

THE Carolina Flag,

Every Tuesday Morning.

J. W. GORMAN,

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Demanded Four Hundred Thousand Dollars.

Follow Citizens of the Senate.

Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation.

At the beginning of the present Presidential 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 Post Office Department.

Within these States all the forts, arsenals, dockyards, custom houses and the like, including the movable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized and held in open hostility to this Government; excepting only Fort Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson, on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumner in Charleston harbor, and Fort Sumner in Charleston harbor.

The forts that seemed had been put in improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized, 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 besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumner 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, ten to one.

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. 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 Government.

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 formal declaration of independence had been pronounced, 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 for time, discussion and the ballot.

It promised a compromise to the mails at Government expense to the very people 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 forbore 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 Sumner, 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 memoranda on the subject were made enclosures of Major Anderson's letter.

The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant General Scott, who at once concurred with General Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with officers both of the Army and Navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly but decidedly to the same conclusion as before. He then so stated at the same time that no such sufficient 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.

This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumner as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship Brooklyn into Fort Pickens. This 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 of Fort Sumner. The news itself was that the officer commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting upon some quasi admission of the late Administration, and of the existence of which the present Administration, up to the time of which the order was dispatched, had only too vague and uncer- tainly given, had refused to land the troops. To now reinforce Fort Pickens, before a crisis could be reached at Fort Sumner, 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 before, commenced preparing an expedition as well adopted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumner, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it forward.

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 provision the fort, and that if the attempt should not be resisted, there would be no effort to throw in men, arms or ammunition without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given, whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition.

It is thus seen that the assault upon and the reduction of Fort Sumner was in no means a matter of self-defense 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 notice to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more.

They knew that this Government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from active and immediate dissolution, trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion and the ballot box for final settlement; 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 their object, the Executive well understood.

And having said to them in the inaugural address, "you can have no conflict without bringing yourselves the aggressors," he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the same free from the power of ingenious sophistry, as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumner, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached.

Then and thereby the assailants of the Government began the conflict of arms, without a gun 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 to give that protection in whatever was lawful.

In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue—immediate dissolution or blood. And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional Republic or Democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretence made in this case, or other pretences, or arbitrarily without any pretence, break up their Government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth.

It forces us to ask, is there in all Republics this inherent and fatal weakness? Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence? So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the Government, and so to resist force employed for its destruction by force for its preservation.

Whether this change was wrought by their great approval of the assault on Fort Sumner, or their great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault, is not definitely known.

Although they authorized the ordinance for ratification in a vote of the people, to be taken on a day then somewhat more than a month distant, the Convention and the Legislature, which was also in session at the same time and place, with leading men of the State not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if the State were already out of the Union.

They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State, they seized the United States army at Harper's Ferry, and the Navy-York at Gosport, near Norfolk; they received, by private invitation, into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike equipments from the so-called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance co-operation with the so-called Confederate States, and sent members to their Congress at Montgomery; and, finally, they permitted the insurrectionary Government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond.

The people of Virginia have thus allowed this great insurrection to make its nest within her borders, and this Government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it.

And it has the less regret, as the loyal citizens have, in due form, claimed its protection. Those loyal citizens this Government is bound to recognize and protect as being Virginians.

In the Border States, so called—in fact, the Middle States—there are those who favor a policy which they call "armed neutrality"; that is, the arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing over their soil, or the disunion of the other, over their soil.

This would be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation; and yet, not quite an impassable one, for, under the guise of neutrality, it would be the hands of the Union men and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurgent forces, which it could not do as an organ enemy. At a stroke, it would take all the trouble of the hands of secession, except only what proceeds from the external blockade.

It would do for the Disunionists that which, of all things, they most desire—feed them well and give them disunion without a struggle of their own. It recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution—no obligation to maintain the Union; and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens, it is nevertheless very injurious in effect.

Returning to the action of the Government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for 75,000 militia, and rapidly following this a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of a blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal.

At this point, the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privateering, and to take to sea, and to make the sea their base of operations. Recurring to the action of the Government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for 75,000 militia, and rapidly following this a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of a blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal.

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shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require, is equivalent to a provision—a provision—that such privilege 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 rebellion, and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the writ which was authorized to be made. Now, it is insisted that Congress and not the Executive is vested with this power.

But the Constitution itself is silent as to which of who is to exercise this power; and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed that the framers of the instrument intended that in every case danger should run its course until Congress should be called together, the very assembling of which might have been prevented, as was intended in this case by the rebellion. No more extended argument is now offered, in 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 judgment 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 Union was probable.

While this, on discovery gave the Executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign powers, and a general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world.

The reports of the secretaries of the Treasury, War and Navy will give the information in detail deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action, while the Executive and Department will stand ready to supply omissions, or to communicate new facts considered important for you to know.

It is recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest short and decisive; that you place at the control of the Government for the work at least 400,000 men and \$400,000,000. That number of men is about one-third of those of proper ages within the regions where apparently all are willing to engage; and the sum is less than the twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devour the whole.

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 out of that struggle; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what was then than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them.

A right result, at this time, will be worth more to the world than all the money and government of their own times. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency.

One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them. In a word, the people will save their Government, if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently well ten times as fast as it can provide for them.

Other calls were made for volunteers to serve three years unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the regular Army and Navy.

The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence.

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 contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterwards, abundantly show. The express pledging of faith by each and all to the original thirteen in the articles of confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive.

Having never been States either in substance or in name outside of the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of States rights, asserting a claim of power lawfully to destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the sovereignty of the States, but the word, even, is not in the National Constitution, nor, as is believed, in any of the State Constitutions. What is a sovereignty 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 States except Texas ever was a sovereignty; and even Texas gave up the old matter as pertaining to the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States, made in pursuance of the 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. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty, by conquest or purchase the Union gave each of them; whatever of independence and liberty it has.

The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact, created them as States. Originally some 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, neverthless dependent upon, and preparatory to coming into the Union.

Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the National Constitution; but among these surely are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive; but at most, such only as governmental powers, and certainly a power to destroy the Government itself had never been known as governmental—a merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and States rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of generality and locality.

Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole—the General Government; while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all the world is of original principle about it. Whether the National Constitution, in defining the boundaries between the two, has applied the principle with exact accuracy, is not to be questioned. We are all bound by that defining, without question. What is now combated is, the position that secession is consistent with the Constitution—is lawful and peaceful.

It is not contended that there is any express law for it; and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences.

The nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were formed. Is it just that they shall go off without leave and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums, in the aggregate, I believe, nearly one hundred millions, to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes.

Is it just that she shall now be off without consent, or without making any return? The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these States. Is it just, either, that creditors shall go unpaid, or that the remaining States pay the whole? A part of the present national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it just that she shall leave and pay no part of this herself. Again, if one State may secede so may another; and when all shall have seceded none are left to pay the debts. Is it quite just to credit it? Did we not notify them of this large view of ours when we borrowed their money?

the power and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called the seceding 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 Constitution and speaks from the preamble, calling itself, "We, the people."

It may well be questioned whether there is to day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except, perhaps, South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are in the majority in many, if not in every other one of the so called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated 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 layouts are all on one side of the question voted upon, are generally to be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. As such an election all that large class who are once for the Union and against secession would be coerced to vote against the Union.

It may be affirmed, without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved 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 without a soldier in it, but who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But no more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge 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.

Who 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 benefits on both them and us should not be broken up. Whoever, in any section, proposes to abandon such a Government, would do well to consider in deference to what principle it is that he does it; what better he is likely to get in its stead, whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people. There are some fresh windings on this subject. Our adversaries have adopted some declaration of independence in which, unlike the good old one penned by Jefferson, they omit the words, "All men are created equal." Why? They have adopted a temporary National Constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one signed by Washington, they omit "We the people."

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 many hearts. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

July 4, 1850.

The following is a copy of the peace petition lately signed in New York, and for circulating which several gentlemen were arrested for treason, by order of the vulgar blackguard in authority at Washington. Verily, if the people of the North submit to such outrages, they are most stolid donkeys!

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:—The undersigned, citizens of New York, beg leave to present to you, most respectfully and earnestly, the following considerations:—While they hold themselves ready to sustain and defend their government, and you, as its legal head, they respectfully suggest that the only remaining honorable position 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 your inaugural.

This course would secure a peaceful solution of our national difficulties, and if any State refused to join said convention to amend the Constitution, or adjust a peaceful separation, it would stand unanimously condemned before the civilized world. Earnestly deprecating civil war among brethren, we implore and beseech you to adopt this course, which you may rest assured is the real voice of the people.

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 column, that the Stay Law passed at the late Special Session of the Legislature, has been pronounced by the highest legal tribunal of the State to be unconstitutional.

SUDDEN DEATH.—Mrs. Sandy Eagle, of this city, whilst in conversation and in her usual health, dropped dead yesterday, leaving one child, and a husband who is in the 1st N. C. Regiment, at Yorktown, Va.—Char. Bulletin, 12th.

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