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SUBSCRIPTIONS

DELIVERED BY MR. GILES,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

February 15, 1865.

In support of the following resolution moved by John on the 6th of the same month.

Resolved, That the several laws, orders, and decrees of the United States, in relation to the 4th of March, 1862, except as to Great Britain and France, and their dependencies, and that provision in each law for prohibiting all commercial intercourse with these nations and their dependencies, and the importation of any article into the United States, the growth, produce or manufacture of either of the said nations or of the dependencies of either of them,

MR. PRESIDENT,

In times of great public trial and difficulty, when a proposition deeply affecting the character and interest of the nation is presented for adoption, an indispensable obligation is imposed upon its author to state the considerations upon which it is founded. Under this impression, I shall now proceed to make as full and as frank a development of my inducements in moving the present resolution, as may consist with the ordinary limits of discussion.

It is a circumstance greatly to be regretted, sir, that as our dangers and difficulties are increasing and pressing upon us, our divisions of opinion respecting the proper course to be pursued in relation to them, appear to be increasing in the proportion. This probably arises in a great degree, from the unfortunate state of mind produced by collisions in arguments. Gentlemen are in the habit of bending their whole thoughts upon the discovery not only of arguments for fortifying their own opinions, but for repelling the differing opinions of their friends. If this habit of reflection could be removed—if each gentleman could prevail upon himself to give full weight to the arguments of those who more the opinions and motives of his friends, and to stifle more the infallibility of his own, it is scarcely possible to believe, that when an union of the interest is admitted by all, but that same point of union in the measures to promote those interests, might be found and agreed upon. And may we not be permitted to hope, sir, when the fatal consequences of divisions are so obvious to all, that the urgency of our difficulties will produce this course of reflection? Amidst all these difficulties, it is fortunate, however, that there is one point in which we are all united. That is, resistance to foreign aggressions, it is true, that no man upon that point, specifically, has yet been taken in this house; but in the other house, it has, after much discussion and great deliberation, and the result was as near unanimity as could be expected upon any occasion involving so many considerations. The only points of difference now to be adjusted and compromised, relate to the extent of that resistance, and the mode of its application.

The resolution I have had the honor to submit, is brought forward solely in reference to those points; and is dictated by the spirit of concession and conciliation, which I have taken the liberty of recommending to others, and which, in my judgment, is imperiously demanded by the present critical situation of our affairs.

I am fully sensible, Mr. President, of the high responsibility incurred by moving the present proposition; and I also know, that when nothing is left us but a choice of aggressions, it is much easier to criticize any expedient that may be chosen, than to decide it present a better for consideration. But, sir, it should be recollected, that merely to criticize or find fault, when no expedient is left us altogether free from objection, is the most subordinate office that genius can perform, and at the same time it is the least honorable for the individual, and the most unprofitable to the nation and to the people. I make this observation, not with a view of deterring gentlemen from bringing forward any fair objection to the resolution under consideration, but merely to remind them that I shall consider the task unaccomplished until they present some substitute better calculated to save the honor and protect the interests of the nation; and when this is done, I will readily pay them the tribute of superior wisdom, and unite with them with the most fervent devotion.

The resolution before you, sir, is not

the one of my choice, nor the one by which I would wish that my responsibility could be tested. It is the offspring of conciliation and of great concession on my part. I feel, sir, in common with my fellow-citizens, a great reluctance to war. I think the present resort, should only be made in case of self defence. I protest against war merely for the purpose of conquest, or aggrandizement; but in my opinion, war is simply justified by the existing crisis.

In my judgment, if the public sentiment could be brought to support their wisdom would dictate the combined measures of embargo, non-intercourse and war, have no doubt but that their combined influence would be the most efficacious in meeting and subduing the crisis; but, sir, very few gentlemen, I believe, have brought their minds up to this state of urgency; and perhaps, in the present state of the public mind, distracted and drawn by various delusions, as it is, from the real source of our injuries, the experiment might be deemed a rash one; even if it would be obtained. I have, however, sir, so much confidence in the good sense and patriotism of the people, and in the efficacy of these measures, that I will briefly state their probable effects for the consideration of the people; and I am the more disposed to do so, because I believe the time is not past, but is fast approaching, when the whole energy of the nation must be called forth, to save what we have left of our honor, independence and dearest interests. These would be the obvious effects of the combined influence of the measures suggested. Embargo would deprive our real enemy of many of his productions, which I believe to be indispensable to his prosperity in many respects. Non-intercourse would deprive him of our market for his surplus manufactures, and operation not less injurious to him than to us, while war could be made as retaliatory upon him some of the evils of his own injustice. I would present nothing of value to him on the ocean, to which he is entitled, and stimulate him to a perseverance in the war. I would front him on the ocean with imper destructive arms, brave and hardy defenders of death, and rusty iron guns. If he achieved a conquest, it would be a conquest of hard knocks, whilst there should be no cessation of our efforts to compensate his own losses.

I would at the same time seize upon his colonial possessions upon this continent. If the whole energy of the nation could be brought to act vigorously in this way, I will venture to predict, that within six months Great Britain would be brought to value our freedom as much as she would deprecate our enmity. But, sir, while I would apply the scourge with one hand, with all the severity which the active energy of the whole nation could inflict, I would with sincerity and good faith, hold out the olive branch with the other; my demands should be moderate, and within the limits of justice. And believe me, Mr. President, Great Britain would soon learn how to make a choice. Whilst, sir, you would expose nothing of value to her, she would necessarily present to your spoliation a rich commerce, a commerce which the very object of her orders were intended to charge, and she considers as almost indispensable to her national existence. Permit me at the same time to express an opinion that the whole British navy would be very far from affording a competent protection to this wide spread commerce. With respect to prejudices against the embargo, I would remark, that considering the zeal, ability and artifice, which have been employed to excite them, particularly in one section of the union, it is a matter of surprise that the people have submitted to the privations, which have been delinquently ascribed to that measure; with no greater discontent than have been manifested by them; and the experiment has rather confirmed, than lessened my opinion of the patriotism of the people; but still perhaps so many prejudices have been excited, as to justify some relaxation in that respect. In that case, however, letters of marque and reprisal, and the invasion of Canada, ought, in my judgment, to have been substituted; war would then have been resorted to in a less efficient form, and the people upon the experiment, I have no doubt, would not regret the sacrifice; but the house of representatives has thought proper to reject that proposition and the one now offered, seems to be the next best calculated to save the honor and perfect the rights and interest of the nation.

I have never relied so much on the coercive effects of the Embargo singly as some gentlemen have done; and I have at all times been of opinion, that preparations for more efficient measures should have been made to come in aid of, or substitute the

embargo, whenever it should be ascertained that it had failed of its coercive objects. I was, notwithstanding, willing at the commencement of the present session to persevere in the system, until the events which I anticipated should take place in Spain, and become known in Great Britain, and until the early proceedings of Congress should also be known there. It appeared to me, that if a relaxation on the part of Great Britain, should not be coerced by the influence of these events combined, upon their first impression in Great Britain, all hope of relaxation from the embargo alone would then be at an end, and that no other alternative would be left us but war.—My sincere love of peace, and the little remaining hope of avoiding war, induced me at that time sternly to set my face against the repeal of the embargo; but I then thought, and still think, that at some period of this session, some other measures ought to be resorted to, either with or without the embargo. This period is now arrived, submission cannot for a moment be taken into consideration. The decisive course of measures which I conceived was imperiously demanded by the existing circumstances of the country, are still more strongly called for by the contents of Mr. Canning's letter of the 23d of November last, to Mr. Poincary. This letter I have heard represented as wholly unimportant. I view its contents in a very different light. I deem them highly important. They go to take away my last hope of peace. They go to satisfy my mind, that we have now no alternative, but war. Submission is out of the question. Permit me to read an extract or two from that letter, upon which my opinion is founded. They will be found in pages 13, 14, of the last printed message of the President.

The purpose of this letter, is not to renew the discussion upon the subject of your proposals, but merely to clear up any misapprehending which had existed between us in the course of that discussion. I cannot conclude it, however, without adverting very shortly to that part of your letter, in which you argue that the failure of France, in the attempt to realize her gigantic project of the annihilation of the commerce of this country, removes all prospect for the continuance of the restrictive system of Great Britain.

As the foundation of the retaliating system of Great Britain was, (as we contend it to have been) originally just, that system will be justifiably continued in force, not so long only, as the decrees which produced it are mischievously operative, but until they are unequivocally abandoned; and if it be thus consistent with justice to persevere in that system, it is surely no mean motive of policy for such perseverance, that a premature departure from it, while the enemy's original provocation remains unrepaid, might lead to false conclusions, as to the efficacy of the decrees of France, and might hold out a dangerous temptation to that power to resort to the same system on any future occasion.

Here we find Mr. Canning, although in a tone somewhat different, not only confirming his rejection of the just and honorable overture made by Mr. Poincary, for the revocation of the hostile orders, but contained in his letter to Mr. Poincary of the 23d of September preceding, but we find him introducing the subject, apparently for the purpose of preventing any similar overture under any circumstance; and expressly declaring that the orders shall continue in force, not only so long as the French decrees shall be mischievously operative, but until they shall be unequivocally abandoned, and leaves a strong inference on my mind, that they are not to be abandoned on any terms; and, I believe, are intended to become the permanent law of the land. If this point were clearly ascertained, surely all America would eagerly unite in the war. But, sir, I shall have occasion again in the course of the observations I propose to make, to remark further upon the contents of this letter. Although this resolution is not the one of my choice, and is, as gentlemen must now see, several points below ground, which in my judgment the best interests of the nation would authorize and require us to take, yet I will state some of the effects, which I presume will flow from it, and which, under all circumstances, are the best that can now be obtained. It will put the destructive influence of the orders of council to the test of practical experiment, and thus settle for us the question of peace or war. It will be a suspension of our commerce with all nations except the belligerents, having in force against us hostile orders of dicta, whilst it will be a continual protest against them.—It will manifest our attention to the wishes and interests of our cas-

tern friends, who will not be satisfied of the destructive effects of the orders of council upon their commerce, by any inferences drawn from the obvious meaning of those orders, but insist upon a practical experiment upon them. Their vessels may be put in motion, and trade to all countries where they can trade without committing their own and their country's honor. It will demonstrate the necessity of putting the nation into a better state of defence, while it will postpone for a time, the resort to war; in my judgment, the ultimate and only resort, now left us against belligerent aggressions. It affords the last chance for preserving peace. It will leave no chance in our protest against the belligerent orders and edicts, and thus far save us from the disgrace of submission.

(To be Continued)

FROM THE NEW-YORK EVENING POST.

Who wants to know how the people's money goes?—I, says one, for I pay something towards it in every pound of brown sugar my family uses. I, says another, for every pound of tea we can cost me nothing more towards it, and I, says a third, I want to know, for I certainly live in a rate very considerably dearer in money, to furnish government with this money. Well then, observe and take no notice, as the Conjuror says, and you shall see what you shall see.

Come all good things, far and near, And you a curious tale shall hear, 'Tis of a General's Willingness, A precious truth more than gold.

In plain prose, the following facts are copied verbatim from printed documents that have been just laid before Congress; entitled "Documents presented by the Committee appointed on the 13th instant to enquire whether any advances of money have been made to that Commander in Chief of the army, and by the department of war contrary to law, and if any to what amount." [Occasional remarks to be interspersed as we go along.]

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, Accountants Office, Feb. 25, 1865.

Sir, In obedience to your request as Chairman of a committee of the House of Representatives, I have the honor to enclose the following statements and copies of documents, in relation to the allowances and advances of money and of supplies received through the department of war, by brigadier general James Wilkinson, since the passage of the act of March 16, 1863, viz:

[Here follows an enumeration of the statements not necessary to be republished in this place.]

All which are respectfully submitted. I have the honor to be very respectfully,

Sir, Your most obedient servant, WM. SIMMONS, Acc't. Dep. War.

The Hon. John Randolph, Chairman of a committee of the House of Representatives U. States.

(A) STATEMENT OF the amount which has been allowed and paid to brigadier general James Wilkinson, and the objects of such allowances and payments since the 16th March, 1863, viz: and since the day of 223 dollars a month, prescribed and limited by the 4th section of the act of Congress of that date, and of the supplies which have been furnished to him in his capacity as brigadier general.

Date of entry on the books	Amount
June 11, 1863. For pay, subsistence and forage received by Gen. Wilkinson, from March 16, 1863, to May 31, following, that being the date to which that portion of the troops in the vicinity of the general were paid up to under the old establishment by an arrangement of the war department.	633 54
For pay agreeably to the act of March 16, 1863, at \$750 per month during the same period, would have amounted to	223 12
Difference	410 42

Jan. 19, 1865. For the following allowance of \$2,015 13 cents made him by the Secretary of War, which was disbursed at Georgetown on the 21st of January, 1865, in conformity to the law of the 16th March, 1863, being his allowance as brigadier general, and for some more fully detailed in my letter to the comptroller in charge of the 10th of January, 1865, and afterwards submitted by the auditing officers of the treasury, on the application of the adjutant general of the 9th Jan. 1865, viz:

For extra allowance of 36 rations per day at \$1.25 each, from the 13th to the 26th of September, 1864, 18 days at 47 1/2 cents per ration.	112 50
For do. at said place from 1st October to 11th November, 1864, 42 days, 2015 rations at 14 cents	272 10
For do. at New Orleans from 13th Nov. 1864, to 26th May 1865, 164 days, 2217 rations at 14 cents	3104 00

* This will appear hereafter.

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