

THE COLUMBIA DAILY PHOENIX.

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By J. A. SELBY.

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BY JULIAN A. SELBY.

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The Dangers of the Union.

Secession, in actual practice, was not in itself necessarily dangerous to the Union. The only supposable evils of that act to the continuance of the Union began in the determination of the Federal Government to meet it by force of arms. A policy of compromise and mutual concession had characterized the workings of the Constitutional compact up to that moment; but having been thenceforth spurned for a policy of compulsion and mutual slaughter, that change in the modes of Federal Government withdrew the Union from the citadel of its real strength—the popular sense of its sanctity.

Bloody battle has crushed the States that asserted, by their secession, rights independent of the Union. And Federal power, as it stands brandishing its reeking sword over those prostrate sovereignties, is flushed with the pride of complete triumph. Brawling faction sees only the physical fact, and cries out, in the blindness of its passions, for ruin and revenge, now that it proclaims the Union perpetual. Brainless counsellor! The conqueror that you worship, with the instinct of a slave raised to authority, with the venom of a cur yelping at a chained lion, has, as he stands over his fallen foe, not only a front of brass, but mark you, has feet of clay. The rights that live by the sword, all history declares to be, so surely as great political consequences follow general laws, destined to die by the sword. The Union remains still exposed to the fatal consequences of the blunder of armed coercion, and can be saved but by restoring it to the only fountain of its healthy life, popular love and reverence.

In the North, the Union has been associated with a grinding despotism. Conscriptio has stamped it in many a desolate household with the mark of Cain. Arbitrary power has torn it from the Penates of private life to be crushed under the heels of the men whose hearts and brains it has fired with hate in the cells of Federal dungeons. Ferocious 'loyalty' has degraded it to the basest uses of a political utensil; and, as a consequence, has thrust it upon hundreds of thousands of men by whom it had been held in life-long love and reverence as a type of insults and of factious passions.

At the South, the Union assumed the attributes of a fiend let loose in war. A fierce invader, it fell, as Satan fell from Heaven, from the empyrean of popular love into the depth of flaming hate. Like the destroying angel, it slew the first born in all the land. The women and little ones, and the aged men of those regions, it sent out upon the highways to proclaim it a curse. The habitations of the land it destroyed with fire, until the wolves, hiding in their blackened ruins, declared the Union, in their midnight howls, to be a crime against humanity. The corn and the honey, and the grass of the field, and the seed and the plows, the horses and the cattle, and every living thing—except the women and little ones, and old men, whom its mercy had cast out to starve—the Union utterly destroyed, until millions of people by whom it had once been worshipped throughout the borders of that country, shrank from it with execration as from a thing of hell.

North and South the Union has ceased to be a holy thing. The sanctity by which it had been hedged

round has been broken down; and hates which have emerged through the breach await but a shift of the political storm to sweep it forever from the sight of men. Must the true friend of the Union add one more drop to the volume of those raging memories?

The political history of Mississippi foreshadows the dangers of the Union now, even while flushed with the triumph of its first trial. Mr. Jefferson Davis and Mr. Henry S. Foote canvassed that State about fifteen years ago on a question of conditional secession. The side of the Union was successful; but from the day on which it had been made there a question of party, it continued to fall from the position of a popular idol. 'Disunionists *per se*,' as they called themselves, appeared in the State in surprising numbers after that contest on contingent disunion; and, finally, notwithstanding the triumph of the Union in the person of Mr. Foote, became so numerous that the storm of secession, in 1860, swept through the State like a fire through a prairie. With the wounds of despotic power, and of savage belligerency still festering in its moral life, of this passage of its history in a Southern State, declares to day, while the Union leans upon its bloody sword, in review of victorious thousands of armed agents of its will, that it carries in its bosom the seeds of death.

Strong, physically, as it is to day, the Union was never weaker, morally. Like many a gallant soldier, it has escaped the casualties of battle with fever in its blood and canker in its bosom. For all its stalwart looks it still moves on into the shadows of inevitable dissolution.

The war of the sections was one of, we hope, worthier objects than a mere assertion of brute force. Patriotism, however shortsighted, looked to that bloody struggle for a healing of the wounds which its inception had opened in the body of the Union. How much nearer that result are we to-day than we were when McClellan's army was hurled back from Richmond? Good faith to the memories of the soldiers who have been led to slaughter for that purpose, solemn duty to the civilians who, in a mistaken patriotism, have sustained the war, demand that the Union be as soon and as effectually as possible given back to the only keeping in which it can ever be held safe, that of universal popular affection.

The union of these States cannot exist by brute force. The blunder that removed it from the strong defence of popular love, repeats itself when it attempts to maintain it by a system of brutal terrorism. That very terrorism will, if carried out, prove its destruction. Popular dread but removes it still farther from the only conditions of its maintenance—popular love. Cutting Booth's head off, or giving his dismembered body a dishonored burial, has served but to weaken the Government, by degrading it to the level of those grim despots that every man in the country names with clenched teeth. Every page of history shows that terror is a rope of sand on the limbs of political conviction.

Treason cannot possibly be placed, in popular acceptance, side by side with private crimes. An attempt to accomplish that result is an attempt to undo all the theories of free political education. The right of asylum in universal justice, separates treason from offences against humanity. The murderer is made, by public treaties, a subject of extradition, but no country would consent to surrender to his sovereign the unsuccessful rebel. The right of revolution takes the offence of the 'traitor' out of the category of social crimes; and makes an attempt to place him among malefactors, a mere struggle against all the principles of society.

The terrible wounds in the body of the Union can be healed but by the

most tender conciliation. The 'justice' of which men speak in reference to the policy of reconstruction is but another name for a revenge which can be appeased but at the cost of the Union. The capture of Mr. Davis is one of the most unfortunate things that could have occurred to the people of both sections; for it brings up the real difficulties of the hour in a form most dangerous to the only policy which can save the country—that calculated to erase all bloody memories. Mr. Davis falls into the hands of the Government as a man whom the civilized world refuses to regard a criminal. His purity of private life, his singleness of purpose, his splendid powers of administration are acknowledged, outside the miserable curs that now bark at his heels, by all Christendom. The elected representative of millions of free born men, and men too who have placed their conviction of right in making that election under the guaranty of their lives, he stands before mankind the chosen chief of sovereign States, borne down, like Poland, by the weight of crushing columns. Treason, rebellion and even allegations of 'conspiracy,' may or may not be proven against him; but the Administration, if it have any respect for its own character, for the character of this Republic, may make up its mind that it can offer no wanton indignity, lay no violent hands on the person of Mr. Davis, without an outrage against the feelings and the conscience of both hemispheres. Harmless that unhappy gentleman now is, and if sent quietly back to his plantation in Mississippi ever will be; but if a brainless purpose or a bloody passion should take his life, he will have become a martyr, around whom, as around the subjects of the judicial murders of the Irish rebellion, the memory of his countrymen will utter for evermore a nucleus of all the enmities of the future, the curses that now rise to their throats with choking passion against what they hold the fiend of their recent experience, the Union.

Terrorism, as a policy of the present, is the suggestion of a brutal incapacity. If war has been necessary for a restoration of the Union, then, of a verity, must it have been made but with the aim of bringing the sections together within the operations of their old system of mutual conciliation. The Union, if it is to be in reality saved, must be plucked from the burning passions that crackle and flame around it, North and South; and planted in a place of safety, not within the fears but the loves of the people, by an act of amnesty that, giving hates no individual memory to rally around, will win their hearts back in a unanimous burst of admiration for its sublime beneficence.—*New York News.*

The Appreciation of Greenbacks.

The necessity of large expenditures caused the issue of greenbacks; the continuance of that necessity brought about their depreciation, and its determination will restore them to their face value. An outlay of three millions per day, it is evident, could not be met in specie; nor could it be continued, as it has been, in paper money, with out that money sinking below par. When the issue stopped, it is equally evident that—pre-supposing the stoppage to be permanent, and the existing issues not too great for the requirements of the country—the process of depreciation must cease, and that of appreciation begin. Now this is the precise condition of the currency today. The rapid pacification of the country, and the little danger of a rupture with France, make it almost a foregone conclusion that there will be no more greenbacks issued, and the only question is whether the present volume of currency be too great for the requirements of the country. We think not.

Even previous to the evacuation of Richmond, and when, to all appear-

ances, General Lee was holding his own there, United States Treasury notes, that had fallen to one hundred and forty, rose to one hundred and fifty. At this time, it must be remembered that these notes circulated only in the North, and within the lines of the Federal armies in the South, and, on every principle of political economy, had they been largely in excess there of the demand for them, they could no more have risen in value than the assignats of France could have bought the guineas of England.

Since the surrender of Lee, and the downfall of the Confederacy, this process of appreciation has gone on with astounding celerity. Every fresh indication of returning order in the South, has given Wall street a joyful thrill, and when an entire resumption of coasting and inland trade shall have opened up the whole of this country to the reception of Federal currency, it is not too much to say that the equalization of financial demand and supply, will make greenbacks equal to gold. No doubt there are many who will hoot at this declaration, and point in derision to the bills of Law's Bank, and the assignats of the Revolution, to wild-cat issues and shimplaster dollars, to Continental money and Confederate notes. To some extent we can understand this contemptuous incredulity; for, truth to tell, it would be hard to find a sadder botch than was made of our poor Confederate money. From the hour of its birth till *in extremis* it was tinkered with an assiduity that gave great scope to invention, but left little ground for hope. Its nostrums were legion, but one idea prevailed them all—the currency was to be repudiated into nothing, as San-grado bled man from man, that they might enjoy health. This ingenious scheme failed, but its tendency is a theme on which we would love to dwell. Robbing Peter to pay Paul is a stale device, but to rob both and pay neither is a most rare inspiration—half Captain Macheath and half Jeremy Diddler. Unfortunately our people never appreciated this style of genius. They were narrow-minded enough to think no law could dignify swindling and no argument justify; they came thus to hate and to fear paper money, to believe that gold and silver alone are really representatives of value, and the results of this opinion, and of the shiftless, unprincipled financiering that led to its formation, are to be seen in the distrust wherewith greenbacks are regarded. To one who does not know our people, and has not shared with them the ups and downs of the war—to a Northern or English banker, for instance—it would be difficult to convey an idea of their unwillingness to believe that any paper money whatsoever can maintain its face valuation. Legal tender laws price schedules, penalties for non-reception, and the whole spawn of coercive legislation, would be ineffectual to change this estimate, for just legislation has heretofore been associated in the popular mind with fresh tinkering and a further depreciation. An exposition of well settled principles, and a statement of undeniable facts will alone work any change for the better. In another part of this article we have set forth those maxims of finance that regulate the value of currency, and shall now mention certain facts to show that it is not mere newspaper theorizing to say greenbacks are approximating gold. These are facts, then. The war is over, and with it any necessity for an increase of the currency is obviated. Six hundred thousand soldiers are to be speedily discharged, and expenditures at the rate of four hundred millions per annum have ceased to be necessary. With the resumption of trade, the currency now for the most part pent up in the North, will diffuse itself over the South. With the issue of bonds by the Government, like the consols of England, large amounts will be retired from circula-

tion, and the payment of taxes and Government dues will still further reduce the volume of currency.

Then the problem of currency will be put in a shape the plainest man can understand, and the formula to express it will be this—if constant issue and confined circulation depreciate a paper money, cessation of issue, universality of reception, and legal absorption will force that money to par.

[*Augusta Constitutionalist.*]

When Dr. Johnson asked the widow Porter to be his wife, he told her candidly that he was of mean extraction, he had no money, and that he had an uncle hanged. The widow replied that she cared nothing for his parentage, that she had no money herself, though she had fifty relations that deserved hanging. So they made a match of it.

Papa, why do they plant guns; do they grow and have leaves? No, my son, but like plants they shoot, and then others do the leaving.

Stamping.

EMBROIDERY STAMPING of various styles done two doors South of Catholic Church. June 2

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FOR sale, a small quantity of No. 1 WRITING PAPER. Also, some excellent COPYING PAPER. Inquire at this office. May 30

Headqrs Department of the South, HILTON HEAD, S. C., MAY 15, 1865. GENERAL ORDERS NO. 65.

I. THE proclamation of A. G. Magrath, styling himself Governor of South Carolina, dated at Headquarters, Columbia, South Carolina, May 2, 1865, declaring that all subsistence stores and the property of the Confederate States within the limits of the State should be turned over and accounted for by the Agents of the State, appointed for that purpose, and directing that the subsistence and other stores should be used for the relief of the people of the State, and the proclamation of Joseph E. Brown, styling himself Governor of Georgia, dated at the capital of that State, on the 23d day of May, 1865, requiring the officers and members of the General Assembly to meet in extraordinary session at the Capitol in Milledgeville, on Monday, the 22d day of May, 1865; and the proclamation of A. K. Allison, styling himself Acting Governor of Florida, dated at Tallahassee, on the 8th day of April, 1865, giving notice and direction that an election will be held on Wednesday, the 7th day of June, 1865 for Governor of the State of Florida; are, each and all of them, declared null and void; it having become known to me, from trustworthy information, that the aforesaid A. G. Magrath, Joseph E. Brown and A. K. Allison, are disloyal to the United States, having committed sundry and diverse acts of treason against the same, in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

The persons and peoples, to whom the proclamations heretofore referred to have been respectively addressed, are therefore enjoined and commanded to give no heed whatever thereto, or to any orders, proclamations, commissions or commands, emanating from persons claiming the right to exercise the functions and authority of Governor in either of the States of South Carolina, Georgia or Florida, unless the same shall have been promulgated by the advice or consent of the United States authorities.

II. The policy and wishes of the General Government toward the people of these States, and the method which should be pursued by them in resuming or assuming the exercise of their political rights, will doubtless be made known at an early day.

It is deemed sufficient, meanwhile, to announce that the people of the black race are free citizens of the United States, that it is the fixed intention of a wise and beneficent Government to protect them in the enjoyment of their freedom and the fruits of their industry, and that it is the manifest and binding duty of all citizens, whites as well as blacks, to make such arrangements and agreements among themselves, for compensated labor as shall be mutually advantageous to all parties. Neither idleness nor vagrancy will be tolerated, and the Government will not extend pecuniary aid to any persons, whether white or black, who are unwilling to help themselves.

III. District and Post Commanders throughout this Department will at once cause this order to be circulated far and wide, by special couriers or otherwise, and will take such steps to secure its enforcement as may by them be deemed necessary. C. A. GILMORE, Major-General Commanding.