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## LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF WINFIELD SCOTT.

Winfield Scott was born the 13th of June, 1786, near Peabury, Vt. His descent may be traced from a Scottish gentleman of the Lowlands, who, with his elder brother, was engaged in the Rebellion of 1745. The elder was slain in the memorable field of Culloden. The younger, involved in the consequences of this severe disaster, emigrated to America, and bringing with him little but a liberal education, commenced the practice of law in Virginia. He was successful in the path thus chosen, and married, and died young. His son William married Ann Mason, a lady of one of the most respectable families of Virginia. He pursued the occupation of a farmer, and died in 1791, leaving two sons and several daughters. The eldest of the two sons was James, who commanded a regiment at Norfolk in 1812; and the youngest, Winfield, the subject of this sketch, then five years of age. In 1803 the widow also died, leaving Scott, at seventeen years of age, in the very outset of active life.

At this time his character is described by one who knew him as distinctly formed. He was full of hope, and animated by a just sense of honor and a generous ambition of honest fame. His heart was open, and kind to all the world, warm with affection towards his friends, and with no idea that he had, or deserved to have, an enemy. He was intended for one of the learned professions, and pursued the usual preparatory studies, spent a year at the high school at Richmond, and thence went of his own accord to the College of William and Mary, where he remained one or two years, and attended a course of law lectures. He finished his legal studies in the office of David Robertson, and in 1805 was admitted to the bar. In the autumn of 1807, he emigrated to South Carolina, intending to practice law in Charleston. The failure to procure from the Legislature a special appropriation from the general law-revising commission to have a year's residence in the State, defeated the object of his emigration to South Carolina, and, not improbably turned the current of his life. Disengaged from business, the political events of his country, then rapidly moving towards the crises of 1812, soon transferred him to another, and a more active and brilliant scene. In the spirit of patriotism, resistance and indignant resentment for wrongs endured, which then excited a great Great Britain, Scott largely shared. Hopeful, ambitious and emulous of fame, he combined in his character, the elements of a patriot soldier. In the summer of 1807, he had specially volunteered as a member of the Peterburg troop of horse, that had been selected out under the proclamation of the President, forbidding the harbors of the United States to British vessels of war, in consequence of the attack on the frigate *Chesapeake*. This was the humble beginning of a career which has placed the name of Scott upon the scroll of fame, high among the highest of those whose military achievements have won the admiration of the world.

On his return to the North, after his visit to Charleston, the country was in the midst of the political excitement which attended the renewed difficulties with England, and the enactment of the Embargo law. In the winter of 1807 a bill was introduced in Congress, for the enlargement of the Army, and Scott applied for a commission in the new regiment about to be raised. The law passed in April, and in May, 1808, he became a Captain of Light Artillery. In the political controversies of this exciting period, Scott was among the friends of positive resistance of those acts of oppression, and from the attack on the *Chesapeake* to the declaration of war, he was an approver, a supporter and a writer in favor of war measures. When the difficulties with England began to assume a serious aspect, under the appointment of a sudden invasion of Louisiana, a military force was kept there under the command of General Wilkinson, and in 1809, Captain Scott was ordered to join the army at New Orleans. Young, frank, ardent and ardent in his opinions, he was not slow to express his opinions on the subject. This first occasion presented a difficulty between Scott and Wilkinson, which resulted in Scott's suspension for one year. The suspension was a severe one, Scott's error being a violation of discipline, under a mistaken understanding of the rules of the service.

The effect of the sentence of the popular mind, is evidenced in the fact that soon after his conviction the young Captain was complimented with a public dinner given by many officers and citizens of the neighborhood. During the year of his suspension, Scott returned to Virginia and diligently applied to the study of works on the military art, with the view of making himself thoroughly conversant with the duties of the profession he had chosen. He returned to his place in the army before the war of 1812 broke out.

On the 18th June, 1812, he was formally declared against Great Britain, and during the following month Scott received the commission of Lieutenant Colonel in the Second Artillery, and arrived on the Niagara frontier, taking post at Black Rock, to protect the Navy yard there established. The expedition planned against Queenstown Heights, was carried into execution on the 13th October, 1812. Early on that morning, Scott arrived at Lewiston with his regiment, by a forced march from Black Rock, having offered his services in the proposed movement. They were declined because the arrangements were already completed; but permission was given him to post his regiment at Lewiston and set as circumstances might permit. The American attacking forces crossed the river but their gallant effort, as is well known, was quite unequal to the superior numbers and discipline of the enemy. It was just after every commissioned officer of the American forces had fallen dead or wounded, that Lieut. Col. Scott, arrived on the heights, and took command of the troops, amounting with reinforcements to 350 regulars and 250 volunteers, whom he drew up in a commanding situation to receive the enemy and cover the ferry in expectation of being reinforced by the whole of the militia at Lewiston. The interval of rest was short. The Indians, who had been

concentrated in the neighborhood, sprang into action, and five hundred of them soon joined the British light companies previously engaged. A fierce battle ensued. The enemy was driven back in total rout, Scott leading on and animating his troops with a gallantry which cannot be too highly extolled. But the first of the morning having roused the British garrison at Fort George, eight miles below, their troops were put in motion, and soon after Scott arrived on the field, the British reinforcements also entered it. Just when American reinforcements were most needed, information was brought to Scott that the pair-striker militia at Lewiston refused to cross the river. That sealed the fate of the day. The British force now numbered not less than 1,300, while the Americans were reduced to less than three hundred. Scott took his position on the ground his force then occupied, resolved that he would surrender only when battle was impossible. Mounting a log in front of his little band, he thus addressed them:

"The enemy's balls begin to our ranks. His shot comes, and there is no retreat. We are in the beginning of a national war. Hull's surrender is to be redeemed. Let us then die, arm in hand. Our country demands the sacrifice. The brave will not be lost. The blood of the slain will make heroes of the living. Those who follow will avenge our fall and their country's wrong—Who dares to stand?"

"All!" was the emphatic response. But the bravest resistance against such fearful odds was vain. The Americans gave way, and retreated to the water's edge, which they reached by letting themselves down (holding on to limbs and bushes) the precipice. It was soon resolved to surrender when Scott, having sent flags of truce by several of his men, who were shot down and captured by the Indians, resolved himself to make another attempt. In this he was successful, although surprised by two Indians, whose fire proved to be fortunate, discharged, and were prevented from using their knives and hatchets upon the "tall American," by the arrival of a British officer and some men. Terms of capitulation were made, and Scott surrendered his whole force with the honors of war.

We have given these incidents somewhat in detail, because it was at Queenstown that the military genius of Scott was first made clearly manifest; and it must be admitted that though defeated then, no incidents of his life have more distinctly indicated his peculiar qualifications for a military leader—his possession of the traits of coolness, prudence, decision, intrepidity, patriotism and magnanimity—than did those of his first adventure as a commander. Of course, in the brief limits of a newspaper sketch, we cannot give anything like a detailed account of the many scenes in his too full a career for a prominent soldier. His life is too full of such for more than that we can refer to, unless we would write the history of the United States during the last forty years.

The prisoners of Queenstown were sent to Quebec, thence to Boston, and Scott was soon exchanged. When they were about to sail from Quebec, a party of British officers came to examine and set aside such of the prisoners as, by confession or account of voice, were judged to be English—the object being to send them to England, as British subjects. Twenty-three had been set aside when Scott reached the deck of the transport; and there were about forty more in the detachment of the same birth, all in deep affliction at the certain prospect of an ignominious death. Scott at once ordered them to answer no more questions, and despite threats and the orders of the officers to go below, explained to the men the obligations of the United States to them, and assured them of protection. The men were a cordial one, as may be supposed, by the words they and their deliverer. In this act of the young Colonel we have the beginning of a system of hostages extending throughout the war, and the establishment of a principle of National law then unknown, but which is now clearly seen to form one of the foundations of American Independence—the right to adopt the subjects of foreign powers, and to receive them from their native allegiance, and protect them as thoroughly as though born on the soil. The shrewd, far seeing administrative ability here displayed, is not one of the least of the veteran's claims to confidence of his countrymen in his present position before the people.

We cannot stop to detail Scott's brilliant achievements in storming Fort George, on the 27th May, 1813, when he pulled down the British flag with his own hands and completely routed the enemy, taking large numbers of prisoners. Among other engagements, in which he was a prominent and successful participant during the campaign of that year, we can only mention the descent upon York (now Toronto) in July, 1813; and the capture of Fort Maitland, on the St. Lawrence. On the 9th March, 1814, he was made a Brigadier-General. On the 3d July he led his Brigade to the capture of Fort Erie, and on the following day moved towards Chippewa, keeping up a running fight with the British troops during a march of sixteen miles, and driving the enemy across Chippewa River. On the 5th he fought the bloody battle of Chippewa, where, by superior skill, decision and celerity and impetuosity of movement, the enemy, though outnumbering our troops, were made to sustain a most disastrous defeat. This battle, he it is remembered, was fought in open plain, and the prowess of American arms was tested against some of the best troops of Europe. Its result was, that the enemy the written acknowledgment of the important fact that we (the British) have now got an enemy who fights as bravely as ourselves." On the 25th of July was fought the more sanguinary battle of Niagara, in which Scott bore a most important part, and which

he held the title of the Hero of Landy's Lane, by which he is known to the civilized world. Information having been received that the enemy had sent half its force across the river for an attack, as was supposed, upon Fort Schlosser, Scott was ordered, with a force of four battalions, consisting of 300 men to advance upon the forts at the mouth of the Niagara. Reflecting that the whole British force had been beaten on the 5th, and supposing that but half of it was now on the Canadian side, Scott dashed forward to disperse what he supposed was but a remnant of the enemy. Passing through a narrow strip of woods, which hid the enemy from view, he was greatly astonished to find directly in front, drawn up in order of battle on Landy's Lane, a larger force even than that he had encountered at Chippewa, twenty days before—the enemy having been greatly reinforced. The position he found himself in was truly critical. To stand fast was out of the question, being already under a heavy fire of the enemy's artillery and musketry. To retreat was equally hazardous because of the confusion likely to ensue, and the danger of creating a panic in the reserve, then supposed to be coming up. Scott at once determined to maintain the battle against superior numbers and position, until the reserve should arrive. Thus the British Commander, General Riall, was led to believe that the whole American Army was at hand, and he was kept on the defensive, and from profiting by his numerical strength to attack our flanks and rear, until the expected reinforcements arrived. The battle began about forty minutes before sunset, and continued with unabated fury for several hours, a succession of brilliant movements on the part of Scott's troops, the while, evading the enemy frequently to fall back with order. During the action, Major-General Riall and several other British officers were captured. At 9 o'clock at night, the enemy's right had been beaten from its flank assault, with great loss. His left was turned and cut off. His centre alone remained firm, because it was posted on a ridge, and supported by nine pieces of artillery—the battery which was soon after taken by the gallant Col. Miller. The contest continued until midnight.

During the entire action, Scott was seen in the thickest of the fight, and exposed to all the perils of the field. Two horses were killed under him. In the midst of the confusion he was wounded in the side, but continued at his post until 11 o'clock, when he was disabled by a wound from a musket ball through the left shoulder. The coat closed by the possession of the field of battle by the Americans, and the capture of the enemy's cannon. The world has seen mightier armies moved over more memorable fields; but no bloodier scene for those engaged—no severer trial of courage and discipline.

From the glorious field of Niagara, Scott was borne, near the close of the engagement, twice wounded and helpless. For weeks his life was despaired of. But the kind attention of sympathizing friends was rewarded, and he has great recovery. In September, 1814, "Philadelphia" and "Baltimore" were threatened with an attack of the enemy. It happened that he was, Scott was requested by the War Department to take at least nominal command of the troops assembled for the defence of those Cities. Accompanied by his Aid, now General Worth, he proceeded by easy stages to Philadelphia, receiving on the way the highest evidences of popular esteem, and being complimented at Princeton, when he passed through there, by the honorable degree of Master of Arts, conferred by the Trustees of the College. On the 16th October, he assumed command of the Tenth Military District, whose Headquarters were at Washington. In the meantime, he had been again promoted to the rank of Major-General, and assumed the command of the Army of twenty-eight years of age—appointed, too, by the wise and patriotic Madison. On the 11th of November, 1813, Scott received a vote of thanks of Congress—a compliment paid to no other officer.

In February 1815 the Treaty of Peace arrived in Washington. His administrative abilities were recognized soon after by a tender of the post of Secretary of war, which he declined, out of magnanimous deference towards his seniors, Major-Generals Brown and Jackson. After assisting to reduce the Army to the Peace establishment, he was ordered to Europe by Government, both for the restoration of his health, and for professional improvement. He was also confidentially intrusted with diplomatic functions, the duties of which he performed as well as to receive a letter of thanks from the State Department, by order of President Madison. He returned from Europe in 1818, and in March, 1817, was married to Miss Maria May, daughter of John May, Esq., of Richmond Va.—a lady whose charms and accomplishments are widely known. They have had several daughters, but no living son.

We pass over many interesting incidents in the life of our hero, including his personal attachment and devotion to the troops under his command, who two-thirds of their number were swept away by the Cholera of 1832, while on their way to the scene of the Black Hawk War. Night and day, he was presenting himself to the officers and men, nursing, comforting, and consoling—establishing his claims to the title of a hero of humanity, in addition to that of hero of battles. To General Scott, also, belongs the honor, in a great degree, of negotiating the treaties which brought peace to our North-western frontier, in place of the hatchet and scalping-knife of the ruthless savages. For his courage and skill in these scenes of pestilence and savage controversy, General Cass, then Secretary of War, paid Scott the highest compliments, in an official communication.

On the 20th January, General Scott was ordered to the command of the Army of Florida, to chastise and subdue the Indians then engaged in the Seminole War. A brief campaign failed to discover the hidden fastnesses of the enemy in that new and unknown country. Disaffection ensued, and General Scott was ordered home by the President in a hasty moment, was tried before a Court of Inquiry, and his course, and the plans of the Seminole campaign, were unanimously approved. Scott subsequently asked to be restored to the command in Florida; but this request was unjustly denied. It will be remembered, too, that he presented the Creek war in the meantime, with entire success. In the Winter of 1837-8, we find our hero again on the Niagara frontier, calming the excitement growing out of the "Patriot War," and by his kindly offices and judicious arrangements, soothing the populace, and stopping in

the bad influences which threatened a renewal of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain. Soon afterward he was equally successful in quelling the Cherokee Indians, and effecting their peaceful removal beyond the Mississippi. His address to the Cherokee on this occasion is a pattern of persuasive eloquence. In the following year, his services were required gain on the Northern frontier, in consequence of the difficulties growing out of the Maine Boundary question, which was soon happily settled.

In '36 General Scott was presented to the Whig National Convention as a candidate for the Presidency. He believed, however, that the nomination was due to Mr. Clay or Gen. Harrison and addressed letters to five members of the Convention, urging, if there was any prospect of success before the people, the selection of Mr. C. and if not, of Gen. H. His honorable ambition could not forget the claims of others for his own aggrandizement. Gen. Harrison, as is well known, received the nomination, and was elected. A few months after this, at the death of Gen. Macomb, in June 25, 1841, Gen. Scott was called to the command of the entire Army. Again, in 1842, he addressed a letter to the Dayton (Ohio) Committee, declining the Whig Presidential nomination in favor of Mr. Clay. In February, '43, he wrote his celebrated letter on Slavery, in which he expressed distinctly the views sustained by Mr. Clay in his speech on the Compromise measures—to wit, that Congress has no color of authority under the Constitution for touching the relation of master and slave within a State; but that, in the District of Columbia, with the consent of their owners or on the payment of just compensation, Congress may legislate at its discretion; but, he continues, "my conviction is equally strong that, unless it step by step, with the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, it would be dangerous to both races in those States to touch the relation of master and slave in this District." He also defended the right of petition, but regrets he was unable to introduce his Anti-Slavery petition, which had been produced in the Southern States.

In 1846 the war with Mexico broke out. The events connected with that struggle are so recent and so familiar to almost every child in the Nation, that a detailed recapitulation of them would be needless. The triumphs and successes of our arms on many a well-fought field, are still new causes of gratulation with the Nation. The distinguished part borne in those campaigns by General Scott, in command of the regulars and volunteers of our Army, crowned the summit of his military glory; and under his command, in connection with the lamented Taylor, proofs were given of the skill, impetuosity and valor of American arms, which elicited the highest commendation from the veterans of Waterloo; re-affirmed the right of the United States to rank among the first of warlike powers; and will probably result in preserving our peace with the world against all ordinary causes of dissatisfaction—for it has been well said, by one high in the councils of the Nation, that a detailed recapitulation of the military successes of our arms, in the future, will be exceedingly difficult to the United States to get another war, so completely triumphant was our recent exhibition of military prowess.

It was the good fortune of General Taylor to be present where the first laurels were to be won in the contest with Mexico. How well he earned, and how gloriously he wore them, we need not say. They and his memory are still green in the hearts of his countrymen; and while we weep over his recent grave, the fresh page of Fame presents to all a vivid, never-to-be-forgotten record of his self-sacrificing devotion. General Scott well knew the value of his own companions in arms, and that a proper occasion only was wanting for a development of those brilliant qualities of soldiership, which have since rendered the name of Taylor so illustrious. He was unwilling to snatch from Taylor the glory he knew he was about to acquire; nor willing to decline a service corresponding to his rank, when the President intimated an intention to supersede the Hero of Buena Vista. He therefore suggested that he be permitted, during the Summer months to collect and drill the troops designed for Mexico, get together the material of the Army, and then join General Taylor with such additional forces as would secure with certainty the objects of the Campaign, and at the same time respect the well-established military usage, "that a junior officer should not be promoted to the rank of a senior in rank, only by the addition of large reinforcements. This plan would give Taylor the glory of one campaign, and prepare the American forces for a decisive blow at the earliest period when it could be made effectual. The spirit in which these suggestions were received by the President and Secretary of War (Murey) evinced a want of confidence in the plans proposed by Gen. Scott. Civilians forgot his eminent military skill, the uniform success of his past achievements, his many services; and humiliating as it is, it must be acknowledged that a fear of Scott's political position, as a prominent candidate for the Presidency in opposition to the dominant party, chiefly led a countermand of the orders to take the field. "Let him go to Mexico," would seem to have been the argument, and returning to the people fresh from new military triumphs, he will become a successful competitor for the Administrative succession, "smarter under a rebuke or little deserved, and filled with scorn and contempt at the paltry persecution which he had now commenced against him, Gen. Scott again addressed the President, recapitulating the difficulties in the way of immediate action, stating anew his plans and reminding the Executive that no General, exercising the difficult function of a distant command could feel secure without the support and confidence of the Government at home.

In September following he addressed a letter to the Secretary of War, asking to be assigned to the command of the Army on the Rio Grande; which request met a flat refusal. Subsequent developments show that about this time, President Polk entertained the subject of creating the office of Lieutenant General, thus superseding the rank of Major-General, and that Scott and General Taylor were the only candidates for the office. It will be remembered, too, that he presented the Creek war in the meantime, with entire success. In the Winter of 1837-8, we find our hero again on the Niagara frontier, calming the excitement growing out of the "Patriot War," and by his kindly offices and judicious arrangements, soothing the populace, and stopping in

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as Scott himself. In the vain hope of stemming this popular tide, by directing it towards one supposed to have been crippled by persecution, Scott was, in November, '46, ordered to repair to the seat of war—a command which he obeyed with cheerful alacrity, having been assured by the President, of his confidence and support, and given to understand that he would have continued and entire command of the Army in Mexico. It was on the 24th November, that he left Washington for the Rio Grande. Congress met in two weeks afterwards; and immediately upon its organization, the proposition to supersede both Scott and Taylor was brought forward!

But we cannot stop to recite all the evidences of the "attack from the rear" which Scott had apprehended; how the news of the attack upon Taylor was sent in advance to the very Army into which he was to breathe the inspiration of hope, which he was to train and prepare for the deadly conflicts that awaited them; and how the men he was to command were told that the President had no confidence in him; how some of the principal arrangements for the attack on Vera Cruz were delayed by the Government at home; how the bill for raising the ten additional regiments, was lost sight of in the base desire to carry the favorite projects of placing a political partisan at the head of the Army. We can only remind our readers that he went steadily forward, with a single eye to the accomplishment of his duties, and the honor of his country's flag. We can but call to mind the landing at Vera Cruz, March 10th, 1847; the capture of the supposed impregnable Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, on the 27th; the glorious achievements of Cerro Gordo, on the 18th of April; the entrance into the City of Puebla, on the 15th of May; the field of Contreras, on the 13th of August; the battle of Churubusco, on the succeeding day; the strike at Molino del Rey; the storm of Chapultepec, and the last, the decisive blow—the capture of the City of Mexico, on the 14th September, 1847. Where else does history's page, within the brief period of six months, record a campaign in which was crowded a succession of so many and such brilliant exploits! What wonder that such deeds and results, achieved under the command of Scott, led the veteran Wellington to declare the campaign unsurpassed in military annals, and to the American General the title of the greatest living soldier!—Nur are his acts of administration in closing the war; negotiating the peace; comforting the vanquished, and protecting their property, less worthy of commendation. In all these he displayed in still higher degree the shrewdness, tact, and judgment which distinguished the first years of his public service.

But he had another foe to meet, —one more terrible to the sensitive, high-minded soldier, than any arrayed on the field of battle. He had yet to meet the persecutions and slanders of some high in power among his countrymen; his spotless honor was to be impeached and defiled; his fair fame to be vitiated against the malignity of a relentless enemy posted where he should have been only friends and allies. —As he had finished the last acts of the Mexican drama, and dispatched to the Government the first peaceful fruits of well earned victories, the order came which summoned him from his command, in the very presence of the conquered enemy, and summoned him before a tribunal of inferiors. But his countrymen rose en masse and rebuffed the insult offered to the most successful General of the age, with such spirit that the persecution qualified before the storm of popular indignation. And after to toil-worn veterans had been dragged home a prisoner, the prosecution was dropped. The Court of Inquiry simply reported a voluminous mass of testimony, glad to strike away in oblivion "without even voicing the accused a verdict, to be applied to the future, by the exceedingly difficult to the United States to get another war, so completely triumphant was our recent exhibition of military prowess.

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THE SPEAKING. The candidates for office of Governor were with us and addressed a large collection of the people, on Wednesday last. We took notes of the leading speeches; but can give nothing more than a synopsis of the points made:

Mr. Kern, the Whig candidate, led off in an appropriate exordium, informing the people that he was the candidate of the Whig Party for the office of Governor of North Carolina—not by his own procurement, but by the unselected appointment of his friends—a party whose principles he loved and to which he was proud to belong; but, if elected to the office, he would perform its duties, not as the Governor of a party, but as the Governor of the whole State.

He had been taunted, he said, by some of the Democratic papers, with the charge that he had, in his letter of acceptance, said he would vindicate Whig principles—and if so, added they, he would do what neither Daniel Webster nor Henry Clay had ever been able to accomplish. He would not for one moment think of comparing himself with those illustrious men; yet the vindication of Whig principles was a task that he felt himself able most easily to accomplish. Indeed those principles were vindicated by the conduct of the Democrats themselves,—not one of whom had ever been able to administer the Government without abandoning his own professed policy and resorting to Whig measures.

The Democrats always claimed to be strict constructionists of the Constitution, and declared that Congress had power to incorporate a Bank of the United States, to commence and carry on Internal Improvements, or protect the Domestic Industry of the country. But how was it with the founders of the Republic and the makers of the Constitution? How was it with the illustrious man who presided over the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States—the immortal Washington? Did he understand the instrument that he had helped to make? Well, Washington signed a Bank charter, and also a bill the avowed object of which was to afford protection to the infant manufactures of the country. It was argued on the other side that the duties laid by this tariff were excessive, amounting to not more than from five to fifteen per centum. But that was not the question. Was the principle of protection recognized in the bill? That was the point at issue; and that principle was expressly recognized and avowed.

He said he would pass over the administration of JOHN ADAMS, and come to that of THOMAS JEFFERSON, the great apostle of Democracy, to whom the Democratic Party claimed to trace its paternity. Was THOMAS JEFFERSON a strict constructionist? Did he believe that Congress possessed the power to incorporate a Bank? or to commence and carry on works of Internal Improvement, or to encourage the Domestic Industry of the country? He signed a bill concerning a Branch of the United States Bank at New Orleans; he signed the Cumberland Road Bill—the first Internal Improvement bill that passed Congress—and he purchased Louisiana. He also thought that Congress might encourage, with suitable protective duties, the manufactures of the country; and all these measures except the purchase of Louisiana, Mr. Jefferson thought were constitutional. The purchase of Louisiana, he did not think was constitutional, but that it was justified by the necessity of the case. But was this a compliance with the creed of the strict constructionist—the Democracy who claimed Mr. Jefferson as their great leader, as their head and founder?

Mr. Hanson, Mr. Kern went on to say, that the charter of the late Bank of the United States, and urged upon Congress the protection of the Industry of the country.—Mr. Moxam, it was well known, followed in the footsteps of Mr. Madison. General Jackson voted in the U. S. Senate for the Tariff of 1842; and would have furnished Congress with the plan of a United States Bank, that would have met with his approbation, had that body applied to him for such plan. In fact, the Whig construction of the Constitution had always been resorted to by the Fathers of Democracy.

And how was it with Mr. POLK? The Democrats were always erecting platforms and making professions and contending for a strict construction of the Constitution; but did they ever stand up to their platforms, or carry out their professions? Let professed believers in one end of the scale and practice in the other, and see what the result would be. Mr. Polk came into the Presidency declaring that our Oregon claim was clear and indisputable; yet he yielded it up; and that he would have fifty-four forty; and that he took a solemn oath faithfully to perform his duty as President of the United States. But did he get fifty-four forty? He did not. Did he fight? No, that Platform. The raising of the British Lion was too terrible for Duck River valor. Mr. Polk backed out from his position on the Oregon question; and one of his ablest and most faithful friends declared in the Senate of the United States that by so doing, he had sunk himself to a depth of infamy so profound that the hand of resurrection could never reach him.

But Mr. Polk had sworn that he would fight and fight he must; and as he feared to encounter the British Lion, he determined to assume the poor, crippled Eagle of Mexico. This he did; and did it dignify the relation of the Constitution of the United States. He issued an order that put the Army in motion, and produced the collision, and he did it while Congress, the war-making power, was actually in session. And so on, we have his partisans, that in this he has exceeded his powers, that they procured the passage of a declaration by Congress affirming that the war existed by the act of Mexico; and members who knew that the affirmation was false, were compelled to vote for it, or vote against the bill making provision for the gallant Army—yet being a prefix to that bill. Here then were the facts; let them be contrasted with the professions of the Democratic party, and it would be seen how they carried out their doctrine of a strict construction of the Constitution.

They insist upon no measure for mere party purposes. The first United States Bank was put down by the old Republican Party; but the members of that party were no partisans. The war of 1812 convinced them of the utility of a Bank and they had the magnanimity to acknowledge their former errors and charter one; and should we have the misfortune to get into another war with any of the great powers of the earth, the people would again see the necessity of a National Bank, and would have one. The Democrats boasted that all the Whig predictions in relation to the demolition of the late Bank had failed; but they had not failed. The grossness of the mercantile community, the tears of ruined widows, and the cries of distressed orphans, that filled the land for some time after that occurrence took place, fully justified what the Whigs had foretold would be the consequences. The country had, it was true, in a great measure recovered from the disastrous effects of that ill-considered step; and as it would have done from the consequences of almost any measure that could have overtaken it.—Such are the recuperative energies of this gigantic Republic that no blunder in its financial policy can arrest, for any great length of time, its onward progress. But the rate of exchange is not yet so favorable as it was when the Democratic Party commenced its war upon the United States Bank. Then exchanges could be effected between the most distant points of the Nation at one quarter of one per centum; the new rates are at one per centum in some cases, probably as low as one half per centum.

The Whigs, Mr. Kern contended, had not abandoned their policy in relation to the Tariff. They were still for a revenue tariff with discriminations in favor of Domestic Industry, and opposed to the ad valorem principle. The Whig tariff of 1842—a correct principle. The Democratic Tariff of 1840 was directly the opposite of this. The Whig tariff laid specific duties, and discriminated in favor of American Industry; the Democratic tariff went for ad valorem duties, and discriminated in favor of European Industry. The Democrats are now intemperately opposing to the tariff of 1840 and crying out, "Shut them! Look at the revenue which it has produced!" But how has this been effected? Why just ten days after the passage of their tariff bill—by which the Whigs held that they could not collect a sufficient revenue—they slipped a proviso into the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, prescribing a method of appraisement entirely different from that laid down in their tariff duties—a method by which the duties were greatly enhanced; and thus by a law not alluded to another part of the Statute Book, where no body in the world would ever think of looking for it, this great amount of revenue had been raised! But this was not all! Mr. Polk's Secretary of the Treasury issued a circular to the collectors, defining their functions, and prescribing the mode of assessment, for which illegal duties, to a very great extent, were collected. These were paid by some under a protest, and afterwards sued for and recovered back. The illegality of this proceeding was discovered after Mr. Fillmore came into office, and Mr. Hunter of Virginia introduced a bill, legalizing a method of assessing and collecting duties on imports, which has been done previous to that time without any law at all. So by these various devices the duties are as high as they were under the Whig tariff of 1842, with its material difference—the discriminations are against our own industry, and the ad valorem principle, under which it is impossible to detect the frauds of dishonest importers, is still retained. Thus have the Democrats imposed upon the people, and denied the credit of a law, without in fact having that to offer in its stead!

On the subject of the Public Lands, Mr. Kern said that the Whigs, twenty years ago, took the position which they now maintain—was the old States were entitled to an equal share of them; a bill by which they might have obtained this share was framed, but it fell before Democratic misrule. The Democrats were for keeping these lands as a source of national revenue; the Whigs predicted that if kept for that purpose, they could be appropriated by the members of Congress from the new States; and revenue would be derived from them—while the old States would be robbed of their just rights. The wisdom of the Whig party had been fully vindicated by what is since transpired. Illinois has received twenty-five millions of dollars worth of these lands; Indiana two or three millions, and other new States a great deal; and yet when Mr. Underwood introduced his bill proposing to give fourteen millions to the old States, his proposition was laughed to scorn. The prediction has been verified. They had yielded no revenue to the government. Nor was this all, a bill, called the Homestead bill, had passed the House of Representatives, proposing to give to every head of a family in the United States, upon condition of occupancy and cultivation of the same for five years, one hundred and sixty acres of public Land. This bill, if passed by the Senate, would cure to the benefit of the Brokers and money-changers of New York and Boston, who would get respondents to go and claim the title of the bill and transfer their titles to them; that the honest and frugal citizens of the country who were laboring for the support of their families and the education of their children would derive no benefit from any such measure. The whole substance was a gift, implicit and insidious. But Governor Kern charged that the Whigs of the new States were as much in favor of the land grants that had been made as the Democrats.—Very well. If the Whigs and Democrats of the new States were united in the support of a scheme to divide the old States, then the Whigs and Democrats of the old States should unite in opposition to their nefarious scheme. But how was this? On the passage of the Homestead bill through the House every Whig member from North Carolina, except Mr. Cardwell who was at home beside the dying bed of his mother, rejected his vote against it; while Messrs. Ashe, Daniel and Venable, the Democratic members, joined the question, and did not vote at all. As it was said that if the grants of land to Illinois and the other States were wrong, Mr. Fillmore ought to have voted them. The complaint, however, was not that Illinois voted, but that Illinois got land and North Carolina got none. The old States gave their public lands to the general Government for the benefit of all the States. Besides a

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