. Folks are mumbling the names over, but the and Democrat party are dead as