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## EX-GOV. MOREHEAD'S SPEECH.

Ex-Gov. Morehead, of Kentucky, delivered a speech in Liverpool, England, on the 9th of November last, which was published in the Liverpool Mercury. The following is the concluding portion of it:

Speaking of Lincoln's attempt at emancipation Gov. Morehead said:

He claims this power in one of two ways—either under the constitution of the United States, or as an exercise of the war power. Well, he would hardly claim it under the Constitution of the United States. Will you allow me—it is a very short extract—to read what Mr. Webster said on that subject. He was making a speech at Richmond, Virginia, and he said:

"I hold that Congress is absolutely precluded from interfering in any manner, direct or indirect, with this as with any other of the institutions of the States." (Cheering, and a voice from the crowd exclaimed, we wish this could be heard from Maryland to Louisiana, and we desire that the sentiment just expressed may be repeated—"Repeat, repeat.") Well, I repeat it; proclaim it on the wings of all the winds, tell it to all your friends—(cries of "we will, we will"—tell it. I say, that standing here in the capitol of Virginia, beneath an October sun, in the midst of this assemblage, before the entire country, and upon all the responsibility which belongs to me. I say that there is no power, direct or indirect, in Congress or the General Government, to interfere in the slightest degree with the institutions of the South."

That is the Government under which we lived; that is the Government that I wanted to perpetuate, that I desired to see continued, united upon that basis, according to the true meaning of the Constitution, which was the bond of Union between us.

Well, under the Constitution then, he has no power. You will remember that in 1812 there was, unfortunately, a war between Great Britain and the United States. That war continued for nearly three years. At the close of the war a treaty was made at Ghent. Mr. John Quincy Adams, father of the present accomplished minister from the United States to the court of this country, was one of the negotiators on the part of the United States, with Mr. Henry Clay, Mr. Bayard and others—five of them. By that treaty Great Britain stipulated to deliver up whatever private property had been taken. The question then came up whether the slaves that had been taken by Great Britain should be delivered up under that treaty. It was resisted. There was a difference of opinion between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Adams, the minister then at the Court of St. James, and they agreed to refer it to the Emperor of Russia. I am not now arguing whether it is right or wrong, but I want to show what has been the settled policy of the United States. Mr. Adams writes that he had an interview with Lord Liverpool, in which he presented to him the argument that slaves were private property and not subject to be taken, and that Lord Liverpool did not object to the argument. When it was referred to the Emperor of Russia, he writes to Mr. Middleton, who was our minister at the court of Russia, to the effect that private property was not subject to capture, and could not lawfully be taken with the place. "With the exception," he says, "of maritime captures, private property in captured places is, by the laws of nations, always respected. None can lawfully be taken." I will not read the whole of it, but just mention the principle in the conclusion of this letter. "The principle is, that the emancipation of an enemy's slaves is not among the acts of legitimate war. As relates to the owners, it is a destruction of private property nowhere warranted by the usages of war."

That is the doctrine of the United States. That doctrine was sanctioned by the Emperor of Russia, who decided the contest in favor of the United States upon the principle so broadly laid down by Mr. Adams.—So that I show you Mr. Webster, and I could show you five hundred other Northern men who have admitted the same thing, that there is no power under the Constitution, and no war power, and that the act of

Mr. Lincoln is in violation of the law of war, as expounded by the civilized world. Maryland is a part of the United States; Delaware is a part; Kentucky has never yet seceded; Missouri is a part. All these States have slaves, and Mr. Lincoln, in his proclamation, proposes that if they will send members of Congress to the National Legislature slavery shall remain there—that he will not abolish it there.

It is not, therefore, because he is opposed to slavery that he would abolish it; it is as a punishment to individuals. Well, so far as regards that, there is another great principle recognized by all courts of justice—that wherever a country is taken possession of by an enemy, the allegiance of the common people of that country is absolved for the time being wherever protection is not extended. The United States has decided it in six different cases. Castine was taken in 1812. We had laws against the importation of foreign goods, and especially from Great Britain, but the citizens of that place after it was taken traded with this country, and introduced a large amount of goods, and at the close of the war they were brought before the courts of the United States for violating the non-intercourse laws. The judges unanimously decided that as the goods were imported at the time that the United States laws could not be enforced there, the places being in possession of the British Government and the British troops, allegiance and protection were correlative terms, and that these individuals who had imported goods during that period were in no manner liable for a violation of the laws of the States. The same thing has been declared here by statute 11 Henry VII. After the long wars of the Russe they felt it necessary to embody what was a common law principle in a statute which provides that you may obey the ruling monarch whether he is rightful monarch or not, and in so doing you are not liable for a violation of the laws of the realm at all. Yet the Federals attempt to confiscate the whole of the private property, not slaves only but all the private property of those citizens who are bound to obey the law of the Confederacy under which they live, receiving no protection from the United States. They confiscate their property, and declare their slaves free. Such an act of despotism is not to be found on the record of any civilized nation of the world. (Hear, hear.)

There are many other things, my friends, that I might say to you, but I deem it unnecessary. I have already talked more than perhaps I ought—(cries of "No no")—but my heart is deeply enlisted in this thing. I have in my own person felt the despotism of this Northern Government. It is a matter of very little moment to the world, or to you, or even to the community in which I live, how a single individual may suffer from despotism; but the infringement of the rights of one individual is but the sanction for a like atrocity to be perpetrated upon every human being that comes under the influence of such a Government as that. I was seized at two o'clock in the night in my own bed, dragged from it and from my family, without a moment's warning, and carried across the Ohio river in defiance of the writ of *habeas corpus*. The soldiers took me and ran me by night, by special train, to Indianapolis. One of the judges of the Supreme Court sent a marshal with a *habeas corpus* to bring me back, but I was carried by a special train to Columbus, Ohio. There I was kept awhile, and afterwards I was carried on to New York, and hurried to the prison of Lafayette. And here I desire to say that I cannot well conceive of any horror more dreadful than that which was experienced in that prison. It has a small court not much larger than this room for exercise. Thirty-eight of us were placed in one room, five 32-pounder cannons occupying one portion of the room, which was sixty-six feet in length and twenty-two feet in depth. The floor was a brick floor, so damp that your boots would be covered with green mould every morning. They gave me fourteen pounds of straw to sleep on, carefully weighed, about half rotten. It was placed in a very coarse tick. I am, without my shoes, six feet in

height, and the bed measured four feet seven inches—actually measured by a member from Maryland, Mr. Sangston. We had one very dirty tin cup to drink out of, and the water we drank was filled, not with animalcules, but with millions of tadpoles. We had to hold our noses when we drank, and strain every drop of it. We were locked up at six o'clock at night, and kept till six next morning, without any natural convenience whatever, suffering the agonies of death. I remember, if you will allow me to tell it,—I dislike to follow Mr. Lincoln, but there was an old man brought from Kentucky upwards of seventy years of age. His head was as white as snow. I never saw him before, but I was amazed to see him, and seeing that he was from Kentucky I went up and addressed him. A friend had sent me some liquors and I asked him if he would not like to have a little whisky or brandy, and he said yes, it was the only time in his life that he felt that a good dram would be of service to him. So, as is very commonly the case there, he took the bottle and poured out a very heavy drink. [Laughter.] He drank it off without mixing it with water—we had purchased glasses at that time to drink out of and he saw the tadpoles. He set it down again, shaking his head, and said he could not stand it, and walked away; but the brandy burned him so much that he came back and took it up, and held it between the light of the sun and himself, and soliloquizing, said, "Well, tadpoles, if you can stand it I can," and drank it off. [Laughter.] He made a compromise with the tadpoles. We wrote a letter to Mr. Lincoln signed by every individual who was in the fort, telling him of the horrors of this prison, stating that we did not pretend to discuss the rightfulness of our imprisonment, but that we supposed we were entitled to the common rights of human beings. The result of that was, that in about a month we were taken to Fort Warren. They put us on a vessel to be taken there by sea. The Captain told me himself that the vessel was calculated to take about 250 persons, and they took 1,100. We were fifty hours in making the voyage, and all that was given us to eat during that time was a piece of raw fat barrel pork, perfectly raw, about the size of my hand, and I saw the poor soldiers eating that raw meat. We had furnished ourselves with something better, but could not feed them all with the little we had.

We were placed afterwards in Fort Warren upon the naked floor, without bed or blanket or anything—not a wisp of straw even; and there in that condition we had to remain until we supplied ourselves with such things as we needed, buying beds and bedsteads, and being allowed by a very kind, excellent and humane officer, Col. Dymick—who I believe is a thorough gentleman, and who did all he could to alleviate our condition—being allowed by him to employ a cook and to buy provisions, we lived very comfortably there. This, gentlemen, is my experience. I trust that the time is not far distant when these things are to cease. [Hear, hear.] I think that the South has shown that she intends, under all circumstances and in every contingency, to maintain her independence. [Loud cheers.]

It is not for me, it is not for an American, it is not for a citizen of the Confederate States, to ask Englishmen to recognize us; but it seems to me that there is coming up a solemn appeal to the bosom of humanity, as well as of justice, that the time has come when we ought to be recognized among the nations of the earth. I do not ask for such recognition. I have no official position; I am a mere wanderer and an exile. It is for every nation to determine for herself. It is for the people of England to decide—it is for the Government of England to decide, without any interference whatever on our part. We, perhaps, are not good judges. We feel that we are not; but we think that enough has been shown to the world to convince them that we intend, that we can, and that we will be independent. [Cheers.]

The Governor concluded by thanking the

gentlemen present for the attention with which they had listened to him, and returned to his seat amidst loud cheering. Rising, again, he said he was reminded by a gentleman that an order came to Fort Warren whilst they were there forbidding them to employ counsel, it being stated by Secretary Seward himself that the mere fact of employing counsel would be a sufficient cause for continuing them in prison.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Gov. Morehead having been moved and seconded,

The Chairman said:—It has been moved and seconded, and I am sure will meet with a unanimous response on the part of all of you, that the thanks of this meeting should be tendered to Gov. Morehead for the instructive and deeply interesting address which he has just delivered to us. It needs nothing to be said by me to rivet in your minds the striking facts he has just put before us. As to the question of the war power which has been alluded to and discussed, there is no such thing known in modern warfare. Amongst brave and honorable nations there is no such thing known as the right of assassination, or of inciting assassination. All powers when at war with each other, if inclined to take any unusual step, are at any rate bound to consider what it may be; and no man for one moment can reflect upon this proclamation without having his mind immediately drawn to the probable consequences of such a measure if effective in any degree. In my own mind I can only liken it to that description of warfare which consists in the poisoning of wells; but I am sure it will be a satisfaction to Gov. Morehead, in reflecting upon the hardships he has gone through, and to all Southerners present, in reflecting upon the sufferings which their country had passed through, to recollect that a great and permanent good and gain will remain through all future time, of which this has been the cause. There cannot be a doubt on the mind of any Englishman here present that the South as a people were unknown to us a few years ago. They are unknown to us now. [Hear, hear.] We were apt to judge of them by books, many of them romances which had produced an impression upon the public mind. The men of the South were described as an idle and luxurious race; the women of the South as effeminate and still more idle and luxurious; but the manner in which they stood forth to fight for their rights, the success which has attended their efforts, and the manner in which the women as well as the men have vindicated the blood and the race from which they descend, I think will have raised them to an elevation in the new position which they take amongst the nations of the world, which will be worth even the terrible cost of the hardship and suffering which they now endure. [Applause.] Nothing more is necessary on my part, for I feel quite sure that you will all cordially respond to the motion.

The motion was carried by acclamation, and the meeting separated.

## From Bragg's Army.

Mobile, Jan. 8.—The Advertiser and Register has the following private despatch dated Doberd, Tenn., Jan. 7:

Hon. J. FORSYTH: Being outnumbered more than two to one by the enemy our troops utterly exhausted by cold and rain and four days incessant fighting with a loss of killed and wounded, Gen. Bragg determined to fall back to Duck River. The enemy showed he was receiving large reinforcements from Kentucky. By a skillful night march, covered by an admirable cavalry force under Wheeler and Wharton, the whole army, with all its supplies and captured arms, is now concentrating in its new lines, ready for the enemy, whenever he shall advance. Since the army crossed the Tennessee river in November we have captured 9,500 prisoners, near 40 pieces of artillery, 8,000 small arms, and lots of wagons. (Signed) W.

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher lectured last week in New Jersey, but so great was the feeling against him that he had to be guarded by the police to the boat.