

# WEEKLY COMMERCIAL.

THOMAS LORING, Editor and Proprietor; BENJAMIN I. HOWZE, Corresponding Editor.—ONE DOLLAR Per Annum, invariably in Advance.

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## ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR MANLY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN  
OF THE CONVENTION

In February 1848, when I was nominated by the Whig State Convention for the office of the Governor of the State, the honor was unsolicited and unexpected.  
Having passed the better part of my life unambitious of popular distinction and public honor, I was content to remain the residue of my days in the quiet, unobtrusive devotion to my own affairs.  
The call that was made upon me was responded to with alacrity and pride. As a party man I felt bound to accept the nomination. Laying aside all other business, at great pecuniary sacrifice, and under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment and domestic affliction, I devoted my best energies to the prosecution of a protracted and arduous campaign. The result is known to you; and although at first I felt disappointed and mortified at the diminished majority by which I was elected, when compared with the previous results, yet, when it was ascertained that the lost votes were chiefly in a few of the largest Whig Counties, I became satisfied that the votes had been withheld, not from any hostility to me, but from that natural yet dangerous apathy resulting from entire confidence in success.  
The brief period of my administration has not been exempt from trouble and responsibility. In the discharge of my public duties, I have been unflinchingly assailed with severity and coarseness heretofore unprecedented; and while I anticipated nothing less at the hands of our political adversaries, I have been unexpectingly, and I think ungenerously, wounded, in a few sections of the State by professing political friends. As the period approached for the assembling of this Convention, a tone of dissatisfaction at the prospect of my re-nomination arose in certain quarters, which induced me from certain motives of self-respect, and for the promotion of harmony in our ranks to meditate a premature withdrawal from the canvass. Upon consultation with some of my friends, however, I determined to abandon that step; to bear with equanimity I could, the assaults that might be made, and to await the action and the decision of this body. Under these circumstances and in view of what I saw, my unanimous re-nomination by this large and intelligent assembly of Whigs is the more highly valued.  
I accept your nomination, and will endeavor to discharge the trusts which the obligation imposes upon me. May I not with entire confidence expect a zealous and faithful performance of the correlative duties which attach to this body—and to the Whigs of the State?  
The Whig party can, if they will, elect their candidate for Governor. No sane man doubts that. Their nominee cannot elect himself. Justice to all concerned demands a hearty and zealous co-operation of every Whig voter. To nominate their candidate, place their standard in his hands and then not go to the polls and vote for him; but by culpable indifference subject him to the mortification and themselves to the disaster of a shameful defeat, will be wholly indefensible.  
Among the objections which have been urged against my nomination was that of my central residence in the State—that I was originally the nominee of a certain "central influence."  
Now, it is well known to every man who attended the last Whig Convention that my nomination was brought about not by the delegates from the centre, but by the concurrence of the East and the West against the centre. This however has been sufficiently explained by the public press and I forbear to reiterate and dwell upon it here.  
But why should the Whigs at the centre be contended and cast aside? What evil have they done? What reproach or injury have they brought upon the Whig party, during the long and perilous fight in which we have been engaged? In what quarter of the State have Whigs devoted their time, their talents and their means in support of the cause more ardently and freely than the Whigs at the centre? But I believe that this narrow unbounded jealousy exists in the breasts of only a few; that the injustice of this denunciation has been generously vindicated and repelled by the great body of Whig voters in every quarter of the State, and I will dismiss the unpleasant topic with the single remark, that in my opinion, it there had been found among the people of Old South, in the day of their visitation, *seen such men as the Whigs of the Centre, verily that old wicked town would not have been destroyed.*

## PATRONAGE.

In dispensing the patronage of my office, in selecting men to fill the Literary Board, and the Internal Improvement Board, and in appointing Directors of Public works on Rail Roads, and Plank Roads, and Turnpike Roads, I have called in members of both political parties, and in fulfilling the multifarious and arduous duties of my station have

been governed by a conscientious sense of impartiality and justice to the best of my ability. Standing on this practice of the past and this pledge for the future, I shall repose with entire confidence on the justice and magnanimity of all fair minded people.  
I desire to address myself to Whigs; to take a brief retrospect of the past; to recall the prophetic admonitions of Whig policy and Whig councils, and to congratulate this assembly on the patriotic and national conservatism of Whig principles.  
Before doing so, however, I deem this an apt occasion for making a few remarks on certain topics of State policy which are agitating the public mind. I allude particularly to the subjects of Popular Education, Internal Improvements, and an amendment of the Constitution in relation to what is called, "Free Suffrage."  
**THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.**  
The structure of our Government, resting not on high walled battlements and towers, but in the moral force, the affections and hearts of our people, can only be preserved in strength and purity by a liberal system of popular education. The enlightened morality of a State has every thing to do with its peace, thrift and happiness, and when once enthroned with Christianity in the heart of any people, is the cheapest police that any government can maintain. Enlighten the public mind, elevate the standard of political and religious freedom and the people will respect and love the government and its institutions and form an invincible fortress of defence.  
What constitutes a State? Not rich fields and bloated commerce, the ore in her mines and the gold in her cities; but MEN, HIGH MINDED MEN. They constitute a State.  
How is this great good to be attained? By a liberal and enlightened system of Common Schools. I would by no means be understood as recommending a withdrawal of the public patronage and favor from the Colleges and Academies in the State. Far from it. Yet I here wish to urge and shall continue to do so on all suitable occasions the supreme necessity of extending the fostering care of the Government to our Primary Schools. The wealthy and more thrifty class of our people can take care of themselves and can educate their children where they please. It is the poor and the less favored portion that need and rightfully demand the public help. What mines of intellectual wealth and power lie buried in the rubbish of penury and neglect! In traversing over many neglected regions of the State, where shut out from commerce and the ordinary business and means of acquiring property, the children inherit nothing but indolence and ignorance and penury, and when at the approach of a stranger are to be seen huddled and peeping around the corners of their humble dwellings—often have we mentally exclaimed, Alas! how many mute inglorious Miltons and Franklins are doomed to languish and die in the rude obscurity of the Quarry.  
The fund provided by the State for public instruction, although large and liberal, is yet inadequate to the wants of our people. Our system of Common Schools is miserably deficient in its organization and management. This is not the competent tribunal, however, for the correction of these errors, and I will not detain you with an essay on the subject, but must hasten on.  
**INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.**  
As to Internal Improvements, I have ever been the steady advocate of a fair, practical and judicious system. Our State now seems to be everywhere roused to the exigency of our wants, good trading towns and the means of cheap transportation to reach them. If the employment of the poor, the encouragement of the industrious, and the comforts of all classes of the community, be objects worthy of the care of a parental government, if to furnish the means of instruction to the indigent; to lay deep the foundation of a republican government in the education of every free child within our borders, however humble his origin, or destitute his condition, if we would stay the flood of emigration which is sweeping from us by thousands, the most adventurous of our youth, and remove the necessity which compels them to abandon the home of their childhood and the grave of their fathers, to seek a living in some distant land which holds out rewards and inducements to enterprize and exertion, if we would bring the farmers and miners of the west, and the farmers of the interior, into communion with the merchants and mechanics of the sea board; and unite the dispersed parts of North Carolina into one brotherhood of interest and patriotism, if we would command for our honest old State that high station in the union she deserves to occupy—these great achievements can be accompanied in one way only. Internal improvements have produced them in other States not more highly favored by nature, and can likewise produce them here.  
Let it not be said that we are too poor—that we have not the means—our very poverty has resulted from unrewarded labor, limited production, and languid trade, and furnishes the strongest reason for our prosecuting the system with united energy.  
Great caution, however, should be used in checking visionary schemes; in wasting our strength by embarking at once into too many enterprises of a purely sectional character; in over-tasking ourselves; and in incurring a State debt that will be oppressive to the people, and which may induce bad men and demagogues to reject and repudiate it.  
**FREE SUFFRAGE.**  
The position assumed and maintained by me during the past canvass for Governor

reference to the right of "Free Suffrage," would seem to be misapprehended in some sections; and I deem this a fit occasion for declaring to you and through you to the people at large, the ground I have heretofore taken and which I expect hereafter to occupy upon the subject of altering the Constitution of North Carolina.  
The political campaign of 1848 was conducted throughout the country and especially in North Carolina, as every one knows, in reference to questions of national policy.—The two parties we all recollect nominated their candidates without respect to "Free Suffrage," and both their Conventions favored to express any opinions favorable or unfavorable to Constitutional reforms of any kind.  
Are you a Whig—are you a Democrat?—That was the question.  
The administration of the government by Mr. Polk; the settlement of the Oregon dispute with Great Britain; the origin of the Mexican war and the manner of its prosecution; the wrongs practiced by the administration towards the illustrious Generals of our gallant army who fighting the battles of their country; the dangers to be apprehended to the safety of the Republic from extending our borders by conquest and the perils to which it must expose the southern institutions in particular; the possible overthrow and ruin of the Union itself to bring into it the large Territories of New Mexico and California by the aid of the sword, without some friendly compromise of opinion among ourselves upon the subject of negro slavery; the abuse of the veto power by the president and the proscription of the Whig party by the administration, so as to exclude them like aliens and enemies from the stations of honor and profit in a common country; these constituted the leading topics of discussion and formed the basis of our party divisions.  
The Candidate of our opponents was brought out by his party upon national grounds only. The Democratic Convention saw fit not to express in their published proceedings any dissatisfaction whatever with the Constitution of the State.  
They selected him and nominated him, as the Whig party had chosen me, without regard to his opinions upon the Constitution as it is. It was not made known by the proceedings of the Convention, nor by the proceedings of any meeting great or small anywhere in the State, that either party desired to alter, or that the people were in any degree dissatisfied with, their Government in North Carolina.  
During the progress of the campaign however, the public ear was startled by new issues wholly unanticipated by either party.—The Democratic Candidate for Governor stepping on the platform of political faith erected by the Convention of that party, took his stand under a new banner inscribed with the seductive motto of "Free Suffrage."  
To the North Carolina politicians of that day the announcement was like a clap of thunder in a clear sky. The distracting questions under our old Constitution arising from taxation, representation and the right of voting which had so long disturbed our councils, divided our people into eastern and western fragments, marked the harmonious co-operation of the Legislature, and kept down the energy and prosperity of our State, had been adjusted by an amendment of our Constitution. In a spirit of mutual accommodation the different sections of the State which had held opinions antagonistical on these questions met together in Convention in the year 1835, composed this dispute by a compromise, gave to the west a preponderance in the law making department of the government, and set out hand in hand in a new career of arousing the energies of the State, and of stimulating and sustaining each other in the cordial and liberal support of a system of state policy which should enlighten, ennoble and enrich every part of our good old commonwealth.  
No wonder then when this chord was struck which again awoke to life and motion this fratricidal strife which the men of all parties had helped to bury, that our people on both sides were taken by surprise. Whence did it come? In vain was it sought for in the primary assemblies of our people. They had not spoken nor moved in the matter.—The great lever of public opinion, the Press, had been silent. The Democratic Convention which had just been held had publicly recommended no such rule of action for the guidance of their nominee. From what region then could it have proceeded? It was conjectured that it smelt of the charnel house of the Washington City tactics and that it had been sent on ready-made to frighten the Whigs of this State from their propriety and to place them in a false position in the election of a Governor. What was conjecture then, has in part at least, become history now. It has been publicly asserted and admitted at Washington, I am told, that it was gotten up and manufactured there and sent on for North Carolina use; quoted and signed and gloated over as their patent exploding blunderbuss for demolishing every thing.—And it was predicted with chuckling confidence that no Whig Candidate if placed within its range could stand up before the people in any state of the Union for ten days.  
Knowing full well the excitement, the sectional disturbance and the paralyzing influence on the progress of our State in times past caused by the agitation of this question of constitutional reform; having no authority as the organ of the Whig party to declare their sentiments in regard to it, and neither opportunity nor time afforded during an arduous contest to obtain their opinions; it became my steady aim and effort to shut out the topic; to exclude it from the canvass; to warn my party friends to beware of such

political trickery, and not to permit themselves to be divided upon this new issue about amending the Constitution of the State.—An issue which had not been mooted by the people; which did not claim to have sprung from either of the great political parties at home, but which had been imported from the grand national President-making mint and thrown into circulation among the eastern and western Whigs of North Carolina "to divide and conquer." Those schemers cared nothing about "Free Suffrage" in North Carolina; nor whether the Constitution of the State should be amended or not. It was a blow aimed at the supremacy of the Whig party. The contest for a president of the United States was then raging, and his election was soon to follow that of the Governor. It was to cripple the Whigs—to defeat them in the August election, in order to secure to Democracy a more important triumph in November. It was not to equalize the voting rights of the "people" of North Carolina; but to elect the Democratic candidate, Gen. Cass, to the Presidency, that "set that ball in motion."  
And when, as the Presidential election drew nigh, some of these political schemers in solemn council were calculating chances, and urging the probability of their carrying this State for Gen. Cass, the Chief of the Sanhedrin with portentous forboding, shook his head and told them:  
"Set down North Carolina a Whig State. Give her up. We failed to kill them Federal Whigs with our patent Free Suffrage Physic in August, and they'll go for old Zach, sure as death!"  
How prophetic!  
Yes! The political jugglers behind the scenes who pulled the wires for the August show were disappointed. They had mistaken their men. The Whig party had been too long battling for the great conservative principles of their political faith in one unbroken phalanx to suffer their columns to be dissevered and borne down by the strategy of their enemies.  
They looked at it through the glasses of an old western farmer who said to me in the mountains, "I am in favor of universal suffrage on the white population principle, and I would vote for it, if the question were presented at such time and in such way as my vote could be counted, and would amount to any thing; but in the election of Governor it makes no difference, as to this question, how I vote. It is a Lococo party trick and I can see through it as plain, as I can through a wheat sifter." The Whigs concurred with me in the sentiment zealously enforced during the whole progress of the discussion that the calm and sober reason essential to the consideration of a charge in our organic fundamental law did not and could not occupy the minds of the people engaged in a fierce political strife on other grounds.  
They knew full well that such questions of reform pertained exclusively to the legislative power and to the people in their sovereign character—that the Governor had no power to adjust this measure; no voice to establish it, no vote to prevent it. That his election on the one side or the other would neither advance nor retard a single step the progress of such reforms.  
Unless by common consent the two political parties of the State shall agree to introduce this issue of a Constitutional reform into their divisions the one advocating, and the other opposing it, how is it possible to elect the popular will upon it by a Governor's election? But we all know that this is a question which neither party exclusively supports. In both parties men hold different opinions about it, as they have a right to do. The people alone have the right and ought to retain the power of reforming their government, not through the unauthorized medium of their Governor, or of his election, but only by the Constitutional agency of their Representatives in the General Assembly.  
What real lover of the people's rights, what honest patriot will not agree, no matter what may be his opinions of the alterations proposed, that above all other things Constitutional changes ought to be made the test of party; not the play things in mere party conflicts; neither the price of any one's elevation, nor the reward of another's overthrow.  
It is the Legislature and not the Governor, who are competent to enact laws for the legitimate expression of this mighty voice of popular sovereignty; and it is now, as it was two years ago, a matter of little significance, what may be the undivided opinion of the Governor, or of any candidate for that office.  
Do the people wish to have a reform in their Constitution? Then they need only to require their Representatives to pass laws for taking the vote of the people. That process the Governor possesses no power, either to promote or prevent, except it may be by the corrupt exercise of an influence derived from his station. I believe that the honest advocates of Free Suffrage do not wish to attain their object by official abuses of power; and that the honest opponents of all change in the Constitution can hardly expect to resist the popular will by such ignoble means.—Our Constitution is not perfect. No one pretends that it is or ever can be. But it is the glory of our free Institutions that the people have a right to alter their organic law whenever time and experience prove that amendments are wanting and the public feeling and the popular voice demand a change. In our Constitution this right is expressly provided for, and in my judgment it is no part of a Governor's duty or rights, to make or propose new Constitutions for the People.  
It is undecidable that a large, intelligent and patriotic portion of the citizens of the State

are now demanding some very important changes in their Constitution. We see the evidences of this public sentiment not only in the popular meetings of both political parties, and in the public presses, but also in the votes of the last Assembly of this State and in the progress of similar opinions amongst the voters of almost every other State in the Union.  
Whether those who desire a change constitute a majority or not may be readily ascertained in the manner provided for by our Constitution, that is to say, by an act of the General Assembly submitting these things to the people at the Polls. And I hold it to be the duty of their Representatives, as their Agents, to provide for the orderly and lawful expression of the public mind whenever there is any well grounded belief that a settled discontent prevails against the Constitution as it is. The People may be trusted I am sure to decide for themselves in North Carolina, and at all events they have reserved that right in the existing Constitution; and if such a law should be passed by the Legislature during my term of office, it shall be faithfully and fairly executed.  
In my view of the subject, it will be my duty to recommend to the approaching General Assembly such legislation consistently with the compromises of our present Constitution, as will enable the people to decide these questions for themselves. And I owe it to candor to decline this to you upon the present occasion; because the approaching election will take place several months before my first Official Communication to the General Assembly.  
But to this Convention, to this Band of Whig Brothers, who have braved the "battle and the breeze" in many a hard fought field, I would say, let not questions of this kind divide you. Suffer not the organic law of the land, above all things, to become a party test. Learn from the course pursued by your Representatives in the last Legislature that such questions form no test of party adhesion.—For, in the various propositions in both Houses in regard to "Free Suffrage," you found Whigs and Democrats voting together on one side, and Whigs and Democrats voting together on the other. Take counsel from our political adversaries, who, although they differ widely among themselves on many questions, and especially upon Internal Improvement and upon "Free Suffrage," yet maintain to the bitter end their cohesive attraction as Democrats. Let us maintain our adhesion as members of the great conservative Whig Party upon national grounds.  
**WHIG PRINCIPLES.**  
The Whig party had its organization in the defence of the Constitution against the aggression of the Executive; in defence of the Legislative department of the government against Executive influence, Executive dictation and the one man power. It is based upon regard for the Constitution and obedience to law. We inculcate the doctrine of honesty, and fear dealing towards all nations, inviolability of the faith of treaties, of peace and friendship with all; economy in public expenditures; opposition to wars not demanded for the safety, defence or honor of the nation; to standing armies in time of peace, national debts and heavy taxation. We are not sectional but conservative. We propose no test that cannot be submitted to by citizens of every section with whom the Constitution, as it is, is of binding force. We believe in progress within the Constitution; in wise legislation in aid of commerce, agriculture, manufacturing industry, science and the arts. We discard that sort of progress that shall evade or over-ride any one of the obligations of the solemn political compact made by our forefathers. As North Carolina Whigs we go for the maintenance of "Southern Rights," and property as guaranteed by law; and against the machinations of abolition fanatics, demagogues and agitators. We claim the protection and preservation of our rights under the Constitution as it is. We invoke no aid from Assemblies nor Conventions of doubtful purposes and designs; and of undefined powers; Conventions arbitrarily and irregularly appointed and irresponsible to the people.  
We are for no bragging and bluster. When the remedies provided by our compact of union shall have been tried in vain, and the rights of the South shall be withheld or violated by the unjust and arbitrary force of despotism, we will then inquire into the people's numbers, we will then redress with the new mode and measure necessary to vindicate and maintain them.  
Until that calamity shall arrive we are for that great legacy bequeathed to us by our Fathers, the UNION OF THE STATES.  
It is union that gives us wealth, prosperity, strength, security. It is on that strong arch the Temple of Liberty rests; we know of no other foundation on which the Dome of that Goddess can stand. We say with the eloquent and patriotic American Poet,  
"Sail on, Oh Ship of State,  
Sail on, Oh Union! strong and great!  
Humanity, with all its fears,  
With all the hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate.  
We know what master laid thy keel  
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,  
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,  
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,  
In what a forge and what a heat,  
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope."  
God forbid that we shall ever encounter the fearful evil of overturning that for which our fathers lived, and for which the good and the great are all prepared to toil and to die.  
**DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.**  
What are the principles of this Party?—What have they professed? By what seductive charm did they win the confidence of the People, and how did they redeem their pledges?

They set out with the one term Principle for the office of President of the United States. That members of Congress should not be appointed to office. For retrenchment and reform in the expenditures of the Government, and for a fair distribution of public patronage, and against proscription.  
How were these pledges redeemed? Gen. Jackson declared upon his going into office, that it was advisable to limit the service of Chief Magistrate to a single term of 4 or 6 years; and argued "that the adoption of the rule would tend to secure the independence of each department of the Government and promote the healthful and equitable administration of the trusts which it created."  
Long before the expiration of his first term, upon the impertinence of letters written by his friends of the Pennsylvania Legislature, he was again nominated by that body for re-election. He previous firm conviction of the great impropriety of such course suddenly vanished. A second term became at once a very proper thing. He accepted the nomination and that was the last we heard of carrying out the one term principle.  
Again; They argued before the people that Members of Congress should not be appointed to office during the term for which they were elected nor within two years thereafter—that they should be independent and should be placed beyond the reach of Executive influence. What was the practice? Why no sooner had their candidate reached the White House than he commenced appointing members of Congress to office. Five members of the Cabinet were taken from Congress; and only one from the people at large. And the record of that day exhibits the very consistent fact of 23 members of Congress appointed to offices of various grades.  
Again: The Democratic party insisted as a prominent issue on the necessity of "Retrenchment and Reform." They told us that Executive patronage had increased, was increasing and should be diminished. They called for reform in every Department of the Government. They told us if the "dear people" would only entrust them with place and power that there could hardly be an end to their vigorous labors in the cause of regeneration and amendment, and in cleaning out the " Augean Stable."  
Well, they got possession of the Government. Instead of reduction of officers, their number was greatly augmented. The public expenditures were enormously increased.—Frauds and defalcations ensued.—The Treasury became bankrupt and other departments of the Government were thrown into the utmost disorder and confusion. As a commentary upon the faithful execution of this promised "retrenchment," take the Custom House in the City of New York, that great workshop for the manufacture of political capital. When modern Democracy took possession of the Government there were employed in that establishment, we are told 175 men. At the close of that dynasty there were 500.  
The expense of collecting the Revenue at the commencement of Democratic reign were \$200,000; at the close, under their patent system of reduction and retrenchment, they were \$600,000. All this too while the amount of labor and the amount of revenue collected remained about the same.  
Again: The Democracy when soliciting the reins of the Government commended themselves to the favorable regard of the people by their loud denunciation of the proscription policy. They held up their hands with holy horror at the change made by Mr. Clay when Secretary of State of some Printers of the laws. The people were told by this new sect that in every situation party and party feelings should be avoided. That the monster called Party Spirit should be exterminated. That patriotism, talents and integrity should be the passport to office. That the President ought not to be the head of a party, but the head of a nation.—With the avowal of these liberal and generous sentiments as to the administration of patronage; and with denunciations of absolute abhorrence of the proscription policy, they succeeded triumphantly in the election. How did that turn out? Why they commenced an immediate transfer to their own partisan press of the printing of the laws, dismissing all others; appointing Editors and those connected with the Democratic Press to office; and making a general sweep of the officers and agents of the government from the highest dignitary in the diplomatic corps, to the tide waiter of the Custom House: so that while the predecessors of modern Democracy from Washington to J. Q. Adams inclusive had, in a period of 32 years made only about 130 removals, this proscription-hating, even-handed party in the first year of its career had made more than 1500 removals! Men dismissed who were in the language of one of their party, of the purest virtue; upon whose character no stain was ever fixed before; justly regarded by all who knew them as eminently possessing honesty, capacity and fidelity in their trusts.  
This flagrant abandonment of their pledges about proscription was pursued with unmitigated rigor throughout the whole course of the Administration of Jackson, Van Buren and Polk.  
Indeed so omnipotent had this rule of devotion to party and bestowal of office on partisans become, that even when our Country was engaged with a foreign foe, when party distinctions should be buried, when Whigs no less than Democrats struck for the honor of our Flag and mingled their blood in one common stream in upholding the honor of the Republic, this cardinal rule of proscription was still paramount. The appointment of the officers for our Army in the Mexican War, some two or three General offi-