Morth-Carolina Standard

[From the North-Carolina Standard February 4, 1868.] The "Great Writ of Right."

We have the pleasure of laying before our readers to-day, an able and eloquent communication over the signature of Davis, on the subject of the "great writ of right," the habeas corpus. The writer is thoroughly informed on the subject, and his demonstrations, founded on the Constitution itself, are as clear as a sunbeam. Read this communication, and then hand it to your neighbor:-For the Standard.

A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty. Declaration of Rights, Sec. 21.

Such is the warning of our ancestors, when, in the midst of war from a broad and civil strife at home, they proclaimed for themselves and their posterity, the great principles of freedom which constitute our Declaration of Rights. Among these fundamental principles, the power is denied "of suspending laws, or the execution of laws without the consent of the representatives of the people," and the right is asserted "that the military should be kept in strict subordination to and governed by the civil power." Here also it is solemnly declared that general warrants to seize any person, "whose offence is not particularly described and supported by evidence, are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be granted." That "no free man shall be put to answer any criminal charge but by indictment, presentment or impeachment;" that "every man has a right to be informed of the accusation against him, and to confront his accusors and witnesses with other testimony:" that "no free man shall be convicted of any crime but by the unanimous verdict of a jury. And lastly, that "every free man restrained of his liberty is entitled to a remedy to inquire into the lawfulness thereof, and to remove the same if unlawful, and that such remedy ought not to be denied or delayed.

Such are the strong and noble guards against oppression with which our patriotic sires fenced the personal liberty of every citizen of the State; and a greater degree of happy freedom no people ever enjoyed, so long as these guards were kept sacred. In process of time, our ancestors entered into new

political engagements, and became subject, in a great degree, to another form of government, which ettil continues. Now let us see whether they sur-rendered, in the new relation in which they placed themselves, any of those priceless muniments of freedom. In all respects affecting personal liberty, they are the same in the Constitutions both of the United States and Confederate States; but I quote from the divisional arrangement of the latter Con-

The right of the people to be secure in their persons against seizure, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation. Art. 1, sec. 9

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia while in actual service in time of war or public danger. Nor shall any person be deprived of liberty without due process of law. Sec. 9, cl. 16.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an im-partial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed. * * * Acd to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witness against him, and to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor. Sec. 9, cl. 17.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeach ment shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crime shall have been committed." Art. 3, sec. 3, cl. 3.

freeman's person under the Confederate Constitution-concurrent in almost in every particular with those of the State Constitution, and repugnant in none. Now it is manifest, 1st, that no citizen of this State, not in the army or navy, nor in the militia while in actual service, can be constitutionally "deprived of liberty" "without due process of law," which due process is defined in section 9, before cited, wherein it is declared that the people shall be secure from seizure except upon warrant issued "upon probable cause, supported by oath or 2. That every citizen, not in the army, &c., is entitled to a speedy and public trial by a jury of the district and State wherein the crime is committed.

That many of our citizens are now, and for a long time have been denied these palpable constitutional rights, thus secured by two Constitutions for nearly a century, is as open and public as noonday. Is it any apology that they have been arrest ed by the military authority? Where is its warfound in either State or Confederate Constitution. If it may exercise this power, then vain as a child's whistle is that emphatic declaration, that the military should be kept in subordination to the civil power. Did our ancestors of a rast age, or our patriots of this, intend to guard the person of a freeman from seizure, without due process, even by a regular officer of the law, the neighbor or acquaintance, perhaps, of the accused, and likely therefore, as well as from his habits and official responsibilities to be mild and kind in the execution of the arrest, and who would take bail if the offence would allow of it, and yet commit such power to the rude soldier, who, both a stranger and blunted in his sympathies for his fellowman by his profession, exnibits his musket for his warrant and takes for bail only the walls of a loathsome jail? If this be true of our times, well may the citizen exclaim with an eminent patriot of the days of Charles I. "I can live, though enother who has no right, be put to live along with me: nay, I can live, though bur-dened with impositions, beyond what at present I labor under: but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me: to have my person pent up in a gaol, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged-O, improvident ancestors ! O, unwise forefathers! to be se curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of Parliament-and at the same time to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? trouble ourselves with disputes about a Constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person? I am weary of treading these ways." Griefs like this drove the people of England to rebellion, and ultimately wrung from the throne the famous habeas corpus act, the second Magna Charta of that mighty Empire, which became the inheritance of our colonial youth, afterwards infused itself into our Declaration of Rights, and now spreads itself over the most spered page of our Code. Proudly now do the English people look back to their struggles against illegal commitments by the power armed with the sword, and rejoice in the fruits of their noble maxim of liberty, that a public injury offered to the humblest subject is an insult to the whole people.

The apology commonly offered for such arrests

and commitments by the military power is, that the privilege of the writ of kabeas corpus is suspended by competent authority. Admit, for argument, that it is suspended over the whole State, and it would excuse but a grain of the wrong. This is clear to the least reflection; and yet there is a vague popular notion that such suspension allows the seizure of any person, without war, ant, and imprisonment without trial. I proceed to a trip off this military cover and define the legitimate cousequences of suspending the writ. The privilege of the writ is, that every freeman restrained of his liberty is entitled speedily to have the judgment of the law upon the cause of his restraint, and to be enlarged absolutely if the cause be sufficient, or allowed bail if the offence charged be bailable. The suspension of the writ operates therefore to this extent only: that if the person be committed, his case shall not be inquired into, and he must remain a prisoner until his trial, how trival soever may be his offence. But assuredly this does not allow arrests in any new manner forbidden by the Constitution. The suspension does not suspend those clauses of the Constitution which prohibit soigures. without warrant issued on "probable cause, sup" ported by oath or affirmation." Neither does the suspension of the writ suspend that other provision

which guarantees that the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy public trial by a jury of the State nerein the crime is committed. To maintain otherwise, would be maintaining that Congress was invested with the power to abolish the requirement of a warrant before arrest, and altogether to dispense with a jury, though the accused was not in the army or navy, nor was of the militia at the time of committing the offence. So far as precedent has gone to expound the nature of a suspension of the writ as contemplated by the Constitu-tion, it utterly rejects such an absurdity. The only attempt ever made by the federal Congress to sus-pend the writ was in 1807. The bill for that purpose which passed the Senate only, suspends the writ in all cases where persons, having been charged "on oath" with offences endangering the peace, safety or neutrality of the United States, shall have been arrested or imprisoned by virtue of a WABBANT from the President, a Governor, or a per-

son acting under the Preisdent. The power, therefore, to suspend the writ does not affect, in the least, the other guaranties of per sonal liberty. It is palpable, then, that an order given by a military man to seize the person of a freeman, not of the army, &c., without warrant and probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, is void, and involves a gross violation of the oath to support the Constitution, which, if executed, subjects the actor to a civil action, and, with or without execution, justly subjects him to a court-martial, as much as quartering soldiers in time of peace on private persons against their consent. It is equally palpable, also, that if the commitment be regular, the accused is entitled to a speedy and public trial; and whatever power inerposes to prevent it, is guilty of a breach of official duty. In my judgment it is the duty of the Judge to seek to afford such speedy and public trial. But alss! it is said that such prisoners' demand for trial cannot be heard beyond the walls of their confinement. Their mouths-are dumb as Cæsar's wounds; yet if they could speak out where the official ear is not closed against the wails of grief. perhaps they might win the sympathy of power, and once more embrace their families, or be allowed to weep over the graves, while yet they are fresh, of the loved ones who have died in their ab-

The duties of charity forbid us to believe that the President is acquainted with the practical operations of the military despotism which now pervades the land. Unwilling to override and prostrate the guards of civil liberty throughout the State, he contines the suspension to an area of small extent, in which the mliitary prison is erected. Over this small spot waves the mack flag of martial law, and all the rest of the State has apparently the sun-shine of freedom resting on its bosom. Alas! how deceptive. Behold how it is managed! The military go abroad, and without warrant or probable cause, supported by oath, they seize their prisoners, and with all possible speed convey them to this place, where the law is dead, and the sorrows of captivity fall on walls of stone. The arrested are not allowed to stop on the way where the writ may reach them, and their cause may be heard, but are hurried, at whatever inconvenience to them, just as they are caught up, sometimes half clad, without permission to bid adicu to their wives or children. in this plight they are exiled from their rights of citizenship, and cut off from every tie that humanzes mankind.

Of what avail is it, then, to the citizen that the suspension should be confined to one small spot, it ne may be picked up any where and spirited in a few hours to the fatal place? The Governor of the State, knowing of these outrages, has invoked the counsel and aid of the guardians of our liberties. What they may advise or do, I know not. It was said by the advocates of the habeas corpus, in the reign of the first Charles, that there is not "any spirit so erect and independent as not to be broken by the long continuance of the silent and inglori ous sufferings of a jail." I hope that in an after age it may not be said of this body that they took warning of this truth, and sought, by tamely alwith unbroken spirits themselves.

If they have not the courage to demand as free men, freemen's rights, let them become suppliants for women and children cruelly separated from their husbands and parents. Let them march in a body in humble procession to the footstool of power, and beg in the name of the broken-hearted and helpless, a speedy trial or enlargement on bail. If the sov ereign be himself a free and brave man, he will ac cord to their prayers for the weak and forlorn what he might well deny to their pusilanimity, but had freely granted to their courage. With the father of his country, I can say, "born in a land of liberty, I early learned to appreciate its blessings," and with the distinguished patriot of the reign of Charles I, "I am weary of treading these ways.

Mr. Stephens on Martial Law.

The following excellent letter was written by Mr. Vice President Stephens in 1862, on the subject of martial law. We published it at the time with our cordial approval, and we priet it again on account of the great principles of liberty which pervade its every line:- .

· RICHMOND, Va., Sept. 8, 1862. Hon. James M. Calhoun, Atlanta, Ga .:

DEAR SIR :- Your letter of the 28th ult., to Hon B. H. Hill, was submitted to me by him a few days ago, for my views as to the proper answer to be made to your several inquiries touching your powers and duties in the office of civil Governor of Atlanta, to which you have been appointed by Gen. Bragg. I took the letter with the promise to write to you fully upon the whole subject. This, therefore, is the object of my now writing to you. I regret the delay that has occurred in the fulfilment of my promise. It has been occasioned by the press other engagements, and I now find my time too short to write as fully as I could wish. The subject is one of great importance, and this, as well as matters of a kindred sort, have given me deep concern for some time past.

I am not at all surprised at your being at a loss to know what your powers and duties are in your new position, and your inability to find anything in any written code of laws to enlighten you upon them. The truth is your office is unknown to the law. Gen. Bragg had no more authority for ap pointing you civil Governor of Atlanta, than I had and I had, or have, no more authority than any street walker in your city. Under his appointment therefore, you can rightfully exercise no more pow er than if the appointment had been made by

We live under a Constitution. That Constitution was made for war as well as peace. Under that Constitution we have civil laws and military laws: laws for the civil authorities and laws for the military. The first are to be found in the Statutes at Large, and the latter in the Rules and Articles of War .-But in this country there is no such thing as Martial Law, and cannot be until the Constitution is set aside, if such an evil day shall ever come upon us All the law-making power in the Confederate States government is vested in Congress. But Congress cannot declare Martial Law, which in its proper sense is nothing but an abrogation of all laws. Congress cannot do it, much less can any officer of the government, either civil or military, do it right fully, from the highest to the lowest. Congress may, in certain cases specified, suspend the writ of cas corpus, but this by no means interferes with the administration of justice so far as to deprive any party arrested of his right to a speedy and public trial by a jury, after indictment, &c. It does not essen or weaken the right of such party to redress for an illegal arrest. It does not authorize arrests escept upon oath or affirmation upon probable cause. secures the party beyond misadventure to appear in person to answer the charge and prevent any araliminary inquiry as to the formality or legality of his arrest. It does not infringe or impair his other constitutional rights. These Congress cannot impair by law. The constitutional guarantees are above and beyond the reach or power of Congress, and much mare, if it could be, above and beyond the power of cuy officer of the government. Your appointment, therefore, in my opinion, is simply a nullicy. You, by virtue of it, possess no rightful authority; and care exercise none. The order creating you will Governor of Atlanta, was a most pal-pable usurpation. I speak of the act only in a legal and constitutic dal server-not of the motives that prompted it. But a was people, jealous of their rights, would do well to remember, as Deloime so well expressed it, that "such acts, sp laudable when

we only consider the motive of them, make a breach at which Tyranny will one day enter," if quietly submitted to too long. Now, then, my opinion is, if any one be brought before you for punishment for selling liquor to a soldier, or any other allegation, where there is no law against it, no law passed by the proper law making power, either State or Confederate and where any amount of contract and any contract and any contract and any contract and any contract and federate, and where as a matter of course, you have no legal or rightful authority to punish either by fine, corpereally, &c., you should simply make this response to the one who brings him or her, as the case may be, that you have no jurisdiction of the matter complained of.

A British Queen (Anne) was once urged by the Emperor of Russia to punish one of her officers for what his Majesty considered an act of indignity to his Ambassador to her court, though the officer had violated no positive law. The Queen's memorable reply was that "she could inflict no punishment upon any, the meanest of her subjects, unless warranted by the law of the land."

This is an example you might well imitate. For I take it for granted that no one will pretend that any General in command of our armies, could confer upon you or anybody greater power than the ruling Sovereign of England possessed in like cases under similar circumstances. The case referred to in England gave rise to a change of the law. After that an act was passed exempting Foreign Ministers from arrest. So with us. If the proper discipline and good order of the army require that the sale of liquer to a soldier by a person not connected with the army should be prohibited (which I do not mean to question in the slightest degree) let the prohibition be declared by law, passed by Congress, with the pains and penalties for a violation of it, with the mode and manner of trying the offence plainly set forth. Until this is done, no one has any authority to punish in such cases; and any one who undertakes to do it is a trespasser and a violater of the law. Soldiers in the service, as well as the officers, are subject to the Rules and Articles of War, and it they commit any offense known to the military code therein prescribed, they are liable to be tried and punished according to the law made for their government. If these Rules and Articles of War, or in other words, if the military code for the government of the army is defective in any respect, it ought to be amended by Congress. There alone the power is vested. Neither Generals nor their Provost Marshals have any power to make, alter or modify laws either military or civil; nor can they declare what shall be crimes, either military or civil, or establish any tribunal to punish what they may so declare. All these matters belong to Congress; and I assure you, in my opinion, nothing is more essential to the maintenance and preservation of constitutional liberty than that the military be ever kept subordinate to the civil authorities.

You thus have my views hastily but pointedly given. Yours, most respectfully, ALEX. H. STEPHENS.

For the Standard. MR. EDITOR: -As you know I have never had any political sympathy or connexion with you heretofore, unless it was in casting my vote for Gov. Vance, who, I believe, was nominated and supported by you for the office he now holds. When the party then in power assailed him and did all they could to defeat him in raising a legion, you defended him and gave him all the aid and comfort in your power. I then thought this a magnanimous act on your part, and think so still But unfortunately for you, no service you have heretofore rendered to Gov. Vance or any of his particular partizan friends, seems to have made any impression upon him, unless it be to awaken his vengeance against you and your friends. I understand that he has declared it to be his purpose to exceriate you to the quick upon all occasions hereafter. That the time has come for this work to be done, that he intends to get his friends to call him out to canvass the State to perform this patriotic work. I think it a great pity that he did not resign and canvass the State when he was running as Holden's candidate against Mr. Johnston, and turncoat, &c., you were. Had he done this Mr. Johnston would have been promoted, and the Old Line Whige have been spared the mortification of seeing Gov. Vance riding on the cars in company with the most notorious secessionists, mocking and scotting at Gov. Graham, and ridiculing you for fleeing to him for security when the armed mob destroyed your

I was amazed when I saw and heard a secession ist of the deepest dye, shortly after the occurrence just referred to, detailing to a crowd what Gov Vance had told him about your cowardice and flight, and showing by a great many grimaces the expressions and features of Gov. Graham, when his minions were asked concerning the peace meetings, their effects &c.

It seems that some secessionist had called the Governor out upon the question why Gov. Graham had not expressed an opinion upon the said meet-ings, and Vance in reply mimicked Gov. Graham in order to convey to the secessionist Graham's opinions. I could give names and dates, but do not feel willing to encounter unnecessarily the fierce abuse that would be heaped upon me, because I am growing old and am in bad health. You will therefore excuse me from entering into farther par-

As a whig and one who had given Gov. Vance s zealous support whilst the individual to whom he had been relating, with such apparent pride, your doings and sayings and Gov. Graham's expressions of countenance, was denouncing Vance as an abo-litionist, traitor and coward, I confess I felt great ly pained and mortifled when this red hot seces hist was made the medium of conveying Gov. Graham's expressions to the crowd, from Gov. Vance. When I heard this red hot secessionis and notorious defamer of Gov. Vance telting what the Governor had said concerning your flight and conversation with him in his room, I repeat that I was greatly astonished and mortified—but keenly so when I heheld Gov. Graham mimicked by this bosom friend of Gov. Vance before the crowd, as the Governor had, as it was said, mimicked him on the

From all that I could learn or gather from what I heard and saw, I came to the conclusion that Gov. Vance became deeply offended with you for calling upon the people to hold public meetings and remonstrate against the policy pursued by the administration towards North-Carolina. I have no doubt that it can be shown in black and white that the Governor declared the whole weight of his administration should be thrown against these meetings, and as Gov. Vance had marked out a differ ent line of policy, the temerity of Goy. Graham did not suit Gov. Vance nor his new seces fident. So he sneered at Graham's prudence and

mimicked his attitudes. Under the circumstances, I think Gov. Vance has shown less heart and gratitude to his friends and more contempt for the sufferings, wrongs and out-rages inflicted upon the poor and upon his State. than any other man has ever done before. I am so well convinced of this, strong Whig as have ever been, and bitter as I have been against the secessionists. I would vote for almost any honest and true hearted secessionist before I would for Z. B. Vance. We have had enough Tylers in this country to satisfy us, one would think, for all time to come. To hear his abuse of you and to see with what greediness the old secessionists and Monarchists drank it in, was enough to disgust any true friend of our country and popular rights.

As far as I have had any opportunity of gleaning public opinion, I have no hesitation in saying the people are for Holden, but what effect the Governor's harangues, his party efforts and the whiskey of his friends and many other such appliances may have, in and out of the State, I am not prepared to say. Go forward, however, and de your duty and fear not the result.

A PRAYER OF WASHINGTON-From McGuire's Religious Opinions and Character of Washington.

—Almighty Father, if it is thy holy will that we to fear and obey Thee. Diess us with wisdom in our councils, success in battle, and let our victories be tempered with humanity. Endow, also, our enemies with enlightened minds, that they may become sensible of their injustice, and willing to restore our liberty and peace. Grant the petition of Thy servants for the sake of Him whom Thou hest called Thy beloved Son: nevertheless, not our will but Thine be done. Amen.

W. W. Holden, Esq.—Bear Sir In looking over some old paper. I find the following penagraph taken from an editorial in the Ashville special of April, 1861, header Hea. Z. B. Veres.

"We learn that Mr. Vance used a speech at Waynesville on Tuesday of last week, and announced himself a candidate for re-election to the next Congress of the United States. His speech we are informed was an able effort and that he took are informed was an able effort, and that he took harmoniously do they work! bold and very decided grounds against the separa-

tion of North Carolina from the Union, without the co-operation of the slave States that have not sece-ded. His position as we understand is that the slave States remaining in the Union should hold conference, agree upon a common line of policy, and make common cause. That this line of policy when adopted should be submitted to the Northern States as an ultimatum. If this ultimatum should be accepted on the part of the North, then the Union will be preserved, and peace, good will and fraternity be restored. But on the other hand, if it shall be rejected, then he is for pursuing such a course of policy as under the circumstances the honor and interest of North-Carolina and the other slave holding States, with which she is identified, may dictate for their future safety and happiness. Mr. Vance indulges the hope that the North will in due time do us justice by guaranteeing the necessary constitutional protection. We have not heard of any one who proposes to become a candidate against Mr. Vance, although we have been informed he will certainly have opposition. In what shape this opposition if made, will come, we cannot tell. The true issue now in North-Carolina, as well as in other seceding States is between those who demand separate, unconstitutional and precipitate secession of the State, and those who esire consultation and co-operation with the border slave States, for the purpose of restoring the Union, if possible. The form in which that issue will be presented, to slightly modify the language of a Virginia cotemporary, is, shall North Carolina secede forthwith or shall she consult with her sister border States?—is the great issue. It is one of incalculable importance to every citizen of this State. On this then let the battle be fought and the victory won. Mr. Vance as is shown is for standing by North-Carolina and the border States."

I have given the whole of the article, from which it appears, Mr. Vance thinks the way North-Car-olina seceded was unconstitutional. According to this showing he did not consider it unconstitutional, in 1861, for North-Carolina and the non seceding States to send delegates to hold a conference to restore the Union. To this end the Legislature sent delegates to Montgomery, and Washington. How then can it be unconstitutional now to hold a convention and co-operate with all other States to restore peace?

After the vote was taken in 1861, and the proposition to call a Convention rejected by the people of North Carolina, the Abbeville S. C. Bunner. published the following:

"Moving A LITTLE TERRAPIN LIKE.—Virginia.

Kentucky and Missouri are beginning to poke out their heads and legs preparatory to crawling under the fire laid upon their backs by the Lincoln ad-ministration. But Tennessee and North Carolina under the stream of molten lava pouring upon them, well not even shake their tails. Would States so slow to move under such an accumulation of wrongs, contribute much to the moral power of the Southern Confederacy? Would States having litterally to be kicked and thrust and goaded out of the Union, with the salivas of insult dripping from their faces, strengthen us in heart or hand? fear not. Their tardiness under the circumstances is conclusive of the fact, that they would hang like sheats of lead upon our skirts. Soon in our humble judgment these States would be to us what the North-formerly was to the South. Better for them to remain in the Union, and stand as a barrier between us and the North, than to join us and distract our councils and cripple our operations. Of course if these States were sound to the core we would be glad to have them, but a milch and water pure, unadulterated, proslavery government. Such we now have and such let it ever remain."

This paper was at last willing to take us with the salivas of contempt and insult reeking from our faces. Is it not well that the unadulterated, proslavery government got us to fight its battles? Here is a letter copied in the Greensboro' Patriot

from a Tennessee paper :

· CAHABA, ALA., Feb. 27, 1861. MR. W. G. BROWNLOW: -Sir, you may exult as much as you please ever the election in Teanessee. In this part of the country we are not much disappointed because we know how your State was setiled. It was settled by Hoosiers from North-Carolina, the tory State of the revolution, which we expect to follow suit. We can do without either. Both are occupied by a class of people of low order, without one spark of honor or chiralry about them. Let them submit to Lincoln. They are cowards and from the way in which Virginia, Kentucky and Arkansas are behaving, I do not believe they are any better. Virginia and Kentucky are well enough descended, but I do not expect there is a family of high connexion or noble descent in the whole of North-Carolina, Tennessee or Arkansas. Now the crisis is upon us, this Hoosier blood shows itself. But let them go. We do not want them. We would be degraded by their association. As something has been said in the papers of your State about Northern Alabama in the revolution going off with Tennessee, I and all here say we would like to see her try it. We can bring her right at the point of the bayonet, and if Tennessee sympathises with her, we can conquer her too. people as yours could not stand a moment against the chivalrous and brave population of Southern Alabama and Mississippi. More than this, if any of your Tennesseeans come down here expressing their Union sentiments, we intend to treat them to a coat of tar ornamented with feathers, to go home in. If our country does not furnish you with a market for meat, your hog raising State will be reduced to starvation and bankruptcy in less than twelve months. We were willing to sustain you and trade with you, but your own action has reduced you to the lowest depths of degredation and beneath our contempt, and forbids our countenancing you any longer. After all it is a happy riddance and we L. B. MANNING." -

Brownlow in reply says that a counterpart of the above insolent letter appeared also in the Nash-ville Union paper. I have taken the pains to copy these, as I could many other articles of a similar kind, to bring to your mind the abuse that was heaped upon North-Carolina by the secessionists because she did not secede immediately.

The chivalry hated us and traduced us before

this war, and notwithstanding all that this State has done and is doing, they hate and traduce us still, and defy our authorities and trample upon our laws, appoint hosts of citizens from other States to fill all profitable and influential offices in North-Carolina. Go to all the counties of the State and look over the office bolders and behold who they are and from whence they came. Not only so, the people of other States are told that the writ of habeas corpus was suspended to carry certain elections in North-Carolina. Nor is this all. The War Department has detailed the Rev. Doctor Pitts, a Colonel in Longstreet's army, to canvass this State and lecture the people of North-Carolina on the state of the country and to look after other matters. He and Gov. Vance will speak in the same disaffected or disloyal regions to the people. It will be a hard matter for the benighted citizens of these tory counties to tell which is the best at a joke, Gov. Vance or the Colonel, Doctor of Divinity. The Rev. Colonel is a great mimic and is bound to get up a laugh. But when such men and such means are taken to degrade our people, and such efforts made both at home and abroad to fix a lasting stigma upon certain counties, because they honest se to differ, or rather maintain the opinions they did, when they voted for Gov. Vance, it is enough to stir the blood and to fill the hearts of all with the sternest resolution, to rebuke the foreign and domestic calumniators at the ballot-box. They shall obtain a place and name among the nations of the earth, grant that we may be enabled to show our gratitude for Thy goodness, by our endeavors attempt to do such a thing in the State, although I see some are denouncing all those who will not vote with an open ticket, and regretting that our people in and out of the army are not compelled to vote vica vocs. All these and many other threats and measures to say nothing of the young men who have been detailed out of the array to edit cartain

papers in certain strong Conservative districts, have been resorted to. Was there ever a parallel case to this?

Is not this combination of old and honored friends with matignath camminators and foreigners, structing the surgest and filling profitable and honorable offices and deaffed to edit papers advocating the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, are not all se and a thousand more things, combined in order to re-elect Gov. Vance, and thus crush out the last ray of Conservatism and independence? Is not this machinery formidable, and is not the zeal of the Governor and his new allies wonderful? How

It is said that none but the poor and illiterate are Conservatives. Many of 28,000 slaveholders in this State are true Conservatives, and even if this

"The poor have rights, if they be all, And these the patriot will delend." I have as usual written in haste, but there are ome random bints in this communication, which I

think would be well to be noted.

PATRIOTA.

April 21, 1864. [From the Progress.]

CATAWBA COUNTY, May 5, 1864 CATAWEA COUNTY, May 5, 1864.

Mr. EDITOR:—From reading the papers it seems that we are likely to have a lively time between this and the 4th of August. From what I can had out the Destructives made as unlucky cut in the start and have consequently had a had run ever since, which seems to keep them unnecessarily excited. They are evidently hadly scared for the success of Gov. Vance, who has been dealing for the m. I must say that I am sorry for Gov. V., and I suppose that he is sorry and ashamed, too, of the company that he has got into, and from which he can never extricte himself for all time to come. Gov. V. sealed his fate in his Wilkesboro'speech—"the master-piece of his life"—and in refusing to hear the people in calling the Legislature together in regard to habeas corpus and other important matters.

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It seems that Gov. Vance has been fully embraced by the Destructives since his Wilkesboro' speech, and was as much praised and doted on by the party and press as Satan would have doted on a recruit for. his realm; but the Governor is not in their arms long before he begins to kick for relief. I suppose dirty hands and bad breath must have sickened and disgusted him, for he goes down to Fayetteville and tells the people that his Wilkesboro' speech is not his platform; that he want there to allay excitement and prevent blood shed. Now I had been informed that he was invited there to speak and celebrate the birthday of George Washington, and such was the impression of the people in this county; but it seems that the Governor went for the purpose of paying a higher compliment to the people of Wilkes and vicinity—yes, to prevent bloodshed. Now I have lived in this upper country sometime, and I have not seen any one very acrious to sometime, and I have not seen any one very acrious to shed blood without a cause. I think if the Governor was as anxious to prevent bloodshed in the army as he seems to be in Wilkes, he would never have left the Conserva-tive party and refused to heed the carnest entreaties of the tive party and refused to heed the carnest entreaties of the people in calling the Legislature together, &c. That he might have dispensed with the disagreeable task of carvassing the State at this time, he could have remained at the Executive mansion at perfect ease and helped thosa poor, unfortunate fathers, mothers and brothers in search of their killed and wounded relatives in passing the Royal Guards at Raleigh and other places; but we know that bad doctrine requires great efforts to be sustained, and hence the necessity.

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Gov. Vance says that a Convention would take the State out of the Confederacy, and that its members would be foresworn and purjured traitors, &c., &c. Now I have carefully read "Conservative's" reply to Gov. V.'s Wilkesboro' speech, and I assert that his (the Governor's) own carefully read "Conservative's" reply to Gov. V.'s Wilkesboro' speech, and I assert that his (the Governor's) own arguments are turned against him to my entire satisfaction and to all that I have beard speak about it. I was of the opinion at one time that he Destructives would be forced to get out a new candidate, for since Gov. Y. has been trying to get on Mr. Holden's and Mr' Vice President Stephens' platform, I was of opinion that they would east around for some one else, but I suppose they are scarce and afraid to risk a race, so they have determined to follow and hold on to the Governor's coat tail, like a wife to a flying husband; but for the last few days it has been suggested that there is a sceret scheme ahead, that the Governor is to go with both wings open, and try to lap all sorts and sizes, and especially as many of the Conservatives as possible; and the Destructives, getting somewhat bridle wise, will bear leading a little, provided they are promised good feeding and warm stails. But, Mr. Editor, the people are not to be caught in such traps as these; they will go for W. W. Holden, the bold champion of the people's rights and civil liberty. They feel it to be their duty, every good meaning man feels it to be his daty, and they will rally for the cause of civil liberty. There will be a strong effort made to deter the Conservatives, but we must brace ourselves for the contest, for the struggle is awful when justice and liberty is hrought accinet. must brace ourselves for the contest, for the struggle is awful when justice and liberty is brought against power.

Mr. Editor, in reading the Confederate of the 25th or 27th April, I find the following, headed—

Spring Campaign—Cheering to our Side.

The failure of Sherman.

Spring Campaign—Cheering to the Yankees.

The message of Governor to the Yunkees.
The message of Governor The victory of Olustee. The victory of Okalons. The speech of Mr. Stephens. The putting up of Wm. W. Holden. The failure at Charleston.

The storming of Ft. Pillow.

This is the account balanced up to this date of the Spring Campaign at a clear profit on our side."

Strange, indeed, that after the Confederate sums it up Strange, indeed, that after the Confederate sums it up that that paper does not give a clear profit to the Yankees, as it always has done under such headings. By the way, Mr. Editor, we are of the opinion up this way that the Confederate is about the worst paper in the Confederacy, and take it but very little, and since we have been reading the "Life and Times" of one of its Editors, who has more self-respect than patriotism, we think much less of it; indeed. Mr. Editor, it is enough to make an honest man's head turn gray in twenty four hours to see the shuffling that is going on by the government's pretended friends, if these things be true, and I have no reason to doubt them as they are stated as facts.

But to the point. Now Gov. Vance, at Fayetteville, said "that he not only approved Mr. Stephens' speech, but that he was willing to swear by it, and if necessary, to attach the great seal of the State to it." Now, Mr. Editor, this will decide the foregoing suggestion, if the Confederate puts this declaration of the Governor on the side of the "contrast" "cheering to the Yankess," and fails to support the Governor, I will think there is a split sure enough; if not it is evidence that there is some dark scheme to catch Conservatives, for they will resort to any means to effect their designs, and always the first too to hold up the Constitution to you, and when they wish to carry a point that is unconstitutional, they say that we hold up the Constitution to you, and when they wish to carry a point that is unconstitutional, they say that we have no Constitution; that we must get our independence first and then talk about Constitutions. Mr. Editor, the people have no use for such doctrine, and will give it a stunning rebuke in August next, both at home and in the army. I have conversed with many officers and privates in the army, and the opinion is that W. W. Holden, who is for civil liberty and earnest propositions for peace, will get a large majority in the army; but we do not want any better evidence than the vote of the 7th District, in the army. We know this is universal, for circumstances, rightarmy. We know this is universal, for circumstances, right and justice makes it so If North-Carolina does not take her stand for State Rights and civil liberty by the side of her stand for State Rights and civil liberty by the side of Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama, the fault will be the people's, if all are allowed the free privilege of voting, which I sincersly hope we will. I have beard of military necessities, but this is a civil necessity and requires that every sacrifice should be made to sustain it, which will be accomplished in the election of W. W. Holden for Governor. He has been a friend to the soldiers, to the soldiers' wives, to the honest, good-meaning people, and a terror to the wicked, hence his bitter opposition; but truth and justice is mighty and will prevail. His friends are as the sands of the sea and they are not afraid to speak out. But heretofore they have been so unrelentingly abused and so severely persecuted that they were compelled to say nothing, and to read their papers like the Martyrs of old times read the Bible in the midst of the persecuting infidels. But thank Heaven we are on the side of truth and justice, and God will always, sustain the righteous, which is His nature and His purpose. History is full of truths of this kind; hundreds of great and good men have been excepted for no other reason than simply speaking, writing and to except the state of truth and truths that the imposers and the second and truths that the imposers and truths that the imposers and truths that the imposers and the second and truths that the imposers and the second and truths that the imposers and the second and truths that the imposers and truths that the imposers and truths that the imposers and the second and truths that the imposers and the second and truths that the imposers and the second and the sec seuted for no other reason than simply speaking, writing and teaching sciences and truths that the ignorant could

and teaching sciences and truths that the ignorant could not comprehend.

I remember, Mr. Editor, that nearly two years ago Gov. Vance, in his address to the citizens at Baleigh, soon after he was elected, said that he was down upon the press and the politicians; he was going to preside at a great people's banquet, and the press and politicians must take a place away down at the bottom of the table. Then there was to be no party at this table, and everybody thought that there was to be no party two years hence, and now two years later we see that same Governor canvassing the State and haranguing the people for their votes and making party against the very people and press and the politicians that elected him. Bully! for the Governor.

During the same speech the Governor was called upon for an anecdote, Gov. Vance said that that kind of stock had dried up; the times were to serious for joking; we must fight, he said. Now, two years later, we see that same Governor telling more amuty jokes in his speeches than ever before. This can only be accounted for in one of two ways; he either has an invaluntary tast for it, or he had probably seen sounded.

than ever before. This can only be accounted for in one of two ways; he either has an invaluntary tast for it, or he had probably seen some dead man by accident before he came to Raleigh, which had put him on the serious, and hence the resolve to do be tter and quit jukes and such immeralities. Now if the former be the case and he is so fated, I would respectfully singgest to the government at Richmond, since they have just conscripted and then habeased corpused all the old stagers out of the Confederacy, to clean up the new Theatre and have all things in apple pie order after the 4th of August, and then call on North-Carolina for her celebrated joke teller, and my word for it that this mutual arrangement will pay more of our public expenses than any other scheme that the gogernment could possibly fall on at this time. As Congress is now in seesion, I would respectfully call the attention of all Conservative members to a scheme of this kind. But if the latter should be the course, why I suppose another summer in the army would be the proper place for moral training, &c.

mar in the army would be the proper place for moral training, &c.

The Governor is some at quoting Scripture, and I suppase he quotes such parts as suits his politics best; he comes down with emphasis on the "King's name," so much so that it scares the Conservatives—we are becoming awfully slatmed, for we never wast; a King (as many of them say they do) while flar grows on our beads. "The King's name is a tower of strength," says the Governor. This sounds very much the hasen becoming a sound detioning pretty-fast, The Good Book talls us that "the feet of the wicked sannot come into the Kingdom of God;" also, "Blassed is the passes makers, for they shall inher it the Kingdom of Heaven." What a difference between the

Conservatives and the Destructives? But it is our duty at the same time, Mr. Editor, to pray for them. The Good Books tells us that we must pray for our enemies staywhere; then let us pray:

On Lord, wilt thou be pleased to hear these our humble petitions in behalf of our enemies, both at home and abroad. Thou hast taught us in thy bleased Word to pray for those that hate us and spitefally treat us, and the wicked everywhere. Now, Oh Lord, in the name of the dear Son, we humbly beseech Thee, to open the hearts and enlighten the minds of our Northern enemies and show them the server of their wars. Oh Father of Mercy, we sincerely believe in our minds and in our hearts that we are striving in a just cause, and if this be the case, as we believe it ig, then turn, in thy Mighty Power, there own swords and spear against them for our own sakes, while they persist against us in their wicked designs. Thou Lord, knowest all things in the dispensation of thy Providence and purposes. Thy will be done. Oh Lord, enable them to see themselves aright and prepare their tharts and minds and bodies; to meet us in some manner, that our good men on both sides, if we have any that have found favor in fly Sight, may negotiate for Peace. But the lord, we more especially beseech Thee with all our heart and strength, to soften the head to of our enemies at home, the Destructives, who go about the land like will be sate, seeking whom of us they may devour. Lord, we pray for them, because they have somewhat the shape of men, but if they have souls, Oh Lord, Thou only knowest it. Lord bless them and breath a second breath into their mostrile, and teach them, Lord, with thy mighty rod of correction, and finally bring them to a knowledge of the truth and enable us all, together to meet, and to confer with each other and the Northern men for Peace; that blessed Peace that Christians so much desire, because it is in accordance with Thy blessed Word. Oh Lord, We know sed Peace that Christians so much desire, because it is coordance with Thy blessed Word. Oh Lord, we know in accordance with Thy blessed Word. Un Lord, we know without Thy assistance, we can do nothing, and a sall wars have been stopped by negotiations and not by the sword, convince us that it is the proper way and the only way agreeable in Thy sight Thou knowest that all wars are brought on and continued by wicked and designing and that the good by Thy assistance, must come to are brought on and continued by wicked and designing men; and that the good, by Thy assistance, must come to the rescue before they are ever closed. Lord, hear us in these our humble petitions and help us to bring about an bouorable Peace as carly as may be consistent with Thy Divine purpose.—Amen.

Mr. Editor, I write from Catawba county. Mr. Holden

will get a large vote here, for this county is more largely Conservative now than ever before since the foundation of You can publish this letter if you see fit and have space, and the Standard can copy if it chooses. I must close for the present, that you may hear from me again. As this communication is becoming too lengthy, I could not give you all the news from this quarter in it. HICKORY.

OTICE.---WALTER A. THOMPSON will leave Greensborough and Hillsborough on the 25th instant, for the army of Northern Virginia. Persons desirous of sending boxes must have them at the depot the day before, marked and weighed.

Lint and old linen are in great demand in anticipation of the coming byttle above Richmond; he appeals to all who have either of these articles to forward them to him by that time. All that can be obtained will be needed.

W. A. THOMPSON, Agent.

May 12, 1864.

OB-WORK OF EVERY DESCRIPTION nearly and expeditiously executed at the Standard office. LAND DEEDS, MARRIAGE LICENSES, and many other kinds of blanks now on hand.

CITY OF RALEIGH. Mayor-Col. Wm. H Harrison.

Western Ward-W. H. Tucker, Alex. Creech and Park-

Overby.
Middle Ward-W. R. Richardson, Augustus L. Louger Lastern Ward-Dr. W. H. McKee, J. J. Overby and N. Harp.
J. J. Christophers is Clerketo the Board and City Tax

ollector.

W. R. Richardson is City Treasurer.

Tiwn Constables—J. J. Betts, Chief; N. V. Denton, As-

K. P. Battle, City Attorney.
J. L. Pennington, City Printer.
F. G. King, Weigh Master.

Captain-C. H. Horton.

Watchman-E. A. Johnston, Wm. Beeves, Wm. C. Parker, M. C. Luter, C. A. Briver and Wm. Overby. The last Wednesday night of each month is the time fixed for the regular meetings of the Board.

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Jas. H. McNeill, Thos P Jones, Jno J Spazn, Clem G. Wright, 66 Geo N. Folk, 66 Alex D Moore, 67 Juo N Whitford, 68 Jas W Hinton, 68 Jas W Hinton, 69 Just Philosophy (Ed C Yellowley,

The First Battalion (Heavy Artillery) is commanded by Major Alexander MacRae; The First Battalion Sharp Shooters by Captain R. E. Wilson; The Second Battalion (Infantry) by Major James J Iredell, 58d regiment; The Third Battalion (Light Artillery) by Maj Juo. W. Moore; The Tenth by Maj. W. L. Young; The Twelfth Battalion by Capt J. O. Cherry; The Thirteenth Battalion (Light Artillery) by Lieut. Col. Joseph B Starr; The Fourteenth Battalion (Cavalry) by Lieut. Col. J. L. Henry; The Fifteenth Battalion (Cavalry) by L. Col. J. M. Wynne; The Sixteenth Battalion (Cavalry) by James C. McRae; Thomas' Legion consists of a regiment and a Battalion and is communded by Col. Wm. H. Thomas.

The 1st and 3d regiments are in Stewart's Brigade, Johnson's Division, Ewell's Corps.

The 2d, 4th and 30th are in Ramseur's Brigade, Bhodes, Division, Ewell's Corps.

The 2d, 4th and 30th are in Ramseur's Brigade, Bhodes, Division, Ewell's Corps.

The 5th, 12th, 20th and 23d are in Johnston's Brigade, Rhodes' Division, Ewell's Corps.

The 6th, 21st, 54th and 57th and let Battalion Sharp Shouters are in Hoke's Brigade, Whiting's Division, Beautegard's Corps. The 42d regiment is temporarily with this Brigade.

The 7th, 18th, 28th, 23d and 37th are in Lane's Brigade, Wilese's Division, Hill's Corps.

The 7th, 18th, 28th, 28th and 37th are in Lane's Brigade, Wilcox's Division, Hill's Corps.

The 5th, 21st, 61st and 61st are in Clingman's Brigade, Pickett's Division, Beauregase's Corps.

The 9th, 19th, 59th and 63d are in Gordon's Brigade, Hampton's Division, Stewart's Corps.

The 11th, 26th, 44th, 47th, and 62d are in Kirkland's Brigade, Heth's Division, Hill's Corps.

The 18th, 16th, 22d, 34th and 38th are in Seales' Brigade, Wilcox's Division, Hill's Corps.

Wilcox's Division, Hill's Corps.

The 15th, 27th, 48th and 43th are in Cooke's Brigade, Heth's Bivision, Hill's Corps.

The 17th, 42d, 40th and 66th are in Martin's Brigade, Whiting's Division, Beauregard's Corps.

The 24th, 25th, 38th, 49th and 56th are in Ransom's

Corps.
The 82d, 43d, 45th, 53d and 2d Battalion are in Daniel's Brigade, Rhedes' Division, Ewell's Corps.
The 88th and 40th are in Herbert's Brigade, Whiting's

Avision, Besuregard's Corps
The Soth is in McNair's Brigade, French's Division, Polk's Corps.

The 55th is in Davis' Brigade, Heth's Division, Hill's

Corps.

The 58th and 60th are in Reynold's Brigade, Stevenson's Division, Houd's Corps. Division, Hood's Corps.

The 10th, 41st, 62d, 64th, 66th, 67th and 68th are not brigaded.