Donaldson, last summer, in relation to the Presidency. Col. King's response was as follows:

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA, *July* 26, 1851.

DEAR SIR: Your letter reached Selma after I had left for the mountains, and was forwarded by the postmaster to this place. The divisions which unfortunately exist in the Democratic party are indeed, as you so forcibly represent, deeply to be deplored; and a serious question is presented, can the evil be remedied? For one, I must confess that I can see no such indications, either North or South, as would lead to the belief that the breach will be speedily closed up; for *so long as a large portion of the former Democracy of the North lend themselves* to the advocacy of Free Soil doctrines, and make common *cause with the unprincipled and the infamous agitators and Abolitionists*, no portion of the Southern Democracy will ever be found acting in concert with them. *All our troubles have arisen from the extraordinary conduct of those professing Democrats*, in whom the Democracy once reposed unbounded confidence, and felt delighted to honor; *but for their base abandonment of principle*, Abolitionism would have still been confined to a portion of the Whig party, and a small squad of ignorant fanatics. But for them, the South would have been saved from that unjust legislation which has aroused a portion of her proud and excitable population seriously to contemplate a dissolution of the Union. Now, sir, much as I disapprove of any movement, either in the North or in the South, calculated to destroy this great Government, the finest, and, properly administered, the best the world ever saw, I am free to declare that I make many allowances for those of the South, who, smarting under a sense of injustice and wrong inflicted on them, would free themselves from all communion with States or people who, regardless of their constitutional obligations, are warring against their rights—rights, the preservation of which are essential to the personal security of every Southerner, and which, if not respected, would make a union with those who—to obtain political power, or for any other cause—would set them at naught, a curse, certainly not a blessing. How, then, can we of the South unite in council with those who have not only shown themselves regardless of our safety, but, judging from the past, would unhesitatingly pave the way for making our section a second San Domingo—and coolly look on, if they did not rejoice, to see the blood of our mothers, wives, and sisters, moisten their native soil, did it give such a doubtful boon as liberty to such a people as the blacks? I have ever been a Democrat of the Jeffersonian school, and I am firmly impressed with the belief that the permanency of our Government depends on its being administered in strict accordance with Democratic principles; and yet I cannot consent to owe the temporary ascendency of the Democratic party to a union with Abolitionists. With the good and true Democrats of the North and Northwest, I am ready to meet as brother meets brother; to stand with them shoulder to shoulder, and contend for victory, be our standard-bearer whom he may, come from what quarter he may, only let him be faithful to the guarantees of the Constitution and the uncompromising enemy of all disorganizers. But we must have no pretended friends in our camp, who, while they cry "hail, brothers," would stab us under the fifth rib. If the true Democracy cannot bear aloft the flag of victory, better let it trail in the dust than be upheld by the hands of those who, to subserve their nefarious purposes, would as readily trample it under feet as wave it to the breeze. I believe I speak the sentiment of nine-tenths of the Democracy of this State, when I say we have no sectional preferences, and stand fully prepared to give our support to the nominees of a Democratic Convention, properly constituted, whether they reside in the North, the South, the East, or the West. Many of us, however, entertain the opinion that, under existing circumstances, it would be true policy, and productive of the best interests of the party and the country, to have a Northern man designated for the Presidency. Individually, although I have a personal preference, I could give my cordial support to any of the distinguished gentlemen you have named, either for the first or second office, knowing, as I do, their intelligence, integrity, and devotion to this whole country. Will not next winter be early enough to fix on the time for holding the Convention?

The place is of minor importance. I do not think the people of this State have, as yet, turned their attention to this matter. For the kindly terms in which you are pleased to speak of me personally, accept my thanks. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in Washington. Faithfully, your obedient servant

WILLIAM R. KING.

C. H. Donaldson, Esq.

The original is now in the possession of an active Democrat in our city.

New York Tribune.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE WHIG CONVENTION.

The Whigs of the United States, in Convention assembled, firmly adhering to the great conservative republican principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now, as ever, relying upon the intelligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government and their continued devotion to the Constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and determinations, for the establishment and maintenance of which their national organization as a party is effected:

I. The Government of the United States is of a limited character, and it is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that all powers not thus granted or necessarily implied are expressly reserved to the States respectively and to the people.

II. The State Governments should be held secure in their reserved rights, and the General Government sustained in its constitutional powers, and the Union should be revered and watched over as "the palladium of our liberties."

III. That while struggling freedom, everywhere, enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig party, we still adhere to the doctrines of the Father of his Country, as announced in his Farewell Address, of keeping ourselves free from all entangling alliances with foreign countries, and of never quitting our own to stand upon foreign ground. That our mission as a Republic is not to propagate our opinions, or impose on other countries our form of government, by artifice or force, but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation, and justice, the blessings of self government and the advantages of free institutions.

IV. That where the people make and control the Government, they should obey its constitution, laws, and treaties, as they would retain their self-respect, and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

V. Government should be conducted upon principles of the strictest economy, and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof, in time of peace, ought to be mainly derived from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and in levying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination and protection from fraud by specific duties, when practicable, whereby suitable encouragement may be assured to American industry, equally to all classes and to all portions of the country.

VI. The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers; and it is expedient that Congress shall exercise that power *whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence or for the protection and facility of commerce* with foreign nations or among the States; such improvements being, in every instance, national and general in their character.

VII. The Federal and State Governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace, and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each, and acquiescence in the constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest consideration of National, of State, and individual welfare.

VIII. The series of acts of the 31st Congress, commonly known as the Compromise or Adjustment, (the act for the recovery of fugitives from labor included,) are received and acquiesced in by the Whigs of the United States as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the subjects to which they relate; and so far as these acts are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist on their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency to carry out the requirements of the Constitution; and we deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however made; and we will maintain this settlement as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union.

JOHN G. CHAPMAN, *of Maryland,*
President of the Whig National Convention.

ANTECEDENTS OF GENERAL SCOTT.

LETTER FIRST.

On Party Politics.—The Judiciary.—The Executive Veto.—Rotation in Office.—One Presidential Term.—Agency of the President in Legislation.—Secret or Oath-bound Societies, &c.

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1841.

GENTLEMEN: I have lately had the honor to receive many letters from as many different States, each propounding, on the part of the writer and his neighbors, nearly the same political interrogatories, to which answers are required.

The scope of the inquiries is a flattering proof of the interest that some of my countrymen take in the opinions that I have formed on certain great principles of abiding importance to the success of our systems of Government; and as I have nothing to conceal, if nothing of value to communicate, I shall at once, without policy or reserve, and in the form of a circular, comply with their several requests.

Party Politics.—Although, from early manhood, I have, by the profession of arms, in defence of country, been thrown out of the arena of party politics, yet I have never ceased to be an attentive observer of public events and thus, I believe, there has scarcely been a discussion of moment in Congress, within my time, on which I did not form, and modestly, but firmly, express a passing opinion.

A mere youth, I felt the liveliest joy when the alien and sedition laws expired in the triumph of Mr. Jefferson. From 1806 I was old enough, by speech and pen, to call for a prompt and energetic redress of our wrongs suffered from Great Britain, under her orders in Council, attack on the Chesapeake frigate, and long-continued impressment of our seamen; and when the war of 1812 at length came, I was among the first and longest in the presence of the foe. The insults received from the French Directory, their depredations on our commerce, renewed under Napoleon's decrees, (Berlin and Milan,) which followed the British orders in Council, also largely shared in my indignant reprobation.

The administrations of Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe, like that of Mr. Jefferson, had, in their respective periods, my humble but hearty approbation, and I have since censured nothing in either but the sale of a part and the dismantling of the remainder of our navy, the gun-boat system of defence that followed, and the indefinite embargo, which, crippling us for war, by destroying our commerce and finances, and oppressing agriculture, was long continued, without redressing one outrage from abroad.

I give this little sketch of the growth of my party feelings or opinions—unimportant, perhaps, except to myself and a few partial friends—to show that, if I have never been a Federalist, in any party sense of the term, so never have I been a jacobin, an impracticable, or abstractionist, in any sense whatever, but always an old fashioned Republican, devoted to the support of law and order—a Democratic Whig, just as all my family have been Whigs, in the great struggle for national freedom and independence.

The Judiciary.—From an early and long-continued study of elementary law, my mind has ever been imbued with a deep reverence for the bench, State and Federal—an independent department in our system of Government—and which, holding neither the purse to corrupt nor the sword of power to terrify, addresses itself only with the mild force of persuasive reason to the intelligence and virtue of the whole community. By the Federal Constitution, every possible safeguard is provided to shield its Judiciary against fleeting prejudice, political rancor, and party dependence, to which Legislators and the Executive are unavoidably directed and constantly exposed. Hence, to the "one Supreme Court" is wisely extended (by "appellate jurisdiction") "all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority."

Looking to this express provision, I have always held that when a doubtful question—arising under either the Constitution itself, the supreme law of the land, under an act of Congress, or a treaty—has once been solemnly adjudicated by that Court, the principle of the decision ought to be taken by all as definitively settled—unless, indeed, it be upon a rehearing before the same tribunal. This appears to me too clear for disputation; for the Court is not only declared to be supreme, and hence there can be no bench beyond, but to Congress is only given the power to constitute "inferior" tribunals. By appeals to the Supreme Court, a settlement was intended to be reached, and anarchy, through a long distraction of the public mind, on great questions of legislative and executive power, thus rendered impossible. Practically, therefore, for the people, and especially their functionaries, to deny, to disturb, or impugn principles thus constitutionally established, strikes me as of evil example, if not of a direct revolutionary tendency, except, indeed, in the case of a judicial decision, enlarging power, and against liberty; and any dangerous error of this sort can always be easily corrected (and should be only corrected) by an amendment of the Constitution, in one of the modes prescribed by that instrument itself—the organic law of the States and the people. Misconstructions of law, other than the Constitution, are yet more readily corrected by amendatory or declaratory acts of Congress.

The Executive Veto.—This, by the framers of the Constitution, could only have been designed—1. To enable the President to defend his own rightful powers against usurpations on the part of Congress. 2. To enable him to forbid other legislative infractions of the Constitution; and 3. To guard the country against other acts of hasty or violent legislation.

It is hardly possible to conceive a case, under the first or second of those heads, against which the Judiciary—the balance-wheel of the system—does not afford, of itself, all the security that the people can require.

But, without the protection of either the bench or the veto, would the Executive department (become so superjudicial of late years) be too weak to fulfil the strictly Executive functions for which it was more particularly created; or, rather, would not that department still be the most powerful for evil in the Government?

The President is, under the checks of the Constitution and law, rightfully invested with the power of the sword, and he has again and again had that of the purse also. The Houses of Congress, it is true, lay taxes, fix imposts, and regulate the sales of the public domain; but it is he, through his agents, who handles the proceeds. From 1833 to 1836 (to say nothing of the present) he alone nominated and dismissed all the agents who kept, as well as those who collected, distributed, and disbursed the public revenue. The apothegm, make us executors, we care not who are your legatees, has a frightful application to such agents, and the immense treasure that annually passes through their hands.

The rapid increase and spread of population, the growth of national wealth, the amount of revenue collected and disbursed, the new relations (by the extension of commerce) with foreign countries, the additional appointments at home and abroad, the number and value of contracts—all constantly and necessarily on the increase—a general decay in morals, perhaps as great in Congress as elsewhere; the habit that we have seen prevail during several Presidential terms, of filling public offices with but little or no regard to moral standing—have, taken together, already opened to the head of the Government elements of power and corruption which it was impossible for the framers and adopters of the Constitution to foresee or to conceive. Who, at that distant day, for example, ever dreamed of the spectacles which have recently disgusted every honest citizen?—of postmasters, mail contractors, mail agents, and census takers, covering the land with Government pamphlets, handbills, and extra gazettes, sufficient (if read) to sap the morals, public and private, of an entire generation?—of the custom-house mercenaries in the large cities, living on the public, neglecting every duty for party meetings and the polls, and rendering to power the most bribe-worthy services?—of district attorneys and collectors—rambling missionaries, defending every abuse of office—their own the most indecent—in order to maintain power in the hands of their patron? All who have reflected on the foregoing facts must be ready to affirm that Executive patronage "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

I hope, then, by an early amendment of the Constitution, to see a reduction of the President's veto. The regulation of patronage would properly follow.

There can be no good reason why the veto should not be overcome by a bare majority in each House of Congress of all the members elected to it—say, for the benefit of reflection, at the end of ten days from the return of the bill. An amendment to this effect would leave the President—the general representative of every State and district—armed with the votes of all the members absent at the moment from the respective Houses; and there will always be some absent from both.

Rotation in Office.—The inquiry under this head is not definite in any letter before me. It, however, is presumed to refer—1. To Governors and Secretaries of Territories, and some of the judges therein; district attorneys, collectors, surveyors, and naval officers of the customs; marshals, postmasters whose commissions amount to a thousand dollars per annum; navy agents, registers and receivers of land offices, surveyors general of lands, and Indian agents—all of whom are by law appointed for a term of four years, but subject, by express enactment, (except the judges,) to be removed at pleasure. 2. To a high class of civil officers (next to the chiefs) in the Executive departments at Washington; other high functionaries—foreign ministers, secretaries of legation, and consuls, postmasters whose commissions amount to less than a thousand dollars per annum; superintendents of Indian affairs, Indian sub-agents, &c., &c., all appointed without limitation as to time, yet subject, in practice—not by express law—to be also removed at pleasure; and 3. To the assistants allowed by law to very many of the principals included above, which assistants are generally called clerks—some of them deputies, appraisers, weighers, gaugers, sub-inspectors, storekeepers, light-house keepers, &c., &c.—all appointed and subject to removal, as under the second head.

I am asked whether, in my poor opinion, all those functionaries, (amounting to many thousands,) or any of them, ought to be periodically superseded by original appointments? If yes—when? And if a part only—which?

We have seen that a great number of offices are filled for a term of years, and more without any limitation as to term. I, however, can draw no line of just distinction between the claims of the two classes upon the favor of country or Government.

Premising that regular periodical changes in the subordinate servants of the country, merely for the sake of change, would necessarily swell Executive patronage, already too much swollen, I am obliged to add that I more than doubt, on other gounds, the policy and justice of such changes: 1. Because, for the able and prompt execution of public business, much official experience, in a great number of particular stations, is known to be necessary. 2. Because many office-holders, appointed under even reckless administrations—such as we have seen—will always, after a time, be found of tried integrity and of equal industry and abilities. 3. Because, again, some may be found in a state of honorable poverty, the result no less of stern integrity than of a long and exclusive devotion to the interests of the public; and 4. Because to remove such servants, or not to reappoint them at the end of a term, would not only discourage successors in a faithful discharge of duty, but could not fail to outrage the moral sense of entire communities. I speak on this head from what I witnessed in 1829–'30 of the cruel experiments, on a large scale, then made upon the sensibilities of the country, and the mischiefs to the public interests which early ensued.

What I would therefore humbly advise is this: to turn out, not only on a change of President, but in any and every week of the year, all office-holders known to be deficient in either honesty, capacity, or industry, and to appoint in their stead men known, to possess those qualities. Without an anxious attention to this rule, a Government of the people, resting on virtue and intelligence, cannot long be successfully maintained; for a blind or vicious distribution of enormous patronage would soon, by the force of the highest example, beat down all that is taught in the church, the school-house, and the college.

One Presidential Term.—Of the eight Chief Magistrates that preceded General Harrison—whom the nation yet mourns—the first, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh, presided over this Union, respectively, two successive terms; the other three but four years each; and every one of the eight, whilst in office, became a candidate for a second term.

I consider the sublime example set by the Father of his Country in declining a third election—which has been duly followed by four popular Presidents, and would no doubt have been observed with equal good faith by the other three under like circumstances—as establishing a barrier against a third term as impassable as if it were imbodied in the Constitution itself. But I do not consider it respectful to the people, nor otherwise proper in a candidate, to solicit favor on a pledge that, if elected, he will not accept a second nomination. It looks too much like a bargain tendered to other aspirants—yield to me now; I shall soon be out of your way—too much like the interest that sometimes governs the cardinals in the choice of a Pope—many voting for themselves first, and, if without success, finally for the most superannuated, in order that the election may the sooner come round again. I am, however, in favor of an amendment of the Constitution, in one of the forms prescribed, declaring that no citizen should be eligible to a reelection to the Presidency; and also of an extension of the term to that of a Senator—a period of six years.

Agency of the President in Legislation.—1. I am persuaded that this should be strictly limited. 2. To the veto qualified as suggested above. 3. To the command of the Constitution, "he shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient;" and 4. To furnishing, through the appropriate Executive departments, such details for bills as any committee of either House of Congress may specially call for.

Leading Measures of the late Extra Session of Congress.—If I had had the honor of a vote on the occasion, it would have been given in favor of the land distribution bill, the bankrupt bill, and the second bill for creating a fiscal corporation—having long been under a conviction that in peace, as in war, something efficient, in the nature of a Bank of the United States, is not only "necessary and proper," but indispensable to the successful operations of the Treasury, as well as to many of the wants of our commerce and currency.

Secret or Oath-bound Societies.—I have not been a member of a masonic lodge in thirty-odd years, nor a visiter of any lodge since, except once—now more than sixteen years ago. There are at many academies and colleges, as is well known, associations of students, tutors, and professors, for purely literary purposes; and their meetings generally, for aught that I know, may be secret. Twenty-eight years ago I was once present with such an association, and never since; and I have, within five years, received many flattering notices of my having been enrolled as an honorary member of as many such associations. I am sorry to be reminded that by some strange neglect I have failed to accept one of those honorable distinctions.

Finally, I am asked, if nominated as a candidate for the Presidency, would you accept the nomination? I beg leave respectfully to reply—yes; provided that I be not required to renounce any principle professed above. My principles are convictions.

Hoping that you, who have done me the honor to invite this general reply, may, with the millions, be enabled in a year or two to fix on some other citizen as your candidate more worthy, and therefore more likely to conciliate the majority of popular suffrages, I remain, gentlemen, your friend and fellow-citizen, WINFIELD SCOTT.

LETTER SECOND.

On the Naturalization Laws.

WASHINGTON, *November* 10, 1841.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 8th instant, written, as you are pleased to add, in behalf of several hundred Native American Republicans of Philadelphia.

Not confidentially, but not for publication, I have already replied to a letter from David M. Stone, Esq., of your city, on the same subject. I will write to you in like manner, and in haste. This is the month when the pressure of official business is heaviest with me, leaving scarcely time for sleep or exercise. I must not, however, wholly neglect your communication.

Should any considerable number of my fellow countrymen assign me, or desire to give me, a prominent position before the public, I shall take time to methodize my views on the great questions you have proposed. Those views have their origin in the stormy elections of the spring of 1835, and were confirmed in the week that the Harrison electors were chosen in New York. On both occasions I was in that city, and heard in the streets, "Down with the Natives." It was heard in almost every group of foreigners, as the signal for rallying and outrage.

Fired with indignation, two friends sat down with me in my parlor at the Astor House (November, 1840) to draw up an address, designed to rally an American party.

The day after the election, I set out for the South, and have never known precisely why our appeal was not published. Probably the election of General Harrison rendered the publication at that time unnecessary, in the opinion of my two friends.

I now hesitate between extending the period of residence before naturalization, and a total repeal of all acts of Congress on the subject—my mind inclines to the latter.

Concurring fully in the principles of the Philadelphia movement, I should prefer assuming the name of American Republican, as in New York, or Democratic Americans, as I should respectfully suggest. Brought up in the principles of the Revolution—of Jefferson, Madison, &c., under whom in youth I commenced life—I have always been called, I have ever professed myself, a Republican, or Whig, which with me was the same thing. Democratic Americans would include all good native citizens devoted to our country and institutions—would not drive from us naturalized citizens who, by long residence, have become identified with us in feeling and interest.

I am happy to see, by the Philadelphia National American, that religion is to be excluded as a party element. Stanch Protestant as I am, both by birth and conviction, I shall never consent to a party or State religion. Religion is too sacred to be mingled with either. It should always be kept between each individual and his God, except in the way of reason and gentle persuasion—as in family churches and other occasions of voluntary attendance, (after years of discretion,) or reciprocal consent.

Wishing success to the great work which you and other patriots have set on foot, I remain, with high respect, your fellow-citizen,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

To George Washington Reed, Esq., and others, Philadelphia.

LETTER THIRD.

On the Subject of Slavery.

WASHINGTON, *February* 9, 1843.

DEAR SIR: I have been waiting for an evening's leisure to answer your letter before me; and, after an unreasonable delay, am at last obliged to reply in the midst of official occupations.

That I ever have been named in connection with the Presidency of the United States has not, I can assure you, the son of an ancient neighbor and friend, been by any contrivance or desire of mine; and certainly I shall never be in the field for that high office, unless placed there by a regular nomination. Not, then, being a candidate, and seeing no near prospect of being made one, I ought perhaps to decline troubling you or others with my humble opinions on great principles of State rights and Federal administration; but as I cannot plead ignorance of the partiality of a few friends in several parts of the Union, who may, by possibility, in a certain event, succeed in bringing me within the field from which a Whig candidate is to be selected, I prefer to err on the side of frankness and candor, rather than by silence to allow any stranger unwittingly to commit himself to my support.

Your inquiries open the whole question of domestic slavery, which has, in different forms, for a number of years agitated Congress and the country. Premising that you are the first person who has interrogated me on the subject, I give you the basis of what would be my reply in greater detail, if time allowed and the contingency alluded to above were less remote.

In boyhood, at William and Mary College, and in common with most, if not all, my companions, I became deeply impressed with the views given by Mr. Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia," and by Judge Tucker, in the Appendix to his edition of "Blackstone's Commentaries," *in favor of a gradual emancipation of slaves.* That Appendix I have not seen in thirty odd years, and in the same period have read scarcely anything on the subject; *but my early impressions are fresh and unchanged.* Hence, if I had had the honor of a seat in the Virginia Legislature in the winter of 1831–'2, when a bill was brought forward to carry out those views, I should certainly have given it my hearty support.

I suppose I scarcely need say, that in my opinion Congress has no color of authority under the Constitution for touching the relation of master and slave within a State.

I hold the opposite opinion in respect to the District of Columbia. Here, with the consent of the owners, or on the payment of "just compensation," Congress may legislate at its discretion. But my conviction is equally strong that, unless it be step by step with the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, it would be dangerous to both races in those States to touch the relation between master and slave in this District.

I have from the first been of opinion that Congress was bound by the Constitution to receive, to refer, and to report upon petitions relating to domestic slavery, as in the case of all other petitions; but I have not failed to see and to regret the unavoidable irritation which the former have produced in the Southern States, with the consequent peril to the two colors, whereby the adoption of any plan of emancipation has everywhere among us been greatly retarded.

I own myself no slaves, but never have attached blame to masters for not liberating their slaves—well knowing that liberation, without the means of sending them in comfort to some position favorable to the pursuit of happiness, would, in most cases, be highly injurious to all around, as well as to the manumitted families themselves, unless the operation were general, and under the auspices of prudent legislation. But I am persuaded that it is a high moral obligation of masters and slaveholding States to employ all means not incompatible with the safety of both colors, to meliorate slavery, even to extermination.

It is gratifying to know that general melioration has been great, and is still progressive, notwithstanding the disturbing causes alluded to above. The more direct process of emancipation may, no doubt, be earlier commenced and quickened in some communities than in others. Each, I do not question, has the right to judge for itself, both as to time and means; and I consider interference or aid from without, except on invitation from authority within, to be as hurtful to the sure progress of melioration, as it may be fatal to the lives of vast multitudes, of all ages, sexes, and colors. The work of liberation cannot be forced without such horrid results. Christian philanthropy is ever mild and considerate. Hence all violence ought to be deprecated by the friends of religion and humanity. Their persuasions cannot fail at the right time to free the master from the slave, and the slave from the master—perhaps before the latter shall have found out and acknowledged that the relation between the parties had long been mutually prejudicial to their worldly interests.

There is no evil without, in the order of Providence, some compensating benefit. The bleeding African was torn from his savage home by his ferocious neighbors, sold into slavery, and cast upon this continent. Here, in the mild South, the race has wonderfully multiplied, compared with anything ever known in barbarous life. The descendants of a few thousands have become many millions; and all, from the first, made acquainted with the arts of civilization, and above all, brought under the light of the Gospel.

From the promise made to Abraham, some two thousand years had elapsed before the advent of our Saviour, and the Israelites, the chosen people of God, were, for wise purposes, suffered to remain in bondage longer than Africans have been on our shore. This race has already experienced the resulting compensations alluded to; and as the white missionary has never been able to penetrate the dark regions of Africa, or to establish himself in its interior, it may be within the scheme of Providence that the great work of spreading the Gospel over that vast continent, with all the arts and comforts of civilization, is to be finally accomplished by the black man restored from American bondage. A foothold there has already been gained for him; and in such a scheme centuries are but as seconds to Him who moves worlds as man moves a finger.

I do but suggest the remedies and consolations of slavery to inspire patience, hope, and charity, on all sides. The mighty subject calls for the exercise of all man's wisdom and virtue, and these may not suffice without aid from a higher source.

It is in the foregoing manner, my dear sir, that I have long been in the habit, in conversation, of expressing myself all over our common country on the question of negro slavery; and I must say that I have found but very few persons to differ with me, however opposite their geographical positions.

Such are the views or opinions which you seek. I cannot suppress or mutilate them, although now liable to be more generally known. Do with them what you please. I neither court nor shun publicity.

I remain, very truly, yours,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

T. P. Atkinson, Esq., Danville, Pa.

LETTER FOURTH.

On the Naturalization Laws.

WASHINGTON, *May* 29, 1848.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your kind letter of the 8th inst., I take pleasure in saying that, grateful for the too partial estimate you place on my public services, you do me no more than justice in assuming that I entertain "kind and liberal views towards our naturalized citizens." Certainly *it would be impossible for me to recommend or support any measure intended to exclude them from a just and full participation in all civil and political rights now secured to them by our republican laws and institutions.*

It is true that, in a case of unusual excitement some years ago, when both parties complained of fraudulent practices in the naturalization of foreigners, and when there seemed to be danger that native and adopted citizens would be permanently arrayed against each other in hostile faction, *I was inclined to concur in the opinion then avowed by leading statesmen,* that some modification of the naturalization laws might be necessary in order to prevent abuses, allay strife, and restore harmony between the different classes of our people. *But later experience and reflection have* ENTIRELY REMOVED THIS IMPRESSION AND DISSIPATED MY APPREHENSIONS.

In my recent campaign in Mexico, a very large portion of the men under my command were your countrymen—Irish, Germans, &c. I witnessed, with admiration, their zeal, fidelity, and valor, in maintaining our flag in the face of every danger, vieing with each other, and our native-born soldiers in the same ranks, in patriotism, constancy, and heroic daring. I was happy to call them brothers in the field, *as I shall always be happy to salute them as countrymen at home.*

I remain, sir, with great esteem, yours, truly,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Wm. E. Robinson, Esq.

LETTER FIFTH.

On the Annexation of Canada.

WEST POINT, *June* 29, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR: The news from the Parliament of Great Britain this morning must, I think, increase the discontent of our neighbors on the other side of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes not a little; and that those discontents will, in a few years, lead to a separation of the Canadas, New Brunswick, &c., &c., from the mother country, seems equally probable.

Will those provinces form themselves into an independent nation, or seek a connection with our Union? I think the probability is greatly in favor of the latter. In my judgment, the interests of both sides would be much promoted by the annexation—the several provinces coming into the Union on equal terms with our present thirty States. The free navigation of the St. Lawrence is already of immense importance to perhaps a third of our present population, and would be of great value to the remainder. After annexation, two revenue cutters below Quebec would give us a better security against smuggling than thirty thousand custom-house employees strung along the line that separates us from the British possessions on the continent. I am well acquainted with that line, and know a great deal of the interests and character of the provincials. *Though opposed to incorporating with us any district densely peopled with the Mexican race, I should be most happy to fraternize with our Northern and Northeastern neighbors.*

What may be the views of the Executive Government on the subject, I absolutely know nothing; but I think I cannot err in saying that two-thirds of our people would rejoice at the incorporation, and the other third soon perceive its benefits.

Of course, I am opposed to any underhand measures on our part in favor of the measure, or any other act of bad faith towards Great Britain. Her good will, in my view of the matter, is only second to that of the provincials themselves; and that the former would soon follow the latter, considering the present temper and condition of Christendom, cannot be doubted.

The foregoing views I have long been in the habit of expressing in conversation. I give them to you for what they may be worth.

Faithfully yours, WINFIELD SCOTT.

NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

WASHINGTON, *March* 11, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your note, inviting me to join you at Philadelphia, in the celebration of the approaching St. Patrick's day—an honor which I regret the press of business obliges me to decline.

You do me but justice in supposing me to feel a lively interest in Ireland and her sons. Perhaps no man, certainly no American, owes so much to the valor and blood of Irishmen as myself. Many of them marched and fought under my command in the war of 1812–'15, and many more (thousands) in the recent war with Mexico, not one of whom was ever known to turn his back upon the enemy or a friend.

I salute you, gentlemen, with my cordial respects. WINFIELD SCOTT.

R. Tyler, C. McCaullay, W. Dickson, P. W. Conroy, and J. McCann, Esq's., Committee, &c.

After the conquest of Mexico, on his return to the United States, he was met at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and in reply, on an address by Alderman Franklin, said—

"You have been pleased, sir, to allude to our adopted citizens. I can say that the Irish, the Germans, the Swiss, the French, the Britons, and other adopted citizens, fought in the same ranks, under the same colors, side by side with native-born Americans—exhibiting like courage and efficiency, and uniting at every victory in the same enthusiastic shouts in honor of our flag and country, From Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, *there was one generous rivalry in heroic daring and brilliant achievements.* Let those who witnessed that career of valor and patriotism say, if they can, what race, according to numbers, contributed most to the general success and glory of the campaign. On the many hard-fought battles, there was no room for invidious distinction. *All proved themselves the faithful sons of our beloved country, and no spectator could fail to* DISMISS ANY IMAGINARY PREJUDICE *he might have entertained as to the comparative merits of Americans by birth and Americans by adoption.*"

GENERAL SCOTT'S ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, *June* 24, 1852.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive from your hands the official notice of my "unanimous nomination as the Whig candidate for the office of President of the United States," together with "a copy of the resolutions passed by the Convention, expressing their opinions upon some of the most prominent questions of national policy."

This great distinction, conferred by a numerous, intelligent, and patriotic body, representing millions of my countrymen, sinks deep into my heart. Remembering the very eminent names which were before the Convention in amicable competition with my own, I am made to feel, oppressively, the weight of responsibility belonging to my new position.

Not having written a word to procure this distinction, I lost not a moment, after it had been conferred, in addressing a letter to one of your members, to signify what would be, at the proper time, the substance of my reply to the Convention; and I now have the honor to repeat, in a more formal manner, as the occasion justly demands, that I accept the nominations, with the resolutions annexed.

The political principles and measures laid down in those resolutions are so broad that but little is left for me to add. I therefore barely suggest, in this place, that should I, by the partiality of my countrymen, be elevated to the Chief Magistracy of the Union, I shall be ready, in my connection with Congress, to recommend or to approve of measures in regard to the management of the public domain, so as to secure an early settlement of the same, favorable to actual settlers, but consistent, nevertheless, with a due regard to the equal rights of the whole American people in that vast national inheritance; and also to recommend or approve of a single alteration in our naturalization laws, suggested by my military experience, viz: Giving to all foreigners the right of citizenship, who shall faithfully serve, in time of war, one year on board of our public ships, or in our land forces, regular or volunteer, on their receiving an honorable discharge from the service.

In regard to the general policy of the Administration, if elected, I should, of course, look among those who may approve that policy, for the agents to carry it into execution; and I should seek to cultivate harmony and fraternal sentiments throughout the Whig party, without attempting to reduce its members, by proscription, to exact conformity to my views. But I should, at the same time, be rigorous in regard to qualifications for office, retaining and appointing no one either deficient in capacity or integrity, or in devotion to Liberty, to the Constitution, and to the Union.

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, or 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, saving only in respect to the Legislature the possible resort to the veto power, always to be most cautiously exercised, and under the strictest restraints and necessities.

Finally, for my strict adherence to the principles of the Whig party, as expressed in the resolutions of the Convention, and herein suggested, with a sincere and earnest purpose to advance the greatness and happiness of the Republic, and thus to cherish and encourage the cause of constitutional liberty throughout the world, avoiding every act and thought that might involve our country in an unjust or unnecessary war, or impair the faith of treaties, and discountenancing all political agitation injurious to the interests of society, and dangerous to the Union, I can offer no other pledge or guarantee than the known incidents of a long public life, now undergoing the severest examination.

Feeling myself highly fortunate in my associate on the ticket, and with a lively sense of my obligations to the Convention, and to your personal courtesies, I have the honor to remain, sir, with great esteem, your most obedient servant, WINFIELD SCOTT.

To the Hon. J. G. Chapman, President of the Whig National Convention.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE BUFFALO CONVENTION OF 1848.

Whereas we have assembled in Convention, as a union of *freemen*, for the sake of Freedom, forgetting all past political differences in a common resolve to maintain the rights of Free Labor against the aggressions of the Slave Power, and to secure Free Soil for a Free People:

And *whereas* the political Conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia, the one stifling the voice of a great constituency entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability, have dissolved the National party organizations heretofore existing, by nominating for the Chief Magistracy of the United States, under slaveholding dictation, candidates, *neither of whom* can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension without a *sacrifice of consistency, duty,* and *self respect*:

And *whereas* these nominations, so made, furnish the occasion and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the People under the banners of Free Democracy, in a solemn and formal *declaration* of their *independence* of the *Slave Power*, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control:

Resolved, therefore, That we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our *fathers* in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the NATIONAL PLATFORM OF FREEDOM, in opposition to the Sectional Platform of Slavery.

Resolved, That Slavery, in the several States in this Union which recognise its existence, depends upon State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Government, and for which laws that Government are not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with Slavery within the limits of any State.

Resolved, That the PROVISO of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of Slavery, after 1800, in all the Territories of the United States, Southern and Northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates, in the Congress of 1784, for the Proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of Slavery from the Northwestern Territory by the ORDINANCE of 1787, *unanimously* adopted by the States in Congress, and the entire history of that period, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the Nation, *not to extend, nationalize*, or *encourage*, but to limit, localize, and discourage Slavery; and to *this policy*, which should never have been departed from, the Government ought to return.

Resolved, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal Government, which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this Convention, Congress has no more power to make a SLAVE than to make a KING; no more power to institute or establish SLAVERY than to institute or establish a MONARCHY; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or derived by just implication from them.

Resolved, THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO RELIEVE ITSELF FROM ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EXISTENCE OR CONTINUANCE OF SLAVERY WHEREVER THAT GOVERNMENT POSSESSES CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO LEGISLATE ON THAT SUBJECT, AND IS THUS RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS EXISTENCE.

Resolved, That the true, and, in the judgment of this Convention, the *only* safe means of preventing the extension of Slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by *an act of Congress*.

Resolved, That we accept the issue which the Slave Power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more Slave Territories, our calm but final answer is, no more Slave States and no more Slave Territory. Let the soil of our extensive domains be ever kept free, for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New World.

[The resolution in regard to the Compromise bill introduced into the United States Senate in 1848, and the resolution relating to Oregon, are omitted.]

And whereas it is due, not only to this occasion, but to the whole People of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy—therefore,

Resolved, That we demand CHEAP POSTAGE for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government; the *abolition* of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the People of all civil officers in the service of the Government, so far as the same may be practicable.

Resolved, That River and Harbor Improvements, whenever demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations or among the several States, are objects of national concern; and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide therefor.

Resolved, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses incurred in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote in various ways the interests of all the States of this Union; and we therefore recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

Resolved, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practicable payment of the national debt, and that we are therefore in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the necessary expenses of the Federal Government and to pay annual instalments of our debt and the interest thereon.

Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner, "FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR, AND FREE MEN," and under it will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1848.

The nominations of both the great political parties of the country, for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, being now made, the data on which to base calculations as to their success will be of particular interest. We therefore here annex the popular vote at the last Presidential election:

States.	*Taylor.*	*Cass.*	*V. Buren*
NEW ENGLAND STATES.			
Maine	35,273	40,195	12,157
N. Hampshire	14,781	27,763	7,560
Vermont	23,122	10,948	13,857
Massachusetts	61,072	35,284	38,133
Rhode Island	6,689	3,600	705
Connecticut	30,314	27,046	5,005
MIDDLE STATES.			
New York	218,551	114,592	120,519
New Jersey	40,009	36,880	849
Pennsylvania	186,113	172,661	11,263
Delaware	6,440	5,910	80
SOUTHERN STATES.			
Maryland	37,702	34,528	125
Virginia	45,124	46,586	9
N. Carolina	43,519	34,869	85
S. Carolina*	—	—	—
Georgia	47,603	44,736	—
Florida	4,539	3,238	—
Alabama	30,482	31,363	—
Mississippi	25,821	26,555	—
Louisiana	18,273	15,380	—
Texas	3,770	8,765	—
Arkansas	7,588	9,300	—
WESTERN STATES.			
Tennessee	64,705	58,419	—
Kentucky	67,141	49,720	—
Ohio	138,356	154,783	35,494
Michigan	23,940	30,687	10,389
Indiana	69,907	74,745	8,100
Illinois	53,215	56,629	15,804
Missouri	32,671	40,077	—
Iowa	10,557	12,151	1,126
Wisconsin	13,747	15,001	10,418
Total	1,362,024	1,222,419	291,678

Taylor over Cass	139,605
Cass and Van Buren over Taylor	152,073

* Presidential electors chosen by the Legislature.

LITTLE EVA.
NEW AND BEAUTIFUL MUSIC AND POETRY.

LITTLE EVA, *Uncle Tom's Guardian Angel.* A Song composed and dedicated to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Poetry by John G. Whittier—music by Manuel Emilio.

This is one of the most beautiful compositions, both poetical and musical, ever published in the country and we predict for it a popularity as widespread as has been that of the thrilling and beautiful story upon which it is founded. Price 25 cents. For sale by the principal Book and Music dealers in the country. Published by

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.
Nos. 17 and 19 Cornhill, Boston;
JEWETT, PROCTOR, & WORTHINGTON,
July 8—3t Cleveland, Ohio.

GOLD MINING MACHINE STORE.

NO. 123 Warren street, opposite the California Mail Steamship Company's Office, New York.

Free exhibition every day of the practical operation of the pulverising quartz grinder, and centripetal almalgamator; which machines combined give to the gold miner all he can desire.

California passengers are particularly invited to call and see the machines in operation, at nine o'clock in the morning, or three o'clock in the afternoon.

Information where, when, and how, to procure the most reliable passage tickets, and at the lowest rates, freely communicated. ARNOLD BUFFUM & CO.
June 24.

JOHN OLIVER, CARPENTER
No. 33 *Friend street, (up stairs,) Boston.*

J. O. SOLICITS jobs in Carpenter's Work, such as repairing dwelling houses, stores, &c., and putting up and altering any kind of fixtures. He will, by prompt attention to all orders, endeavor to give entire satisfaction to his patrons. June 3—6m

"UNCLE TOM'S CABIN."

MRS. *Harriet Beecher Stowe's Great Story*, first published in the *National Era* and now just issued in two handsome volumes, illustrated by six well-executed Engravings, for sale at the lowest price, in any quantity, at the *Boston Office of the National Era*, 3 Cornhill, up stairs. A discount will be made to those who take an extra number of copies for distribution. Price—$1, in paper covers; cloth, $1 50; cloth, full gilt, $2.

☞ Copies sent by mail, under 500 miles, *free of postage*, on the reception of $1 25. Fractional parts of a dollar can be sent in Post Office stamps.

G. W. LIGHT,
March 18. No. 3 Cornhill, Boston.

TO PERSONS OUT OF EMPLOYMENT.
BOOK AGENTS WANTED,
To canvass for new Pictorial, Standard, Historical, and Religious Works.

THE subscriber publishes a large number of most valuable books, very popular, and of such a moral and religious influence, that while good men may safely engage in their circulation, they will confer a *public* benefit, and receive a *fair compensation* for their labor.

To young persons of enterprise and tact, this business offers an opportunity for profitable employment seldom to be met with. There is not a town in the Union where a right honest and well disposed person can fail selling from 50 to 200 volumes, according to the population.

Persons wishing to engage in their sale will receive *promptly*, by mail, a Circular containing full particulars, with "*Directions to Persons disposed to act as Agents,*" together with the terms on which they will be furnished, by addressing the subscriber, post paid.

ROBERT SEARS, Publisher,
May 21. 181 William street, New York.

50,000 COPIES SOLD IN EIGHT WEEKS!
UNCLE TOM'S CABIN: OR, LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.
BY MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

FOR sale, wholesale and retail, at the Publishers' lowest cash prices, viz: single copy, in paper, (2 vols.) $1; cloth, lettered, $1.50; extra gilt $2. The Trade supplied at a discount of 20 per cent, with a further discount of 5 per cent, for cash, on sales of not less than five copies.

WILLIAM HARNED,
Publishing Agent, 48 Beekman street.
New York, June 17.

PHILIPSBURG WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT,

IN Philipsburg, Beaver county, Pennsylvania, on the south side of the Ohio river, opposite the mouth of the Big Beaver Creek—twenty-eight miles from Pittsburg, eighty from Wheeling, and one hundred from Cleveland.

Few places afford rarer opportunities for delightful rambles than Philipsburg. From the summits of the lofty, shady hills immediately in its rear, an extended prospect may be had. Nine different towns (among which is the County Town of Beaver) may be seen from thence. The buildings are conveniently arranged for Hydropathic purposes; the ladies' and gentlemen's bathing, sitting, and sleeping apartments being entirely separated.

For the pleasure and amusement of patients, a Pin-Alley, Arched Saloon, &c., have been fitted up.

Soft spring water, of the utmost purity, is used in the establishment. The proprietor has had twenty years' practical experience as a regular Physician, twelve of which he has practiced under the Hydropathic system. Terms—only five dollars per week, payable weekly. All seasons are adapted to Hydropathic cures.

Each Patient is required to furnish two heavy woollen blankets, two large comforts, four sheets, four towels, and one camp-blanket, or India-rubber sheet.

Dr. EDWARD ACKER, Proprietor,
Philipsburg, Rochester P. O., Beaver County, Pa.
April 1.

CLEVELAND WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

THE above establishment is now commencing its fifth season. The increased accommodations and facilities which have been added from year to year, make it second to none in the Union, and enables the subscriber to say with confidence to all who wish to avail themselves of the great facilities which the Water Cure System, when rightly applied, offers to all those who are seeking restoration to health, that they can here pursue it under the most favorable auspices for the removal of disease. The very flattering patronage bestowed hitherto by a generous public will serve but to stimulate the proprietor to increased exertions in behalf of all those sufferers who may place themselves under his charge. Terms—$7 to $8 per week.

May 6. T. T. SEELYE, M. D., Proprietor.

A NEW PLOUGH

HAS just been patented, with an adjustable standard and beam, that can be made to run deeper or shallower and take more or less land, at pleasure. The device is simple, not increasing the cost, and can be applied to either cast or wrought ploughs. Rights by townships, counties, or States, can be had on easy terms. A few energetic business men, well recommended, are wanted as agents to sell territory. For particulars, address, post paid, McABEE & SON,
May 27. Canton, Ohio.

S. M. PETTENGILL & CO.,

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING AGENTS, are the agents for the *National Era*, and are authorised to receive advertisements and subscriptions for us at the lowest rates. Their receipts are regarded as payments. Their offices are at New York, 122 Nassau street,
June 24. Boston, 10 State street.