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J. J. BRUNER,

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

TERMS OF THIS PAPER—Five dollars for six months; no subscription received for a longer time, at present.

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For the Watchman.

To the Ladies of Scotch Ireland, Rowan County, N. C.
CAMP 4TH N. C., NEAR ORANGE C. H. VA.,
April 2nd, 1864.

At a meeting of the Scotch Irish Grays, Co. B, 4th N. C. State Troops, Sergt. M. was called to the Chair and private B. appointed Secretary. The chairman having explained the object of the meeting, on motion of Sgt. D., a committee of three was appointed to draft resolutions: Sgt. K., Corp. B., and private C., submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, At the commencement of this war we felt it our bounden duty to enlist under the banner of the South, to defend our rights against a ruthless band of Northern fanatics who invaded our then happy land for the purpose of subjugating us, and cause us to bow our necks to Yankee rule and despotism; and as we received every encouragement at the outset from the young, fair and noble females of Scotch Ireland, to enlist in our country's cause, and that since then (three years having elapsed) we have received every attention possible from them, that could have been invented only by the most devoted of the land:

Resolved, That we tender the ladies of Scotch Ireland our sincere thanks for the great concern they have manifested in our welfare, in contributions of all kinds for our comfort and cheer.

Resolved, That we have no complaint to make, such as our soldier friends of the 8th North Carolina.

Resolved, That we do not brag of the many letters we get from our fair friends at home, for until a recent date, they have been at long intervals, (we call it long range), but so well directed as to accomplish much, being received as angels visits.

Resolved, That this year brings to them a privilege that we would not deprive them of, while they open on us at short range, with magic effect, which is briskly responded to, and we expect before the close of this year, to get into a hand-to-hand engagement, which will close our still-ties as fair negotiations have never been known among them to arise through the agency of militia officers, shoe-makers, tanners, salt haulers, &c., &c.

Resolved, That we heartily sympathize with those fair ones, whose fond hopes have been blighted by the casualties of war, among the noble forty-five of our comrades who have fallen and have been laid beneath the sod of old Virginia.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Carolina Watchman and Raleigh Confederate, with a request to publish. The meeting adjourned.

PRIVATE B., Secretary.

"HER LAST DOLLAR AND HER LAST MAN."

We have devoted much of our space, this week, to a notice of W. W. Holden, self-nominated candidate for Governor; but as we desire the people to vote for him knowingly, we re-publish the following extract, which appeared in the *Standard*, 22d May, 1861, two days after the Convention, of which Mr. Holden was a member, formally withdrew the State from the Union. Here occurred, for the first time, we believe, the notable declaration coined by Holden: "Her last dollar and her last man." Read the extract, containing the solemn pledge of Mr. Holden:—[*Fredell Express*.

"RALEIGH, May 22d, 1861.

"About six o'clock, p. m., the ordinance offered by Mr. Craige was adopted unanimously—every member voting in the affirmative. This ordinance repeals the ordinance of 1786, by which the Federal Constitution was ratified, and declares North Carolina a sovereign and independent State.

"Thus was the anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration gloriously celebrated by the delegates of the people in Convention assembled. North Carolina has been slow to act, but she has acted finally. We think she has acted wisely, from first to last. Henceforth her destinies are with the States of the South; and she will make good her act of the 20th of May, 1861, with HER LAST DOLLAR AND HER LAST MAN, if such a sacrifice be required at her hands."—[*Raleigh Standard*, May 22d, 1861.

Specie Declined.—In Mobile, silver has tumbled considerably. On Monday it commanded only 13 for one.

From the Macon Telegraph, April 13.
Review of Vice President Stephens' speech before the Georgia Legislature.

(Continued.)

"Literally and truly then the only effect of a Constitutional exercise of this power over the writ of *habeas corpus* by Congress, is to deprive a person, after being legally confined, of the privilege of discharge before trial by giving bail, or on account of insufficiency of proof as to probable cause or other like grounds. This privilege only can be suspended, and not the writ itself. The words of Constitution are aptly chosen to express the purpose and extent to which a suspension can go in this country. With this view the power is a wise one. It can work no serious injury to the citizens and it sufficiently guards the public safety. The party against whom an accusation is brought supported by oath or affirmation, founded upon probable cause, must be held for trial, and if found guilty is to be punished according to the nature of his offense. The monstrous consequences of any other view of the subject are apparent. The exercise of the power by Congress may be either general or limited to special cases as in this instance. If it had been general under any other view, what would have been the condition of every citizen in the land? The weaker would have been completely in the power of the stronger, without remedy or redress. Any one in the community might seize for any purpose, any other, and confine him most wrongfully and shamefully. Combinations of several against a few might be formed for a like purpose, and there would be no remedy or redress against this species of licensed lawlessness. The Courts would be closed—all personal security and personal safety would be swept away. Instead of a land of laws, the whole country would be no better than a White friars domain a perfect Alsatia. This would be the inevitable effect of the exercise of the power by a general suspension, with any other view of the subject than this present one. The same effects as to outrages upon personal rights must issue under a limited suspension confined to any specified cases under any other view. No such huge and enormous wrongs can ever spring from our Constitution if it be rightly administered. So that the conclusion of the whole matter is well stated by the Governor in his late message in the brief, comprehensive, but exact terms:—"The only suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* known to our Constitution and compatible with the provisions already quoted, goes to the simple extent of preventing the release of persons whose arrests have been ordered under the Constitutional warrants from the judicial authority." Mr. Stephens speech.

It will be observed that the unconstitutionality of the late Act of Congress is placed upon the ground that, under that law, the arrest must be made by order of the President of the Confederate States, the Secretary of War or the General commanding the Department west of the Mississippi, which, Mr. Stephens says, places the whole power in the hands of the President, and we accept his construction of the law, as correct. Under this law, therefore, no citizen can be arrested and deprived of the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus*, except upon the order of the President. How would it be under the law as Mr. Stephens and Governor Brown would have it? According to their argument and doctrine, Congress would simply suspended the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* and leave the matter in the hands of the judicial officers of the country. Under such a suspension of the writ, every citizen is liable to be arrested upon oath or affirmation of any man in the community; he can be carried before any justice of the peace in the land, who would have the power of sending him to jail, and the writ of *habeas corpus* being suspended, he would have to remain there until he could obtain a trial in the regular course of law. All the judges in the land, and all the executives, both of Confederate and State Governments, could not release him.—What is the result? Every man would be placed at the mercy of any venal justice of the peace in the country. All that is required to incarcerate him in prison is the oath or affirmation of a vindictive or profligate accuser and the act of an ignorant or corrupt justice of the peace. In the language of Mr. Stephens, "the monstrous consequences on view of the subject are apparent." With truth and force could it be then said, "the weaker would have been completely in the power of the stronger, without remedy or redress. Any one in the community might seize, for any motive or for any purpose any other, and confine him most wrongfully and shame-

fully. Combinations of several against a few might be formed for a like purpose, and there would be no remedy or redress against this species of the most lawlessness." Not so, however, as the law now stands; for no man can be imprisoned and deprived of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* under that law, except by the express and direct order of the President. We put it to all candid men to say under which policy are the liberty and rights of the citizen best protected? Let any man put the question to himself, whether he feels more secure when he knows that he can only be arrested by the direction of the President, or when he is liable to an arrest upon the false oath or affirmation of any rascally and lawless community, and is then at the mercy of an ignorant or corrupt justice of the peace, who can send him to prison, where he must remain without redress until he can be tried at the regular term of the court. It was to protect the citizen against the very dangers so graphically presented by Mr. Stephens, that the law restricted arrests, as it does, to the order of the President, and then only in a limited number of cases; and, strange to say, what was intended for the protection of the liberty and rights of the citizen, has been tortured into a cause of complaint against the law. With all our heart we concur in the sentiment that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* should only be suspended in cases of the greatest emergency, and, even then, every guard should be thrown around the act of suspension for the protection of the liberty and rights of the citizens, as has been done in the late act of Congress. But if Mr. Stephens is right, and the suspension of the act is to place us at the mercy of false witnesses and corrupt justices of the peace, we say, with all the earnestness of our nature, that, under no circumstances, should the writ ever be suspended.

By this time, Mr. Stephens must have seen that many of his apprehensions were entirely groundless. He seemed to think that the object of the suspension was to prevent those who had employed substitutes from testing, before the courts their right to exemption, and yet, at the very time that he was giving expression to that opinion the order had been issued by direction of the President to interpose no objection to any appeal to the courts. The truth is, that the President has shown, not only a willingness, but anxiety, to have all judicial and constitutional questions considered and decided by our highest courts; and when those decisions have been made, he has, in every instance, cheerfully conformed to them. Would that Mr. Stephens could induce his friend, Gov. Brown, to do the same. It would save much wrangling and unnecessary discussion, and would relieve the people of Georgia of the expense and annoyance of a called session of the Legislature.

It is difficult for us to realize the sincerity of those who profess to feel such great apprehensions of the tendency of our Government to a military despotism. They profess to see, in this suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, "a fall blow aimed at the liberties of the people," and look with alarm to the action of Congress, as indicating a purpose to consolidate in the hands of the Confederate Government unlimited power. Our fears are appealed to with the false statement that the writ of *habeas corpus* has not been suspended in England during the present generation, and we are warned to be as jealous of encroachments upon this great writ of right, as are the people of Great Britain. No one holds in higher estimate this great bulwark of British liberty than the writer of this article; and yet we cannot feel that its suspension in this country should occasion the same alarm as it would justly excite in England.

It should be borne in mind that Great Britain is a monarchical Government—that power once secured to the monarch, is held by him for life, and at his death is transmitted to his heirs generally to his own son. Hence, the danger of entrusting power dangerous to the liberties of the people. With us it is entirely different. Our President holds his office for a limited term, and whatever power he may accumulate in executive hands, passes at the end of his term to his successor, and who that successor may be is unknown to him as to every one else. The President of today is the citizen of tomorrow. The power he wields to-day against the citizen, will to-morrow be wielded by another against him. His interest as president is for six years—as a citizen for lifetime; and self-protection, if no higher motive makes him a reliable guardian of the rights of the people. We have in the recent action of Congress, a striking illustration of the view we are now presenting. The men who voted the suspension of the writ of

habeas corpus, in forty-eight hours after the vote was given, elected to be members of Congress, and became private citizens. Does any one suppose they would have thus voted away their own liberties and rights? Is not the circumstance conclusive evidence of the fact that, in their honest judgments, if a suspension was demanded by the public interest? They were to sit no more in those terrible "secret sessions." Others were soon to take their place, whilst they became the subjects of the military despotism which, by their own votes they were creating. The idea is so preposterous and absurd that intelligent men will not long tolerate the folly. It is only necessary to state the facts to dispel the delusion.

Mr. Stephens closes his speech with an appeal to the Legislature, to send some "cheering message" to our brave soldiers in the field. The only response to this appeal was the very "cheering message" that the Legislature had declared "in their judgment" a law unconstitutional, which Congress had passed for the protection of their country, their wives and children, from the torch of the invader, and the cruelties and outrages of traitors, spies and assassins. In common with their friends at home, our brave men in the field had heard and seen that our country was infested with heartless traitors, emissaries of our brutal enemy, men who eluded the ordinary process of the law, and from whose hands innocent women and children were made to suffer wrongs and cruelties more insufferable than death itself. They had made their way into the very capital of our Confederacy, had applied the torch to the house of our President, whilst others were commissioned to break over the restraints of civilized warfare, in their fiendish purpose of laying the capital of the Confederacy in ashes, and murdering in cold blood, the President and members of his Cabinet. It was in view of this state of things that the country demanded of Congress such legislation as would give security against, not only the fiends who were perpetrating these outrages, but the miserable traitors at home, who were giving them "aid and comfort," by affording them shelter and protection. It was against such the law suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* was intended to operate. It has been used against none others, and we venture, with an undoubting confidence, the prediction, it never will be used by our President against any true and loyal son of the South. Let traitors, spies, and disloyal malcontents tremble in the presence of impending retribution, whilst all good and true men may go on rejoicing. For three years the writ of *habeas corpus* has virtually been suspended, so far as our brave troops in the field are concerned, and they have borne it patiently, and without a murmur. That army sends back to Mr. Stephens, and all other good men at home, a more "cheering message" than the one they have received from the Georgia Legislature. They bid us all be of good cheer. In their hands the liberties of our country are safe. They fear neither military despotism at home, nor subjugation from abroad. Their country's banner, the proud emblem of Southern independence, unstained, save with the blood of martyrs in the cause of Southern liberty, floats over their heads, and in glory and triumph they will cause it to float over every inch of Southern soil, in despite of murmuring and discontents in their rear, and threatening legions in their front.

There are some significant facts connected with this whole matter which cannot fail to attract public attention. The message of Gov. Brown is the groundwork of a demonstration which has rallied in its support every disaffected and disappointed man in the country. Wherever you meet a growing, complaining, sore-headed man, hostile to the Government and denunciatory of its measures and policy, or a creaking, desponding dyspeptic, who sees no hope for the country, but, whipped himself, in trying to make everybody else feel as sadly as himself, you will invariably find a friend, admirer and defender of Gov. Brown. He has become the nucleus around which all the disaffection of the country is gathering. A sympathizing spirit leads all such to the embraces of his Excellency. Now, we do not mean to say that every man who supports Gov. Brown is disaffected—far from it; but we do say that every disaffected man is in the ranks of his supporters—a significant fact, which should cause such men, as Mr. Stephens to pause, and consider well the ground they occupy. This unfortunate message has given new encouragement to the Holdens of North Carolina, who hail the message as a pledge of Georgia's co-operation in their treasonable plot; and even the minions of Lincoln are heralding it to the people of the North, as an evi-

dence of our divisions. Upon the strength of it they are making new and more earnest appeals for increasing their army, telling their people that now, whilst we are torn and distracted, is the time for them to push forward in the work of suppressing the rebellion. How many it will add to the members of Lincoln's army, and how many lives it will cost among our own brave and gallant men, remains to be seen. It is idle to say that such are not the legitimate consequences of this ill advised message. The facts exist, and with them we have to deal. We know full well that Mr. Stephens looked for no such results when he gave his support to this message and its policy, but that only shows how the abject and trust of men may fall into error.

It gives us no pleasure to differ from Mr. Stephens. We always do so with regret, and some misgivings. In this case, however, we feel assured that the time will come, and not far distant, when he will regret the delivery of this speech as much and as sincerely as we now do. We question neither the purity of his motives nor the sincerity of his convictions, but we cannot refrain from saying that his speech was ill timed, unfortunate and illogical.

TROUP.

Mark the Change.—Two years ago Senator Bright of Indiana, was expelled from the Yankee Senate by a vote not far from unanimous for simply writing an ordinary letter of introduction to a person desiring to make the acquaintance of President Davis. Now such men as Long of Ohio, Wood of New York, Harris of Maryland, and White of Ohio, declare in open session their conviction that Lincoln may bury in bloody graves our brave and gallant soldiers until resistance shall prove unavailing; may drive the balance of our people into banishment, confiscate their estates, and send them, men, women and children, all ages, conditions and sexes, strangers in a strange land, homeless and homeless wanderers; but he can never make them a subject race. Another speaker invokes the curse of God Almighty upon the war, and invokes the people to make peace by a compromise of conflicting interests, principles and opinions. This is gratifying. Reason is returning, national insanity is decaying, and thinking men begin to see that by attempting to exercise an arbitrary control over the people of the South the North has lost its Constitutional form of government, and incurred a debt that can never be paid. A vote cannot be obtained in the Yankee Congress now to expel a member for giving expression to his feelings. Mark the change. 'Tis ominous.

Macon Telegraph.

A TERRIBLE TRAGEDY recently occurred in Jefferson county, Ky. Two friends, Heybeck and Frank had been strolling through the garden of the former, who cut some vine slips for the other. They then went into the parlor. The first intimation the family had of anything unusual was the spectacle of Heybeck fleeing from the house bleeding, Frank with a huge bowie knife being in pursuit. Frank overtook the other, stabbed him thrice in the throat killing him on the spot, and then cut his own throat so fearfully that he instantly died. The cause of the quarrel is not known, and never, perhaps will be.

The enemies of Gov. Vance are circulating a report thro' this country that he has advised the Confederate Government to abandon this portion of North Carolina, that it is not worth defending &c. &c. We take pleasure in saying there is not one word of truth in this report. Gov. Vance has at no time given such advice. On the contrary he deems it not only his duty, but the highest interest of the Government to protect this mountain region, and the Government will hold it at any cost. We speak advisedly. No intention or thought of abandoning Western North Carolina has been at any time entertained. When the enemy occupy this country it will be at a fearful cost to himself. Asheville News.