

From the Richmond Examiner.
"THE SOUTHERN SPY" AND MR. SEWARD.

Messrs. West & Johnston, of this city, have just published a second large edition of *The Southern Spy*—a series of letters exposing the policy and incidents of the war, as they occurred, in sight of the author at Washington and in its neighbourhood. The second edition of a letter to Secretary Seward on Mason-Slidell affair, which not only treats that subject, but rapidly brings down the political history of the war to the last period of the falsehood and degradation of the Washington authorities. We extract the following as a sharp and nervous summary of "the situation."

You have essayed to give decency to the close of your letter in the following declaration:

"In coming to my conclusion, I have not forgotten that if the safety of the Union required the detention of the captured persons, it would be the right and duty of this government to detain them. But the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, when dispassionately weighed, happily forbid me from resorting to that defence."

You are sublime here, sir. Pardon me—do not exult. It is the sublimity of the unyielding liar. The commissioners are of "comparative unimportance." The North was crazy in its raptures over the capture of four "unimportant" prisoners; the newspapers were insane in designating it as "worth more than a victory in the field." The New England publicists were fools to have given Captain Wilkes public dinners in commemoration of his exploit; the government was only amusing itself to have voted him thanks, and to have given him the compliments of the Cabinet. In short, the Northern public and your own government, in their exploit of the rebel emissaries were silly fools, and you have the grace—the unflinching grace of the liar, who turns for refuge to newer and greater inventions—to confess it.

You can afford to pluck at the rebellion. In the early summer you wrote to the French and English Governments that it was the merest trifle—a passing change in the history of the Union. "Since then its waning proportions must have reduced it to something so near akin to nothing as to try the resources of language for its description. It is a note floating in the sea beams of the Union. If, since summer, the rebellion has added three States to its confederation, it is nothing; it makes the job of subjugation complete. If it "stomped scattered" "the Grand Army" at Manassas, it is nothing; it was "a teamster's nick." If, in every battle since then the rebels were in superior force, it is nothing; the same veracious bulletins show that over one hundred thousand rebels have been killed in these battles. If, since the declarations of last summer, the Union has led out for its defence 650,000 soldiers, it is nothing; it only proves that the rebels are in terror. If the Government at Washington is raising the rebellion at the expense of two millions of dollars a day, it is nothing; it only shows the "elasticity of the Union." If, since the commencement of the war, the armies of the Union have conquered nothing from the rebellion but the sand spit of Hatteras and an inlet in the Mississippi sound, it is nothing; the prophetic "sixty days" have not yet elapsed; when the Stars and Stripes are to wave over the Southern spurs from the Potomac to the Gulf. If, in view of the "waning proportions" of the rebellion, the Government at Washington has gone to the revolutionary excesses *lettres de cachet*, imprisonment of women and children, confiscation of property, and the martyrdom of its own citizens, it is nothing; in your own declarations to the British Government you have decided that you represent "a civilized and humane nation, a Christian people."

Sir, I conclude. I drop the mask of irony. It is too cold. In mandacity you have made no converts; in politeness, you have disgusted your friends and failed to mislead your antagonists. Despite your fears and mendacious apologies, you have one resource of courage left. It is said to be recent with you; it is habitual intoxication. The coward that has once groveled at the whip finds in drink an apt stimulant for new exploits of bullying.

England is not propitiated. That Anglo-Saxon spirit which affords the example of the mixture of national pride with affectionate attachment to the glory and interests of its country; which overrides ministries, and dictates to its government with more than democratic vigour and effect; which, though passionately devoted to commerce, has never hesitated to make any sacrifices to the fires of its patriotic indignation is not to be allayed by the shuffle of cowardly apologies; especially when it continues to be fretted and exasperated by new adventures of your cowardice; by insults and indecencies of the press; by paper blockades; by the attempted destruction of harbours in which the world is interested; by crimes against humanity; and by a distinct menace of revenge made by yourself, should England dare to determine a mere question of fact

for herself, and recognize the Southern Confederacy.

The rebellion does not want. Blockaded, cut off from the world, without manufactures, without commerce, with a scanty supply of arms, with no accidents of fortune to assist it, the rebellion has passed the crisis of its reputation, and swells into the grand vocal march of an approaching triumph. It has inscribed its banners with glorious names; Bethel, Manassas, Springfield, Lexington, Carnifax Ferry, Leesburg, Alleghany; it has held the arm of your government in check in the passages of Kentucky and on the coast of the Atlantic; it has lost neither ground nor prestige, but has gained in both; it glances along the banks of the Potomac from its broken mountain sources to the lances of the Rappahannock, and flouts its flag in sight of the defences of your capital.

Be wise, sir, in the little remnant of life you may have. Does the rebellion threaten nothing, when it has already accomplished so much; when it actually approaches your capital; when your empty treasury stares in your face; when the force of a Northern revolution break your Cabinet, and grumble at the very throne of your master! God, before destroying you, has made you mad. You congratulate yourself; but the avenger comes, the shadow of fate stands at your board of drunken jest and revelry, and the wing of death is in the very air you breathe.

I am, &c.,
THE SOUTHERN SPY.

From the Richmond Examiner.

It is worthy of some pains to ascertain the exact condition of English sentiment towards the Confederate States. The inquiry demands a liberal exercise of candor, and the discard of all undue self-appreciation. We must uncrown a cotton for a moment, and consent to change the geographical position of the South, from its throne on the hub of a revolving universe, to a situation nearer the periphery of the wheel.

Great Britain is so much interested, and her pride is so much enlisted, in demonstrating her independence of Southern cotton as these States are interested in making good their independence of the North.—That is too proud a kingdom to surrender her independence at discretion, to the very loud and peremptory orders she has received to that effect; from a rather motley set of cotton princes in the Southern States. All dependencies in commerce are mutual; and England naturally considers that she is no more dependent upon the growers of cotton for existence, than these growers are dependent upon her markets for subsistence and prosperity.

It has long been her desire to encourage the cotton culture in other quarters of the earth, and she may consider with reason that to hold off from our markets for some time, under the pretence of respecting the blockade which has closed them, will encourage experiments in cotton culture on so large and wide-spread a scale in other quarters, as to effectually test and finally solve the problem of absolute dependence upon the Southern States.—While our ports were open and access to our crops free, it was impossible to inaugurate this important experiment on an ample scale, without offering public bounties of such a magnitude as government could never dare to grant. The present war and blockade afford England an opportunity of putting the great question to the test, which, if it result in a successful solution of the vital problem of an independent cotton supply, will compensate her for even greater calamities than we in the South are in the habit of predicting will befall her from the loss of a single cotton crop.

We in the South are confident that the experiment will fail; and, although our opinions are founded on reason, they may be due in part to the strong interest we have in that view of the question, the wish being father to the thought. But England has equally as strong a bias towards the opposite opinion; she has too strong an interest to give up the question without a struggle worthy of the magnitude of the interests involved.

Now is it unnatural to suppose that her pride has some influence upon conduct as well as her interests; for our people have been somewhat loud-mouthed and arrogant in boasting the power they held over her in this matter of cotton.—Were England ever so amicably disposed towards us; were she even as affectionately attached as sister; still in a mere spirit of mischief, if not of offended pride, she might be provoked by these boasts to a little reserve and haughtiness. If she must surrender to cotton, pride would counsel her to postpone the capitulation to the latest possible moment.

But it would be a grievous mistake to suppose that the inhabitants of the three kingdoms were exclusively interested in Southern trade. This interest in our great staples scarcely exceeds two hundred millions a year; and yet they are known to hold State and railroad stocks, lands and other property in the North, to the value of five or six hundred millions of dollars at least. One single railroad of the North, the Illinois Central, that in which Richard Cobden has so large a stake as to attach him to the Northern side in this quarrel, is owned in the pro-

portion of two to one in Great Britain; and the case is the same with the great N. York and Erie railroad. Indeed, there is scarcely a railway line of leading importance in that section that is not largely owned by British capitalists. That this class of foreigners have dipped deeply also into the land speculations of the North-west is notorious; and infinite are the forms in which British capital has found investment in the properties and schemes of the Yankee race.

All the large and respectable importing and banking houses of New York, Philadelphia and Boston were contained in part of British partners; and much more is the case with the extended shipping interests of that section. Those men of public spirit in the South who have been engaged in efforts to establish direct trade between our ports and Europe well know what coldness and opposition they encountered from the mercantile public of Great Britain; while the French always flattered to their views with favour, and enlisted in their plans with zeal. The explanation of the two facts is simple. France had few vested interests in the North, while Great Britain had vested interests there amounting to many hundred millions of dollars. It was not to be expected that the English merchant, deeply engaged in the shipping trade to New York, part owner of the Cunard and other ocean steam lines, as fully interested as any Northern merchant in the jobbing trade of New York with the South, should help break up the established course of business, and should encourage enterprise set on foot in direct rivalry and competition with them.

In the light of these reflections and facts, we can readily understand the frequent outcries of the European adviser, to the effect that France is warmly urging England to recognize the Confederate States, while the latter power hesitates and continues to hold back. We cannot mistake the popular feeling in England. It is all on one side. It was strikingly exhibited in the affair of the Trent. The Palmerston Ministry, sold to the commercial classes, afraid generally to raise a finger in anger, lest it should effect the interests of these people injuriously, and yet time-serving and popularity-greedy, was forced to venture a hostile demand upon the Washington Cabinet, though trembling at every gale that blew from the West afterwards. The Times, too, equally subservient to the money interests, and hating the Yankees with a cordial hatred, but dexterous in avoiding the chill blasts of popular displeasure, immediately seized hold of the surrender of Mason and Slidell to gratify its moaned masters by scoffs at the South.

We must not disguise from our minds the fact the active mercantile interests of Great Britain are, as a body, hostile to any measures which will imperil their large interests vested at the North. The heavy taxation that is about to befall that section, acting in conjunction with the political troubles of the country, will rapidly unsettle their interests, and, in the course of time, sever the bonds which bind the English mercantile classes to the North; but, until this separation is effected, we must expect to see a formidable opposition exerting itself in Great Britain against a zealous espousal of the Southern cause.

As a mercantile proposition, the new relations of the South to the world prevent this choice to merchants of Europe more especially of Great Britain; whether they will continue to share the profits of Southern trade with the Yankee, or will unite with the South in kicking the Yankee out of the question and take the whole trade to themselves. The choice of the latter alternative can be, of course, only a matter of time. But time is requisite to the foreign merchant to extricate himself from former complications.

The leading interest of Great Britain is her commerce. The popular voice in that empire may be overwhelmingly in favour of immediate recognition, alliance, and treaty; but as strong as this preponderance of sentiment may be, yet there is no class in the nation who would be willing to sacrifice the great commercial interests of the empire in carrying any policy into execution. A nation that lives and holds its power by commerce, will, of course, subordinate its political policy to the interests of that commerce; and it requires a much longer time for these interests to be disengaged and concentrated at home than thoughtless persons suppose. England could better afford to lose a cotton crop than to sacrifice interests and investments in the North amounting to double the value of the crop and all profits from it.

While the interests of England enforce upon her the observance of the maxim, *facere lente*; the permanent interests of the Confederate States require that their independence should be self-achieved.—They are labouring, indeed, under the disadvantage of struggling against heavy odds. Our enemy boasts of a population counting more than two to one against us. His open trade with Europe gives him the advantage of drawing upon the unlimited resources of that continent for arms and war munitions. The policy of our Federal Government had for fifty years been studiously devoted to concentrating all the manufactories of arms and war material of the government in his section of the Union. The only Southern Secretary of War

that ever endeavored to change this policy, so as to send the South, not merely both South and North as an independent nation for his pains. Labouring under all these disadvantages, so many of them self-imposed, we have still struggled successfully, and shall continue to do so. Better to fight on and owe our deliverance to our own right arm, than to cotton or to England, or to any other adventitious auxiliary. Who would be free themselves must strike the blow.

The Watchman.
RALISBURY, N. C.

MONDAY EVENING, FEB. 16, 1863.

The critical period of the struggle between the North and the South is rapidly approaching. The first two or three months of Spring may decide the question of independence or subjugation. The South has every thing staked on the issue. If beaten and compelled to surrender, we shall lose our property of every kind and our liberty, and thousands of our people will be hung as traitors. In short, we shall be utterly ruined; for our "Northern brethren" have but too clearly shown, during the past year, a depth of hatred which no ordinary plume line can sop up. They believe they will be rendering God service to "wipe" us from the very face of the earth; and under the operation of their confiscation laws, those who might escape the sword or the halter, would only gain the fate of hunted-out cats, driven in heads from place to place to starve, or to drag out a miserable existence beneath the ravillings, scoffs, and oppression of insolent and unprincipled robbers. It would be better for us, as a people, that the last man, woman and child should fall by the sword, than that we should allow ourselves to be brought under the dominion of our Northern assailants. It would be better to terminate our existence in bravely defending our rights, than to fall from the estate of freemen into the degradation we would be subjected to by the bigoted and insolent foe with whom we are contending.

But if we will continue true to our cause and to ourselves there is little reason to fear. God helps those who help themselves; and His continued favor will grow our continued efforts just in proportion as we exert ourselves with due reference to principles of righteousness.

The greatest danger that threatens us at this time is to be found in the prevalent feeling of security, and the consequent relaxation of efforts to repel the enemy. The past successes of our arms may prove our ruin, if, content with them, we should neglect preparation to meet the enemy in his first demonstration in the opening of the Spring campaign. He is just now fairly getting his eye open; he begins to see that the Southern Confederacy is indeed becoming a fixed fact; that he is about to lose a market for his Yankee tricks which will absolutely ruin his commercial prospects for many years to come; that his injustice to, and aggressions upon, the rights of the South, through many long years, all "laden with unbecoming remonstrances as they are, is about to be visited upon himself in the shape of ruined cities, ruined factories, bankruptcy and moral disgrace. That the immense trade of the South upon which he fattened until pride and arrogance usurped the place of equity and fraternity, has slipped away from him, and is about being transferred beyond the sea. Under the pressure of these reflections he is at this moment exerting every power at his command to accomplish the destruction of our government, and the defeat of our separate independence. He will come into the field in the Spring with larger armies and more efficient engines of war, and then, if ever, we should be ready to meet him and dispute his advances. The justice of our cause, and sacredness of the interests involved in the issue of this struggle, appeal to us in thunder tones to be up and doing, preparing to meet him. The ranks of all our regiments should be filled without delay, and other regiments added to the number. Work, work, give, give, and fight to the death, should be our watchwords for the year 1863.

The people, by their individual and collective efforts, have outstripped the Government in this struggle—have led the van, and rather drawn after them the squeaking wheels of the Nation's new machinery; and upon the people, even yet, rests the responsibility of success or failure. They have, for about one year, presented to the world the sublime spectacle of a successful rise in defence of their most sacred rights, improving armies, and all the material for a vigorous war against an old government with established facilities and enormous resources. Let them not, now, from a mistaken security, waste one jot or tittle of their zeal in the cause until they shall have wrung from their assailants such terms of peace as shall fittingly adorn

a brave, independent and enlightened commonwealth.

There are points at stake in the affairs of nations, as in the affairs of men, which improved or neglected, give success or failure for all time to come. We believe the next three or four months will constitute to the Southern Confederacy such a point or tide; and that if we improve it as we may, this generation will be blessed by its descendants for ages to come.

Some of the most learned and sagacious men in the Southern Country, after a review of the past year's operations in the field, and all the complex questions suspended upon this war, regard with fear and trembling the unbroken power of the "rebellion in the South," (so they are pleased to call it) and roundly declare, "we be to this nation (Lincolndom) if another May shall find the rebellion still brightly and defiant." The most natural interpretation of this prophecy is, a return upon themselves of all the woes they had vainly sought to bring upon us; a result at once well merited by them, and full of instruction to the world. We may reasonably expect that the evil wind which that honey prophet, Hiram Greeley, thus tremblingly announces, will blow good to somebody, for it is a very evil wind that does not. And considered by the rule of equitable award, we cannot but hope, in an over-ruling Providence, that the Southern Confederacy will have renewed cause for public thanksgiving and praise. Our present and urgent concerns should be to promote, in every possible manner the safety of our cause, and be ready, eye, ready to meet and defend our rights, and protect ourselves and our all against our enemies, now and at all times. If the month of May should roll around and find us thus successfully engaged, we will accept their beautiful flowers, green fields, and singing birds, with hearts glowing with gratitude to God for His benignity, and softened with pity for those whose wrongs and aggressions, evil passions and lusts have led them to incur overwhelming woes. Our security is in being ready for any emergency.

THE SABBATH.

We observe a movement is on foot to petition the Congress of the Confederate States, to abolish Sunday mails. It always appeared to us as a strange inconsistency in the Government of the United States, which professed to be a Christian Nation, should habitually and constantly violate one of the distinguishing requirements of the system it professed. There is no command in the Christian decalogue more positively enjoined than the observance of the Sabbath. There is no sin forbidden in the Bible for which Nations have been more frequently and terribly scourged than for the violation of the Sabbath. There is no command more fully sustained by sound reason and the laws of physical nature, than the observance of one day in seven as a day of rest. There is none, the observance of which, more manifestly fits man for his chief end. Hence, it has ever been a matter of astonishment and grief to Christian people, that the Nation, professing Christianity, should yet most flagrantly and unaccountably violate it. And it is from this view of the case, regarding our present National troubles as a just punishment for our sins, that it is proposed to petition Congress for a discontinuance of the Sunday mails. Having acknowledged the God of the Bible as our God, and having appealed to Him as our judge and almighty helper in this our struggle—submitted to Him our cause—there ought to be a corresponding submission to His requirements. Nothing is plainer.

Such is the view taken of the subject by the Christian people who have undertaken to bring it before the Congress. It appeals with the sanction of every consideration of interest, both for time and eternity, to all our citizens, and especially to those who acknowledge the Sovereignty of God over the affairs of men and Nations; and we believe if the effort be made in a manner equal to the importance of the subject, it will command the ready action of Congress, and we shall soon have reason to rejoice in the good fruit of obedience to the only King whom Americans can ever acknowledge.

THE "DANVILLE CONNECTION."—The Convention of North Carolina has granted a Charter to the Piedmont Railroad Company, for what is commonly known as the "Danville Connection"—provides for the building of a road from some point on the North Carolina Railroad to Danville, Va. This project has been uniformly opposed in the Legislature, by nearly all the Eastern members, and by some of the Western. It is adopted now, by the Convention, as a military necessity. The time may be near at hand when we shall greatly feel the need of it. Indeed, it would have been of great service during the past year, and we only fear that it is too late for present purposes to undertake to build it.

ES" Virginia, in the midst of all her troubles and notwithstanding the blockade, has not failed to pay the interest on her bonds in London.