

CAROLINA WATCHMAN.

SALISBURY, N. C.

MONDAY EVENING, NOV. 11, 1864.

We are in a great revolution—in the midst of a great crisis. Our country is a vast camp; every man is a soldier. We have surrendered our rights—for the moment, we are slaves that we may be free. Necessity makes our laws, and obedience is our duty. We have no rights inseparable from the common good: No prerogatives, either by enactment or usage, that may be indulged or enjoyed to the injury and prejudice of the cause. Public necessity must define our rights and give direction to our actions. Our duties are imperative, and if need be, by compulsion. The few must yield to the interests of the many. No man may legitimately presume to be exempt from the requisitions which a wise policy may impose, or which the general welfare of the country may render it proper to exact. Individual liberty, property, and even life are, and must continue to be held in subordination to the common interest of the people and nation so long as actual war exists as a necessity against subjugation and annihilation. The civil law, nevertheless, must be held precious and enforced, just as far as is consistent, with its purpose, and possible to its efficiency in the exigencies of the times. But whenever it is found inadequate of itself to its excellent ends—too weak to defend the great rights which involve all our other rights as freemen—then with patriotic devotion should we call to its support the strong arm of the military, that with this reinforcement it may triumph over our foes, banish our dangers and continue to us the blessings of freedom. By this we evidently do not mean that the civil should be enslaved by the military, but that they should be blended in one common strength and purpose to achieve the hallowed consummation so cherished by all the loyal and true. Honor the civil law! Prosper it, strengthen it, help it, crown it with success by this grand reinforcement and our future will be brighter—and our independence may ere long be won. Yet it is worse than madness to talk about the predominance of civil law over the military in the camp—in a country in which every man is a soldier. The idea is foolishness. It grew up with the verbal sophistry which flourished during the balmy days of democracy. But with that sophistry it has fallen before the sweeping ferocity of an avoidable war. We must adapt ourselves to the emergency. Every man is a soldier: That this is true, we presume no reflective mind will call in question for a moment. Every man that is able to bear a gun is a soldier—owes service and allegiance to the Confederate Government which is of necessity for the time the embodiment of military authority; and if he is not in actual service as a soldier in the literal sense of the term, he is exempt because the government considers that his services are equally essential in the discharge of some other duty. He is simply a detail. But this nominal exemption or detail, from actual service in the field, does not, or should not, exempt him from the requirements of military law. Otherwise there is a line of demarcation drawn, partiality shown, and injury done, as between members of the same class. We cannot afford to have dissemblers or mutinous persons in the camp: We must have strict obedience, or the offender must render penance: So, also, with a nation in which every man is a soldier or in which every man owes allegiance to the supreme law of the land.

In consideration of these facts does not prudence suggest the propriety of some legislative enactment that will promote wise and undivided counsel, singleness of purpose, and exact implicit obedience to the supreme law of the land, which, as we have shown, is, of necessity, military law? Our soldiers are under the surveillance of military law; and is it right, is it proper, is it expedient that our citizen soldiery, or detailed men, who sustain the same relations

to the government as the soldier who bears his breast to the missiles of the enemy—should be free and the one is a soldier in name and reality—the other only by name. Both are equally in the service of the government. Were it not for the exempted or detailed men would be at once placed in the ranks of the army.—But the government in its wisdom, has thought proper to exempt them from the drudgery of the camp to follow their respective professions, not as a means of promoting their own personal interests, but in order the better to advance its own interest by benefiting the people and yielding to public necessities.

Their are other institutions which come under the head of our remarks, but we allude specially to the news paper press. Who can calculate the injury we have suffered from this much boasted bulwark of liberty? Who can doubt, that the war has been prolonged and aggravated by too great a tolerance of the unstrained and ill-judicious, but perverted liberty of the press. Take our own State as an evidence of the evils we have sustained. Where did ever a people suffer more than ours have from this source? Our history, since this war began would have been as bright and unfolding as the sun-beams of heaven, had we not been subjected to the vindictive malice, foul calumny, and bad counsels of certain tory presses in our midst. Every species of reasoning calculated to discourage, demoralize, and weaken has been studiously devised or selected and disseminated among the people by them with an assiduity and zeal worthy of a better cause. It is against these and such as these that we write. They have sufficiently convinced us of the folly of having a "free press" in the camp.—They deserve the execrations of all patriotic men. If they are not entitled to the name of Tories, they at least, deserve our profound reprobation. We are not in favor of absolute measures, but if there is one thing more than another that would justify the arbitrary interference of the government, or that would bear the least semblance of justice under the plea of military necessity, it is a restriction of the liberties taken by certain newspaper presses of this Confederacy. Nothing would be more conducive to peace—nothing would do more to unlog the wheels of the government and render efficient the efforts which are piling forth to secure our independence and establish an early and permanent peace, than the enactment of a law prohibiting the publication of everything that might tend to demoralize, discourage or divide our army or people.

Some of our "exchanges" are discussing the question whether or not we can spare more men from the farms and shops to fight the enemy. It does not appear to us as a question either of choice or expediency, but of necessity. If our present forces are insufficient to withstand the enemy, and are in danger of being crushed, and the whole country exposed to the ravages of a cruel horde of robbers, time and breath spent in such a discussion is worse than a waste. For if we convince ourselves that we cannot spare another man it will amount to nothing unless we give up the struggle and conclude to take the chances of subjugation. This may not be the end looked to and aimed at by those who argue that we cannot spare any more men, but it leads to any other, then we like to know what it is. There can be no benefit to us to uncover ourselves to the eyes of the enemy, and those who do it are such friends as one might well pray to be delivered from.

We call attention to Capt. Jas. M. Goodman's notice of Nov. the 9th, in to-day's paper, and in order that it may be understood, we are authorized to say that it does not refer to soldiers' claims of any kind, but only to those who have furnished supplies, or performed work for his Department.

We are gratified to see that our young Townsman, Frank B. Craig, has been promoted to first Lieutenant in the 33d Regiment, N. O. T.

President's Message.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States of America.

It is with satisfaction that I welcome your presence at an earlier day than that usual for your session, and with confidence that I invoke the aid of your councils at a time of such public exigency. The campaign which was commenced almost simultaneously with your session early in May last, and which was still in progress at your adjournment in the middle of June, has not yet reached its close. It has been prosecuted on a scale and with an energy heretofore unequalled. When we reflect on the condition of our country at the inception of the operations of the present year, to the magnitude of the preparations made by the enemy, the number of his forces, the accumulation of his warlike supplies, and the prodigality with which his vast resources have been lavished in the attempt to render success assured; when we contrast the numbers and means at our disposal for resistance, and when we contemplate the results of a struggle apparently so unequal, we cannot fail, while rendering the full meed of deserved praise to our generals and soldiers, to perceive that a Power higher than man has willed our deliverance, and gratefully to recognize the protection of a kind Providence in enabling us successfully to withstand the utmost efforts of the enemy for our subjugation.

At the beginning of the year the State of Texas was partially in possession of the enemy, and large portions of Louisiana and Arkansas lay apparently defenceless. Of the Federal soldiers who invaded Texas, none are known to remain except as prisoners of war. In northwestern Louisiana, a large and well appointed army, aided by a powerful fleet, was repeatedly defeated and deemed itself fortunate in finally escaping with a loss of one-third of its numbers, a large part of its military trains and many transports and gunboats. The enemy's occupation of that State is reduced to the narrow district commanded by the guns of his fleet. Arkansas has been recovered with the exception of a few fortified posts, while our forces have penetrated into central Missouri, affording to our oppressed brethren in that State an opportunity, of which many have availed themselves, of striking for liberation from the tyranny to which they have been subjected.

On the East of the Missouri, in spite of some reverses, we have much cause for gratulation. The enemy hoped to effect, during the present year, by concentration of forces, the conquest which he had previously failed to accomplish by more extended operations.—Compelled, therefore to withdraw or seriously to weaken the strength of the armies of occupation at different points he has afforded us the opportunity of recovering possession of extensive territory. Nearly the whole of northern and western Mississippi, northern Alabama, and of western Tennessee are again in our possession; and all attempts to penetrate from the coast line into the interior of the Atlantic and Gulf States have been baffled. On the entire ocean and gulf coast of the Confederacy, the whole success of the enemy, with the enormous naval resources at his command, has been limited to the capture of the outer defenses of Mobile Bay.

If we now turn to the results accomplished by the two great armies, so confidently relied on by the invaders as sufficient to secure the subversion of our Government and the subjection of our people to foreign domination, we have still greater cause for devout gratitude to Divine Power. In southwestern Virginia, successive armies which threatened the capture of Lynchburg and Saltville have been routed and driven out of the country, and a portion of eastern Tennessee recaptured by our troops. In northern Virginia extensive districts, formerly occupied by the enemy, are now free from their presence. In the lower Valley, their general, rendered desperate by his inability to maintain a hostile occupation, has resorted to the infamous expedient of converting a fruitful land into a desert by burning its mills, granaries and homesteads, and destroying the food, standing crops, live stock and agricultural implements of peaceful non-combatants. The main army, after a series of defeats in which its losses have been enormous: after attempts by raiding parties to break up our railroad communications, which have resulted in the destruction of a large part of the cavalry engaged in the work; after constant repulse of repeated assaults on our defensive lines, is, with the aid of heavy reinforcements, but with, it is hoped, wanting prospect of further progress in the design, still engaged in an effort, commenced more than four months ago, to capture the town of Petersburg.

The army of General Sherman, although succeeding at the end of the summer in obtaining possession of Atlanta, has been unable to secure any ultimate advantage from this success. The same General who, in February last, marched a large army from Vicksburg to Meridian with no other result than being forced to march back again, was able, by the aid of greatly increased numbers, and after much delay, to force a passage from Chattanooga to Atlanta, only to be for the second time compelled to withdraw on the line of his advance, without obtaining control of a single mile of territory beyond the narrow track of his march, and without gaining sight beyond the precarious possession of a few fortified points in which he is compelled to maintain heavy garrisons, and which are menaced with recapture.

The lessons afforded by the history of this war are fraught with instruction and encouragement. Repeatedly during the war have formidable expeditions been directed by the enemy against points ignorantly supposed to be of vital importance to the Confederacy. Some of these expeditions have, at immense cost, been successful; but in no instance have the promised fruits been reaped. Again, in the present campaign, was the delusion fondly cherished, that the capture of Atlanta and Richmond would, if effected, end the war by the overthrow of our Government and the subversion of our people. We can now judge by experience how unimportant is the influence of the former event upon our capacity for defence, upon the courage and spirit of

the people and the stability of the Government. We may, in like manner, judge that if the campaign against Richmond had resulted in success instead of failure; if the valor of the army under the leadership of its accomplished commander had resisted in vain the overwhelming masses which were, on the contrary, decisively repulsed; if we had been compelled to evacuate Richmond as well as Atlanta, the Confederacy would have remained as erect and defiant as ever. Nothing could have been changed in the purpose of its Government, in the indomitable valor of its troops, or in the unquenchable spirit of its people. The baffled and disappointed foe would in vain have scanned the reports of your proceedings, at some new legislative seat, for any indication that progress had been made in his gigantic task of conquering a free people. The truth so patent to us must ere long be forced upon the reluctant Northern mind. There are no vital points on the preservation of which the continued existence of the Confederacy depends. There is no military success of the enemy which can accomplish its destruction. Not the fall of Richmond, nor Wilmington, nor Charleston, nor Savannah, nor Mobile, nor of all combined, can save the enemy from the constant and exhausting drain of blood and treasure which must continue until he shall discover that no peace is attainable unless based on the recognition of our indefeasible rights.

Before leaving this subject, it is gratifying to assure you that the military supplies essentially requisite for public defence will be found, as heretofore, adequate to our needs; and that abundant crops have rewarded the labor of the farmer, and rendered abortive the inhuman attempt of the enemy to produce, by devastation, famine among the people.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

It is not in my power to announce any change in the conduct of foreign powers. No such action has been taken by the Christian nations of Europe as might justly have been expected from their history, from the duties imposed by international law, and from the claims of humanity. It is charitable to attribute their conduct to no worse motive than indifference to the consequences of a struggle which shakes only the Republican portion of the American continent; and not to ascribe to design a course calculated to ensure the prolongation of hostilities.

No instance in history is remembered by me in which a nation pretending to exercise jurisdiction over another, asserting its independence, has been the first to concede the existence of such independence. No case can be called to my mind in which neutral powers have failed to set the example of recognizing the independence of a nation, when satisfied of the inability of its enemy to subvert its Government; and this, too, in cases where the previous relation between the contending parties had been confessedly that of brother country and dependent colony; not, as in our case, that of co-equal States united by Federal compact. It has ever been considered the proper function and duty of neutral powers to perform the office of judging whether in point of fact the nation asserting dominion, is able to make good its pretensions by force of arms, and if not, by recognition of the resisting party, to discontinue the further continuance of the contest. And the reason why this duty is incumbent on neutral powers is plainly apparent, when we reflect that the pride and passion which blind the judgment of the parties to the conflict cause the continuance of active warfare, and consequent useless slaughter, long after the inevitable result has become apparent to all not engaged in the struggle. So long, therefore, as neutral nations fail by recognition of our independence to announce that, in their judgment, the United States are unable to reduce the Confederacy to submission, their conduct will be accepted by our enemies as a tacit encouragement to continue their efforts, and as an implied assurance that belief is entertained by neutral nations in the success of their designs. A direct stimulus, whether intentional or not, is thus applied to securing a continuance of the carnage and devastation which desolate this continent, and which they profess deeply to deplore.

The disregard of this just, humane, and Christian public duty by the nations of Europe is the more remarkable from the fact that authentic expression has long since been given by the Governments of both France and England to the conviction that the United States are unable to conquer the Confederacy. It is now more than two years since the Government of France announced officially to the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg its own conclusion that the United States were unable to achieve any decisive military success. In the answers sent by those powers no intimation of a contrary opinion was conveyed; and it is notorious that in speeches, both in and out of Parliament, the members of Her Britannic Majesty's Government have not hesitated to express their conviction in unqualified terms. The denial of our right under these circumstances is so obviously unjust, and discriminates so unfairly in favor of the United States, that neutrals have sought to palliate the wrong which they are conscious by professing to consider, in opposition to notorious truth and to the knowledge of both belligerents, that the recognition of our independence would be valueless without their further intervention in the struggle; an intervention of which we disclaim the desire and mistrust the advantage. We seek no favor, we wish no intervention, we know ourselves fully competent to maintain our own rights and independence against the invaders of our country, and we feel justified in asserting, that without the aid derived from renouncing their armies from foreign countries, the invaders would, ere this, have been driven from our soil. When the recognition of the Confederacy was refused by Great Britain, in the fall of 1862, the refusal was excused on the ground that any action by Her Majesty's Government would have the effect of inflaming the passions of the belligerents and of preventing the return of peace. It is assumed that this opinion was sincerely entertained; but the experience of two years of unequalled carnage, shows that it was erroneous, and that the

result was the reverse of what the British ministry humbly desired. A contrary policy—a policy just to us—a policy diverging from an unvarying course of concession to all the demands of our enemies—is still within the power of Her Majesty's Government, and would, it is fair to presume, be productive of consequences the opposite of those which have unfortunately followed its whole course of conduct from the commencement of the war to the present time. In a word, peace is impossible without independence, and it is not to be expected that the enemy will anticipate neutrals in the recognition of that independence. When the history of this war shall be fully disclosed, the calm judgment of the impartial posterity will, for these reasons, be unable to absolve the neutral nations of Europe from the moral responsibility for the myriads of human lives that have been unnecessarily sacrificed during its progress.

The renewed instances in which foreign powers have given up just cause of complaint need not here be detailed. The extracts from the correspondence of the State Department, which accompany this message, will afford such further information as can be given without detriment to the public interest, and we must reserve for the future such action as may then be deemed advisable to secure redress.

FINANCE.

Your special attention is earnestly invited to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, submitted in conformity with law. The facts therein disclosed are far from discouraging, and demonstrate that, with judicious legislation, we shall be enabled to meet all the exigencies of the war from our abundant resources, and avoid, at the same time, such an accumulation of debt as would render at all doubtful our capacity to redeem it.

The total receipts into the Treasury for the two quarters ending on the 30th September, 1864 were \$415,195,000, which sum, added to the balance of \$308,263,722, that remained in the Treasury on the 1st of April last form a total of \$723,458,722. Of this total not far from half, that is to say, \$342,568,527, have been applied to the extinction of the public debt, while the total expenditures have been \$272,378,505, leaving a balance in the Treasury on the 1st October, 1864, of \$108,435,410.

The total amount of the public debt, as exhibited on the books of the Register of the Treasury on the 1st of October 1864, was \$1,147,970,208, of which \$520,340,000 were funded debt, bearing interest, \$233,880,150 were Treasury notes of the new issue, and the remainder consisted of the former issue of Treasury notes which will be converted into other forms of debt, and will cease to exist as currency on the 31st of next month.

The report, however, explains that, in consequence of the absence of certain returns from distant officers, the true amount of the debt is less, by about twenty-one and a half millions of dollars than appears on the books of the Register, and that the total public debt on the first of last month may be fairly considered to have been \$1,126,881,695.

The increase of the public debt during the six months from the 1st April to the 1st October, was \$9,750,780, being rather more than \$16,000,000 per month, and it will be apparent, on a perusal of the report, that this augmentation would have been avoided, and a positive reduction of the amount would have been effected, but for the certain defects in the legislation on the subject of the finance, which are pointed out in the report, and which seem to admit of easy remedy.

In the statement just made the foreign debt is omitted. It consists only of the unpaid balance of the loan known as the cotton loan. This balance is but £2,200,000, and is adequately provided for by about 250,000 bales of cotton owned by the Government, even if the cotton be rated as worth but six pence per pound.

There is one item of the public debt not included in the tables presented, to which your attention is required. The bounty bonds promised to our soldiers by the third section of the act of 17th February, 1864, were deliverable on the 1st October. The Secretary has been unable to issue them by reason of an omission in the law, no time being therein fixed for the payment of the bonds.

The aggregate appropriations called for by the different departments of the Government, according to the estimates submitted with the report, for the six months ending on the 30th June, 1865, amount to \$448,102,670, while the Secretary estimates that there will remain unexpended, out of former appropriations, on the 1st January, 1865, a balance of \$437,416,504. It would, therefore, seem that former estimates have been largely in excess of actual expenditures, and that no additional appropriations are required for meeting the needs of the public service up to the 1st July of next year. Indeed if the estimates now presented should prove to be as much in excess of actual expenditures as has heretofore been the case, a considerable balance will still remain unexpended at the close of the first half of the ensuing year.

The chief difficulty to be apprehended in connection with our finances, results from the depreciation of the Treasury notes, which seems justly to be attributed by the Secretary to two causes—redundancy in amount and want of confidence in ultimate redemption; for both of which, remedies are suggested that will commend themselves to your consideration as being practicable as well as efficient.

The main features of the plan presented are substantially these: 1st. That the faith of the Government be pledged that the notes shall ever remain exempt from taxation, 2d. That no issue shall be made beyond that which is already authorized by law, 3d. That a certain fixed portion of the annual receipts from taxation during the war shall be set apart specially for the gradual extinction of the outstanding amount, until it shall have been reduced to \$150,000,000; and 4th. The pledge and appropriation of such proportion of the tax in kind, and for such number of years after the return of peace, as shall be sufficient for the final redemption of the entire circulation. The details of the plan, the calculations on which it is based, the efficiency of its operation, and the vast advan-