

North



State.

By HANES & BRUNER,

"The Old North State Forever."—Gaston.

Single Copies Five Cents

VOL. III. NO. 28

SALISBURY, N. C. SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1868.

[WHOLE NO 317

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Connecticut Mutual Life INSURANCE COMPANY Of Hartford, Conn.

STATEMENT, DEC. 31, 1867.

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INCOME FOR 1867.

\$7,726,516.53.

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FOR INTEREST,

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LOSSES PAID IN 1867,

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DIVIDENDS PAID IN 1867.

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Interest received more than pays losses. Dividends average over 50 per cent. All policies non-forfeitable for stated amount. Assurance can be effected in all forms desired. SAML DOUGLAS WAIT, General Agent, Raleigh, N. C. A. Phillips, Agent, Charlotte, N. C. mar 3-w&twly

Notice.

PARENTS wishing to educate their daughters in a good school, would do well to examine the place on which Elder J. B. Jackson now lives. This place three miles west of Thomasville, containing 205 Acres Land, within three miles of the Thomasville Female College, will be sold to the highest bidder on the 10th of March if not sold before. Feb. 25, 1868. Raleigh Sentinel copy.

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LEXINGTON, N. C. jan 17-tw&wif

For Life Insurance Only. PIEDMONT REAL ESTATE INSURANCE COMPANY OF VIRGINIA.

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Its Policy holders are not restricted as to travel or residence.

It offers the following certificate as to its solvency: NELSON COURT HOUSE, VA., March 25, 1867.

The undersigned, officers of the county of Nelson, and State of Virginia, take pleasure in recommending as a solvent and reliable company, "The Piedmont Real Estate Insurance Company," of this county; and besides the merit of its solvency, its rates and terms for Life Insurance are such as to commend it to public patronage.

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April 15, 1868. sol5 if

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SHEECH OF Hon. William A. Graham.

On being called on to preside over the Conservative Convention of North Carolina, Feb. 6th, 1868.

Mr. Graham thanked the convention for the honor conferred in electing him to preside over its proceedings. While the call for its assemblage had his hearty concurrence, and he was more than gratified at the response which had been made, in this inclement season, amid the general pecuniary distress and dejection which pervade the land, by the appearance here of so numerous a body of our best citizens,—so fair a representation of the character, intelligence, moral worth, and of what little of property remains to the people of the State; and while he had expected to bear his part, as best he might, in their deliberations and mutual counsels, he was taken quite by surprise in the distinguished position assigned him, and was unprepared to make his acknowledgments in befitting terms.

No ordinary occasion,—nothing but a firm conviction that the vital principles of free government, and the well being of society, for ages to come, in the country of our birth, were seriously endangered,—could have brought together this assembly, in the face of so many discouraging circumstances. And he took this occasion to declare for himself, and he doubted not that he spoke the sentiments of every member of the convention, that so far as military authority had been extended over us, he had no desire to contravene, or treat it with disrespect; and of the Congress now sitting, or its immediate predecessor, while he might assume the privilege to criticize its action, with the freedom due to truth and the principles of republican liberty, he trusted he should do so with candor, and the respectfulness accorded to a great department of the Government.—But, said Mr. G., elections are about to take place, to ascertain the sense of the people, and great questions of constitutional right and political expediency are to be submitted for their decision. It is not only usual, but pertains to the very nature of elections, that there shall be the utmost freedom of discussion and inquiry into all the issues involved, and that the voter shall be free to cast his suffrage according to his best judgment of the public interest, without apprehension of injurious consequences to himself for the act, whether it be given on one side or the other. In the ancient charter of our Bill of Rights, next to the Decalogue, and the maxima and parables of the New Testament, contains the principles most necessary to be known among men, it was declared "that elections ought to be free," and "that it is the right of the people to assemble together to consult for the common good," to the end, of course, that they may compare opinions, be convinced of their interests and duties, and strengthen each other by mutual counsels and cooperation. Such has been the American theory of Government, and I trust ever will be. Under the broad Aegis of these principles is this convention here, at the seat of government of the State, openly, and in the face of day, to make known its opinions as to the welfare of the community, and to endeavor to advance them by such means as are consistent with existing authority and no other. And here I cannot but express my regret that secret associations, under names attractive to the ignorant and the curious, such as "Loyal Leagues," etc., are said to be organized very extensively, who meet with closed doors, or in nightly and secret sessions, and by oaths and mysteries seek to engender hatred among the black race against the native whites, and band the former together as a party, to alarm the

timid, encourage hopes of confiscation, and a division of spoils among the vicious and idle, and thus to control the decisions of the ballot-box. To counteract these evil influences; to adjourn the great cause of the country from these prejudiced and hidden tribunals to the open forum of the hustings; to assure the old constituency of white electors, that, under the acts of Congress, they are still "masters of their fates," and have the power of decision over the present issues in their own hands if they but will to exercise it; and to give organization to patriotic efforts, for these ends, such a conference as the present had become a necessity. It was necessary, likewise, to disabuse the public mind at the North, in Congress and among their constituents, of an impression studiously inculcated and cherished, that there yet exists, among the native white people of the State, a feeling of aversion to the constitution and government of the United States, and a disposition to persecute and make the enfranchised blacks; to convince them that our present struggle is not the offspring of resentment or contumacy, but only for the preservation of our rights as American citizens, and the defence of civilization, if not the existence of civilized society; and to warn them against the misrepresentations of interested reporters, and the tale bearers and informers, who, after the close of unsuccessful revolution, though fiery zealots in the lost cause while it seemed to prosper, became still more fiery zealots in that which has won, and are ready to point out whole heretombs for sacrifice, provided they themselves escape the doom of conscious guilt.

It is, I think, not difficult to demonstrate, as I shall endeavor to do presently, that the question most immediately in issue, is not whether there is a hearty obedience to all the requirements of the constitution on the part of the people of the Southern States, but whether the constitution shall be set at naught, by taking from each of these States the power to regulate its internal government and political affairs for the exercise of suffrage among its own inhabitants, as was always conceded to be its privilege heretofore; and prescribing, by act of Congress, new qualifications, by which some 30,000 white men, who have enjoyed this right, shall in future be deprived of it, and 70,000 blacks nearly all just emancipated from slavery, shall be at once invested with this privilege of electors of the State. I speak of this change as directed by act of Congress; for after the Congress has already caused this basis to be adopted in the election of a convention, not called in pursuance of the constitution or any law of the State, or by the sanction of the old and legitimate electors, but by its own enactment merely, and threatens permanent exclusion from the benefits of the constitution of the United States, as the alternative of the rejection of its work, the act is, in effect, a mandate for its adoption.

Gentlemen, our country has recently passed through a most bloody and desolating civil war. The struggle was one of the most gigantic in human history. It is natural that the billows of passion and prejudice should continue to roll for a season, after the storm which set them in agitation has subsided. But have we not, can we not have peace in this land of the Gospel of peace, at the end of three years after an honest surrender of all the armies in resistance to the government, and a perfect restoration of, and profound submission to, the authority of the United States, as fully and completely as before the commencement of hostilities? Are the lessons of history to be lost upon us? Are the statesmen who now rule our councils yet to learn, that "to conquer in a civil war, is not to triumph?" that the enemy overcome is their fellow-citizen; and although it may or may not be politic to select and punish individuals for the sake of example, (modern nations deeming it the wiser policy not to punish,) yet, after the slaughter of his children, the desolation of his fields, the confiscation of his houses and all the untold chastisements of war, to exact of him degrading submission, to crush his hope and destroy his institutions will tend but to tarnish the fame, and weaken the arm, of the conqueror? Is it a pleasing incident in the annals of England at the restoration of Charles the 2d, an era not unlike that of the re-establishment of the United States over the Southern country in 1865, to hear the Parliament first assembled claiming to themselves the title of "the healing Parliament," and the Chancellor Clarendon declaring, in the name of his sovereign, "the king is a suitor to you, gentlemen: he is a hearty suitor: that you will join with him in restoring the whole nation to its primitive temper and integrity; to its old good manner, its old good humor, and its old nature." And the historian relates that Clarendon never failed, while he possessed any influence, to use it to purposes the most noble, by recalling his sovereign's mind, whenever a fair opportunity offered to those great principles and free maxims

of the English constitution, which, as the Chancellor's good sense and bitter experience had taught him, were not only the safe guard of the liberty of the subject, but the best security of the crown. Oh, for a temperament so catholic and patriotic, a wisdom so profound and just, as that of Clarendon, in the troublous times which succeeded our civil war!

There was no want of food for bitter memories and revengeful feelings in the scenes through which England had just passed, when he spoke those healing words of noble charity. A King, to whom he was allied by the intermarriage of their children, had been deposed and beheaded, monarchy and aristocracy had been abolished, a Protector, whom he regarded as a usurper, had seized the reins of government, and away the destinies of England, and had subdued the whole realm in a fierce intestine war; the sovereign in whose name Clarendon spoke, the lawful successor to the crown, was the son of the murdered king, and had been himself a fugitive and an exile, with narrow escapes from captivity and death from his rebellious subjects, for twelve long years; yet, the earnest desire of the new sovereign and his minister was for conciliation and harmony. Their policy was, in part, successful. Some thirteen—I think this was the number—of those implicated in the late king's death were executed—others fled, others lost their estates. But the passions of men were too implacable, the occasion was too tempting to spies, delators, and informers, with professions of superabounding loyalty on their lips, the spirit of faction was too fierce, to allow this wise, liberal and humane policy long to prevail. A remorseless system of persecutions was soon inaugurated, not through military commissions and standing armies but by pretended and corrupt courts and juries, (no pretence was set up for departing from this ordinary machinery of justice, and going outside of the constitution upon any alleged laws of war and conquest,) by which the noblest spirits of England, in disregard of law, and by the gibbet or scaffold. These persecutions, with their attendant cruelties, which produced, (and, perhaps, were intended to produce,) fresh and real offences, with varying objects and pretexts, were persisted in, until the national mind became disgusted, and it recoiled in a new revolution, by which the constitution was restored and righted up, and placed anew upon its feet on the firm foundation of the Bill of Rights of 1688. And the philosophic commentator on history, from whom I have already quoted, in allusion to this and other civil wars, whether on account of religion or government, in each of which there is a like tendency to intolerance and bigotry, remarks, that "of all spectacles, the most alarming to a reflecting mind is the feebleness of reason to oppose religious or even political enthusiasm. It is not only the vulgar, but it is men of education, the most liberal, of talents, the most brilliant, who are almost equally exposed to these fatal eclipses of the understanding." And he adds, that the only protection against these fatal consequences consists in two wholesome precepts: "in religion, never to lose sight of morality; and in political speculation, never to depart from the great leading forms and maxims of the Constitution." These humble principles, so obvious and so safe, are soon despised by men of ardent temperament; and it is the first symptom of religious or political enthusiasm to deny or disregard them.

It is my sincere conviction, gentlemen, that the serious, if not fatal, disease with which our country is now afflicted, which says its recovery from the gaping wounds of war, and threatens the utter depletion and destruction of the section in which our lot is cast, springs from the political enthusiasm, the intolerance of party, of which individuals may not be conscious or not able to resist it, which pervades the action of Congress and even jaundices its eye when it looks towards this "land of the sun;" and that the only cure which can have the least effect, either in benefit to the Government or relief to ourselves, is that of which history demonstrates the efficiency in free and republican governments in past ages,—a full and cordial restoration of rights to all the States as members of the Union; and to their people as citizens according to the Constitution; and that the whole scheme of reconstruction, in looking first to a denial of representation, which puts its authors to their wits ends to make excuses for it, with out being able to find any that are satisfactory to an unprejudiced observer; then to an attainder, a "mild one," it is true, if authority could be found for any, by disfranchisement from office and the exercise of the elective franchise of all men who, having formerly held Federal or State offices, took part against the Government, no matter under what circumstances of choice or necessity, although they are now, in sincerity and truth, its friends; of test oaths, by which no man, who in any way volente-

rily gave aid to the war on the Southern side, shall be admitted to a seat in Congress or to hold any Federal office, however honestly and truly he now supports the Government; and making him the accuser and witness against himself, a powerful temptation to perjury on the part of the weak and the wicked, and a stumbling-block in the way of the manly and conscientious; of looking first to a representation from a class in which it will be difficult to find men of any fitness, unless they are imported from abroad, and which may include negroes; then to a pardoning process by Congress which may let in such as have prostituted its favor, not by maintaining the Government during the war, but by a profession of devotion to its policy since; and then, perhaps, at some remote day, though grudgingly and reluctantly, to have a general amnesty,—a grossly mistaken and fatal, as well as unconstitutional policy. It is a kind of unannealing process, full of distrust, suspicion and provocation, very properly applied to brittle glass, but wholly unsuited to make a tenacious, tough and lasting political union. Our fathers of the Revolution proclaimed of our British ancestors, that, like the rest of mankind, they were enemies in war, in peace friends. It will require a more convincing logic than any of our statesmen are yet masters of, to prove that this maxim is not true as between the late belligerents in the American States. If the people of North Carolina are at peace with those of Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, I take it that they are friends, and, if friends, then equals and fellow-citizens, entitled to the same rights as to representation in Congress, the regulation of the qualifications of voters among their own people, and in all other respects known to the Constitution. I do not deny, on the contrary I freely admit, that it is the right of the Government, acting through its proper law officers, aided by the Executive Department, in a case demanding it, to arrest and carry before the Courts for trial, on legal testimony, any "unfaithful" or "treasonous" persons, who are charged with aiding against the United States in the late war, as at any other time. Whether the party thus accused can be convicted of treason in making and levying that war against the United States, having acted in so doing under an organized Government exercising the power of life and death over all within its limits, I have not leisure or inclination to discuss. It is a question for the Judiciary which I have no purpose to anticipate. But, granting the amenability in the greatest extent, it is an amenability to the Courts of justice, with all their safeguards for an impartial trial. In the Constitution of the United States, as in all other wise frames of government, the subject of punitive justice, or punishment for crime, has not been overlooked. Treason, the greatest of crimes, is in that instrument found in the article establishing the Judicial department, with a definition of the offence and the quantum of evidence necessary for conviction, as well for the safety of the Government as for the protection of the citizen against the cruel and malignant persecutions on charges of this crime which disgrace the annals of English justice. Said Chief Justice Marshall, in a Judicial opinion: "As there is no crime which can more excite and agitate the passions of men than treason, no charge demands more from the tribunal before which it is made a deliberate and temperate inquiry be directed to the fact or the law none can be more solemn, none more important to the citizen or to the Government; none can more affect the safety of both. To prevent the possibility of those calamities which result from the extension of treason to offences of minor importance, that great fundamental law, which defines and limits the various departments of our government, has given a rule on the subject, both to the Legislature and the Courts of America, which neither can be permitted to transcend." And the sixth article of the amendments to the Constitution provides for jury trial in this great crime, as well as other capital offences. And here permit me to relate an incident of some interest in the history of the Federal Constitution. I am the son of a man, who, was a member of both the Conventions called by North Carolina to deliberate on the adoption of that instrument. I have the copies of their journals, which fell to his lot as a member, which he gave me after I was grown and had learned something of our government, and the history of the country. Perceiving that he had voted against the adoption of the Constitution in the first convention, in opposition to the admirable argumentation of Iredell, and the commanding eloquence of Davie, whom he had followed in the field and in favor of it, in the second, I inquired why it was that this change took place. The reply was, "We considered it as proposing a great revolution, by which the State was to surrender immense powers, without adequate security