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A Noble Warning Speech of C. L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, delivered in the U. S. Senate on the 10th ult. Mr. Chairman:—In the Constitution of the United States, which the other day we swore to support, and by the authority of which we are assembled here to-day it is written: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States." It is further written also that the Congress to which all legislative powers granted are thus committed— "shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." And it is yet further written, in protection of Senators and Representatives in that freedom of debate here, without which there can be no liberty: "That for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place." Holding up the shield of the Constitution, and standing here in the place and with the manhood of a Representative of the people, I propose to myself to-day the ancient freedom of speech used within these walls; though with somewhat more trust, of decency and discretion than have sometimes been exhibited here. Sir, I do not propose to discuss the direct question of this civil war in which we are engaged. Its present prosecution is, a foregone conclusion, and a wise man never wastes his strength on a fruitless enterprise. My position shall at present, for the most part, be indicated by my votes, and by the resolutions and motions which I may submit. But there are many questions incident to the war, and to its prosecution about which I have somewhat to say now. Mr. Chairman, the President, in the message before us, demands the extraordinary loan of \$400,000,000—an amount nearly ten times greater than the entire public debt, State and Federal, at the close of the Revolution in 1783, and four times as much as the total expenditures during the three years' war with Great Britain, in 1812. Sir, that same Constitution which I again hold up, and to which I give my whole heart and my utmost loyalty, commits to Congress alone the power to borrow money and to fix the purposes to which it shall be applied, and expressly limits any appropriations to the term of two years. Each Senator and Representative, therefore, must judge for himself, upon his conscience and oath, and before God and the country, of the justice and wisdom and policy of the President's demand; and whenever this House shall have become but a mere office wherein to register the decrees of the Executive, it will be high time to abolish it. But I have a right, I believe, sir, to say that, however gentlemen upon this side of the Chamber may differ as to the war, we are yet firmly and inexorably united in one thing at least, and that is the determination that our own rights and dignities and privileges, and the Representatives of the people, shall be maintained in their spirit and to the very letter. And be this as it may, I do know that there are some here present who are resolved to assert and to exercise these rights, with becoming decency and moderation certainly, but at the same time fully, freely, and at every hazard. Sir, it is an ancient and wise practice of the English Commons, to precede all votes of supplies by an inquiry into abuses and grievances, and especially into any infringement of the Constitution and the laws by the Executive. Let us follow this safe practice. We are now in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union; and in the exercise of my right and my duty as a Representative, and availing myself of the latitude of debate allowed here, I propose to consider the present state of the Nation, and supply also some few of the many omissions of the President in the message before us. Sir, he has undertaken to give us information of the state of the Union, as the Constitution requires him to do; and it was his duty, as an honest Executive, to make that information full, impartial and complete, instead of spreading before us a laborious and lawyerly vindication of his own course of policy—a policy which has precipitated us into a terrible and bloody revolution. He admits the fact; he admits that, to-day we are in the midst of a general civil war, not now a mere insurrection, to be suppressed in twenty days by a proclamation and a posse comitalis of three months' militia. Sir, it has been the misfortune of the President from the beginning, that he has totally and wholly underestimated the magnitude and character of the revolution with which he had to deal, or surely he never would have ventured upon the wicked and hazardous experiment of calling thirty million people to arms among themselves without the counsel and authority of Congress. But when at last he found himself hemmed in by revolution, and this city in danger, as he declares, and waked up thus, as the proclamation of the 15th of April proves him to have waked up, to the reality and significance of the movement, why did he not forthwith assemble Congress, and throw himself upon the wisdom and patriotism of the representatives of the States and of the people, instead of usurping powers which the Constitution has expressly conferred upon us? ay, sir, and powers which Congress had but a little while before repeatedly and emphatically refused to exercise or to permit him to exercise. But I shall recur to this point again.

How comes it that the President has forgotten to remind us, also, that when the party thus committed to the principle of deadly hate and hostility to the slave institutions of the South, and the men who had proclaimed the doctrine of the irrepressible conflict, and who, in the dilemma or alternative of this conflict, were resolved "that the Cotton and Rice fields of South Carolina, and the Sugar plantations of Louisiana, should ultimately be tilled by free labor," had obtained power and place in the common government of the States, the South except one State, chose first to demand solemn constitutional guarantees for protection against the abuse of the tremendous power and patronage and influence of the Federal Government, for the purpose of securing the great end of the sectional conflict, before resorting to secession or revolution at all? Did he not know, how could he be ignorant, that at the last session of Congress, every substantive proposition for adjustment and compromise, except that offered by the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. Kellogg,] and we all know how that was received, came from the South? Stop a moment and let us see. The committee of thirty-three was moved for in this House by a gentleman from Virginia, the second day of the session, and received the vote of every Southern Representative present, except only the members from South Carolina, who declined to vote. In the Senate, the committee of thirteen was moved for by a Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. Powell,] and received the silent acquiescence of every Southern Senator present. The Crittenden propositions, too, were moved also by another Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. Crittenden,] now a member of this House—a man venerable for his years, loved for his virtues, distinguished for his services, honored for his patriotism, for four-and-forty years a Senator, or in other public office; devoted from the first hour of his manhood to the Union of these States, and who, though he himself proved his courage fifty years ago upon the battle field against the foreign enemies of his country, is now, thank God, still for compromise in a long and well spent life of public services and private worth, he is unfortunate only that he has survived a Union, and, I fear, a Constitution younger than himself. The Border State propositions also were projected by a gentleman from Maryland, not now a member of this House, and presented by a gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. Etheridge,] now the Clerk of this House. And yet all these propositions coming thus from the South, were severally and repeatedly rejected by the almost united vote of the Republican party in the Senate and the House. The Crittenden propositions, with which Mr. Davis, now President of the Confederate States, and Mr. Toombs, his Secretary of State, both declared in the Senate that they would be satisfied for which every Southern Senator and Representative voted, never, on any one occasion, received one solitary vote from the Republican party in either House.

The Adams or Corwin amendment, so called, reported from the Committee of Thirty-three, and the only substantive amendment proposed from the Republican side, was but a bare promise that Congress would never be authorized to do what no sane man ever believed Congress would undertake to do—abolish slavery in the States where it exists; and yet even this proposition, moderate as it was, and for which every Southern member present voted, except one, was carried through this House by but one majority, after long and tedious debate, and with the utmost difficulty—sixty-five Republican members, with the resolute and determined gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Hickman] at their head, having voted against it and fought against it to the very last. And not this only, but as a part of the history of the last session, let me remind you that bills were introduced into this House proposing to abolish and close up certain Southern ports of entry; to authorize the President to blockade the Southern coast; and to call out the militia and accept the services of volunteers, not for three months merely, but without any limit as to either numbers or time, for the very purpose of enforcing the laws, collecting the revenue, and protecting the public property; and were pressed vehemently and earnestly in this House, prior to the arrival of the President in this City, and were then, though seven States had seceded and set up a government of their own, voted down, postponed, thrust aside, or in some other way disposed of, sometimes by large majorities in this House, till at last Congress adjourned without any action at all. Peace then seemed to be the policy of all parties. Thus, sir, the case stood at twelve o'clock on 4th of March last, when, from the Eastern portico of this Capitol, and in the presence of twenty thousand of his countrymen, but enveloped in a crowd of soldiery which no other American President ever saw, Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office to support the Constitution, and delivered his inaugural—a message. I regret to say, not written in the direct and straightforward language which becomes an American President and an American statesman, and which was expected from the plain, blunt, honest man of the Northwest, but with the forked tongue and crooked counsel of the New York politician, leaving thirty million people in doubt whether it meant peace or war. But whatever may have been the secret purpose and meaning of the inaugural practically for six weeks the policy of peace prevailed; and they were weeks of happiness to the patriot, and prosperity to the country.—Business revived, trade returned, commerce flourished. Never was there a fairer prospect before any people. Secession in the past languished and was spiritless and harmless; secession in the future was arrested and perished. By overwhelming majorities, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Missouri all declared for the old Union, and every heart beat high with hope that in due course of time, and through faith and patience and peace, and by ultimate and adequate compromise, every State would be restored to it.

Sir, I do not propose to inquire now whether the President and his Cabinet were sincere and in earnest and meant really to persevere to the end in the policy of peace; or whether from the first they meant civil war, and only waited to gain time till they were fairly seated in power, and had disposed, too, of that prodigious horde of spoilsmen and office seekers, which came down at first like an avalanche upon them. But I do know that the people believed them sincere, and cordially justified and approved of the policy of peace; and as they subsequently responded to the policy of war, in a whirlwind of passion and madness, but calmly and soberly, and as the result of their deliberate and solemn judgment; and believing that civil war was absolute and eternal disunion, while secession was but partial and temporary, they cordially endorsed also so the proposed evacuation of Sumter and other forts and public property within the seceded States.—Nor, sir, will I stop now to explore the several causes which either led to a change in the apparent policy or an early development of the original and real purposes of the

Administration. But there are two which I cannot pass by. And the first of these was party necessity, or the clamors of politicians, and especially of certain wicked, reckless and unprincipled conductors of a partizan press. The peace policy was crushing out the Republican party. Under that policy, sir, it was melting away like snow before the sun. The general elections in Rhode Island and Connecticut, and municipal elections in New York and the Western States gave abundant evidence that the people were resolved upon the most ample and satisfactory constitutional guaranties to the South as the price of a restoration of the Union. And then it was, sir, that the long and agonizing howl of dejected and disappointed politicians came up before the Administration. The newspaper press teemed with appeals and threats to the President. The mails groaned under the weight of letters demanding a change of policy; while a secret convulsion of the Governors of Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and other States, assembled here, promised men and money to support the President in the irrepressible conflict which they now invoked. And thus it was, sir, that the necessities of a party in the pangs of dissolution, in the very hour and article of death, demanding vigorous measures, which could result in nothing but civil war, renewed secession, and absolute and eternal disunion, were preferred and hearkened to before the peace and harmony and prosperity of the whole country. But there was another and yet stronger impelling cause without which this horrid calamity of civil war might have been postponed, and, perhaps, finally averted.—One of the last and worst acts of a Congress, which, born in bitterness and nurtured in convulsion, literally did those things which it ought not to have done, was the passage of an obscure, ill-considered, ill-digested, and unstatesmanlike high protective tariff act, commonly known as "the Morrill tariff."—Just about the same time, too, the Confederate Congress at Montgomery adopted our old tariff of 1857, which we had just rejected to make way for the Morrill act, fixing their rate of duties at five, fifteen and twenty per cent lower than ours. The result was as inevitable as the laws of trade are inexorable.—Trade and commerce—and especially the trade and commerce of the West—began to look to the South. Turned out of their natural course years ago, by the canals and railroads of Pennsylvania and New York, and diverted Eastward at a heavy loss to the West, they threatened now to resume their ancient and accustomed channels—the water courses—the Ohio and the Mississippi. And political association and Union, it was well known, must soon follow the direction of interest and trade. The city of New York, the great commercial emporium of the Union and the Northwest, began to clamor now loudly for a repeal of the pernicious and ruinous tariff. Threatened thus with the loss of both political power and wealth, or the repeal of the tariff, and at last of both, New England—and Pennsylvania, too, the land of Penn, cradled in peace—demanded now coercion and civil war, with all its horrors, as the price of preserving either from destruction. Aye, sir, Pennsylvania, the great keystone of the arch of the Union, was willing to lay the whole weight of her iron upon that sacred arch, and crush it beneath the load. The subjugation of the South, aye, sir, the subjugation of the South! I am not talking to children or fools; for there is not a man in this House fit to be a Representative here who does not know that the South cannot be forced to yield obedience to your laws and authority until you have conquered and subjugated her; the subjugation of the South, and the closing up of her ports, first by force, in war, and afterwards by tariff laws, in peace, was deliberately resolved upon by the East.—And, sir, when once this policy was begun, the self-same motive of warring commerce and threatened loss of trade impelled the great city of New York, and her merchants and her politicians and her press, with here and there an honorable exception, to place herself in the very front rank among the worshippers of Moloch. Much, indeed, of that outburst and uprising in the North which followed the proclamation of the 15th of April as well, perhaps,

as the proclamation itself, was called forth, not so much by the fall of Fort Sumter (an event long anticipated) as by the notion that the "insurrection" might be crushed out in a few weeks, if not by the display, certainly, at least, by the presence of an overwhelming force. These, sir, were the chief causes which, along with others, led to a change in the policy of the Administration, and instead of peace, forced us headlong into civil war, with all its accumulated horrors. [Continued in our next.] The Horrors of War. A correspondent of the N. Y. Times, writing from Washington, thus describes the horrors of war: They are beginning to get their eyes open since their defeat at Manassas: "To read of a battle, with its poetry of heroism, is a very fine thing. All men applaud the bold fellow, and all women throw laurels on the gallant soldier, who is ready to throw down his life for his country's flag. If one sees it, the thing is different. I was at the defeat of our forces yesterday near Centreville, and as I witnessed the hot shot and terrible hell tearing through the air; as I saw the horrible grape and shrapnel doing its too certain work all around; as I saw my friend storming heroically, masked batteries which the terrible incompetence of their leaders, did not allow them to silence, owing to insufficient reinforcements being sent in proper time; when I saw these heroes, at eleven dollars a month, losing heads, legs and arms, in thick profusion around me; when I witnessed the horrible ruck brought about by a masterly flank movement of their picked cavalry and sharpshooters, and when I saw our artillerymen, under their guns, cut loose the traces of their horses and flee, leaving the pieces behind; when I saw, too, our boasted cavalry flying in the same mad haste, with regiment after regiment pushing after them like so many sheep, strowing for miles, guns, bayonets, cartridge boxes and the exclusion of other matter, a part of the speech of this gentleman, delivered in the U. S. Senate on the 10th of July last. We are satisfied that it will be read with the most profound interest. It surpasses any thing for eloquence we have ever read. And think of it, that it fell from the lips of one who represents a State that it is at enmity with us. He does not approve of the Lincoln policy. We shall publish its conclusion in our next. Increasing our Forces. We learn from the Richmond Examiner, that the Secretary of War of the Confederate States has demanded a larger increase of the forces of the Confederate States, footing up with those already in the field, full 500,000 men. The Secretary is understood to give his report an able and elaborate summary of our military operations for the past ninety days, embracing many valuable and interesting details. It is hoped that Congress will, without delay, vote the War Department the full extent of its call for troops. "Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society." We learn from our South Carolina Exchanges that the ladies of that noble, gallant and patriotic little State, South Carolina, are organizing Societies called the "Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society," for the benefit of the Soldiers; and that it is working efficiently. We should be pleased to see an organization of this kind going on in this town, county and State. It might be made to work as effectively and systematically, in this State, as in any other, and much good might result from it. Will not the ladies give it a trial? We shall promise to furnish you, cheerfully, any information or assistance in our power. The shock of battle which has so sensibly been felt throughout the length and breadth of our land, has caused thousands of hearts to weep, but the storm may burst upon us

more fearful, so let each and every heart be moved for the issue and lifted heavenward, calmly await its consequences. What should we do? We hope that the Companies that have formed and are forming in this county and State, will not become discouraged and disband on account of not being called into immediate service, but drill and equip themselves, and stand ready at a moments warning to enter into the contest. Fear not that the authorities will disband you before you have a chance of trying your hand at some of our enemies. Not at all. The entire services of this State, we think, will be required before the last of this month. Let us never let the soil of North Carolina be polluted by the unhallowed tread of the Goths and Vandals of the North. If we wish to keep the battle from our own doors, we must render Virginia all the aid possible. The threats that are constantly being made, and the plans and schemes which Lincoln's leaders are constantly making to work our destruction, needs watching.—Has this State subscribed as liberal as she should have done, to the Confederate States Loan? We must render to President Davis every aid in our power, if we wish to check this tide. We urge upon the people the propriety of raising more volunteer companies in every county in the State, where it can be done. Appoint proper men for officers, and procure Hardee's Tactics, and go to drilling without delay.—Procure cheap uniforms, and be ready at a minutes notice, to be mustered into the service of the State or Confederate States. This can all be done without interfering much with your business. We are satisfied that, according to the last call which has been made by the Confederate States, this county has not furnished her quota of troop yet, and besides there is many wealthy men in this county who have never subscribed a dollar to the Confederate States loan, nor for the relief of those indigent families whose father, husband and brothers, have gone to the war to sacrifice their lives for their comfort, happiness and future prosperity. Why be so indifferent to that which pertains to your future welfare. You can be as good and true patriot, and remain at home, as ever fell upon the battle plain.—Ask yourself, "have I done my duty?" If you have not the means, you have the provisions to spare, being blessed with a bountiful harvest this year. Remember this is a debt which you not only owe to your fellow man and country, but to the God who made you.—Then let us all make one desperate effort to maintain that which is ours by rights, and we shall be free. We advise each and every one subject to military duty, not to stand idly by and await a draft that will force you into service, but enter at once into the volunteer companies which are forming in this county. Who will first show their patriotism? IRISHMEN GOING HOME.—The Hartford (Conn.) Times of Saturday says: "Many adopted citizens of this city and surrounding towns are leaving the home of their adoption and going back to the 'old country.' Among them are many Irishmen. A number of these have already withdrawn their deposits from the savings bank, and are ready to start. Yesterday, we learn, sixteen of them left for Ireland. Others are said to be preparing to go." President Davis said in his speech at Richmond, that we had captured enough provisions at Manassas to feed fifty thousand men for twelve months.

THE CAROLINA FLAG: BY JOHN W. GORMAN. CONCORD: TUESDAY, AUGUST 6.