THE Carolina Flag

Every Tuesday Morning.

W. GORMAN, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, POSITIVELY IN

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Bemand four Hundred Thousand Men and Four Hundred Million of Bollars!

Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by the Con-stitution, your attention is not called to

dential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the Several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, excepting those only of the

nals, dockyards, custom houses and the like, including the moveable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized and held in open hestility to this Government : excepting only Forts Pickeus, Taylor and Jefferson, on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter in

The forts thus seized had been put in improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organixed, and were organizing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose. The forts remaining in possession of the Federal Government in and near these States were either beseiged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumter was nearly surrounded by well protected hostile batteries, with guns equal in quality to the best of its own. and outnumbering the latter as, perhaps,

A disproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way into these States, and had been seized to be used against the Government: was attacked and bombarded to its fall Accumulations of the public revenue lying within them had been seized for the same object. The Navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the Government. Officers of the Federal army and navy had resigned in great numbers, and of those resigning a large proportion had taken up arms against the

Simultaneously, and in connection with all this, the purpose to sever the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States, declaring these States respectively to be separated from the National Union. A formula for instituting a combined Government of these States had been promulgated. and this illegal organization, in the character of Confederate States, was already invoking recognition, aid and intervention from foreign powers.

Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such an attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable.

This choice was made and declared in the inaugural address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the Government, and to collect the revenues, relying on the rest fir time, discussion and the ballot box.

. It promised a continuance of the mails at Government expense to the very perple who were resisting the Government, and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people or any of their rights. Of all that a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, everything was forborne without which it was deemed possible to keep the Government on foot.

On the 5th of March, the present incumbent's first full day in office, a letter from Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February, and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was by that Department placed in his hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer that reinforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than 20,000, good and well disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memorands on the subject were made enclosures of Major Anderson's letter.

The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant Genearl Scott, who at once concurred with General Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took so stated at the same time that no such enficient force was then at the control of the Government, or could be raised and brought on the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted

In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the Administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the carrison safely out of the fort. It was believed, however, that so to abondon that position under the circumstances would be utterly ruinous; that the necessity under which it was done could not fully be understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy; that at home it would disorganize the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to ensure to the latter a recognition abroad .-That, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed.

Pickens might be reinforced.

CAROLI

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Fellow-Citizens of the Senate

ship Brooklyn into Fort Pickens. This And House of Representatives order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received just one week before the fall any ordinary subject of legislation. of Fort Sumter. The news itself was At the beginning of the present Presithat the officer commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting is not definitely known.

Administration, and of the existence of which the present Administration, up to the time of which the order was dis-Post Office Department. patched, had only too vague and uncer-Within these States all the forts, arse tain rumors to fix attention, had refused to land the troops. To now reinforce Fort Pickens, before a crisis could be

reached at Fort Sumter, was impossible. rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter named fort.
In precaution against such a conjuncture, the Government had, a few days. Charleston harbor, South Carolina. before, commenced preparing an expedition as well adopted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, ac-

> sented, and it was resolved to send it for-As had been intended in this contingency, it was also resolved to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to pro- their capital at Richmond. vision the fort, and that if the attempt an attack upon the fort. This notice was it where it finds it.

accordingly given, whereupon the fort without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition. It is thus seen that the assault upon and the reduction of Fort Sumter was in no means a matter of self-defence on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew that they were expressly notified that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison

was all which would on that occasion be attempte l, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this Government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not | neutrality, it would tie the hands of the ed by the men who seem ready to devour to assail them, but meaely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from active and immediate dissolution, trusting, as hereinbefore state 1. to time, discussion and the ballot box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object-to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution. That this was

And having said to them in the inauwithout being yourselves the aggressors? he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case free from the power of ingenious sophistry, as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached.

Then and thereby the assailants of the Government began the conflict of arms, without a gan in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort, sent to that harbor years before for their own protection, and still ready

In this net, discarding all else, they whether a constitutional Republic or Democracy-a government of the people by Congress. the same people-can or cannot maintain

It forces us to ask, is there in all Republics this inherent and fatal weakness? was left but to call out the war power of not himself violate them.

The Border States, so called, were not one be wiolated? uniform in their action-some of them being almost for the Union, while in oth-

portant. A convention elected by the was violated. son, and ere it would be reached Fort people of that State to consider this very The provision of the Constitution that as; and even Texas in its temporary inde- Union, it is presumed the whole class of

der was at once directed to be sent for men. Almost immediately after the fall the landing of the troops from the steam- of Fort Sumter, many members of that majority went over to the disunion minority, and with them adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the rebellion, and that the public safety does

Although they submitted theordinance either, immediately commenced acting as which might have been prevented, as was if the State were already out of the Un-

They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State, they seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, and the Navy-Yark at Gosport, near Norfolk; they received, perhaps invited, into their Statelarge bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments cording to circumstances. The strongest from the so-called seceded States. They anticipated case for using it was now pre- formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance co-operation with the socalled Confe lerate States, and sent members to their Congress at Montgomery ; and, finally, they permitted the insurrectionary Government to be transferred to

The people of Virginia have thus alloweffort to threw in men, arms or ammuni- nest within her borders, and this Governtion without further notice, or in case of ment has no choice left but to deal with manifested throughout the world.

protect as being Virginians.

fact, the Middle States-there are those sidered important for you to know. who favor a policy which they call an It is recommended that you give the er, over their soil.

Union men and freely pass supplies from the whole. it could not do as an open enemy. At a stroke, it would take all the trouble off proceeds from the external blockade. It would do for the Disamonists that

without a struggle of their own. It rec- ties as each had then to establish them. their object, the Executive well under- ognizes no fidelity to the Constitutiongural address, "you can have no conflict | are doubtless loyal citizens, it it never evidence reaching us from the country theless very miurious in effect.

ment, it may be stated that at first a call the hand of legislation to give it legal was made for 75,000 militia, and rapidly sanction and the hand of the Executive to following this a proclamation was issued | give it practical shape and efficiency.for closing the ports of the insurrectiona- One of the greatest perplexities of the ry districts by proceedings in the nature Government is to avoid receiving troops of a blockade. So far all was believed to faster than it can provide for them. In

nounced their purpose to enter upon the lits part only indifferently well. practice of privateering.

regular Army and Navy. . .

Son after the first call for milita, it end to free government upon the earth. exercised, but very sparingly.

or too weak to maintain its own exist- that one who is sworn to take care that any other State.

terprise, and received into the Govern- that practically it relieves more of the fore. ment service. Of course the seceded guilty than the innocent, should, to a This sophism derives much, perhaps

lege may be suspended when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety

does require it. It was decided that we have a case of require the qualified suspension of the writ which was authorized to be made.

to which or who is to exercise the power for ratification in a vote of the people, to and as the provision was plainly made be taken on a day then somewhat more for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be than a month distant, the Convention and believed the framers of the instrument the Legislature, which was also in ses- intended that in every case danger should sion at the same time and place, with run its course until Congress thould be leading men of the State not members of called together, the very assembling of intended in this case by the rebellion .-No more extended argument is new offered, as an opinion of some length will probably be presented by the Attorney General. Whether there shall be any legislation upon the subject, and if any, what, is submitted entirely to the better udgment of Congress.

The forbearance of this Government had been so extraordinary and so long continued as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Un-

nion was probable. While this, on discovery gave the Executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignity and rights of the United States are now everywhere practishould not be resisted, there would be no ed this great insurrection to make its cally respected by foreign powers, and a general sympathy with the country is

The reports of the secretaries of the · And it has the less regret, as the loyal Treasury, War and Navy will give the citizens have, in due form, claimed its information in detail deemed necessary protection. Those loyal citizens this and convenient for your deliberation and Government is bound to recognize and action, while the Executive and Depart- pendence and liberty t has. ments will stand ready to supply omis-In the Border States, so called—in sions, or to communicate new facts con-

armed neutrality; that is, the arming of legal means for making this contest those States to prevent the Union forces | short and decisive; that you place at passing one way, or the disunion the oth- the control of the Government for the work at 'east 400,000 men and \$400,000,-This would be disunion completed .- | 000. That number of men is about one-Figuratively speaking, it would be the tenth of those of proper ages within the building of an impassable wall along the regions where apparently all are willing line of seperation; and yet, not quite an | to engage; and the sum is less than the impassable one, for, under the guise of | twenty-third part of the money value own-

among them to the insurre tio lists, which A debt of six hundred millions of dollars now is a less sum per head than was the debt of our revolution when we came the hands of secession, except only what out of that struggle; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what was then than does which, of all things, they most desire - the population. Surely each man has as feed them well and give them disunion strong a motive now to preserve our lib-

A right result, at this time, will be no obligation to maintain the Union; and worth more to the world than ten times while very many who have favored it the men and ten times the money. The leaves no doubt that the material for the Recurring to the action of the Govern- work is abundant, and that it needs only a word, the people will save their Govern-At this point, the insurrectionists an- ment, if the Government itself will do

It might seem at first thought to be Other calls were made for volunteers to little difference whether the present moveserve three years unless sooner discharg- ment at the South be called secession or to give that protection in whatever was ed, and also for large additions to the rebellion. The movers, however, well understand the difference. At the begin-These measures, whether strictly legal ning they knew they could never raise have forced upon the country the distinct or not, were ventured upon under what their treason to any respectable magniissue-immediate dissolutiod or blood - appeared to be a popular demand and a tude by any name which implies viola-And this issue embraces more than the public necessity, trusting, as now, that tion of law. They knew their people fate of these United States. It presents Congress would readily ratify them. It possessed as much of moral sense, and as to the whole family of man the question is believed that nothing has been done much of devotion to law and orders, and beyond the constitutional compétency of as much pride in and reverence for the history and government of their common country, as any other civilized and patriits territorial integrity against its own was considered a duty to authorize the otic people. They knew they could make domestic foes. It presents the question commanding general, in proper cases, ac- no advancement directly in the teeth of whether discontented individuals, too cording to his discretion, to suspend the these strong and noble sentiments; accorfew in numbers to control administration | privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, or, dingly they commenced by an insidious according to organic law in any case, can in other words, to arrest and detain, with- debauching of the public mind. They always, upon the pretence made in this out resort to the ordinary processes and invented an injurious sophism, which, if case, or other pretences, or arbitrarily forms of law, such individuals as he conceded, was followed by perfectly logiwithout any pretence, break up their might deem dangerous to the public safe- cal steps through all the incidents to the Government, and thus practically put an ty. This authority has purposely been complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is, that any State of the Nevertheless, the legality and propri- Union may consistently with the Nationety of what has been done under it are al Constitution, and therefore lawfully Must a government of necessity be too questioned, and the attention of the coun- and peacefully, withdraw from the Union strong for the liberties of its own people, try has been called to the proposition without the consent of the Union or of

ence? So viewing the issue, no choice the laws be faithfully executed should The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for just cause. the Army and Navy, and at the end of the Government, and so to resist force Of course some consideration was giv- themselves to be the sole judge of its jusfour days came reluctantly but decidedly employed for its destruction by force for on to the question of power and proprietice, is too thin to merit any notice. With the same conclusion as before. He al-This call was made, and the response The whole of the laws which were requirbeen drugging the public mind of their of the country was most gratifying, sur- ed to be faithfully executed were being section for more than thirty years, and passing in unanimity and spirit the most resisted, and failing of execution in near- until at length they have brought many sanguine expectation; Yet none of the ly one-third of the States. Must they be good men to a willingness to take up States commonly called slave States, ex- allowed to finally fail of execution, even arms against the Government the day cept Delaware, gave a regiment through had it been perfectly clear that by the after some assemblage of men have enacregular State organization. A few regi- use of the means necessary to their execu- ted the farcicle pretence of taking their ments have been organized within some tion some single law, made in such ex- State out of the Union, who could have others of these States by individual en- treme tenderness of the citizen's liberty been brought to no such thing the day be-

> States, so called, and to which Texas had very limited extent, be violated? To the whole of its currency, from the asration, gave no troops to the cause of the Union.
>
> State and Sacrel Supremacy pertaining to a Union.
>
> State and Sacrel Supremacy pertaining to a Construction of ours, they show that to be State, to each State of our Federal Enconstruction of ours, they show that to be succeeding elections. ion. Our States have neither more nor Even in such a case would not the offi- less power than that reserved to them in cial onth be broken if the Government the Union by the Constitution, no one of ers, as Virginia, North Carolina, Tennes- should be overthrown, when it was be- them ever having been a State out of the see and Arkansas, the Union sentiment lieved that disregarding the single law Union. The original ones passed into was very nearly repressed and silenced, would tend to preserve it? But it was the Union even before they cast off their tion, and upon which no government can The course taken in Virginia was the not believed that this question was pre- British Colonial dependence, and the new possibly endure. most remarkable, perhaps the most im- sented. It was not believed that any law ones came into the Union directly from a lift all the States cave one should assert question of disrupting the Federal Union the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. pendence was never designated as a State. seceled politicians would at once deny

Therein the limited United Colonies were declared to be free and independent States, but even then the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another, or of the Union, but directly their great approval of the assault on Fort Sumter, or their great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault, is not definitely known. express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen in the articles of confederation, two years later, that

the Union shall be pernetual, is most con-

Having never been States either in substance or in name antside of the Un-Much is said about the sovereignity of the States, but the word, even, is not the National Constitution, nor, as is believed, in any of the State Constitutions. What is a sovereignity in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it "a political community without a political superior ?" Tested by this, no one of our litates except Texever was a soverlighty; and even Texas gave up the character on coming ir to the Union, by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United Constitution, to be for her the supreme law of the land.

The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. - without a soldier in it, but who had ta-The Union, and not themselves seperate- keu his place there of his own free choice. ion gave each of them whatever of inde- another, possess full practical knowledge

The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact i created them as States. Originally same dependent colonies made the Union and in turn the Union threw off their old dependence for them and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State Constitution independent of the Union.

Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their Constitutions before they entered the Union, neverthe less dependent upon, and prepatory to coming into the Union.

owers and rights reserved to them in itself had never been known as governand locality.

Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole-the General Government; while whatever concerns ereign and Independent States." Why to the State. This is all there is of origi- rights of men and the authority of the nal principle about it. Whether the Na- people. tional Constitution, in defining the boundaries between the two, has applied the On the side of the Union it is a struggle is now combatted is, the position that se- men, to lift artificial weights from all

tion-is lawful and peaceful. express law for it; and nothing should life. Yielding to partial and temporary ever be implied as law which leads to un- departures, from necessity, this is the just or absurd consequences.

refunding? The nation paid very large of trial, large numbers of those in the sums, in the agg egate, I believe, nearly army and navy who have been favored one hundred millions, to relieve Florida with the offices, have res gne and prove ! of the aboriginal tribes.

return? The nation is now in debt for Great honor is due to those officers who I your inaugural. money applied to the benefit of these so- remained true despite the example of called seceding States, in common with their traitorous associates But the great- peaceful solution of our national the rest. Is it just either, that creditors est honor and most important fact of all difficulties, and if any State refused shall go unpaid, or the remaining States is the unanimous firmness of the common pay the whole? I part of the present soldiers and common sailors. To the last national debt was contracted to pay the man, so far as known, they have successold debts of Texas. Is it just that she fully resisted the traitorous efforts of shall leave and pay no part of this her- those whose commands but an hour be-

another: and when all shall have seceded They understand, without an argument, none are left to par the debts. Is this that destroying the government which quite just to creditert? Did we notify was made by Washington means no good them of this sage view of ours when we to them. borrowed their money?

difficult to see what we can do if others cessful establishing and the success chose to go, or to extort terms upon which administering of it. One still remains: they will promise to remain. tion admits of session. They have as- It is now for them to demonstrate to the

sumed to make a national Constitution of world that those who fairly carry an electheir own, in which necessity they have tion can also suppress a rebellion. The either discarded or retained the right of ballots are the rightful and peaceful suc-If they have discarded it, they thereby are fairly and constitutionally decided. admit that on principle it ought not be in there can be no successful appeal back to

another when they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts, or effec-The principle itself is one of disintegra-

condition of dependence, excepting Tex- the power to drive that one out of the have been suppressed, the Executive

This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter fell.

The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while cases of rebellion or invasian, the public, safety may require, is equivalent to a processity. An orlarge majority of the professed Union wision—is a provision—that such privious in and by the Declaration of Indexistence of States on coming into the Union, while designation of States on coming into the Union, while designation of States on coming into the Union, while such provision—that such privious in and by the Declaration of Indexistence of States on coming into the Union, while suppose that precisely the same act, in the provision—is a provision—that such privious in and by the Declaration of Indexistence of States on coming into the Union, while designation of States on coming into the Union, while suppose that precisely the same act, in the professed Union is a provision—that such privious in and by the Declaration of Indexistence of States on coming into the Union, while suppose that precisely the same act, in the professed Union is a provision—is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision—that such privious control of the professed Union is a provision where of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first ado ated for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence.

greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called the secoding of the others from that one; it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do, unless, indeed, they make the point that the one because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound on the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which makes the

> qualified voters of any State, except. perhaps, South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe ion, whence this magical omnipatence of that the Union men are in the majority States rights, asserting a claim of power | in many, if not in every other one of the lawfully to destroy the Union itself? so called seceded States. The contrary has not been dem instrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this of even Virginia and Tennessee; for the result of an election held in military camps, where the bayonets are all on one side of the question vote i upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election all that large class who are once for the Union and against coercion would be coerced to vote rgainst

It may be affirmed, without extravagauce, that the free institutions we en-States, and the laws and treaties of the joy have developed the powers and im-United States, made in pursuance of the proved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world Of this we now have a striking and impressive illustration. So large an army as the Government

has now on foot was never before known' procured their independence and their But more than this, there are many sin- people gave the election. berty; by conquest of purchase the Un- gle ragiments whose members, one and of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant is known in the world. And there is scarcely one from which could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and perhaps a Court, abundantly competent to administer the Government itself,

Nor do I say this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries in this contest. But if it is, so much better the reason why the Government which has conferred such bonefits on both them and us should not be broken up. Wheever, in any section, pro-Unquestionably the States have the poses to abandon such a Covernment, would do well to consider in deference to your action may so accord with his as to what principle it is that he does it; what and by the National Constitution; but what principle it is that he does it; what among these surely are not included all better he is likely to get in its steadconceivable powers, however mischeiv- whether the substitute will give, or be ous or destructive; but at most, such on- intended to give, so much of good to the ly as were known in the world at the people. There are some foreshadowings time as governmental powers, and cer- on this subject. Our adversaries have tainly a power to destroy the Government adopted some declaration of independence in which, unlike the good old one penned mental—as a merely administrative pow- by Jefferson, they omit the words, "All er. This relative matter of national pow- men are created equal." Why? They er and States rights, as a principle, is no have adopted a temporary National Conother than the principle of generality stitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one signed by Washington, they omit "We the people," and substitute "We the Deputies of the Sovonly the State should be left, exclusively, this deliberate pressing out of view the

This is essentially a people's contest. principal with exact accuracy, is not to for maintaining in the world that form be questioned. We are all bound by and substance of government, whose leadthat defining, without question. What ing object is to elevate the condition of cession is consistent with the Constitu- shoulders, to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all; to afford all an unfetter-It is not contended that there is any ed start and a fair chance in the race of leading object of the Government for The nation purchased with money the whose existence we contend. I am most countries out of which several of these happy to believe that the plain people States were formed. Is it just that they appreciate this, It is worthy of note shall go off without leave and without that, while in this, the Government's hour the only remaining honorable posifalse to the hand which had pampered Is it just that she shall now be off them, not one common soldier or common without consent, or without making any sailor is known to have deserted his flag.

fore they obeyed as absolute law. This ilized world. Earnestly depreca-Again, if one State may secode so may is the patriotic instinct of plain people. ting civil war among brethren, we Our popular Government has often ple."

If we now recognize this doctrine, by been called an experiment. Two points allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is in it our people have settled—the sucits successful maintenance against a for-The seceders insist that our Constitutional midable internal attempt to overthrow it secession, as they insist it exists in ours. cessors of bullets, and that when ballots bullets. That there can be no successful what they cannot take by an election neither can they take it by war ; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

Lest there be some uneasiness on the minds of candid men as to what is to be

stitution and the laws : and that he pro ably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federa Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people under the Constitution, than that expressed in the inangural address. He desires to preserve the Government, that it may be adminis-tered for all as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the

right to claim this of their Covernme and the Government has no right to with Constitution and speaks from the preamble, calling itself, "We, the people."

It may well be questioned wastner there is to day a majority of the legally

States have accepted the provision, that the Epited States shall guarantee to evary State in this Union "arepublican form f Government." But if a State in this Union may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of Government, so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guarantee mentioned; and when an end is lawful and obligatory, the means hi dispensable to it are also lawful and ob-

ligatory. It was with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war power in defence of the Government forced upon him. He could but perform this duty, or surrender the exstence of the Government.

No compromise by public sentiment could in this case be a cure. Not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular Government can long survive a marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the Goverument from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the

servants, can safely reverse their own

deliberate decisions. As a private citizen, the Executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish-much less could he. in betraval of so vast and so sacred h trust as these free people had confident to him. He felt that he had no m wal right to shrink, nor even to count this chances of his own life in what midn

In full view of his great responsibility ty, he has so far done what he has doon ed his duty. You will now, motording to your own judgement, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and disturbed in their rights, of a certain and speedy restoration to them under the

Constitution and the laws. And having thus chosen our course without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The Peace Petition. The following is a copy of the peace petition lately signed in New York, and for circulating whiel several gentlemen were arrested for treason, by order of the vulgar blackguard in authority at Wash ington. Verily, if the people of the North submit to such outrages

they are most stolid donkers: "TO HIS EXCELENCY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES : - The undersigned, citizenof New York, beg leave to present to you, most respectfully and earn estly, the following considerations

"While they hold themselven ready to sustain and defend their government, and you, as its legal head, they respectly suggest that tion for you to take to prevent the horrors of civil war and preserve the Union, is to adopt the policy of an immediate General convention of all the States, as suggested in

"This course would secure a to join said convention to amend the Constitution, or adjust a peace ful seperation, it would stand unan imously condemned before the eiv. implore and beseech you to adopt this course, which you may real assured is the real voice of the peo.

THE STAY LAW DECIDED TO BE UNCONSTITUTIONAL -It will be seen from the decision of the Supreme Court, now in session in this city, which we publish in another cutumn, that the Stay Law passed at the late Special Bession of the Legislature, has been pronounced by the highest legal tribunal of the State to be unconstitutional.

- Raleigh Register.

SUDDEN DEATH .- Mrs. Sandy Engle, of this city, whilst in conversation and in her usual health. the course of the Government toward the dropped dead yesterday, leaving Southern States after the rebellion shall one child, and a husband subo is it the 1st N. C. Regiment, at York