#### WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1864. 15,

# North-Earolina Standard

## Remarks of Hon. Nathaniel Boyden,

OF ROWAN, Delivered in the Senate of North Carolina, on the subject of the suspension of the writ of Habras Corput

Of the suspension of the writ of *indocat. Corput* Ma Sprakan:-I am awars that I am subject to some suspicion on account of the stranous and determined op-position I made to secession. This opposition was nothing more nor less than the discharge of what I considered my duty as a good citizen of North-Carolina, as I thought I could foreset the incritable cranequences of such a skep; and duty, as I honestly believed, required me to make known to the people, what would, as surely as night fol-loss day, follow secession. I have not been at all disap-pointed in what has followed, and I have never had cause to regret the course I took, although I know it has had a tendency to arouse suspicion sgainst me. But I intend still to parsue the even ten or of my way and take the con-sequences. I always bure true and faithful allegiance to sequences. I always bure true and faithful ancements of the old government while it lasted, and would have contin-ned to do so had not the State secended; and I intend to be true to my allegiance to the present government. But I am to use my avegator to the present government. But i all so use my own judgment as to what constitutes true allegi-ance. No may is to distate to me in this matter, and if ever I have said a word or dune an set tending in another direction I am not aw tre of it. I hope I have credit for a little common sense at least, and I know that we are all on board of the same ship of State, and if she founder we

board of the same ship of State, and if she founder we must all share the consequences. One word more before I proceed to the discussion of the questions of law. I know, Mr. Speaker, that I am an im pulsive man, and in the heat of debate, as I always speak extempore, I sometimes use language too strong and which seems harsh and unkind, and which I offee bare cause to regret, and I desire therefore in the outset to crave the ind-ligence of the Senate Should any apparently unkind or harsh remark escape me in the heat of debate, I can assure the Senate that I neither have any unkind feeling, me do I intend apeaking unkindly of any one. I hold it nor do I intend speaking unkindly of any unkind being to be the duty of every good citizen to bear true allegiance to the constitution of his country, and to contribute the most effective aid in his power to bring to a successful termination the terrible strugg'e in which we are now our brave troops, or those who command in the field, or in the national council.

I shall now proceed to give my opinion upon the law and I shall now proceed to give my opinion upon the walk constitutional questions embraced in the reports and resolu-tions before the Senate is my usual manner. This will be done with the single purpose of maintaining the constitution and laws of the country as I understand them, and without impugning the motives of these who entertain conflicting opinions, as the country at this time needs the hearty and anited rupport of us all. With these few remarks I will proceed to the question of law involved in the reports and endations.

First, as to the set suspending the privilege of the writ of bilest corpus. This is a new condition of things in this contry and involves legal and constitutional ques-tions which have never before been presented for adjud-eation, and it is not at all surprising that very different and could charge views and opinions should be held by Senators and by the legal profession. But it is to be hoped that after a full and free discussion of the questions involved these could there wire and complete may be some repeating after a full and free discussion of the question involved, these conflicting riews and opinions may to some extent at least be reconciled. That Congress possessed the power to suspend the privilege of the writ of Aubeau corpus, and that they are the judges of the necessity of much supremation is not detailed on the necessity of mch suspension, is not denied; so that the true decreasily of involved are in what cases can Congress suspend the writ, and what is the legitimate operation and effect of a writ, and what is the regitimate operation and effect of a constitutional suspension, in regard to crimes against the general government, over which Congress passesses the power to suspend the writ of habous corpus. All jurists will, I thick, somit that the power of Congress to sus-pend the privilege of the writ of habous corpus is confined to the writ of habous co-pus ad subjiciendum; and then pend the privilege of the writ of habdas corpus is conduced to the writ of habcas corpus ad subjiciendum; and then Congress the only suspend the privilege of this writ in cames of crimes against the Confederate Government which rudapger the public safety, and which are more or less ted with, or grow out of, the "rebeilion ion" which caused the suspension; and that greas possesses no power to suspend the several other write of *lubetic corpus*, which have been framed for the investigation of civil rights and remedies. This much I thank all jurists must admit. The suspension, bear in mind, can only be made in cases of rebear in mind, can only be made in these of reaction of invasion, when the public safety requires it, and thus it would seem to follow that its suspension could only apply to crimes endangering the public safety. In my judgment thus far and no farther does Congress pussess the power to suspend the privilege of the writ gl habers corpus, that great writ of liberty framed with so much care by our British acceleration British ancestors to protect the citizen against the arbi-trary and unlawful arrests and imprisonments by the war and great civil commotions But Congress possesses no more power or rightful authority to suspend those other wris of halass corpus, framed for the investigation of evvl rights and for granting relief in such cases, tuan it end the writ of uespass on the case, or any for the trial of civil suits between the government and individuals, or between ind viduals alo These positions then being established, as I shall take r granted, to wit: That Congress can only suspend the for gran crimes endangering the public safety and growing out of, or in connection with, the rebellion or invasion; the next question is, as to what effect the auspension of the priv-lege of the writ has upon the wall-established forms of lege of the writ has upon the well-established forms of state's currants insued against persons charged with erimes against the Confederate Government during the suspension? Permit me, Mr. Speaker, to assure the Seu-ate that although these are new questions here, and as far as I know have never been adjudented in this country, still, in that country from which we berrow most of our notions of law, and especially such as relate to the ques-tions of law, and especially such as relate to the ques-tions now under consideration, they have been dis-tinctly adjudicated by the highest judicial and strikes In the case of King of Despards, to be found in Drumford and Eases reports, vol. 7, page The decided in the King's In the case of King of Despires, to be fund in Drumford and Eases reports, vol. 7, page The decided in the King's Bench during the auspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas or pus in 'Si George III, in the year live, these questions were distinctly raised and solemaly adjudicated by The court. In that case the defendant, Despard, had by the court and a warrant issued by the Duke of Portland, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, charged in said warrant with trace while practices Portland, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State charged in said warrant with treasuable practices, and imprisoned in the House of Correction, was brought up in cost.dy of the Governor by vitue of a writ of habeas corpas, issued out of the court of King's Bench, upon the motion of Mr. Ferguson, who moved that the warrant of commitment, returned and produced in court, might be read, which being read, it appeared that the defendant had been committed for "treasonable practices," by a warrant of the Dake of Portland, one of his Majesty's principal Secretarics of State. An act was passed in the prosent acasion of Parliament, 3% George III, 1. 34, for anspending the *habeas corpus* act, whereaby it is enacted, "That every person or persons that are or shall be im-prisoned, within the kingdom of Great Britain, at or upon the day on which the act should receive the royal ascent, or after, by warrant of his Majesty's most honorable privy council, for high treason, suspicion of treason, or treason-ab'e principal Necretaries of State, for such cases as aftrestid, may be detained in custody, without ball or mainprize, until the 1at day of Mate, for such cases as aftrestid, any be detained in custody, without ball or mainprize, until the lat day of Mate, for a singer from his Majesty's prive council, signed by ax of the said privy council, but the tatting off-brivy, 1799." The Attorney-General first moved to quant the writ, gue improvide statute of the 58, George III, by which the court could writ ought not to have been granted. The court could usither bill or discharge the defendant, and therefore the writ ought not to have been granted. The court could usither bill or discharge the defendant above statute of the 58, George III, by which the court could usither bill or discharge the defendant, and therefore the writ ought not to have been granted. The court metage to quan the writ mying. "That it did not follow that be came they might noither discharge or ball the defendant after having the case argued, th field. Ferguson moved that the defendant should be dis-charged for insufficiency of the warrant of commitment, it being for treasonable practices generality, without specify-ing the particular nature of them. Ferguson then cited the *habe's corpus* set Car. II, C. 2, which he asserts was passed in affirmance of the common law, in order to carry more effectually into excention the provision of a former set of 16, Car. II, O. 10, S. 8, assuring to the party com-mitted by the king or any of his privy council his wrist *habes corpus*, and requiring the return to carry *i* the true cause of such, his detainer or imprisonment, and that the court should proceed to extinue and determine whether the cause of such commitment, appearing upon the said return, be just or not, and should thereupon do what to justice should spectrue. The set of the 31, Car. II, points cut the means by which the writ is to be executed, and with respect to State officers it ensets that if a persone be committed for high treason, plainly and specially expressed in the warrant, and be not indiced within a certain time, he shall be discharged, and as to less offeness the court is to examine the warrant, to see whether it contains legal charge of any offence. And thus under these three acts, the courts are bound to examine into the legality of the warrant al common law, and adjudge accordingly. And habers corpus aet for a limited time, in respect to present sonable práctices, was not intended, nor does it purport to do away the necessity of a legal warrant of committent; but is the lost of the S (if is to give a power, amongst others, to the Scerestary of state (so far a subtoring the power to commit for a long assumed by them in this cum-try.) to imprison for a long assumed by them in this cum-try. to imprison for a long assumed by them in this cum-try. to imprison for a long assumed to trial, and that others, to the Secretary of State (so har authorizing the power to commit, so long assumed by them in this cun-try) to imprison for a longer space of time than ordinary, without bringing the party imprisoned to trial, and that the court wand never put such a construction upon the statute as by implication to infringe the liberties of the subject. After various other remarks of the counsel for the prisoner, showing that the commitment was to be in regu-lar form, under a logal warrant containing a charge of an offence, known and defined in law, and that is anthorized no new form of commitment that could be resorted to, the offence, known and denned in law, and that it administed no new form of commitment that could be resorted to, the counsel attempts to show that "treasonable practices" was not a legat and sufficient charge of an offence, and labored to produce the discharge of the prisoner upon these grounds The Attorney-General, contra, dischaimed any intention Brounds The Attorney-General, contrd. dischaimed any intention of arguing tiss the act of surpassion means to legalize warrants in any other form than was warranted by the commou law, but said that this form of orminitment had been in constant use at least from the time of King Wil-liam to the present, and referred to assersh precedents to the amount of above nfty in all in the reigns of King william, Queen Anne, George I, II, and III, of similar privy council, some of the latter signed by Lord Notting-ham, Sourcers and Cowper, and in nine cases which were objections were taken by the counsel for that reason. Lord Keuyon, Chief Justice, after some remarks as to the right of the Secretaries to issue warrants of commitment, "dec'ared that he had no difficulty in saying that the

Secretaries of State have a right to commit. That this right had not even been doubted by Lord Camden who expressed as great anxiety for the liberty of the subject as any man, and proceeds as follows: In this case two ques-tions were made First, whether the act of suspension authorized any new firm of commitment, but this question, and the subject as said the court, was at rest almost as soon as it was raised." "The Attorney general very properly admitted that that act made up alteration 10 the forms of commitment." The other question was whether this commitment be a

und commitment st common law? Lord Kenyon, C. J., after some other remarks, proceed

as follows: "The commitments prior to the revolution were complained of as grierous and probably gave rise to the habeas corpus set, and if the instances of commitment mentioned on the part of the Grown had bappened in the reign of Charles II, or James II, I should not have relied much upon them. But the cases now cited happened since the revolution, a time that Mr. Justice Foster and other great men considered as an anspicious period for this country, when the liberties of the subject were well under-stood and nobly asserted Then let me see what was after the revolution, and particularly in the times of that great man, Lord Holt. Out of the many cases that have now been mentioned, I have selected nine that cannot be distinguishfor treasonable present case, where the commitments were for treasonable practices generally, and where Lord Huit and the rest of the court were bound by their on the to and the rest of the court were bound by their caths to discharge the defendants, if the communents were illegal, and yet the court did not discharge them. Pending these cases, I will not now inquire whether or not Lord Holt de-cided rightig. I have no sources of intelligence from which I could make the inquiry. The records of the court farmish me with the law of the land Lord Hoit was a man above all pruise, and he was assisted by able judges, one of whom was Mr. Justice Powerl, who feil little short of Lord Holt binnesif. I will not construen the law of the of Lord Holt himself. I will not overturn the law of th and as handed down to me It is not for the judges who watch over the law to overset it. Therefore, on the authority of the precedents, nine of which are precisely in point, I am clearly of the opinion that if we were to yield to thus application, we should torget the daty we own to the applica

This case settles beyond a peradventure that in case of the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas cor-pus, all warrants for arres s in times of the suspension of pue, all warrants for arres s in times of the suspension of this privilege, must be in the well established forms re-quired when there is no suspension of the privilege of the writ. And it settles another question, to wit: That the writ is still to issue, and if the charge in the warrant is not sufficient is point of law, the court is bound to dis-charge the prisoner. For in this case the first motion of the attorney concerd was to appear the writ, *quis impro*the attorney general was to quash the writ, quis impro-pids amanunit, because he said this was a case within the above statule of the 38, Geo. III, by which the court could neither buil nor discharge the defendant, and therefore the writ itself ought not to have been granted. But the court writ itself ought not to have been granted. But the court refused in quash the writ, saving that it did not follow that because they might neither discharge nor bail the defendinit after hearing the case, argued therefore the writ was improvidently issued. This case then settles these important questions. First, that notwithstanding the suspension, the writ is to insue upon application, and that the warrant must be in the established form and must contain a sufficient charge; that the charge in the warrant the court will examine, and if insufficient will discharge the submars and that the officer will the warrant the court will examine, and if insufficient will discharge the prisoner; and that the officer must return the body and the true cause of the writ and detainer

eing clear law, as I conceive all lawyers must admit. that the suspension of the writ can only apply to high crim s against the laws of the Confederate States, and warrants in the usual forms must issue, it seems to ollow as a matter of course that that portion of the act, which authorizes the President or Secretary of to issue variants or orders, is unconstitutional, for the reason that issuing a warrant is a judicial invotion, and under our firm of government all judicial power is denied the President and to all executive officers, and can only

the resident and to all excedute oncers, and can only be vested in the judiciary. To this it may be rep led that in England during those suspensions, the King and his Secretaries of State and the members of the prove conscil, issue these warrants. To this I reply that under the constitution and laws of Eng-land the King and all those great officers of State, possess indicial provers and have always here considered conservajudicial powers and have always been considered c Judicial powers and have always been considered conserva-tors of the peace, and in that character they have always possessed the power of issuing warrants; but here the ex-ecutive and judicial departments of the government are entirely distinct, and caunot by any law of Congress be vested in the same person. And it also follows that at least all that portion of the act that puts it in the power of the President or Secretary to issue orders or warrants in centers acres pacified which does not embrace a crime of the President or Secretary to issue orders or warrants in certain caves specified, which does not embrace a crime against the Confederate States, is unconstitutional. As for instance, No. IV, "of conspiracies, preparations and attempts to incite servile insurrections," and No. VII "by bolding correspondence with the enemy, witho it ne cessity and without the permission of the Confederate States," and No. XII, "of unlawfally burning, destroy-ing injuring or stitemating to hurn destroy or unitre any ing, injuring or attempting to burn, destroy or injure any bridge or railroad, or telegraphic line of communication or property, with intent of siding the enemy," and shore all of attempts to avoid military service, as construed to apply to the principals of substitutes applying to the ju dicial tribunals of their country, to determine their civit rights.

rights. Congress has just as much right to suspend a writ in an action on the case. They possess not the shadow of a power to suspend any writ of *habeus corpus* sued out to determine any civil right wintever. Nor have they the pretence of right to suspend the privilege of the writ on account of any aileged or actual comm which is a crime against the State government, and not against the Confederate States. I see, Mr. Speaker, by the against the Contederate States. I see, an Apence, by the late message of the President, that one of the main rea-sons for its suspension, was to provent the principals of substitutes from applying to the judicial tribunals of the country to test the civil right of stability to military 25, vice, and the Senator from New Hanover 1-18 as that was one of the causes of the suspension. Was this simed a North Carolous ? And can there be a judge found in this State whisher insurely considering this question, can hold for Congress possesses the power in this way to prevent the State Judges and the State Courts from investigating civil rights? But it is maintained by the Senator from New Hanover But it is maintained by the scenator from New Hanover that the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habes, corpus, suspends the 4th, 5th and 8th articles of the smead ments to the Constitution, and likewise all other articles and sections and clauses in the Constitution, that in any way interfere with his idea of the object of the suspense way interfere with his idea of the object of the suspension Now, in the first place, when the Feferal Constitution was adopted, it certainly could not have had any reference to the 4th, 5th and 6th articles of the amendments, for the reason that they then formed no part of the Constitution, and the Senator to make good has theory must read all these amendments, with the proviso added, unless the mil-itary necessities of the country in time of rebellion or in-vasion shall otherwise require. And it seems to me, that and the senator to the idea, the Senators on the other side and nacoulting to the idea, the Senators on the other side and also she last Congress interpret the Constitution (al-though adopted during the existence of this very war) though adopted during the existence of this very war) as having this provise attached to every command and injunction "unless the military necessities of the times shall otherwise require." Now, sir, I cannot agree to in-terpolate this provise in any part of the Constitution, and I protect against this latitudinarian construction of the Con-stitution. But the Senstor from New Hanover informs up stitution. But the Senator from New Hanover informs us that all these safeguards attempted to be thrown around the liberties and the property of the citizen were intended to operate and have their full force and effect in times of perceaud harmony at home and with foreign nations, and not when we are aboring under great eivil committions. I have not so read history. I must have been taught in a wrong achool of politics, and must have heen taught in a wrong achool of politics, and must have misunderstood the history of the times in England, from which sprang these great muniments of civil inherly in the British Cou-stitution and which our ancestors have so wisely incorpora-ted in our fundamental laws. these great imminents of civit interfy in the British Con-sitution and which our ancestors have so wisely incorpora-ted in our fundamental laws. I had supposed, when all was peace and harmony at home and abroad, that there was not so much need of these great bulwarks of liberty, and that they were not often called into action at such harmonious times; but that it was especially for times of civil commotion like the present, when all the baser passions of our nature are ex-cited to the highest degree, and when those is power, not unfrequently in high party times, exercise the most cruel tyranny upon the people, that these guarantees are needed. It was, as I had supposed, to secure the personal liberity of the people in troublous times, that aur Bratish ances-tors, with sword in haud, forced from their soversigns that in this historians have been mistaken, and that it was for the purpose of securing the liberity of the citi-sen in the pipping times of passe, that these provingLows were incorporated into the Entity. But it seems incorporated into the Entity, and into our Guostitu-ienzs. I think the Senator from New Hanover, (I say it 'n no unkind spirit,) ought to correct this mistaken sto the object of these noble anfermanted in the weiting. were recomposited into the British and into our Constitu-tions. I think the Senator from New Hapoyer, (I say it in no uffkind spirit,) ought to correct this mistake as to the object of these noble safeguards of liberty, by writing a history of those times. The late set of Congress for the suspension of the priv-ilege of the writ of *habass corpus*, is an oddity, and is wholly unlike any act of suspension in Eugland or that passed by the Senate of the United States in 1807, when it met with an indiguant rebake in the House of Represen-tatives by a rejection upon its flat reading. That full, so far as it went, followed somewhat the English sole of sus-pension, and especially as to crimes, in regard to which it proposed to suspend the privilege. That bill diduot pro-pose to dispend other distinct and empliatic injunctions of the Constitution, but required the order or wurrant for the arrest to be supported by an eath, charging the offense and the person to be arrested. To this safeguard every person is entitled, and any arrest without it is when the way is over to an "atten of tresposs and false imprimonment; and I hope the juries of the country will make the offenders smart for it. for it I do not hesitate to declare the last conscription act at-terly unconstitutional in its assamption of powers, and in-ounsistent with the fundamental principles of our form of government. Sir, I cannot, for a moment, agree that the instration of the Senator from New Hanver was at all appropriate, when he likened these and other curreionting sets of the general government, consorription and the sum-ment is house on fire, rolusing and repelling the same saving his property from the derouring exament. No, Sir, I cannot see the force of this illustration. To me it much more rescuelles the case of a man bugging to his bosom the base incendiary who has been caught at indiarch ar-pring the trench to his dweiling, hoping the case of illustra-ition of the officase. May field and at water, upon the found the officase. May field and the shadowed wratch in the was applying in aches the great temple of liberty, the Goustitation of our country. I deny there to mail inform of the committee, and I trust they will meet the condition of the Senate. I am well avare there are indicated by the they believe the proper and only sufe course to make and for the base in the genera in the resolutions of the K generative approval of the Senate. I am well avare there are indication-for the obmit find the arrestive is no make the generative approval of the Senate. I am well avare there are indicated by that they believe the proper and only sufe course to make a footstool of fixecentive power, and trust to his generative as the true indicates in this death strengte, is no make to a the footstool of fixecentive gower, and trust to his generation at the true indicates in this death strengte is no make to a make a footstool of fixecentive power, and trust to his generation at the true indicates in this death strengte is no make to a ware the and free will offaring of all our chartered rights at the true indicates in this death strengte is no make ton make a footstool of fixecentive power, and trust t I do not hesitate to declare the last conscription act at

is over. I have not so read history; but I have been tanght that eternal vigilance alone could preserve our liberties; and if surrendered, nothing shortof a revolution could fre-store them. But this course involves questions of con-stitutional power to make this free will offering. I would not make the surrender to any man that ever breathed the breath of life. We have all taken au oath to support the constitution of our country, and we are bound to main-tain it and take the consequences no matter what hey are; and until the courts are constituted that can make subtori-tative decisions, we must all maintain and support it, so tative decisions, we must all maintain and support it, ac-cording to the best of our ability, as we understand it, against all assaults, no matter from what source they come, and we are as much board to maintain it against the assaults of Congress and the Executive, as we would the assaults of Congress and the Excoutive, as we would against assaults from any other quarter, so matter is what disagreenble and dangerous predicament it may place us. I know that there are some of the boasted States rights advocates that really believe that the constitution of the country has somewhat the quality of indm-rubber, and will expand or contract exactly to suit their views or wishes That when in power it will expand sufficiently to make any enactment of Congress constitutional which the necessities of the times in their judgments may re-quire, and particularly, should it be a military necessi-ty; and that it will contract so as to prohibit the pasequire, and particularly, should it be a military necessi-ity; and that it will contract so as to prohibit the pass-age of any law to which they are opposed. Against any such interpretation of the constitution I protest, and I hold that so far as legislature and the judiciary are con-cerned, the constitution of the country is as fixed as fate-itself, and will be ther contract nor expand, however great the necessary even though the necessity should be a mili-tary necessity. Whatever the constitution subbrises Congress to enact into a law they may enact, if they deem it expedient in do so, and we are bound by such enactieut to do so, and we are bound by such enactments. But whatever laws they pass which the constitu-tion prohibits expressly or by implication, we are bound as faithful representatives to oppose them, whether we de-size to do so of not it exped

as in third representative to oppose of habeas corpus, so far as But the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, so far as it was intended to prevent the principals of substitutes from applying to the judicial tribunals of the country to determine their liability to military service, is not only determines their liability to military service, is not only minifestly unconstitutional, but is an outrage upon the public justice of the country. The conscription, with the suspension of the writ, enters the dwelling of the poor widow, whose father and husband have fallen in bat-ile; it finds there the one son of the military age and a number of helpless and dependent daughters. The son is the only one upon the farm capable of following the plowshare, and is the whole stay and support of the family; and to procure his excamption and keep him at home, this poor, distressed and heare-broken widow, under the soler plitted faith of the government, has sold her whole pairmony received upon the death of her father, and hired a stoat, able-bodied substitute over fifty years of are a still serving in our army. But this conscription age, at the price of live thousand dollars, and the substi-tute is still serving in our army. But this conscription law, under the clause requiring the principals of substi-tutes to be conscripted, in a stern and nursicating voice, commands the last hope of this desolate widow to the army. He leaves his weeping mother and sisters, enters the army, and is a few weeps the news arrives that be too has gone the way of all the earth, and the stricken mother, under her heavy troubles, is fast sinking to the grave. All this would have been saved that poor woman had not Congress passed this act auspending the writ of Aubers corpus, Cuiting of an appeal to the civil tribunals of the country, for the decision of this question of the civil liberties of this young man and his poor mother, whether he should be torn from his home after she had sold nearly all

should be torn from his home after sne may some there of of her estate to purchase his excurption. Mr. Speaker, it is somewhat mortifying to a true son of North-Carolina to be compelied to betwee that the act sus-pending the privilege of the writ of Auf-ads corpus was pussed for the special benefit of this State, and that upon the adjust of certain letter writers and newspaper scribbiers in Hale gh -and also upon the advice of some of our members of Congress And it is still more mortifying to thuk this course was recommended to overawe and controi that small number of people in this State who voted for Gov. Vance at the last election, and elected two thirds of this Legislature. No douot, Mr. Speaker, these letter-writers and these members of Congress who gave the President that advice, did so from the nighest and most pat-rious motives. How could men of such transcendent taents-such exaited parriotism, and such intense loyalty be moved by any other motive than the highest good of their country? I well know that there are men so uncharitable as to believe that these high-minded patriots were m, yed to this course by the law and contemptible motive of avenging themselves upon those who refused to endorse their course in the last congressional election, and to compel them to vote their ticket in the coming summer election. But Mr. Speaker, let me say I have no patience with persons so wauting in charity and of such a suspicious turn of mind. Give tuem credit for pure motives, at least, in their injurious course so far as the character of the good old North State is concorned

## [From the N. C. Standard, July 23, 1951.]

Nouth-Carolina.

The sentiments expressed in this State, on the last Anniversary of American Independence, were, for the most part, of a most hustile and bitter character towards the Union. Nearly if not quite all the speeches and toas is breathed defiance to the free States, and contained declara-

riruggles, which would increase in intensity until law, order, justice, and civil rule would be forgottan or un-known. We repeat, there is no good cause now for dissolving the Union. The cause may arise, but let us not hasten to make or meet it. Who desires it now? Who would cause it? Who would "precipi-tate the States" into bloodshed and revolution? Who would darken the stars that now flush in the flag of the Union? Who, without cause and for no aufficient rea-son, would have war instead of peace, discord in the place of cuncord, and all the calamities which must result from the dissolution of a government such as ours? If such a mant exist, let him stand forth to be blasted by the indig-nan maledictions of patriotic millions. Voices from the pan maledictions of patriotic millions. Voices from t nan maledictions of patriotic millions. Voices from the past, voices innumerable in the present, appeal to us not to peril rashly our Constitutional Union. From all Lattle fields where Southern blood has mingled with Northern blood benestly one common and glorious banner; from the abores of the Delaware, orer whose breaking ice; on that stormy night, pressed the weary and bleeding feet of those two thousand soldiers the only, the forlorn, the last hope of great Wasmarorow himself; from the kingdoms of the earth, in which the down-trodden millions struggle beneath the icen boof of dapotism. casting ions ne and hopeful the iron boof of despotism, casting long ng and hopeful glances towards this, the first, as it may be the last great glances towards this, the first, as it may be the task great experiment of self-governucut among men; from the who-e civilised world, interested in our material prosparity and in the progress and happiness of min, there comes up to us with thundaring sound --and over all of it, and ringing through all of it as with the blast of a trunpet, the spir-it-vuce of the immortal Jackson, speaking from his record and from his whole military and oivil life--- "The FEDERAL linear of MILT AND MILATE ARE DEFERSED." and from his whole military and oivil life — "THE FEDRAL UNION — IT MUST AND SHALL, BE PRESERVED!" Preserved not as a consolidited, aggressive, usurping Union, but as a *Constitutional* Union, protecting all equal ly, and dispensing its benefits and bleasings as much to one section as another. Let us cling to such a Union as "the mariner clings to his last plank whan night and the tempest close around him." As iong as the Constitution is preserved inviolate we shall have nothing to fear. It will be time enough when that matrannent, which is the is preserved inviolate we shall have notating to the is the will be time enough when that instrament, which is the bond of the Union, shall have been broken, or its spirit disregarded, to dissolve existing relations and provide new

### [From the N. C. Standard, Nov. 29, 1860 ] Secession and Hevolution.

guaras for future security.

A good deal is said just now about the right of a State to second from the Union. We believe that the Constitu-tion adopted by the people of the States in 1789, establish-ed a government of delegated powers; that the States parted with only so much of their sovereignty as was nec-ensary to reader this government efficient as a common ensity to render tais government emcient as a common agent; that the powers not delegated were reserved to the States respectively or to the people; that this government consists of three departments; that these departments were intended to act as checks upon each other, to protect the Constitution and the reserved rights of the States; and that if this government shall violate the Constitution and attempt to oppress or injure the anisority, that the majority thus controlling the government and violating the Constitution will have committed a revolution; and that in such an event the minority States would be released, and would have the right to seede from the majority and establish a new federal union, or to take any other steps which they might deem necessary to their protection, prosperity and happiness. This the true doctrine, call it what you will. It may be

secession, or it may be revolution, or it may be rebellion or it may be a war between States and their agent which has usurped undelegated powers. We have never advocated, and never expect to advocate the right of a State to secede from the Union, and to that extent break up the government, from mere whim, impu se, or caprice The infraction of the Constitution must be clear and palpable to justify a Stale in dissolving its relations with the to justify a State in dissolving its relations with the Union; or the dapper which impends over the State must be so serious, so imminent, so certain that no hope is teft to it but in seccing from the Union. This has been our position from the first on this question. We have uni-formly held the same destrine both as an Editor and as a citizen. In an addre a which we had the honor to heliver before the provide of Relation on the direct ball we have before the people of Raleigh, on the 4th of July, 1856, we said : "If this Union should ever be destroyed, it will be said: "If this Union should ever be destroyed, it will be done by such a triumph and such a predominance of sec-tional power as to leave no hope to the minority; or by a palpable violation or disregard, by all the departments of the government of the Constitution, which is the bond of the Union. Either would, in itself, be dissolution." But has that time arrived? Has the Constitution been disrehas that time arrived " all the departments of the govern-ment" Has it been violated or disregarded by any one of these departments? No one will say that it has there been such a triumph of sectional power as to leave no hope to the minority? We think not. The South yes has two departments of the government against one; and in the recent contest for the Presidency the people of the non slaveholding States polled nearly as many votes against Lincoin as for him. Is there, then, so hope? We think there is ground for hope. We are, therefore, unwilling to go with the discniousla in their efforts to dissolve at this time our relations with the foderal government. That government was established more by the agentifiers the government was established more by the ancrifices, the wisdom, and the blood of Sonthern men than by the blood and wisdom of the North. We at least have as deep an interest in the Constitution, and in the government which it established, as the North has. We are not yet prepared to abandon this government, and to take a leap into the darkness beyond. Let these who are prepared to take this leap say so like men, and not resort to set to combine tions, to intrigue and management? commit the people of

they are now. Depend upon it our people are not submis-sionists. If their rights should be assailed they will defend them. But if they should not be assailed, and if we can preserve the government with safety and honor afourselves, in the same of all that is sacred lat us do so.

#### [From the Standard, Dec. 11, 1860.] What shall be Done ? Should this State seconde with South-Carolina? We

think not. Should she, in any event, separate herself from the middle, breadstuff States, and unite her destinies with the criticn States? We think not No cotton State has thus far even consulted her, though several of them are preparing to go out It is true no middle State has con-sulted her, but this fact affords the best proof that the middle States are not even contemplating dissolution. The middle States are not even contemplating dissolution. The interests of North Carolina are much more identified with middle States are not even contemplating unsolution. The interests of North-Carolina are much more identified with Virginia. Teunessee, K-entucky, and Maryland than they are with South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas. When they manifest a disposition to dissolve the Union It will be time enough for her to more. Any attempt to es-tablish a "cotton Confederacy" will fail. It might last a few years, and it might escape a degrading dependence on foreign powers; but the people of such a Confederacy would not be able to subsist on cotton. A king is noth-ing without lords and commons. So it would be with cotton. Het if all the slaveholding States should go off together in the last resort, and if the public property could be fairly divided, and permanent arrangements made with reference to the mouth of the Mississippi, they might escape en-tangling allusces with foreign nations, avoid war with the Northern States, and prosper for a while. We say this *might* beso, but no one can be certain of it. War would come at last—war between breathern of the same would come at list-war between brethren of the same blood and speaking the same language -war, which would convelse this continent and shake the world -war, which would leave behind it, in its bloody and am king track, would reave occured it, in its bloody and am king track, military despotism, enormous taxes, corrupted monals, and a famished and ruined people in both Confederacies.— We are not ready to incur these hazards now. We will ching to the Union as long as we can do so with safety and bonor; and when safety is threatened or honor touched, we will leave it, if that day should ever come, without counting the cost, hoping for repose and independence under new forms, and ready to incur all the consequences which may follow dissolution. When that day comes the middle States will be ready, but they are not ready now We are autoric concendence to the recommendation of Goy.

We are utterly opposed to the recommendation of Gov. We are utterly opposed to the recommendation of Gov. Ellis to consult the people of other States before our own people are consulted We know of no conclusive reasons at this time why a Convention of the people of this State should be called, but we are not afraid to trust the people with the or are other consting. Indeed, our complaint should be called, but we are not afraid to trust the people with this or any other question Indeed, our complaint has been that Gov Ellis and his partiants are afraid to trust the people, and are seeking to commit them to dis-anian before consulting them. If two-thirds of the mem-bers of the Legislature think a Convestion should be call-ed, let them say so. Less than two-thirds cannot call a Convention; and any attempt to call a Convention by a bare majority of the Legislature would be a violation of the Constitution, and would be resisted or disregarded by the people. Let these fire-enters who are thinking of such a course, beware! If they shall dars to begin the revolu-tion in North-Carolina by trampling on the Constitution of the State, the consequences be on their heads. But if a Convention shall be called, we shall insist that the se-tion of the Constitution shall be submitted to the people at the ballot-bax for their approval or rejection. We repeat, the ballot-bax for their approval or rejection. We repeat, we rely on the people, provided fair play is above by the politicians; and if fair play is not shown, it will be demanded and had at all hazards. These are stormy times. We are in the midst of these times, and we are prepared to bear our part in them. We are here with others to guard It's interests of the masses against the schemes of disunion-ists and demagoques. We intend to do it. The people of this State shall not be committed to any step, if we can prevent it, without being allowed themselves to take that step. If the State is to stay in the Union and to give Mr. lincoln a trial, let them say so; if the State must go out et them say so. But let us have no consultation consultations it may be with other States before our own State is consulted ; and let us have no attempt to call Convention by a bare majority of the Legislature.

## Old Joe Brown and his Pets.

Special Correspondence of the Constitutionalist. Means Editors :- Gov. Brown appeared in the camp o

the Piets this afternoon, and as soon as it became runnered that he was actually here, a perfect rush was made to-wards Wavne's quarters at which place they found located the veritable Joseph is parsons Every man in camps, amounting to at least —, gathered around the tent co-cupied by the Governor. It was indeed amusing to hear the remarks made in the dense crowd that assembled and also in heaving of los himself event to himself and the remarks made in the dense crowd that assembled and also in hearing of Joe himself, some of which were these : "Where is old Jde?" "Hush, boys, be is in the tent there." "Come out of that, Joe, we know you are in there" "Come out, Governor, and tell the Pets all you know, it won't take long" Hush. I tell you he is right in there." "Don't care a d-n if he is, hurrah for old Joe, give us your ideas." About this time the Colonel's canvass was lifted and ex-nored to the view of the careited multijude a next her

posed to the view of the excited multitude a neat but plainly dressed little man about forty-five years of age and about five feet ten inches in height, and whose hair and about five feet ten inches in height, and whose mar-and heard is some-that sprinkled with gray, and who stood and looked upon the vast crowd with the utmost story fromt. As spon as he was exposed to view some fellow in the crowd sung out at the top of his voice: "Governor, here is your mule." Governor could no longer restrain himself, but burst into a loud laugh. After a "Governor, here is your mule." Governor could no longer restrain himself, but a burst into a loud laugh. After a great deal of solicitation from some of his intimate friends, and calls from the crowd, he consented to give us a short speech. Arrangements were soon made and he passed through the assemblage, mounting a mess table and look-ing calmly around until all the noise and busil; had sub-sided, waved his hand to the right and then to the left, when all sank upon the fallen leaves of the beautiful forest where we are encamped When all was still he said: Gunrussen or GROBORA:-I am exceedingly proud of my Pets. (Immense shouts.) I did not come to your camps to make you a peech, but upon important busi ness. The tume for making speeches is past, now is the time for action and I know you too well to think for a moment, that you are bers for anything else but prompt, immediate and decisive action. As your Governor, and seeing the peril of our State, I cailed upon you, I knew-you would respond; I knew I had but to tell you that Georgia was threatened, and you would rush to arms and to the front; you have responded nobly, gallantly. You have been stigmatised as Pets, or as is said Joe Brown Pets, but its only by mea who ran for the same office as you did and got beat, and ov a few others who are biding behind some detail or Confederate exemption and who are afraid to march to the front themselves and face the music. I have issued a proclamation to day, calling upon those men. Let us see how they will read

## [From the Daily Progress.] The Salisbury Watchman.

Ma. Energy: -- In an a secreption personal attack magning contamelican language is used: "While on the web ing contamelican language is used: "While on the web is going to anywe have at last found one who is any we have at last found one who is any who have trouble with him some months ago on the subject of we base, wilfal and infanous falsehood, as the testing the part of the subject of the part of the subject of the subj

base, wilfal and intranous insertion, as the testinuer is my brethren, in the ministry, will abundantly show is supposed "trouble my brethren bad with me" refers to matter which occurred, not a few months ago as fals matter which occurred, not a few mouths ago as false, stated, but over two years ago, when at a meeting of or District Bynod, the formation of a Southern Genn Synod was under discussion. I, and some others, it, and there opposed the measure, solely on the ground is it was not the proper time, as a full delegation from a the District Synods, which was very desirable, could as owing to the state of the country, be present, and the satisfactory land-marks could not then be established. During the discussion some remarks about loyally at *one word* then, before nor since, was uttered in regard to "our Southern institution." How deeply surken in de pravity the heart that is capable of perpetuating to four alander.

lander. The unsurpassed kindness, devoted friendship and re-The unsurpassed kingness, devoted iriendship and ge-erous support I receive from the people of my chara and the citizeus of this community-all good and true a ever was or ever will be "the sanctimonious piece of pe-fection that presides over the Watchman"-prove the us fection that presides over the gradient of his charge. To a funded and malicions character of his charge. To a vile a calumniator I exanot but apply the words of St Paul to Elymas—"O full of all subtility and all mischel raul to Elymas.—"O full of all sublity and all mischiel thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all rightcousses wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord." The object of the above flagitious assault upon me is two fuld. First, to seek revenge for a sucposed insult, and second, to injure Mr. Holden by attempting to creste the doubly false impression that he is supported by a very few only, and those such as are untrue to their country. No gentleman, of the slightest respectability, would be ntleman, of the slightest respectability, would be and by either motive. The first is devilish, the sec and is little better.

-

Finally, I would recommand to the serious considera tion of Mr. Bruner, the very supisat editor of that work-less Destrucctive sheet designated the Salisbury Watch-man, a sublimely interesting passage of Scripture, which he will find by referring to Rev. 21 chap., Sth rense, ist-ter clause. "A LUTHERAN PREACHER"

TO THE SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS (VOTERS) OF NASH COUNTY.-As it will be im. possible for me to see you all between now and the first Thursday in August, I take this method of making known

Thursday in August, I take this method of making known to you my "principles and views." I am in favor of an honorable peace as soon as it can possibly be obtained, and think that efforts should have been made long ago to stop this cruel, bloody and desolating war. I was never a secessionist-always opposed those who said secession would be peaceable, or if we had war they would pay the expenses with ten cents and wipe np all the blood with a pocket-handkerchief. I am not one of "the last dollar and last man" gentry. I thought and still think the people have the right to hold meeting to consult together for the promotion of their own interests. I am opposed to the suppension of the writ of hobcus corpus and placing the whole power of the country in the hands of one man. In short I am a Conservative of the "straitest sect," an out and out, through and through, up and down Conservative and peace man. If you elect me is traitest conservative and peace man. If you elect me I promise not to vary a hair's breadth from the principles of the great and growing and glorious Conservative party. Your busible servant and friend,

JAMES D. MATTHEWS. June 9, 1864.

WEARE AUTHORIZED TO ANNOUNCE E. M. WELBURN as a candidate to represent the County of Wilkes in the House of Commons at the ensuing election. June 6, 1864. 26-td

THE VOTERS OF CHATHAN COUN TY.-1 take this method of informing my friends and the public that I am a can idate for the office of Sheriff in the said County. My principles are traly Conservative, and I will feel under many obligations for the support of my friends. I shall canvass the County if my health will permit. P. SNIPES. New Hope, June 6, 1864. 26-Stpd.

**TO THE PEOPLE OF RUTHERFORD** AND POLK COUNTIES: - Fellow-Citizens, I am-nounce myself a candidate to represent the people of Ruth-erford and Polk in the House of Commons of the next General Assembly. My winciples and views are those of a Conservative "after the straitest sect." I am for an houorable peace by negotiations ; and I hold that it is the daty of the representative to be governed by the will of his constituents. If elected I will do all its my power to serve you and and our brave soldiers, and to secure an houorayou and and our brave soldiers, and to secure an honora-JAMES W. ADAMS. June 6, 1864

TOHNSTON COUNTY .- WE ARE AUrentlemen as the Conservative candidates to represent the sounty of Johnston in the next Greinral Assembly: For the Senate-THOS. D. SNEAD, Esq. For the Commons-W. G. BANKS and W. A. SMITH. This ticket was selected by the Reserves from Johnston, follo gentlen In camp at Goldsboro', and by a mass meeting of the citi-in camp at Goldsboro', and by a mass meeting of the citi-zens remaining at home, held at Smithfield on fhe 25th of May. These gentlemen will be supported by all true Con-servatives They endorse the platform of Vice President Stephene, Gov. Brown and W. W. Holden, and if elected will do all these on to many ways and the second will do all they can to procure an early and ho

breathed defines to the free Nates, and contained declara-tions looking to separate State source. Here and there, it is true, we can perceive evidences of a disposition to post-pone the act of separation, and to awart further aggres-sions and a combined morement of the slave States gener-ally; but the great weight of public opinion is stull for separate State action by the Convention, which is to assem-ble in February next. It is clear that a rait majority of the people of South-Caroling have despaired of the general government to the true principles of the Constitution. We deplore this state of public opinion in that galiant State; and if our voice could be heard by her people, and courd have any effect, if heard, we would appear to them in the kindest and most affec-tionate terms to pause in their course. Their interests are the interests in cournou of the people of all the slavehol-ding States; and the blow which is intereded to atrike down South-Carolina, will not fait upon her head alone. down South-Carolina, will not fail upon her head alone.-Her cause in the cause of the South ; and her true policy is, therefore, not to separate herself, by her action, from

is, therefore, not to separate herself, by her action, from the other sizeboding States Should she accede by herself she will draw no State after her. Her sister alarcholding States will neither go with her, nor will they see her coerced and trampled down; their judgment has been pronounced, and they will not reverse it. The cause for secossion, at this time, is not sufficient; it may be, in the moarse of a few years, or the Union may live on, according to the Constitution, gathering new States within its hids and adding new justre to the com-mon flag. One or the other—God only knows which i

num flag. One or the other-God outy knows which ' We trust, after all, that a sounder feeling will spring up in that Sime; and that the people will instruct their Dee-gates in Convention w/ to cut loose from the Union at this time. The time between this and the period for the meet-ing of the Convention, is ample for a reaction of public opinion in that State. We trust that this reaction will take place, and that South Condition will take place. take piace, and that South-Carolina will determine to abide the judgment and share the lot of the other slaveholding States.

## [From the N. C. Standard, June 11th, 1860.] A Constitutional Union.

A Constitutional Union. North-Oarolina has been for the space of seventy years a member of the federal Union. She entered this great sixterbood of States after mature deliberation She did so believing via would thereby best promote her own inter-ests, and more effectually this in any other situation pro-tect herself from energenments by foreign States. Strong in her own arm and in her own determined purpose to main-tain the right mader all orccumstances, she was neverthe-less not annindful of the fact that in union there would be strength beyond that which any individual State could presens. During this long period she has been faithful to all her Consultational obligations; and on the other hand, while her rights as a slaveholding State have not always been as fully respected and maintained as they abouid have been, yet and deliberate wrong has been put upon her, and none of her vital interests have been assailed or threatened by the common government. When her coand none of her vital interests have been assailed or threatened by the common government. When her co-States of the South have complained of acjust tariff laws, or protested against the encroachments of the non-slavehold-ing States upon their rights in the common territories, she has ayminished with them in these complaints and protests; but when they have nullified the laws, or taken steps to dissolve their relations with the sizer character has mildly hat firstly interposed to prevent the calamitous consequences which would flow from nullification and dis-main. Size has never been either a nullifying or a disone-msequences which would flow from nullification and dis-union. Size has never been either a nullifying or a dison-ion State, and she is not so now. Some great cause must more her -some great wrong must either be inflicted or must overshadow her, before she will seriously nontem-plate by her own act a severance of the Union. She feels that while Virginia, and Tennessee, and Maryland, and Kentaeisg are asfe in the Union she will be safe also; and that her Bonor, as sensitive and antarnished as theirs, has been confided to her own keeping, and not to that of South-Caroling. Alabama, and Minsissippi. She is a breadstaff rather them a "cotton State." Her intorests are central among the southern States, relving as she does for protec-tion not more on the slaveholding States south of her than on those of the north and west. She is not so much of a "cotton State" as to be teady just now to pitch into the " colton State" as to be teady just now to pitch into the vorter of discuiou and revolution. She will not runh into this vorter berself, and she will hold others back, if she

this vortex herself, and she will hold others back, if she can. During this loog period of atventy years, North-Caroli-lins its enjoyed abuost uninterrupted repose. The battles rendered mytessary by a just regard for the honor of the country, have been fought elsewhere than on her soil.— Her people are now contented, prosperous, and happy. Her fields smile with plenty, and the hum of industry is icard in all har workshops Her credit in the money market is equal to the bost. Her internal improvements are progressing, and prospering as they progress. Her Countron School a view is the best in all the Southern States. Her alaye progress with the money radical portion of the black Kepublicaus. The antional Democrats of the bun-sizerboiding States have formed are defending her rights as a slaveholding T State both in Congress and before their fellow-citizens. before their felow-citizens, In a word, no reason existentity North-Carolina about

In a work, so frame singer why North Carolina should contemplate at this time a diss Watiou of the Daion. While we would pareneater to right of our State, and while we would preserve her he wor untarnished among her nisters, yet disumon is one . I the tast things to be thought of. Disumion would be fi vierual strife, evril and service war, murder, arson, pillare, Sobbery, and dise and blool through long and ernel year P. fi would masttle all business, diminish the value of all property, put the hves of both sexes and all ages in peril, and launch the Nates on a sea of scenes which no ey w has schnoed and no navigator sounded. It would bring labb, and misrule, and oppressive taxes, to be followed, periston, by the military ru e of titled transts. It would wreach spart the tendest by entwined affections of millions of hearts, making it a erime in the North to have been born in the South, and a erime in the South to have been born in the North. It would enter a pow our friends, into either w deadly chemics or indifferent postators of our intestine

this State against then west to disunion and civil w

[From the N. C. Standard, Dec. 1, 1860 | Disunion for Existing Causes.

Distantion for Existing Gauses. A Confederacy or Union composed of the fitteen slave-holding States would, after awhile, encounter some of the same difficulties which now beset the existing Union. The States south of us would produce and export cotton, while the middle or breadstuff States would recome deeply in-terested in manufactures. Foreigners from Europe and the North would pour into the latter, and push the slave computing farther would Manufacturers would demand 

our system-would foment jesionsies between the two Conlederacies, and lay one or the other under obligations to them for aid or modiation in the midst of skriftes and wars; and the end would be foreign influence in all our connells, foreign manners in all our social walks, and for-eign gold in the bands of unscrupulous demageques as the price of some portion of their country's liberities. In case of separation, party spirit, the excesses of which are now so obvious and injurious, would rage with tenfold heat. There would be parties in each Coulsderacy against each; there would be parties in each Coulsderacy against each; there would be parties opposed to and in favor of foreign influence; there would be parties advocating dicta-torial powers in the central governments and parties advo-cating the largest liberty or least restraint; there would be parties advocating and parties opposing the sequeistion of more territory; there would be parties adim over probably be waged along the lines of the two Confederacies — war in-terropted only by bollow fruces, or by compromises mades but never intended to be observed, or by mediations at the hands of foreign powers. Of sources as the result of all this industry would be arrested, and the morals of society would be injured. War would raise up standing armies, which would be tracted, internal improvements of all kinds would be arrested, and the morals of society would be injured. War would raise up standing armies, which would obstruct civil rule and est out the substance of the paople. This would be the case especially in the Southern States, where large armies would be necessary not only for defensive operations against the foreign North-ern States, but to keep the slave progulation in subjection. The results would be abused, and the voice of law and the dire of the states would have to sit perpetually or clothe their Governors with large discretions of your conserts — the southern States would have to sit perpetually or

The reality would be military despotiem. The Legislatures of the Southern States would have to sit perpetually or clothe their Governors with large discretionary powers — These powers would be abused, and the voice of law and the claims of justice would be unbeard amid the slarms of war. Constitutional liberty would no longer be the birth right of our people, but instead thereof we would have disgretionary powers, martial law, military rule, oppres-ary taxation, perpetual contentione, and service war. Buch are some of the erils which would most probably result from disunion for existing causes. Disamion at this time will certainly occasion war. If a peaceful separation in the last resort could be effected, the two Confederacies, or any number of Confederacies might tread their respec-tive paths without enging in moral conflict. They might at length re-unite in a new union on foundations more-lasting than the present; but if any one State shall sceede, with the expectation of drawing other States after her, and if blood shall be shell the beginning, the middle, and the ead will be civil war. The States thus forced out, though they will sympathize with the State which commit-ted them to disunion against their will, and though they may state be be and desend her in her extremuty, yet they wild tailise her and watch her as an evil atar in the new constellation. A violent separation would, thereford per wild tails to discus the mer to her and desend her in her extremuty, yet new constallation. A violent separation would, therefore sow the seeds of discord in the new Confederacy. I

new constantion. A violent separation would, therefore, now the aseds of discord in the new Confederacy. It would consumence its career with growing antagonisms in its members. It would be a *frond* union which time would discours or passion frei to pieces. There is only one will greater than discriming and that is the four of house and Constitutional rights. That soil the people of the Soath will user submit t. Sconer than sub mit to it they would put their shoulders to the pillars, as Samon did, and tear down the temple, though they them-selves should patish in the rains. But our honor as a people is still undernished—our Constitutional rights, as iar as the federal government is concerned, are still un-toached. If the federal government should attempt even to tarnish the one or to deprive us of the other, we for One would be ready to resist, and ready to discoive the Union without regard to consequences. But not some /-the non-slaveholder says sot nog /- the slaveholder, whose prop-ery ciril war woulf involve in im ninear peril, says and now /-millions of our friends in the free States as y sot now /. If we must dissolve the Union, let us do it as one people of the State are majority. Let us wait until the people of the State are majority. Let us wait until the people of the State are more united on the subject than

are alraid to murch to the frunt themselves and face the music. I have issued a proclamation to day, calling upon those men. Let us see how they will respond. The Government can do without them a tew days, if they have got soul enough to murch to the front with you and share your dangers and honors. It was a pain-ful necessity, Gentleman, to call you from your house at this critical season of your crops, but General Johnston wanted men and unless we all do our duty we can never whip the fight. Some have asked why I did not call out the whole nultits force of the State? I ansawe because it the whole mulitia force of the State? I answer because the whole militia force of the State? I answer because it would have been too great a drain upon the producing class of the State; to have called out every man from to to 17 and from 50 to 80 wild have endangered our sub-sistence, and subjugation would be threatened. It is al-leged by our opponents that I am ever coming in contact with the Confederate Government. It is not my intention now to do so or ever has it been, unless preserving the State Government be conflict. If it is we do conflict.---Georgia is an independent sovereignty. If she was not she never could have second from the Lincoin Govern-ment, and as loog as I remain your G averous that one ment, and as long as I remain your G vernor, State or-ganizations shall remain intect.

ganis tions shall remain intect. Georgia has never surrendered her rights to any power, nor ever will as long as you have the right kind of men at the helm Liucoin has not got her yet, nor ever will as long as there are such men as you at the front. But we are about to come into a conflict, but it is with Sher-man's army. I expect then Johnston will be giad to see such conflict. I know not where Gen. Johnston may or-der us. He commands this department, and way order us immediately, but whether to the front or Atlanta, let us do our duty as hecome men and Georgiana. I am endeavimmediately, but whether to the front or Atlanta, let us do our duty as become mea and Georgiana. I am endeav-ing to arm you as fast as possible, for I should feel very bedly if some of Sherman's raiders were to make a sweep around here and take you all prismers without arms-(Here some one asked, in case we were taken prisoners, would we receive Confederate princetion.) He said, I thank you for making that point, most assuredly yon would, for you to go into Johnston scommand, and he is a Coefederate General, and of course the same protection will be extended to yoe. Gentlemen I have every confidence in you, and when you march Joe Brown is ready to march with his Pefs, and if need be to die with them. I am willing to risk my wife and my children, my property and my life in

and if need be to die with them. I am willing to risk my wife and my children, my property and my life in your hands, I know that aach men as you can never re-turn home cowards or delinquent in duty. That you will gallantly confront the vandal foe whether on the banks of the Chattahonchee or in the streets of Atlants, and eve-ry man that I have called upon who does not do it will no longer continue to be one af Joe Brown's Pets. Mestrs Editors please state for the information of friends at home that we are all hearty and doing well, looking for a general Sugagement every day. Belief Committees are already what to the front and we are sr-pecting orders every day.

pecting orders every day. J. B. O.

[From the Atlants Confederacy.] Arracements Incommer. -- Durang one of the series of en-gagements which have recently come off at the front, as a body of our awalry was being holly pursued by the en-emy's infinitry and artillery. A cambón hall came whissing just over the head of one of our boys, and passed between the legs of a brave fellow of the infantry, who was just in the rear of the covalry, and in the set of stepping across a branch. Both legs of his pants were almost form off, but no damage was done to the soldier further than the lose of a finger. He stood perfectly amazed at his almost miraculous esseps. While standing thus, the young cav-alryman, near whose head the ball had pessed—and by the way as brave a boy as ever bestrode a horse or chased a Yankee to his lair—rode up and remarked: "That is the answer to a pious mother's prayers." The soldier was touched to the heart; and bursting into team, said yee, he had a pious good mother. He felt that in answer to her prayers he had escaped almost unbarmed from the deadly missile.

deadly missile. Mothers1 let your hoys in the army know that you pray for them, and they will be braver and better boys A mother's prayer is a safer shield for her boy than bomb proof fortifications.

TOTHE VOTERS OF MOORE AND MONTGOMERY.--I announce myself a candidate to represent the people of Moore and Muntgomery Counties in the next Senate of Morte-Carvina. My principles are Conservative "after the straitest sect," and are well known to all who know me. I shall explain them more fully at the proper time. J. A. BABESTT. the proper time. Carthage, May 5th, 1864. 19-1d.

June 2, 1864.

W E ARE AC FHORIZED TO ANNOUNCE Capt. T. W. RITFER, as a candidate for re-elec-tion to the House of Commons from the County of Moore. Captain Ritter is a Conservative "after the strattest sect." May 12, 1864. 19-td.

DAVIDSON COUNTY.-WE ARE AU-thorized to sumannee LEWIS HANES, Eq. as a candidate to represent the people of Davidson County in the House of Commons of the next General Assembly. May 19, 1864.

WE ARE AUTHORIZED TO ANNOUNCE W Licett, & H. RAT, of the 47th N. C. Begiment, for the office of Sheriff of Wake County, at the easing election in August next. May 12, 1864. 10\_14

WE ARE AUTHORIZED TO ANNOUNCE W E ARE AUTHORIZED TO ANNOUNCE COL W. H. A. SPEEK, of the 28th N C Troopa, a candidate at the election on the 1st Thursday in August next, to represent the people of the counties of Yadkin, Surry, Alleghauny, Ashe and Watauga in the Senate in the next Legislature of North-Carolina. May 12, 1564. 19-tdpd.

**\$500** It is subscriber on the night of 3d instant, one bay MARE, three years old, large and likely. Her mane lies on the left side—rather dapple bay, black legs, mane sud tail. Taken by Yaughn's Cavalry. Any person that will return said Mare will receive the above reward. Wilbars, N. C., May 23, 1864.

All the State papers copy six weeks and forward counts as abere.

WANTED INNEDIATELY AT THIS uffice, two good compositors. The highest prices paid. June 2, 1884. 25\_tf. WANTED ANY NUMBER OF PAM-phlets in large or small lots. Apply at this office June 2, 1864.

F A MILY FLOUR AND BACON HAMS.-In store and for sale at lowest market roles. JAMES M. TOWLES, Agt. Raleigh, Nay 30, 1864.

Raleigh, May 30, 1864. 24- **E GY PTIAN CORN-BONA FIDE QUID** out the country the EGYPTIAN CORN, which, upon trial, was found in the reproduct of the first of July. It is es-timated, from its very prolific qualities, to yield 200 bush-els per sore, and weighs, by scaled measure, sixty-fire pounds to the bushel. This Corns was produced from some procured direct from Mr. Jones, our Consular Agent, direct-iy on his return from Egypt. It node no different culture from that of other varieties and, in the South, two crops can be raised in one season on the same ground. It grows in the form of a tree, and twenty-two ears hay grows upon one stalk, and will aver-age from fire to fifteen. For domestic use, it is unpari-leied. When ground and properly bolled, jt is equal in color and finences to wheaten flour. As a forage crop, by sowing in drills or broadcaff, for corn. It can be auccessfully grown in any State. I can be unce an airforder references that the Corn

will yield half the value in stalk or corn. It can be successfully grown is any State. I can give the most satisfactory references that the Corn is in every respect, what I represent it to be; and further I am the only person throughout the country who has this variety of Corn. Having secured a quantity. I am now able to fill all orders for those desirous of testing it. To any person who will enclose, in a letter, Five Dollars in stamps or currency, directed to me, I will send, postage paid, suffic ent Corn to produce enough to plant, the fol-lowing year, from twenty to thirty acres. Also, direction for planting and culturation.

for planting and cuitival Any person who will get up a club of five will receive a

package gratis. Give your full name, postoffice, county and State, writ

ten plain, so that no errors may occur. Address PRANK E. G. LINDSEY,

Raven's Nest P. O., Washington County, V

## EGYPTIAN CORN.

F.E.G. Lindsoy has presented us a car of his Egyptian Cora, herotofore advertised in our paper. The car has a solid grain. A lady, who raised some of it last year, sends us a certificate stating that she saw some that had not been plowed—it was sown broad cast—that produced twelve ears to the statk.—Abingdon Firginian. May 26, 1864. 12-w3tpd May 26, 1864. 19-w3tpd

JOB-WORE OF EVERY DESCRIPTION mastly and expeditiously executed at the Nandard office. LAND DEEDS, MABBIAGE LICENSES, and ma-

ny other kinds of blanks now on hand, May 12, 1864. 19-16

ctfully yours, [From the Atlanta Confederacy.]

