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THOMAS J. LEMAY, Editor

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SPEECH OF

B. F. MOORE, ESQ.,

Before the Young Mens' Scott and Graham Club, Raleigh, July 13th, 1852.

RALEIGH, July 14, 1852.

DEAR SIR:—I have received yours of this date, written on behalf of the "Scott and Graham Club," requesting me to prepare for the Press, the remarks I made at their meeting on yesterday evening.

I do not feel myself at liberty to refuse anything which, in the opinion of friends so true to our cause, may tend to disabuse the Whig Party of calumny, or the distinguished gentleman, whom it has nominated for President, whose shaken, bright as it is, is his national renown, of the charge so humiliating, both to himself and his country, of leading a factious fanaticism against the integrity of the Union.

I shall take the liberty of adding some topics and simplifying others.

Very truly yours,
B. F. MOORE.

SEATON GALES, Esq.

Mr. President and Members of the Scott & Graham Club:

The candidates of the two great parties are now before the public. I take the occasion to dissent in advance, from the presentation of any other ticket, and to say, southern man as I am, that at this moment of time, I should greatly regret to see a *Union Ticket*, as is announced by the papers, spring up in the State of Georgia. Sir, there was an occasion for that ticket; but I thank a kind Providence, it has passed away. The danger of disunion from fanaticism at the North is now felt by very few, and, in truth, so distant, at present, do we all regard that peril, that we but give it importance by noticing it at all. True it is wisdom to see and avoid danger at a distance; but it is as unwise, to fall into a panic, and so invite the danger, as to allow it to overtake us unprepared. I should feel much more unhappy than I do this night, if I thought that any danger threatening the integrity of the Republic, demanded a party secession to ward off the hidden blow. Sir, the Shepherd who never watched his flock, *but* lost his sheep; and the Shepherd who *eternally* cried in danger and out of danger, wolf, wolf, fared none the better. To us all, the Union must become cheap indeed, when its protection falls into the hands of one or two States. In the hour of peril, Georgia won from the South a tribute of gratitude when she destroyed a party tendency to sustain the madness of her sister. I trust that her own domestic quiet does not now need this extraordinary isolation; and if that be not the case, I hope that she will not continue to disturb the repose of the Confederacy, by sounding in the hour of security, the tocsin of alarm fitted only to awaken in the moment of danger. For one, sir, I do not admit that she is the Lexite of the confederacy, and, by authority, invested with the great guardian-ship of the Ark of the Covenant. Believing that there is no danger in the Union, except from those who may hereafter create it, nor seeing any that is likely to spring up in the North, I can but regard the announcement of such danger, gravely made, as a most unfortunate event, well calculated by first cheapening its value, ultimately to destroy its bonds.

Having embraced the political creed of a Whig as early as I dared to trust that my convictions were the result of judgment; having at all times been a warm admirer of that most disinterested patriot and noblest of statesmen, Henry Clay, and never at any time having had such a profound and venerated esteem and reverence for him, as in his last great struggle for the adjustment of the slavery question; sympathising with him in all his anxieties for the safety of the Union, and regarding the Compromise as the great achievement of his life, and fit to crown the greatest reputation, I determined to support no man for President, who I did not believe, would support, maintain and defend the principles of the Compromise, as sacredly as he ought to support, maintain and defend the Constitution of the Union.

With much anxiety, therefore, to secure a sound Whig candidate for the Presidency, did I look into the character of those who were likely to come before the Convention. My preference for Mr. Fillmore was too decided to allow any other man to share it with him. He had proved to the Nation that he was abundantly equally to the task, both of his head and his heart, to administer the government faithfully and impartially, in defiance of factions, frowns and favors, wherever they might be, or from whatever quarter they might come. Called to the Presidency by a casualty, and in the very midst of the alarming crisis when the elements of strife seemed ready to devour the Ship of State, he called to his aid as noble a crew of patriots as ever trod a deck in the hour of danger, and laying his hand firmly on the wheel, he put her head directly under the light of the Constitution. With unmoved eye and steady hand, which was but the better nerved by the impending peril, he rode right through the storm, leaving on the one hand, the yawning gulf of Fanaticism, and on the other its no less dreaded fellow of Secession and disunion, till he gained the smooth and open sea, and, once more, in an hour of joy, from forecastle to stern, from her decks and from her yards, was heard the swelling shout "*all is well*." There were on board that ship many noble volunteers; but one there was, by common consent, nobler far than all, whose clarion voice rung out from the tempest, words of duty, courage and perseverance; that voice we shall hear no more; but its earnest tones yet linger on the ear like the memory of a father's dying blessing.

Sir, it was in this moment, when all might have been lost, by delay or indecision, that Mr. Fillmore ascended to the chair of Washington. The mantle of the departed sage fell on his shoulders, and all was saved. Such an exhibition of patriotic statesmanship secured my warmest admiration, and my undying gratitude, and, Sir, I embrace with these sentiments *every* man who brought his tribute to the altar of the noble cause. High in my favor, and as high as Mr Fillmore, stands that man of three score and ten, the giant of intellect, in statesmanship without a superior, in patriotism as large as his country, in eloquence, now without a rival, who brought to the trial, on behalf of that country, all that God had given him, and all that fortune had bestowed. Nothing, nothing, Sir, but a desire to reward the well tried merit of the President, and to encourage a similar devotion in others, influenced me to postpone the claims of Mr Webster to those of Mr. Fillmore.

Nor, Mr. President, can I forget the gratitude I owe to the Chief of the American Armies, who, through all his life, he has abstained through a feeling of commendable propriety, from an effort to exercise the influence of his great position on the legislative affairs of his country, nevertheless deemed that to be an occasion, fit for an exception to his general rule of conduct. That ardent devotion to his country, which has marked his great and honored career for forty-four years of a service, performed without the Union, as well as within every part of it, did not allow, when the integrity of his country was menaced by internal discord, that hand to be idle, whose great employment had been to defend it. His advocacy of the Compromise measures, with all his influence, was so open, ardent and constant, that it became obnoxious to many of those who sought to engraft the principles of free-soilism on the legislation of Congress. Gov. Cleveland, a distinguished leader in the Democratic wing of the free-soil party, in a recent speech in Congress, thus bears testimony *against* Gen'l Scott.

"General Scott was, by Mr. Fillmore, placed temporarily at the head of the War Department, and in that position, coupled with his great military fame, was able to, and did, exert a powerful influence in favor of these Compromise measures.

* * * * * * *

"I desire to do justice to the man who has been arraigned here, and charged with hostility to these measures, or at least that he did not, or does not, commit himself in favor of them. Justice to that distinguished Whig requires of me that I should say he could not have done more. He was as active a man as could be found in getting these Compromise measures passed.—I was here, and heard from every quarter that General Scott was as active and energetic in his efforts as any man in Washington, and never did a man labor harder than he took Scott to prevail upon the Free-soil members of the Whig party to abandon their position and to adopt the Compromise as a measure of the new administration.

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"These measures were passed mainly through the influence of that Hero, Whitney, Scott, Pierce and others. There were those who carried them through, and every man who was in the last Congress knows it."

Now, Mr. President, I think it more than likely, that, if I had been a Whig of Massachusetts or of New England, I should have supported Mr. Webster in preference to any man living. The great distinction of the Chief Magistracy which he had so richly earned seems to be bestowed in this campaign, or, in all probability, never. Nor, is it a matter of wonder with me, that General Scott, who has been a Whig from the earliest existence of the party, through all its fortunes, should have been the choice of New York. There is no State in the Union that owes him so heavy a debt of gratitude, and none which, at all times, has been so ready to greet his presence. Can any one who knows the American heart, or can appreciate with proper sensibilities, the greatest favors, feel astonished at such a preference? The war of 1812 is not yet forgotten. The insult to the flag of the Nation with a series of continued wrongs had fired to the highest heat of indignation the heart of America. Weak is her marine, with an immense defenceless coast to protect, it was the early and favorite policy of the administration to strike the enemy on land. The Canadas lay on our borders, and a river only divided them from New York.—The invasion and subjugation of those provinces was resolved on. Under a belief that the subjects of the British crown wanted only a pretext to declare their independence, our material for war was concentrated for the great enterprise. Proclamations were issued to invite the people to revolt; and such was the gasconade of those papers, that the Nation was invited to look for splendid victories and extensive conquests before a hostile foot had touched the soil. But the first news was that of defeat, surrender and disgrace—outrage heaped upon outrage remained unavenged—and our bold threats had but sunk us in deeper disgrace. The army was gone. The borders of New York were open to the enemy; and the spirit of the Nation fell, as her flag was trailed in the dust. In the midst of this humiliation a young soldier appears on the stage of war, in rank but a captain; but in ardor, enthusiasm, daring, hope, energy, patriotism and skill, every thing. In an instant the banner is raised aloft—on the fields of its dishonor the young officer proudly bears it in the storm of war. The fear does away that American soil will drink American blood—but on British soil he pours out his own, as from victory to victory, he speeds his onward march over the bloody heights and ensanguined plains of the confines of Canada.

The people of New York freed from the alarm of the invader, witness and share the splendid achievements of the young captain. With their own eyes they see his deeds, with their own hands they engage under his lead, and together they rejoice again to behold the ensign of their country, washed of its insult, in the blood of the foe. *New York has never forgotten the hour of her peril, nor the man that delivered her;* and to say that he owes his popularity, *there*, to Seward, is to slander her gratitude or be ignorant of the common history of the times. In my humble judgment, to-day, and in this canvass, he could snatch that State from the united efforts to the contrary, of Seward and both the Van Burens, backed though they might be by the presses of Greely and Bryant.

Twenty-five years after the war of 1812, when the whole State of New York became inflamed at the affair of the *Caroline*, and by her course, caused the most serious alarm to be felt by the General Government as to the maintenance of peace with Great Britain—and when there was nothing which was likely to save us from the issue of war, but to appease the popular passions of an aroused and determinined people, General Scott was the man selected of the whole Nation to effect this delicate object. And why? Sir, why was not some one of New York's own favorite sons who had long enjoyed the confidence of the people? Only because there was no man in the Union who had such unbounded control over the popular will of New York as Winfield Scott.

The mission was performed with consummate address, and elicited the highest demonstrations of public approval; and in no place, was he more warmly greeted than in the Capitol of the State, during the then session of the Legislature. At no time from the war of 1812, to the war with Mexico, has General Scott passed through New York, without meeting, at every step, with the most lively public exhibitions of a deep seated affection for his person and unbounded admiration for the lustre he had there shed on the American name. How much higher position he holds in their bosoms, since he had open the gates of Mexico, I need ask those only, who have heart enough to rejoice in the renown of their own benefactor and the benefactor of their country.

I have not, Mr. President, set myself to the task of spreading before you the achievements of General Scott, but to show that, above all men, he was likely to be, and, in fact was, the favorite of New York. She owed him a debt of gratitude, which, as in the case of Mr. Webster, was then to be paid, or never, with the Chief Magistracy.

The charge that he has been brought forward by Seward, is as baseless in fact, as the original motive of making it was cunning and unjust. It is vastly nearer the truth, that Seward is but blowing his breath into sails already inflated with the popular gale, than that he is Atlas himself. Scott has never stooped, unsoldier-like, to living man; nor abased himself for favor, to any power that has ever existed in the land. His whole public life has been a scene of arduous duty and splendid results; and, if the partisan critic may here and there gather up an indiscreet expression, I defy the efforts of opposition to point to an *unwise deed*. Recalled from the Florida war, and subjected by President Jackson to a Court of inquiry, because he did not finish it in a single campaign, he breathed the spirit of a freeman too proud, and too independent, ever to be led by Seward, when, in his noble defence, he dared to rebuke the intolerance of that temper which had prostrated, under the odium of the popular feeling, (which General Jackson could so powerfully command to execute all his purposes,) the mighty names of Clay and Calhoun and Webster. And although there was a truculent clamor against him, too proud was that man of the iron nerve, and too obsequious to follow in his foot steps, was his successor, to retract the wrong, and restore the Commander in Chief to his lawful position in war: and it took six more years with able generals to lead, to end that one campaign war.

And, Mr. President, in what perfect harmony with this littleness of partisan and personal rancour, was the conduct of him, who, *as the young hickory of the Nation*, sought, first, to snatch away the legitimate command of the army in Mexico, by the appointment over Scott, of a Lieutenant General, who might bear off the laurels of the war; and when the wretched scheme had been indignantly rebuked by the people and his glory in that war had ascended to its zenith, next sought to obscure its effulgence, by humiliating and harrassing the veteran with court martials, both abroad and at home.

I am sorry to know, that this unbecoming spirit of persecution, like all the other bad passions of party, has descended as an inheritance; and, among certain leaders, is violent just in proportion to his prospect of success. Let them rave on; Scott's fortune is far above their reach; his history is written on the scroll of our Eagle; and wherever that Eagle may go, on whatsoever land or over whatsoever sea, the name of the daring young captain of Queenstown heights, and the snowy headed Chief of Churubusco, as it is borne along in his flight, will but make our emblem bird mount yet nearer to the sun.

Mr. President, our opponents began this strategy with no small degree of cunning.—Conscious that they had some, and a large proportion of the very worst material of free soilism in their ranks, and having ascertained that Seward, with the great body of New York, would support General Scott, they sought to identify the General with the odious name of this Senator, first, that they might escape reproach themselves; and secondly, that they might destroy the Whig party of the South: and forthwith with a most extraordinary degree of assurance, they hoisted for themselves the Compromise flag, and for Scott, the flag of a free-soiler. So ardent was our attachment to Fillmore, that we were even content that they should decry Scott. Our object was to secure our preference; and so long was the Democratic press permitted to play this game unrebuked, that, while they were at all times ready, with all their host of free-soilers to rally around their nominee, whether he might be among the known or unknown, we found ourselves, on the nomination of Scott, brought right up to a stand still. Long ago, in private conversation, I denounced the scheme to my friends. I saw, that on the meeting of Congress, the Whig party had, in their caucus, passed resolutions approving the Compromise, and that our opponents, in theirs, immediately following, had failed and refused to do so. To me the purpose was obvious: it was to entice the free-soil Whigs to break from their party and stand aloof on national politics, or by leaving open their door, to quietly introduce them into the Democratic fold. So commenced the game for the free soil vote. The Whigs were the first to plant themselves on the high ground of the Compromise, and this stand was followed immediately by a Democratic refusal to imitate the example.—Even then, with this beam in their eyes, the Southern Democrats had the hardihood to identify the Whigs with Sewardism.

Mr. President, it is time that we should treat the subject of slavery with more philosophy. We know that every man in a free State holds slavery to be an evil, and, if General Scott has said that much—so has General Pierce. So had Martin Van Buren, (and voted it too,) when he was elected to the Presidency. So did Robert G. Walker, although a Senator from Mississippi. In fact, if we mean to exclude from the Chief Magistracy, every man who entertains that conviction, it is most certain, that more than half the people are politically disfranchised. Now, sir, those who are for excluding from their party, at this time, all the free-soilers of the country, most, if they have reflected, have contemplated the certain dissolution of the Union; and are engaged in employing, in my judgment, means the most effectual to that end. The free-soil party of the country is a very large body of men, who have among them all the elements for a National greatness; they have wealth, education, industry, manufactures, commerce, agriculture, arts and science, courage and religion—nevertheless, they are opposed to the introduction, by their votes, of any other slave territory into the Union: this opposition, with some, is political, with others, religious, with others, as they say, natural; with more yet, it is political, religious and natural. But, whether arising from the one or the other, or from all of these great impulses of human action it is capable of concentration into the highest intensity of zeal, and of becoming the one and the only idea of humanity.

Such is the material with which a Union man has to deal, in his political associations, in this confederacy. But these freesoil men are also alive to the general policy of the government, respecting the numerous subjects of legislation which affect man in all other relations of life—they are growers of bread and manufacturers of cloth—their various pursuits to attain the comforts and happiness of existence originate a thousand differences of opinion, which, in their judgment, should regulate the actions of government. On these subjects they are divided among themselves, and each of the divisions fondly seeks a union with similarity of sentiment in whatever quarter of the country it may be found.

Now, the whole question with a Union man is this: Is it policy to ostracise the entire free soil party; to disown them, and deny them a common participation with us in the election of a President, and so drive them away into a party with one idea for their motto, and one persecuted sentiment for their rallying point? Or, is it better to divide them among the two great parties, which, not differing as to anything, except what, in the judgment of each, may best lead to the great ends of government, may take alternate triumphs, without loss of liberty of Union?

If those who compose that portion of the confederacy were, to-day, excluded from an equal and constitutional participation in the affairs of the government, they would, in a month, make a party, whose fanaticism, stimulated by the indignity, would control, or shatter the Union into fragments. My policy, therefore, is to manage them—to divide them, and thus conquer the danger; to engage them on other matters of policy; to magnify other ideas, and so to weaken that of freesoilism. And I take it as a providential favor, that these men cannot see alike on the other interesting political subjects. I might, if in my power, I would number every soul of them, and make an equal division between the parties. I would give Seward and Tait Rantoul; or if my political opponents in their wisdom should think the bargain for them too good, I would allow them to keep one of the Van Burens as boot, *for the present*. I would divide the Presses too; and, to make the trade even, I would put on one side Horace Greely of the Tribune, with the next best to him, and Bryant of the Post, on the other; and, as to all other of the said free soilers, I would weigh and deliver them equally to the parties, according to the strictest rule of equity; and to keep up a perpetual balance, I would renew the division at every presidential election.—Mr. President, most devoutly do I thank God, that they are not only divisible, but actually divided; and here to night, I promise on behalf of Gen. Scott, that he will take a great better care of Seward, than President Polk did of Martin Van Buren.

Such is the disposition which I would make of that faction, and so the relative strength of the great parties would remain unaffected, while that of the faction would be annihilated. But there is indeed, little prospect during this canvass of any division of the kind. The reported sentiments of Gen. Pierce, uttered as recently as January last and published at the time in a public speech delivered at New Boston, forbid the hope. The free-soilers who deify the one idea of negro emancipation and pursue it as the end of living, can do nothing less than give to him their support. He who avails himself of a public occasion to declare in the midst of the home of fanaticism,

"*I have been asked if I liked this Fugitive Slave Law. I answered No.* I LOATHED IT. I HAVE A MOST REVOLTING FEELING AT THE GIVING UP OF A SLAVE—THE LAW IS OPPOSED TO HUMANITY,"

will and must gather around him every one of the faction who venerate their fanatical principles more than they do the dignity and honor of their country.

Mr. President, my attention within the last fortnight, was called to a rumor stolen from the wires, that some dreadful stroke was preparing to descend on the Whig Party. In a few days afterwards, appears a card signed by certain representatives in Congress, among whom I recognise names that I have loved to admire—Stephens and Toombs of Georgia, Kit Williams and Gentry of Tennessee. Believing fully as I do, that the ticket is entirely safe, notwithstanding this defection from its support, nevertheless, the failure of such men to act with the party, in which they have shone as brilliant lights, was enough to induce me to read most attentively, their reasons for so unusual a course. I have done so; and, with all respect for the judgment of these distinguished men, I announce my unhesitating conviction to be, that they have been unjust to Gen. Scott; unjust, therefore, to the country, whose annals he has so much adorned; and unjust to themselves. Their reasons are briefly, but fully stated, and when specified, are four:

1. That Gen Scott absolutely refused, up to the time of his nomination, to give any public opinion in favor of the Compromise.

2. Nor has he *since the nomination*, made any declaration of his *approval* of those measures, as a final adjustment of the matters therein embraced.

3. That he had in substance said, (in a letter of of 1841, I suppose) that slavery was an evil, and,

4. That his policy, if elected, would be warped and shaped to conform to the views of the Free-soilers.

Let it be borne in mind, that these gentlemen are *entirely* satisfied with the Whig Platform.

Now, sir, I propose to demonstrate that each and every objection is without any foundation, if we could suppose, even, as they do, that the "known incidents" of his long public life, bear with them no evidence, that he would be loyal to the Constitution, and the peace and happiness of his country.

1. Gen. Scott *did not* refuse, either absolutely, or otherwise, up to the time of his nomination, to give any public opinion in favor of the compromise.

And now to the proof.

1. In the midst of the exertions of Mr. Clay upon his measures of Compromise, to-wit: On 25th Feb. 1850, a very large meeting of the citizens of New York assembled at Castle Garden "*to consult upon measures for the preservation of the Union.*" Three resolutions were introduced.

The first declares an ardent devotion to the Union, and denounces its destruction as "*a gigantic crime against the peace, prosperity and freedom of mankind.*

The second calls the attention of the lovers of the Union to the preamble and resolutions of Mr. Clay.

The third is as follows:

Resolved, That, in view of the above considerations, we accept as the basis of a Compromise, the preamble and resolutions as introduced by Mr. Clay, in the Senate of the United States, on the 29th of Jan. 1850.

Gen. Scott was present, and this was the first party meeting he had attended in forty-two years.

His speech on the occasion has these expressions:

"I am charmed with the good feeling, and universal *patriotism* which this meeting has exhibited; and God grant that you may devise some plan to save the Union, to which we all, in heart and soul, are so much attached."

"Feeling that it (the Union) was in jeopardy, and that the meeting had assembled to promote harmony and preserve the Union, I came here." "I am not an *Abolitionist*, nor an *advocate of Slavery*. I came not here as a *Democrat or Whig*. But when the cry is that the Union is in danger, and a rally is made to support it, *I would have been a coward and a recreant if I had not also rallied.*"

"Of whatsoever value may be the remainder of my life, I would give it in support of the Union. I hope I may not live to see its dissolution; but, if unable to avert its fate, I would be buried beneath its ruins!"

"The meeting then adjourned with three cheers for the Union and Compromise."

Now, sir, will any fair minded man assert that here is not a public endorsement of the object and proceedings of that vast assemblage of patriotic citizens? In explicit language, he tells the public, that the purposes of this meeting drew him to it, after abstaining from party meetings for forty-two years. Did he attend any Free-soil meeting, or give them any encouragement by his presence? No sir, he went there with his heart in his hand.

Again—Did he not allow his friends in Congress, time after time before the nomination, to rise and speak, as of their knowledge, that he was prepared to endorse the Compromise as it had passed; and is not this equivalent to giving publicity to his opinion on the subject? What man of honor would not scorn to allow his friends to fill the country with falsehood on his behalf, to the end that he might betray both them and the Republic?

Again—Does Gov. Cleveland assert falsehood when he says: *I was here (in Washington, D. C.) and never did a man labor harder than Gen. Scott to prevail on the Free-soil member of the Whig Party to abandon their position, and to adopt the Compromise as a measure of the new Administration.*

If these be not incidents in a man's life pointing to something, and that something definite, it is difficult to know what an incident is.

2. Gen. Scott *has since the nomination*, made a declaration of his approval of the Compromise measures, as a *final* adjustment of the matters therein embraced—if the English be yet the standard vehicle of a man's thoughts.

And now to the proofs.

1. He declares: "*I accept the nomination with the resolutions annexed.*" [Of this language I have something to say, presently.]

2. He declares: That the political principles and measures laid down in the resolutions, (Platform) are so broad, that but little is left for me to add! And then proceeds to suggest and add two measures, of which the Platform had not treated, to wit: The disposal to be made of the Public Lands; and a rule for naturalizing foreigners, who have served faithfully in the Army or Navy for a year. What does he mean by *adding* two new measures to the Platform? Does he mean to subtract any or all the others from those? When he *adds* the measures of his own suggestion to those of the resolutions of the Convention, does he not make the whole his own? Is that the language used to effect a division of the question?

3. He declares: "For my strict adherence to the principles of the Whig party, as expressed in the resolutions of the Convention, and *herein suggested*, &c., I can offer no other pledge or guarantee, than the known incidents of a long public life."

Again, he introduces the measures *suggested* by himself, which he proposes to add to the Platform resolutions, and offers precisely the same pledge for both.

Now, what are the incidents of a man's long public life, but the material for his public character? They constitute the character itself. And any man, not seeking for quibbles in language, interprets the phrase to mean a pledge of his public character for a strict adherence to the "Whig principles as expressed in the resolutions."

The card makes Gen. Scott speak folly.—It says, "among the incidents of his life, there is not one, so far as we are aware of, in favor of the principles of the Compromise." Did the Gen. mean to say, I pledge the battle of Chippewa, or of Chapultepec, for a strict adherence to Whig principles? These are *incidents*. Or did he mean to pledge the fame of his long public life? How could one interpret the expression in the meaning of the card! Or if such interpretation were admissible, we could not expect to find the principles of the compromise in the great incidents that constitute a hero's life, unless they might be found in his admitted devotion to the Union; or in that declaration of his at Castle Garden, that he was no abolitionist; or, in that other declaration there made, that he does not call himself a "citizen of the North or the South, of the East or West;" or, in the fact that he attended that great gathering, assembled to recommended the Compromise measures of Mr clay; or in the fact, stated by Gov. Cleveland, that, "in that position, (Secretary of War) coupled with his great military fame, he was able to, and did exert a powerful influence in favor of the Compromise measures."

3. The third charge that he had, in substance, pronounced slavery an evil, I might leave without a word. I introduce it but to show the character of the commentary by the signers of the card. It is a stretch of opposition which neither party has ever made or can make, without striking sixteen States from all future candidacy for President.

☞ *Exclusion to this extent, is* DISUNION!

4. The charge *that his policy, if elected, would be warped and shaped to conform to the views of the free-soilers*, is calculated to surprise every man who knows that the signers of the card were willing to trust to the pledges of Gen. Scott. One compliment the card bestows on the General. True, it is given by implication, but it is given, and given strongly. That compliment is to his truth. He will not open his mouth, say they, to endorse the compromise, because he has not resolved to execute it.

Now, Mr. President, there is not a man among all the freesoil party, who did not certainly know that President Fillmore was prepared, if need there might have been, to execute the fugitive law, with the whole army of the Union: and that Scott was ready to lead it to the scene, where ever it might be.

Nor was there one, who, on the 24th day of June 1852, did not know that that law was still in force, and had received every where, the judicial sanction of its constitutionality from the high Courts of the land. Now, hear what Gen. Scott says in his letter of acceptance, of that date.

"Convinced that *harmony or good will* between the *different quarters* of our broad country is *essential* to the present and future *interests* of the *Republic*, and with a *devotion* to those *interests* that can *know no South* and *no North*, I should neither countenance nor tolerate any sedition, disorder, faction, of *resistance* to the law or the *Union* on any pretext, *in any part of the land*; and I should carry into the civil administration this one principle of military conduct—obedience to the legislative and judicial departments of Government, each in its Constitutional sphere."

Who will say the free soil party did not understand this part of the letter? Why, if there were obscurity elsewhere, here is a light that opens every eye and leaves that faction no gleam of hope to shape his counsels or conform his views."

But, sir, I will return to dispose of the second charge, *that he has refused to endorse the platform. "I accept," says he, "the nomination with the resolutions annexed."*—"That is," says the card, "*he takes the* nomination CUM ONERE, *as an individual takes an estate with whatever incumbrances it may be loaded.*"

This really smells so much of the special pleading of an advocate, that a man might well begin to doubt, before he began to examine. None but a cavilling critic would ever have so misconstrued plain good English. By what authority is it declared that the expression, "*with the resolutions*," signifies *incumbrance*? When the resolutions are *proved* to be an incumbrance to Gen. Scott, then we must admit them to be so,—bad English as the phrase would be. Pray, what difference in meaning is there between these expressions—"I accept the resolutions with the nomination," and "I accept the nomination with the resolutions?" If the former had been used, would the English sense have been that the nomination was an incumbrance? If not, the commentary of the card is silly. We may now expect to hear the General asked if he really mean what he said; or with being charged with saying what he did not mean.

He took bread with wine: is the wine an incumbrance? It is a common phrase, and means exactly that he took bread *and* wine. It is a common mode of employing the preposition "*with*," in the conjunction, "and." So when he accepted the nomination *and* the resolutions. But in whatever form you cast the phrase, I assert that if Gen. Scott understood the words used by himself, he *has endorsed* the platform with his *heart*. I did not, Mr. P., suppose till I saw the card, that seven members of Congress, of the acknowledged taste in public speaking which three of them, at least, enjoy, could be ignorant of the universal meaning of the word *accept*.

According to walker and Webster—to take with pleasure, to receive kindly:—According to Johnson—to take, to receive kindly:—to admit with pleasure, to receive kindly—according to Webster—to take, receive what is offered with a consenting mind, to admit with approbation or favor—according to Bailey—to receive favorably or kindly.* to

If the Whigs of the South lost their choice of men, their convention did neither abase their dignity, nor betray their constituents.—The finger of a public opinion, most deliberately expressed, pointed to exalted names only, for the Presidency. Fillmore, Webster, Scott, were names of renown, not only across the continent, but beyond the wide waters of the seas. Their ripe fame had been already transferred to the page of history—to confer the presidency on *any* of them, was to reward extraordinary merit and great public service performed for, and acknowledged by, millions of freemen. Out of these three, the country expected a selection, and so the selection was made. The struggle for the choice was long and harrassing but calm and dignified. Under the high impulse of patriotism and mutual forbearance, they preserved their temper and discretion, and when the protraced contest demanded a sacrifice, it was made with grace to themselves, and without indignity to there jected, or insult to popular preference. The name that was selected may be repeated with pride, in whatever land our country is known.

But how humiliating to the country are the results of the opposing Convention. With as many as four men of high distinction before the public—of admitted ability, of wide renown, experienced as statesmen,—tried and greatly approved in high office by the party, and tried on the Compromise, they were all presented as favorites of the people, and all discarded by the Convention. And why was this done? Not that it was expected or wished by the people, nor that it was the calm and considerate decision of the Convention. That body had balloted thirty seven times between these great leaders of the party: and by the collisions of rivalry, had degenerated into little factions with heated feeling and partisan hates,—too jealous to unite, and too obstinate to yield. Each faction in its turn, demanding and refusing concession, the voice of the people and the dictates of patriotism were alike unheeded; and at last to end the ignoble strife and save each clan from the disgrace of a defeat, they agreed to sacrifice the wishes and expectations of the people on the altar of faction. They immolated Cass and Douglass, Buchanan and Houston, their heroes and their sages, and sought for a man too obscure to have, or to be a rival. Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire was the man,—the untimely birth of petty factions. A gentleman, who by descent, education and public opportunity, had been stimulated to exhibit his utmost capacity, and yet, at the age of fifty four years, had done not a single deed with his pen, his sword or his tongue, that raised him above the level of a hundred thousand of his countrymen. Such a fruit was the legitimate production of petty factions, that had not patriotism enough to make, for the good of their country, even a sacrifice to rival merit. This is the second example, within the last eight years, of deliberate insult to talents, merit and great public service. Its baneful effect on the honorable aspirations of faithful public men, cannot go long without repressing all praiseworthy ambition for distinction, and withdrawing from the national head, the profound respect which ever attaches to the chief Magistrate of a nation governed by public sentiment. The action of the Conventions has passed into History. Let the nation read it with profit, before it be too late.*

Mr. President, no one in the State has yet been unwise enough to assail the character or Whig sentiments of Gov. Graham. The services of his younger days have been performed before our eyes, as those of Scott were enacted in the presence of New York. And as it is easier to strike at Gen. Scott with all the shield of his national renown around him, at a distance, than at Gov. Graham at hand, so the party who have ever met an overmatch in the Gov., resolve now to prostrate him for ever. The opportunity is too tempting to partizans, who have received so many defeats at his hands, and whose prime of life and eminent talents, and solid popularity, place him directly in the pathway of all their hopes.—*Let the friends of Graham, that purest of public men, beware of his insidious foe.*

The opponents of Scott have attempted to arouse the jealousies of the citizen against military chieftains. The alarm is affected, the warning is hypocrisy. If it be sincere, they were disloyal to the republic when first they broke on the sacred ground with the hero of New Orleans and gave up the country captive into his hands. Ever since that day the struggle against military chieftains has been growing weaker, until the popular mind has been so much fed with the glory of battle, that the objection is now felt by a few only.

I, Mr. President, am one of that few.—But where should I go to look for a rally? Among the democracy? They are all too busy in lauding the fame of Andrew Jackson, and inflating the military adventures of Franklin Pierce. If I turn to the Whigs, their answer is that in that issue they have been conquered by their opponents, and the question is settled.—What then am I to do? To disfranchise myself of all participation in the choice of a President? I shall not do that, but rather, when two generals are in the field will I select the general of eminence.—If I can do no better thing, I will approve my gratitude to him who has conquered the enemies of my country, and spread over the wide world his military fame—to him who, in the battle field, is the 'mountain storm,' and in the chamber of affliction and death, the gentle angel of charity;—to him who wins, amidst havoc and blood, the laurels of war; and in the silent and dreadful scenes of plague entitles himself to a garland from the hand of pity.

In thus bestowing my choice, I am not insensible to the high civil qualifications of Gen. Scott. For twenty five years, have I known his public career, and during all that time, he has enjoyed the reputation, not only of a great captain, but of a profound publicist, of being well versed in the political affairs of his country, and deeply read in its history. Such acquisitions were absolutely necessary to a commanding general, whose position as chief placed him substantially over the bureau of war.

I doubt not his ample civil qualifications for the office, and that he vastly exceeds Gen. Pierce in every requisite to constitute the chief magistrate in every emergency of the nation in time of peace. I doubt not his entire devotion to the Union—nor doubt not his entire devotion to the guard, protect and defend those great measures of compromise, which the dying patriot bequeathed, as his last legacy to his countrymen. And I doubt that he will faithfully as, throughout his life, his private character has been without reproach, as a citizen and as a soldier, he has always bowed before the majesty of the law with the reverence of the heart, I doubt not he will accord to his fellow citizens no other duty than he performed best when performed in the spirit of his own example. Such are my views; and under the influence, I invoke to the banner we have raised of Winfield Scott and William A. Graham, every man who would reward high public merit with public honor; the friends of the Compromise, and the friends of the Union; every man that yet treads a higher step as he hears of the gallant fields of Lundy's Lane, of Fort George and of Niagara.

My countrymen, your own Graham calls you to duty. The State of North Carolina, honored thus for the first time by the National will, demands your voice. Heed not the tale that humbles in the dust the grey hairs of him who has never taken himself nor given to his countrymen, any but the cup of honor. Leave the task of reviling him to the partisan critic. Be it his task to write down the faults of the hero with a ragged pen of iron; charity shall draw her soft brush over the heartless record, and in its place, justice shall grave his eulogium, with a pen of gold, in letters, of light, on the hearts of his countrymen.

*So extraordinary was the nomination of Gen. Pierce, that his biographer has deemed it necessary to attribute it to a providential escape of the country from the "intrigues" and "demagogueism of the political aspirants of the party at Baltimore. At chapter 43, page 45, of his life published by Cornish, Lamport, & Co., H. Long and Brothers, New York, on the 9th of June, it is thus accounted for: "The fact is, that the time had come "in this country, when we had been surfeited "with statesmanship, and demagogueism had nearly "proved the ruin of the Republic. The struggles and "the strife of cliques and intrigues, the tricks of political jugglers, and the corruption of factions had "gone so far—prominent public men were either suspected or disliked in various sections of the country, "or, pure and noble as many of them may have been, "they had been so long before the Nation, that it is "not strange that the Baltimore Convention should "have left the immediate circle of active and prominent "politicians, and looked away to a distance, to see "what man Heaven had trained up and been leading "by its mysterious hand to the summit of power."—With this my recollection there has been, besides this, but one other instance of such obvious interference by Providence in the affairs of the party; and that was the selection of the Heaven born Amos Kendall to be fourth auditor of the Treasury Department.

*Since the preparation for the press, of the foregoing, the Standard, with the appearance of dissent from the meaning I have given to the word accept, proffers to lend the Club Crabbe's Synonymes. I had consulted that book before, but only to ascertain if there could be found a single word on the definition of words that questioned the received meaning of 'accept.' I accept Crabbe. He says, "to receive, simply excludes the idea of refusal; to accept includes the idea of consent. We may receive with indifference, or reluctance; but we accept with willingness." Thus, as frequently happens in Legislative proceedings, one offers a proposition, and another, amendment, which, if it please the former, he accepts. And this is the term usually used to signify that the amendment is agreeable to the first proposer.]