

North-Carolina Standard

Abstract of the Speech of Hon. A. H. Stephens. The Columbus (Ga.) "Times" publishes the following abstract of a speech delivered by Vice-President Stephens in the hall of the House of Representatives, at Millidgeville, on Wednesday evening, March 16th, 1864:

Mr. Stephens began his speech at the hour of 7 P. M. and closed at 10:30. The hall was crowded with members of the Legislature and citizens generally, and he had not been observed until he ascended the Speaker's stand. Then there was a burst of hearty applause that seemed to come from all present, testifying how truly, and with what regard, he was called upon to speak.

He began by saying that his object was to speak on the state of public affairs at this present crisis. The time had passed when the measures which brought on the war should be discussed; the great question to be determined by legislators was the proper husbanding and management of all the resources of the country. The country was environed by dangers and perils within and without; but though the times were perilous, he did not regard the cause as hopeless. If true to ourselves and to our country, we must ultimately succeed.

The enemy had not as yet inflicted any vital blow on our interests, though they had gained some important advantages. The chief of which was their success in their gunboats. We could not resist their attacks successfully from this source any more than a lion could successfully attack a shark. If asked whether we should ultimately triumph, his reply would be, a thousand times yes, if we properly managed the resources of the country.

On the currency question, he did not intend to speak further than to say that he regarded it as an unwise measure, though it might have been the best that could have been adopted with the conflicting opinions on the subject.

On the Military Act—the second Conscription Act as it termed it—he was more severe. He thought it put too large a portion of the fighting men in the field. Only one-third of the fighting men of a country, it had been demonstrated by history, could be safely put in the field. When the country in long wars, from the want of means of subsistence of the army. He feared that sufficient regard had not been paid to the fact when the bill was under consideration. As to the question assumed in the Act that all the mechanical, manufacturing and agricultural labor of the country could be put under the control of the President, that was a question left for the courts to determine, and he would not pledge himself to their decision.

The next important question that would be submitted to the Legislature, was the act suspending the writ of habeas corpus. He contended that while Congress had the power to suspend that writ by an implied grant in the Constitution, it did not have the power to do that which the act did, which was to authorize the arrest of persons without a charge being made against them, or a return of a writ of habeas corpus to a person. That right Congress had not the power to take away, for it was expressly granted in the Constitution. The act contained thirteen specifications, in any one of which the writ might be suspended. There was no need of the act so far as concerned persons guilty of being a spy, or of treason, or of cutting telegraph wires. The entire act would be likely to be repealed in this way, for the detaining of any one person. It could have reference to but one class, which is styled persons seeking to avoid military service.

The great liability to abuse of this power, so far as that class of persons is concerned, was dwelt upon with great earnestness and force. Instances were advanced which the power would be likely to be abused. One was the case of a man who was put into military service in the field whom the family record and other evidences showed to be above forty-five years of age, because under a recent order the person's age had to be computed according to the last census, and the person referred to had had his age wrongfully given in. Another instance was adduced of a person seeking to get his son into the army, and who had the act before him a right to do, and having so done, suddenly arrested and put into prison as "seeking to avoid military service."

Mr. S. thought it the duty of the Legislature to give public expression to their opinion as the most likely to effect the repeal of the act by the next Congress. He favored the free expression of opinion, and thought it as much a duty to disapprove a measure that is wrong, as to approve of one that is right.

He considered the great question involved in the war to be independence and constitutional liberty. Without one he did not want the other. He would not desire to survive the defeat of either.

EX-PRESIDENT JEFFERSON ON THE WAR.—The Northern papers bring us the first expression of opinion on the war that we have seen since the fall of Fillmore. At the opening of the great Central Fair, at St. James' Hall, Buffalo, he is reported to have spoken as follows: Three years of civil war have desolated the fairest portion of our land; loaded the country with an enormous debt that the sweat of millions yet unborn must be taxed to pay; arrayed brother against brother and kindred against kindred in mortal conflict; deluged our country with fraternal blood; and whitened our battle-fields with the bones of slain; and darkened the sky with the pall of mourning. Yet these appalling calamities—which as yet have touched our city more lightly than any other in the land—have imposed upon us new duties, which must be promptly met and generously discharged, and in the midst of which must be patiently and cheerfully borne.

We cannot, in our humble capacity, control the events of this desolating war. We hear its thunders and mark the track of desolation, and we must meet the emergency as best we can, but never despair of the republic. It is no time now to inquire whether it might have been avoided. Let those who seek light on this subject read Washington's Farewell Address. Nor are we now to criticize the conduct of those who control it, awarding praise here and bestowing censure there. The impartial historian will do this when the passions engendered by the strife have cooled, and partisan prejudices, petty jealousies, malignant envy, and intriguing selfish ambition shall be laid in the dust, and it is hoped, buried in oblivion. And much less are we called upon to predict how this war will end. Let those who seek light on this subject read Gen. Jackson's Farewell Address. But let us hope that an all-wise and merciful Providence will incline the hearts of the people, North and South, to peace—to a lasting peace—with a restored Union, cemented by fraternal affection, under our well tried and glorious Constitution.

Now is this the time or place to express an opinion as to the policy that should be pursued to reach such desirable an end. But one thing is clear, that much must be forgiven, if not forgotten, on both sides, before this Union can ever be restored; and therefore, it is to be hoped that all unnecessary acts of cruelty, or wanton destruction of private property, or insult, or insolence in triumphing over the fallen, should be avoided; for all such acts only fire the hearts of our adversary with resentment and revenge and thus prolong the war, increase its horrors, and leave a sting which will render re-union more difficult, if not impossible. It must be apparent to all that the first step toward bringing this war to a close is to conquer the rebel army.

For the Standard. Mr. HOLLAND:—As the time is near at hand when the Congress of the State will find it necessary to nominate candidates for the Legislature, and it is very important that we should carry that body, I trust they will permit one who wishes the cause well, to make a few suggestions.

1st. Let them avoid all association with Destructives. I do not see how any Conservative who possesses proper self-respect can act politically with the Destructives. They have denounced us and held us up as traitors, and we may know that every effort we make to unite ourselves with us proceeds from selfish motives. They want the offices, and the opportunity to tyrannize over us, here in North-Carolina, and they know that they are so completely in a minority that their only hope of success is in insinuating themselves into our ranks. "Touch not pitch, lest ye be defiled." It is not possible to fuse or unite the Conservatives and Destructives. Their principles are as wide apart as the poles; and even if their principles could be reconciled and made to agree, the Destructives are so selfish and intolerant that they would rule, if they could, and no such Conservatives as might unite with them, with a bad grace.

2d. Let no man be nominated or supported for office who is not a Conservative "after the strictest sense." I have more respect for a downright Destructive who carries his principles in his hands so that every one may see them, than I have for a fishy, trading, insinuating, half-hearted Conservative. The great mass of our people are Conservatives, and they have a right to the services of men who will carry out their wishes. To continue to honor the Destructives who have proved false to their pledges to their principles, and their friends, and to prefer fishy Conservatives for office to true Conservatives, will be to humiliate ourselves at the feet of our enemies and destroy our party. The right of the people to govern, and the preservation of civil liberty itself, depend on the Conservative party. Therefore, any man who would break down the Conservative party by merging any portion of it with the Destructives, or who would treat both parties in such a way as to obtain the votes of both, or who runs with the Destructives and professes at the same time to hold with the Conservatives, is not only a political hypocrite, but an enemy to popular rights and civil liberty. Let no such man be trusted.

3d. Let no man be nominated or supported for office who thinks it "wrong" to trust the people on any subject or in any event. Consolidationists and monarchists are numerous in the land, and we hear their declamations frequently made, and we see it more frequently acted out, that popular government has failed, and that we must have a strong government of privileged orders, supported by the bayonet. I would warn the people in the most earnest terms against the constantly increasing tendencies to a kingly or imperial form of government. It is a monstrous calumny—a fatal delusion to say that the government has failed. Trust no man for office who will not pledge himself to the great principle that the people alone have the right to govern; and if he hesitates to make this pledge, or if he shows a disposition to favor a strong or kingly government, avoid and reject him as your most deadly enemy.

4th. Let no man be nominated or supported who will not pledge himself to the most rigid economy in the administration of our State affairs. Our State debt is already heavy, and rapidly increasing; and while every proper expenditure should be made, and our soldiers and their families well provided for, yet no money should be squandered on favorites or doubtful schemes.

5th. Let no man be nominated or supported who admits or holds the Lincoln doctrine, that in any case the Federal Government has the right to interfere in the State of any man who is not in favor of negotiating for peace while we are fighting for it. Our people desire peace if they can obtain it on honorable terms; and they look to the States as well as to the common government to make every proper effort to secure this great blessing.

6th. The people are tired of caucuses, conventions, and packed committees. These agencies have no small influence in breaking up the old government and involving us in this awful war. Let mass meetings be held, and let each Conservative present have the privilege of voting for the man of his choice. The humblest Conservative has as much right to vote in selecting candidates as the most exalted and influential. Nominations made in this way will carry more moral weight with them, and will be more readily acquiesced in as the result of the deliberations of a committee.

These suggestions proceed from one who is devotedly attached to Conservative principles, and who is most anxious that those principles may continue to prevail in North-Carolina. There is no danger of division in the Conservative ranks, if those who are really and honestly attached to the party will adhere to their principles, and make common cause against the Destructives. Our party has a very large majority in the State. Every man who votes for our own men and by our own principles, and proudly refuse to touch or confide in any candidate who is the choice of the Destructives. We may lose some votes and a few selfish leaders by adopting this course, but we shall carry the State triumphantly, and at the same time purify and improve our party.

PUBLICUS. March 25, 1864. [From the Raleigh Progress.] Mr. EDITOR:—I see that the Destructives of Pitt and New Hanover counties have nominated Gov. Vance for re-election. Mr. Fulton, of the Journal, leads in New Hanover, and Dr. Blow leads in Pitt. These gentlemen, and others of the same stripe, declared in 1862, that Gov. Vance and his supporters were disloyal, and that his election was a Union triumph. Who has changed? And the Confederates and other Destructive journals are supporting Gov. Vance against the Destructives. A man is known by the company he keeps. Every man who votes for Gov. Vance, will vote with James Fulton, Dr. W. J. Blow, D. K. McRae, John Spelman, W. K. Lane, William Robinson, C. H. Coffield, J. A. Spears, John U. Kirkland, H. K. Nash, Jim. Morris, Zeke Jones, and men of that stamp. Is there not "something rotten in the state of Denmark?"

I also observe that the Confederates of the 23d March, which seems to be the leading organ of Gov. Vance, urges the Vance men or Destructives of the State to adopt as their platform in the meetings which they may hold, the resolutions of the New Hanover meeting drawn up by Mr. Fulton. The Governor is thus cordially embraced by the Destructives in all parts of the State. OBSERVER. GOVERNOR VANCE. As we foresaw, the speech of Governor Vance is regarded as a wonderful production, and we have already treated him with a national renouveau. We regard it at the moment when we read it, as the main link in a wise, logical, patriotic effort—abounding in sound thoughts, wholesome instruction, and couched in terms of jest, humor and sublime eloquence, admirably adapted to his audience, and displaying a mind of varied and splendid attainment. We thought it the best stump speech we had ever read—and our estimate has not been depreciated by the press of the country. We are no political or party supporter of Governor Vance. He has been in party matters a party man. If we support him, it is as a patriot, who has served his State, and will serve her well in the great cause. We support him, not as a conservative, but as a member of the Confederate party. We support him against disloyalty, against a party which, when organized, will be essentially a Tory Party, and which will be known hereafter as such.—Confederate, (Destructive), March 16, 1864. We have heard that Gov. Vance at Statesville urged the vigorous prosecution of the war in the most glowing terms. The Governor's posse, the power of language wonderful, and the participation trouble to apprehend that a visit to his blossoms, will not be abundant in fruits. For ourselves we have no fear. The luscious grapes from this fruitful vine are even now melting in our mouth.—Confederate, (Destructive), Feb. 29, 1864. But the agitation must stop. There is no more appeals for Convention—openly, or by secret petition. Men must cease to speak in private. Fully has long enough had away.—Confederate, March 2, 1864.

For the Standard. Mr. EDITOR:—After reading and studying the Governor's Wilkesborough speech attentively, his arguments and reasoning have failed to convince my judgment that the bloody battle-field is the only place where an honorable peace can be obtained. The Governor's speech is a good one, but he has not stated it contains all that his most devoted friends desired; and though enough to spell the good, it was calculated to tickle the ears, and captivate the senses of his hearers, but I doubt whether he was as successful in satisfying the minds and convincing the judgment of his hearers upon the best mode of obtaining peace. Surely the serpent has not beguiled his Excellency, though he is an insidious, wily, malicious animal, that crawls upon his belly, and feeds upon the public pap. I would suggest to the Governor the propriety and importance of putting on a coat of mail, to shield him from the attacks of his enemies in the order of discussion the topics of his speech in the order of his importance. I wish if he had had the opportunity of an animal nature showed off by the serpent, his intellectual faculties and christian feeling would have suggested a different arrangement of the heads of his discourse. I have no doubt he would have talked as fluently upon peace by negotiation as he did upon war. Unfortunately, the moral atmosphere that the soul breathes has about as much to do with the moral principles of our nature as the putrid atmosphere from a polluted stream has to do with the physical or animal nature of our nature. We should endeavor to shape our views and conduct in this world, in reference to the various sublime principles and teachings of the meek and lowly Jesus—peace with God, and good will towards man. The better feeling of our nature seems unfortunately to have been lost sight of by his Excellency, in his thirst for popular applause and human glory.

It would seem from the reading of the Governor's speech, that he not only regards the war as a necessary evil, but that he is now involved in an important one, but that his success in the war is a doubtful thing; he admitted that he had in common with his fellow-citizens was anxious for peace, but that the bloody battle-field was the only place where we could obtain it, and that we must fight it out now, while we had a government and an army. Surely the Governor did not wish to be understood that before negotiation could be instituted that it would be necessary to break up the government, disband the army, and prostrate ourselves, spaniel like, at the feet of the victor. The Governor supposes any such a dog is entertained by the Conservative party, let me disabuse his mind on the subject, by saying we desire no such terms of peace as his, President Davis, or President Lincoln's hands. While we hold the sword in one hand, let us hold the olive branch in the other; let war, if possible, be transferred from the bloody battle-field to the council chamber, where much of the outside pressure that is operating upon the minds of the people would be shut out, and reason assume her supremacy over the minds of those who deprecate war as a national curse, and desire peace as a national blessing. We are all aware of the fact that there is a constitutional mode pointed out by which not only peace may be made, but war also; yet so happened that the present war was not made in pursuance of law, or the Constitution. We will not controvert the Governor's views on that point, but the Constitution does not say no other mode shall be resorted to for the accomplishment of peace; the mode pointed out by the Constitution is only a formality. If the same desirable object could be obtained by other means, would it be less beneficial or desirable to those interested in the important issue? Surely not. To suppose such a thing, would be an insult to reason and common sense.

In the settlement of this cruel war we must bring to bear the better feelings of our nature; we must not only exercise physical force, but we must exercise moral courage; we must be permitted to think, speak and act as becomes freemen, christians and patriots upon our unfortunate condition, without the bit in our mouths or the fear of a halter around our necks. To act differently would not only be physical, but it would be moral cowardice; and that would attempt to suppress free speech, or muzzle a free press, is a despot and a tyrant at heart.

The Governor seems to be a little old foggy in his notions on points of law, though I don't attach any blame to him, as it seems to be the bent of his nature. I would be so too if circumstances would justify it, but it will not. We are cut loose from the moorings of our fathers, and are now being tossed upon the angry billows of a bloody civil war, and with the anxious cry on every shore to maintain top—let us negotiate while we fight for peace. Will those who brought on the bloody struggle still interpose an insuperable barrier to the accomplishment of so desirable an object by a stoical indifference, or the exercise of bad law? We trust not.

I had supposed that the Confederate and State governments were co-ordinate and co-equal, and that neither could infringe upon the reserved rights of the other without impairing the validity of the terms upon which the compact was entered into. It is a problem now being solved that the States should watch with jealous vigilance. If the cause were now struggling for loss its vitality by the abuse of power either by the Confederate or the States' governments, what is it that will compensate for the sacrifice of blood and treasure, the sufferings and sorrows of our people, when this bloody struggle forever ended?

Let us hope that that God, whose will may no longer afflict us with blindness, may our past folly and weakness. LEACHBURG. We publish in another column a communication from "A Citizen," criticizing the recent message of Gov. Brown to the Georgia Legislature. While there is force and pertinence in some of "Citizen's" reflections on the tendencies of the times, we are free to confess we had rather see the extreme renouveau in the direction of over-vigilance in respect to the rights of the States. History is said to be philosophy teaching by example, and the precedents of the past deduce no more unflinching truth than the proclivity of power is "to gradually steal from the many to the few." It was once a dispute amongst political theorists whether there was more danger in a confederacy "from tyranny in the head than from anarchy amongst the members." History, with its solemn examples, has put the question forever at rest. The temper and tendencies of all central authorities are towards absolute and unquestioning obedience which is the pyre of public liberty. There is much sound sense and sagacious reflection in Gov. Brown's message—much which, at this time, is worth the attention of our people. As we understand him, he contemplates no counter action on the part of the Georgia Legislature against the bill of Congress suspending the Habeas corpus, only proposing that a grave legislative protest shall be entered against the exercise of the power by the President. The measure has been so unfavorably received through the country, and there really appears to be, so little occasion for it, that we have no doubt Congress will, at an early day, during the coming session, repeal the act. What Gov. Brown says about peace is not only true but wise, and stamps him a sagacious statesman. The sword and the olive branch must accomplish the work conjointly—neither alone can effect it. He urges that the war be vigorously carried out, and that the last man and the last dollar be voted for its energetic prosecution. At the same time he suggests that our moral sympathy be thrown in favor of the party a, the North now engaged in a great struggle to expel Lincoln from office. He advocates holding out to the olive branch to that party, expressing a willingness should they get into office to treat with them on an honorable peace. He goes farther and acquiesces these conservative men at the bar of history of the great crime against Christianity and civilization of having brought on this war, and bids them God speed in their good work of ousting Lincoln and his co-devils from power.

In this particular, the points of Gov. Brown's message are well taken and will do good. We cannot believe he meditates any collision with the authorities at Richmond, or will fall to do all that lays in his power to strengthen and support the President in a most earnest prosecution of the war.—Montgomery (Ala.) Mail. A King of England has an interest in preserving the freedom of the press, because it is his interest to know the true state of the nation, which the courtiers would fain conceal, and of which a free press alone can inform him.—Lyon.

For the Standard. Mr. EDITOR:—In the Confederate of the 15th instant, is an article headed, "Dr. Leach," in which the so-called junior Editor, with a vulgar, gut, and gloomy stigmata, attempts to malign me as an ignoramus and a traitor. The so-called junior Editor, no doubt, enjoys this low and calumnious fling of unadmitted billingsgate, but such is the legitimate fruit of low breeding and those vulgar associations that have already pointed his path to perdition. Ignorance is bliss when not attended by all the degrading propensities of the lower brute creation, as is the case with the so-called junior Editor of the Confederate. He is one of the spared monuments of God's mercy, without brains and less decency. I have no recollection of the so-called junior Editor ever correcting any communication from me, except one intended for his special benefit, "The Whiskey Looking Glass." Had he received a few more such productions, I have no doubt, but that his journal would have been a more popular one, and its Editor a better man. If the junior Editor pretends to say or to intimate that he made any material alteration in "The Whiskey Looking Glass," he perpetrates an act that truth does not sanction, as I am abundantly able to prove.

If the so-called junior Editor had any of the milk of human nature in his composition, he ought to thank me for that pamphlet on the evils of intemperance. I did suggest to him the importance of reading "The Whiskey Looking Glass" in the morning and the Bible in the evening, as the one would be just as essential to his temporal happiness as the other would be to his spiritual welfare. Talk about treason indeed! You, Sir, have boxed both the moral and political compass off-center than comports with either decency or patriotism, and to-day the highest price under the hammer for which either could be sold, would be a bottle of bad whiskey.

The junior Editor of the Confederate shares with the able senior Editor the duties, responsibilities, &c. No doubt, Mr. Junior, for you and the "able Senior" are both going it bare back upon the nag of infamy, and the world will be the better of it, when you get through your journey. You, Sir, are such a pigny of insignificance and contempt, that were you removed off the stage of existence, your presence would not be missed on earth nor recognized in eternity. J. T. LEACH. March 23, 1864.

For the Standard. Public Meeting in Harriet County. At a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of upper Little River District, Harriet County, held at Pineville, on Tuesday, 23d of February, 1864, on motion of James S. Harrington, Esq., Capt. James M. Turner was called to the Chair, and John McL. Harrington, Esq., Secretary. The Chairman in a brief remark explained the object of the meeting, when on motion the Chair appointed a committee of five to draft resolutions for the action of the meeting, when the following gentlemen were appointed: James S. Harrington, Esq., John M. Morrison, Esq., Henry Stewart, Esq., Henry Facette and Rev. Daniel McNeill. On motion the Chairman and Secretary were added to the number. The Committee then retired, and after a short time returned and through their Chairman, James S. Harrington, Esq., introduced the following preamble and resolutions: WHEREAS, The Constitution both of the State and of the Confederate States does guarantee to the common citizen the right to peaceably assemble themselves together and consult for the common good, and to appeal to their representatives for a redress of grievances, whenever such grievances in the opinion of the people exist, and whereas, the said grievances to an alarming extent doth at this time exist: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this is a cruel, unchristian and uncalled for war; that it has lasted long enough to satisfy every thinking, fair-minded man; and that it cannot be settled by the sword alone, and that we believe it to be the duty of all good citizens to meet and consult, and see if something cannot be done that will settle our present difficulty with honor and satisfaction to the South.

Resolved, That we believe in the time-honored republican doctrine that the will of the people should be the law of the land, and with that sentiment settled on our minds, we do most earnestly appeal to His Excellency, Gov. Z. B. Vance, to convene the Legislature at an early day for the purpose of submitting to the people the question of Convention or No Convention, that the public mind may be fully ascertained on that subject.

Resolved, That a Convention called by the people could and would do much toward the settlement of the difficulties under which our beloved country is now laboring, and that we are in favor of a Convention of all the States in the Confederacy for the purpose of making some propositions to the Northern Government for a lasting and an honorable peace to both sections of our once united but now divided States.

Resolved, That we believe it to be the bounden duty of the representative in all cases to be governed by the will of those whom he represents, and, therefore, we will not support any man for any office, either State or Confederate, who will not pledge himself to be governed by that will when made known to him through any proper channel.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the course taken by His Excellency, and his firmness manifested in sustaining the Judiciary in North Carolina against the unprovoked attacks of the military officers of the civil law in our beloved State, and that we pledge ourselves to sustain him in all such positions taken by him, and looking to him as our great political head, we hope he will maintain the civil law of North Carolina at all hazards against any and all encroachments, come from whence it may.

Resolved, That we approve of the proposition made by the Conservative citizens of Johnston County to call a mass meeting of the Conservative citizens of the State, sometime in April or May, and we respectfully suggest early in April, as we believe it will so plainly show the state of public feeling in North Carolina as to satisfy any doubting mind on that subject, and may enable our rulers to shape their course of conduct accordingly.

The time has gone by for obediencies without protection. I speak decided language; but the continued recurrence of these outrages—frequently attended with murder, and always without redress—demands it. They must be stopped, lest the consequences be what they may. Reprisals in such cases are now the only way left for a return to law and order. G. L. VALLANDIGHAM.

Then and Now. Extract from the Message of Gov. Vance, to the General Assembly of North-Carolina, November 16th, 1863. I have not seen an official copy of the act, but learn from the newspapers that Congress has consented upon the President the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in all cases of arrests made by Confederate authority. If this be once admitted, no man is safe from the power of one individual. He could at pleasure, seize any citizen of the State with or without excuse, throw him into prison and permit him to languish there without relief—power that I am unwilling to see entrusted to any living man. To submit to its exercise would in my opinion be establishing a precedent dangerous to the liberties of the people. Among the people so pernicious in the extreme. Among the people so united and faithful to their cause, our, where disloyalty is the rule, and solitary execution, the general rule, I can see but little good, but a vast tide of infowing evil from these inordinate stretches of military power which are fast disorganizing us equally with our northern enemies. A free Republic that must needs cast off its freedom in every time of trouble, will soon cast it off forever. Freedom cannot be embraced to-day and spurned to-morrow; a steadfast and constant worship cannot secure her countless blessings. Her chosen instruments—the Constitution and the laws—were made to secure the constant of her everlasting residence among us; our delight in times of peace and prosperity, and our grief and shield in the day of trouble and calamity. Now, if ever, is the time when we should abide strictly by their stern decrees, and walk uprightly in the narrow path which have marked out for our footsteps. We should, least of all, forsake the helm and the compass when the vessel is driven by the tempest, and clouds and darkness obscure the way.

Extract from Gov. Vance's Wilkesborough Speech, delivered February 22d, 1864. "There is talk of the writ of habeas corpus being suspended in the Southern States, and that it has already been suspended by Congress; but the suspension of this writ may not be in contravention of the Constitution; for the courts have decided that Congress can suspend the writ within certain limits. \* \* \* I regret to see the suspension of the writ. It is evidence of wrong existing somewhere—either a desire upon the part of the government to assume more authority than belongs to it, or of a state of affairs in some parts of the country that requires it. But by the way, as you do, in common sense, if we are a law-abiding people, if we regard the King's name as a tower of strength, we must not make a commotion because a law has been enacted which our jurists announce as within the limits of the Constitution of the country that we have sworn to support. We ought to be willing to stand up to our own Constitution and our own laws."

Specimens of Governatorial Literature. Extracts from Gov. Vance's Wilkesborough speech. "FELLOW-CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—I do not know how it is possible for me to make myself heard by this large audience, unless I adopt the plan of the one armed soldier who could not lug his sweetheart all the way around, and so was forced to chalk the distance he could reach on one side, and then turn and hug as far on the other." (Laughter.) "You will pardon me for a funny illustration of so serious a subject, but I am somewhat like the old lady, who, in company with her 'old man,' used to visit a country store kept by one Major Smith, (as there are no Majors and no Smiths in this section, there is no danger of identifying him.) The Major kept some fine samples of wet goods in the cellar, to which he treated his customers before displaying his dry goods on stairs; for by the way, as you do, that a man in a certain state of exhalation, liquor, he can buy two or three counties, to say nothing of goods and groceries." (Laughter.) And the afore-said old couple were about the best customers he had. On one occasion, after repeatedly going up and down stairs, they got in such a good humor, that when they started home the Major could barely lift them on the saddle—the old lady behind in the good old fashioned style. She was in ecstasies with the Major. Her husband, who was a stout fellow, ever see in all her born days. Bless that Major, what nice samples he does put up to be sure, and how he sweetens!" Greeting the old man with one hand and gesticulating with the other, she proceeded to expatiate on the Major's charming qualities, until they came to a branch, up the opposite bank of which the old man managed to ride, while his dry goods on stairs; for by the way, as you do, that a man in a certain state of exhalation, liquor, he can buy two or three counties, to say nothing of goods and groceries." (Laughter.) And the afore-said old couple were about the best customers he had. On one occasion, after repeatedly going up and down stairs, they got in such a good humor, that when they started home the Major could barely lift them on the saddle—the old lady behind in the good old fashioned style. She was in ecstasies with the Major. Her husband, who was a stout fellow, ever see in all her born days. Bless that Major, what nice samples he does put up to be sure, and how he sweetens!" 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