

GOV. BROWN'S MESSAGE.

The late action of the Congress of the Confederate States upon the subject of the currency has rendered further legislation necessary in this State upon that question. It cannot be denied that this has seriously embarrassed the financial system of this State, and has shaken the confidence of our people in either the justice of the late Congress or its competency to manage our financial affairs. Probably the history of the past furnishes few more striking instances of unsound policy combined with bad faith. The government issues its Treasury note for \$100, and binds itself two years after a peace between the Confederate States and the United States, to pay the bearer that sum, and stipulates in the note, that it is fundable in Confederate States' stocks or bonds, and redeemable in payment of all public dues except exports duties. The Congress while the war is still progressing, passes a statute that this bill shall be funded in about forty days or one third of it shall be repudiated, and that a tax of ten per cent a month shall be paid for it after that time by the holder, and it is no longer payable in gold or silver, and stipulates in the note, that it is fundable in Confederate States' stocks or bonds, and redeemable in payment of all public dues except exports duties. The Congress while the war is still progressing, passes a statute that this bill shall be funded in about forty days or one third of it shall be repudiated, and that a tax of ten per cent a month shall be paid for it after that time by the holder, and it is no longer payable in gold or silver, and stipulates in the note, that it is fundable in Confederate States' stocks or bonds, and redeemable in payment of all public dues except exports duties.

The country expected the imposition of a tax, and all patriotic citizens were prepared to pay it cheerfully at any reasonable sacrifice; but repudiation of the faith was not expected, and the authors of it can not be held guiltless! The expiring Congress took the precaution to discuss this measure in secret session, so that the individual act of the representative could not reach his constituents, and none could be annoyed during its consideration by the murmurs of public disapprobation being echoed back into the Legislative Hall; and to the present Congress, they fixed the day for the assembling of the successors at a time too late to remedy the evil, or afford adequate redress for the wrong. These secret sessions of Congress are becoming a blighting curse to the country. They are used as a convenient mode of covering up from the people such acts or expressions of their representatives as will not bear investigation in the light of day. The most every act of usurpation of power, or of bad faith, has been conceived, brought forth and nurtured, in secret session. If I mistake not the British Parliament never discussed a single measure in secret session during the whole period of the Crimean War. But if it is necessary to discuss a few important military measures, such as may relate to the movement of armies, &c., in secret session, it does not follow that the discussion of all matters pertaining to the currency, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and the like, should all be conducted in secret session. The people should require all such measures to be discussed with open doors, and the press should have the liberty of reporting and freely criticising the acts of our public servants. In this way the reflection of the popular will back upon the representatives of the people, and the influence of such unsound measures as those which are now fastened upon the country in defiance of the will of the people.

But dismissing the past and looking to the future, we inquire presented for our consideration is how shall the State authorities act in the management of the currency of the State? Instead of adding to the debt of the State to be paid in future upon the gold basis. If the State issues her own bonds and puts them upon the market, or if she issues her own treasury notes redeemable at a future day in her bonds, she adds the amount so issued to her permanent indebtedness; and defeats the policy of paying as she goes; for the bonds, when redeemed, would be out, and could not be redeemed in Confederate notes when received into her treasury. If the State receives in payment of taxes the present Confederate treasury notes, they will be redeemed in amount one-third by act of Congress after the first of April next, and the State receiving them at par pays a Confederate tax of 33 1/3 per cent upon all moneys that pass through her treasury. This of course cannot be permitted.

The repudiation policy of Congress, seems therefore to have left us but one alternative; and that is to receive and pay out only such issues of Confederate notes, as under the act of Congress pass at par, without the deduction of 33 1/3 per cent per cent. But as we are obliged to have funds before the time when the new issues of Confederate notes go into circulation, we are constrained to supply the treasury in the meantime. The proper plan will be to issue State treasury notes, payable on the 30th day of December next at the treasury, and each of the more important cities of this State in Confederate treasury notes, of such issue as may be made after first April next, to be used as a circulating medium. This enables the State to anticipate the new issues, and issue in advance of their circulation the Confederate authority. The new Georgia treasury notes of this issue, would be just as good as the new issue of Confederate notes; because payable in them, and as current in payment of debts. The State should provide that all taxes hereafter due the State for this year, shall be payable in the Confederate treasury notes of this new issue, and that they shall be deposited in the treasury, when collected to redeem the State notes in them. The State should also provide that the State notes be returned and the Confederate notes received in place of them within three months after they are due, or that the State will no longer be liable for their payment. This would prevent holders from laying them away, and refusing to bring them in for payment when due, according to the terms of the contract. As the State tax is not due till next fall, there will be abundant supply of the new Confederate notes in circulation by that time, to obviate all difficulty in obtaining them by our people to pay the tax.

I recommend the passage of a joint resolution, authorizing the Governor to have funded in the six per cent bonds, provided for by the act of Congress, the Confederate notes which may remain in the treasury, and to issue in the hands of any of the financial agents of the State, after the first day of April next; and to sell and dispose of such bonds at their market value in currency, which can be made available in payments to be made by the treasury; and to credit the Treasurer with any losses that may accrue by reason of the failure of the bonds to bring up in the market.

THE NEW MILITIA ORGANIZATION AND CONSCRIPTION. Since your adjournment in December, the Adjutant and Inspector General, under my direction, has been all in his power to press forward the organization of the Militia of the State, in conformity to the act passed for that purpose; and I have the pleasure to state, that the enrollments are generally made, except in a few localities, where proximity to the enemy has prevented it, and the organizations will soon be completed.

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list, and to leave her without a force in the different counties sufficient to execute her laws or suppress servile insurrection. Our Supreme Court has ruled that the Confederate government has the power to raise armies by conscription, but it has not decided that it also has the power to enroll the whole population of the State to remain at home, so as to place the whole people under the military control of the Confederate government, and thereby take from the States all command over their own citizens, to execute their own laws; and place the internal police regulations of the States in the hands of the President. It is one thing to "raise armies," and another, quite different thing to put the whole population of the State under military law, and compel every man to obtain a military detail upon such terms as the central government may dictate, and to carry a military pass in his pocket while he cultivates his farm, or attends to his other necessary avocations at home.

Neither a planter nor an overseer engaged upon the farm, nor a blacksmith making agricultural implements, nor a miller grinding flour for the people, nor a cooper, or carpenter, or any part of the armies of the Confederacy, and there is not the shadow of Constitutional power vested in the Confederate government for conscribing, and putting these classes and others engaged in home pursuits under military rule, while they remain at home to discharge these duties. If conscription were constitutional, as a means of raising armies by the Confederate government, it would be unconstitutional, as a means of actually needed, and not to be employed in the army, and the Constitutional power to "raise armies," could never carry with it the power in Congress to conscribe the whole people, who are not needed for the armies, but are left at home because more useful there, and place them under military government, and compel them to get military details to plough their fields, shoe their farm horses, or go to mill.

Conscription carried to this extent is the essence of military despotism; placing all civil rights in a state of subordination to military power, and putting the personal freedom of each individual in civil life at the will of the chief of the military power. But it may be said that conscription may act upon one class as legally as another, and that all classes are equally subject to it. This is undoubtedly true, but the government has a right to conscribe at all, it has a right to conscribe persons of all classes, till it has raised enough to supply its armies. But it has no right to go farther and conscribe all, where by its own consent to remain at home to make supplies. If it considers supplies necessary, somebody must make them; and those who do it, being no part of the army, should be exempt from conscription and the annoyance of military duty, while engaged in their non-military pursuits.

If all between 17 and 50 are to be enrolled and placed in constant military service, we must conquer the enemy while we are consuming our present crop of provisions, or we are ruined; as it will be impossible for the old men over 50, and the boys under 17, to make supplies enough to feed our armies and people another year. I think every citizen of the Confederate States, who knows anything about our agricultural interests and resources will readily admit this.

If, on the other hand, it is not the intention to put those between 17 and 18, and between 45 and 50, into service as soldiers, but to leave them at home to produce supplies, and occasionally to do police duties within the State, which properly belong to the militia of the State, or other workers, or it is the intention simply to take the control of them from the State, so as to deprive her of the power to execute her own laws, or suppress servile insurrection, and place the whole militia of the State, not needed for constant service in the Confederate armies, and to place the President in control of them, while they are in their civil pursuits, the act is unconstitutional and oppressive, and ought not to be executed. If the act is executed in this State, it deprives her of her whole active militia, as Congress has so shaped it as to include the identical persons embraced in the act passed at your late session, and to transfer the control of them all from the State to the Confederate government.

The State has a right to enroll these persons under the solemn act of her Legislature for her own defence, and it is a question for you to determine, whether the necessities of the State, her sovereignty and dignity, and justice to those who are to be affected by the act, do not forbid that she should permit her organization to be broken up, and her means of self-preservation to be taken out of her hands. If this is done, what will be our condition? I prefer to answer by adopting the language of the present able and patriotic Governor of Virginia: "A sovereign State without a soldier, and without the dignity of strength—stripped of all her men, and with only the form and pageantry of power—would indeed be nothing more than a wretched dependency, to which I should grieve to see our proud old Commonwealth reduced."

every man taken from the field of production, and placed as a consumer in the military field, makes us that much weaker; and if we go far beyond the proportion, failure and ruin are inevitable, as the army must soon disband, when it can no longer be supplied with the necessities of life. There is reason to fear, that those in authority have not made safe calculations upon this point, and that they do not fully appreciate the incalculable importance of the agricultural interests in this struggle.

We are able to keep constantly under arms two hundred thousand effective men, and to support and maintain that force by our own resources and productions, for twenty years to come. No power nor State can ever be conquered so long as it can maintain that number of good troops. If the enemy should bring a million against us, let us remember that there is such a thing as whipping the light without fighting it, and avoiding pitched battles and unnecessary collisions; let us give this vast force time to melt away under the heat of summer and the snows of winter, as did Xerxes' army in Greece and Napoleon's in Russia, and the enemy's resources and strength will exhaust when so prodigally used, much more rapidly than ours when properly economized. In properly economizing our strength and husbanding our resources, lies our best hope of success.

Instead of making constant new drafts upon the agricultural and mechanical labor of the country, for recruits for the army, to swell our numbers beyond our present muster rolls, which must prove our ruin, if our provisions fail, I respectfully submit that it would be wiser to put the troops into the army, and leave none enough at home to support them. In other words, compel the thousands of young officers in gold lace and brass buttons, who are constantly seen crowding our railroads and hotels, and refusing to do their duty at their posts; and the thousands of straggling soldiers who are absent without leave, or by the favoritism of officers, whose names are on the pay rolls, and who are not producers at home, to remain at their present places in the army. This is justice alike to the country, to the tax-payers, to the gallant officers who stand firmly at the post of duty, and the gallant soldiers who seldom or never get furloughs, but are always in the thickest of the fight. When they are enduring and suffering so much, why should the favorites of power and those of their comrades who seek to avoid duty and danger, be countenanced or tolerated at home, while their names stand upon the muster rolls?

If all who are able for duty, and who are now nominally in service drawing pay from the government, are compelled to do their duty faithfully, there will be no need of compelling men over 45 to leave their homes, or of disbanding the State militia to place more men under the President's control.

CONFLICT WITH THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT. But it may be said that an attempt to maintain the rights of the State will produce conflict with the Confederate government. I am aware that there are those who from motives not necessary to be here mentioned, are ever ready to raise the cry of conflict, and to excite the passions of the people of Georgia, in every case where her constituted authorities protest against the encroachments of the central power, and seek to maintain her dignity and sovereignty as a State, and the constitutional rights and liberties of her people.

Those who are unfriendly to State sovereignty and desire to consolidate all power in the hands of the Confederate government, hoping to promote their undertaking by operating upon the fears of the timid, after each new aggression upon the constitutional rights of the States, fill the newspaper presses with the cry of conflict, and warn the people to beware of those who seek to maintain their constitutional rights as agitators or partisans who may embarras the Confederate government in the prosecution of the war.

Let no one be deceived by this false clamor. It is the same cry of conflict which the Lincoln government raised against all who defended the rights of the Southern States against its tyranny. It is the cry which the usurpers of power have ever raised against those who rebuke their encroachments and refuse to yield to their aggressions.

When did Georgia ever yield to the Confederate government in any matter pertaining to the vigorous prosecution of the war? When did she fail to furnish more than her full quota of troops, when she was called upon as a State by the proper Confederate authority? And when did her gallant sons ever quail before the enemy, or fail nobly to illustrate her character upon the battlefield?

She can only rebel to the attacks of his enemies in the field of conflict; but she can not proudly repel the assaults of those who, ready to bend the knee to power for position and patronage, set themselves up to criticize her conduct, and she can not challenge them to point to a single instance in which she has failed to fill a requisition for troops made upon her through the regular constitutional channel. To the very last requisition made she responded with alacrity, and with the whole duty to the cause and to the Confederacy, but while she does this, she will never cease to require that her constitutional rights be respected and the liberties of her people preserved. While she deprecates all conflict with the Confederate government, if to require those be conflict, the conflict will never end till the object is attained.

For freedom's battle once begun, Though baffled oft, is ever won, will be emblazoned in letters of living light upon our proud banners; until State sovereignty and constitutional liberty, as well as Confederate independence, are firmly established.

SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS. I cannot withhold the expression of the deep remonstrance felt at the late action of Congress in attempting to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and to confer upon the President power expressly denied to him by the Constitution of the Confederate States. Under pretext of a necessity which our whole people know does not exist in this case, whatever may have been the motives, or Congress with the assent and request of the Executive, has struck a fell blow at the liberties of the people of the Confederate States. The Constitution of the Confederate States declares that "The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." The power to suspend the *habeas corpus* is all derived, not from express and direct delegation, but from implication only, and an implication never raised in opposition to an express restriction. In case of any conflict between the two, the implied power must always yield to express restrictions upon its exercise. The power to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* derived by implication must therefore be always limited by the express declaration in the Constitution that:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons to be seized;" and the further declaration that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." And that "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State or District where the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence."

part officers to investigate" the legality of arrests ordered by him? Why not permit the Judges, whose constitutional right and duty it is, to do up proceedings of the accused under an impartial jury? We are witnessing with too much indolence assumptions of power by the Confederate government, which, in ordinary times, would arouse the whole country to indignant rebuke and stern resistance. History teaches us that submission to one encroachment upon constitutional liberty is always followed by another; and we should not forget that important rights, yielded to those in power, without rebuke or protest, are never recovered by the people without revolution.

If this act is acquiesced in, the President, the Secretary of War, and the commander of the Trans-Mississippi department, under the control of the President, each has the power conferred by Congress, to imprison whomsoever he chooses; and it is only necessary to allege that it is done on account of "reasonable efforts," or of "conspiracies to resist the lawful authority of the Confederate States," or for "giving aid and comfort to the enemy," or other of the causes of arrest enumerated in the statute, after the arrest, if a writ of *habeas corpus* is sued out, and no court dare inquire into the cause of the imprisonment. The statute makes the President and not the courts the judge of the sufficiency of the cause for his own acts. Either you or any other citizen of Georgia, may, at any moment (Mr. Vallandigham was in Ohio) be dragged from your homes at midnight by armed forces, and imprisoned at the will of the President, upon the pretext that you have been guilty of some offense of the character above named, and no court known to our judiciary can inquire into the wrong, or grant relief.

When such bold strides towards military despotism and absolute authority are taken by those in whom we have confidence, and who have been placed in official position, to guard and protect constitutional liberty, it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to sound the alarm, and of every State Legislature to stand in thunder tones to those who assume to govern us by absolute power, that there is a point beyond which freemen will not permit encroachments to go. The Legislatures of the respective States are looked to as the guardians of the rights of those whom they represent, and it is their duty to meet these dangerous enactments upon the liberties of the people promptly, and to express their unqualified condemnation, and to instruct their Senators and request their Representatives to repeal this most monstrous act, or resign a trust which, by permitting it to remain on the statute book, they abuse, to the injury of those who have honored them with their confidence, in this trying period of our history. I earnestly recommend that the Legislature of this State take prompt action upon this subject, and stamp the act with the seal of their indignant rebuke.

Can the President no longer trust the judiciary with the exercise of the legitimate powers conferred upon it by the Constitution and laws? In what instance have the grave and dignified Judges proved inflexible or untrue to our cause? When have they embarrased the government by turning loose traitors, skulkers or spies? Have they not, in every instance, given the government the benefit of their doubts in sustaining its action, though they might thereby seem to encroach upon the rights of the States, and for a time deny substantial justice to the people? Then why this implied censure upon them?

What justification exists now for this most monstrous deed, which did not exist during the first or second year of the war, unless it be found in the fact, that those in power have found the people ready to submit to every encroachment rather than make an issue with the government, while we are at war with the enemy, and have, on that account, authorized the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, since the Bill of Rights and act of settlement passed in 1859. To comply with this, would our present reigning Queen no longer prize her crown? The only suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* known to our Constitution, and compatible with the provisions already stated, goes to the simple extent of preventing the release under it of persons whose arrests have been ordered under constitutional warrants from judicial authority. To this extent the Constitution allows the suspension in case of "rebellion or invasion, in order that the accused may be safely held for trial; but Congress has no right under pretext of emergency to authorize the President to make illegal arrests prohibited by the Constitution, and when Congress has attempted to confer such power on the President, if he should order such illegal arrests, it would be the imperative duty of the Judges, who have solemnly sworn to support the Constitution, to disregard such unconstitutional legislation, and to release every person so illegally imprisoned; and it would be the duty of the Legislative and Executive departments of the States to sustain and protect the judiciary in the discharge of this obligation.

By an examination of the act of Congress now under consideration, it will be seen that it is not an act to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in case of rebellion or invasion, but that the main purpose of the act seems to be to authorize the President to issue warrants supported by neither oath nor affirmation and to make arrests of persons not in military service, upon charges of a nature proper for investigation in the judicial tribunals only, and to prevent the Courts from inquiring into such arrests, or granting relief against such illegal usurpations of power, which are in direct and palpable violation of the Constitution. The act enumerates more than twenty different causes of arrest, most of which are cognizable only in the judicial tribunals established by the Constitution, and for which no warrants can legally issue for the arrest of persons in civil life by any power except the judiciary, and then only upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, particularly describing the persons to be seized; such as "treason," "reasonable efforts to give aid and comfort," "attempts to incite to servile insurrection," "the burning of bridges," "Railroad," or "telegraph lines," "harboring deserters," and "other offences against the laws of the Confederate States," &c., &c. And as if to place the usurpation of power beyond doubt or cavil, the act expressly declares that the "suspension shall apply only to the case of persons arrested or detained by the President, the Secretary of War, or the General officer commanding the Trans-Mississippi military department, by authority and under the control of the President." In the cases enumerated in the act, most of which are exclusively judicial in their nature, it is in cases the President has no cognizance, and in which the Constitution gives no warrant or order arrests, but is actually prohibited by the Constitution from doing so.

Let it be repeated again and again to the Northern people, that all we ask in, that they recognize the great principle upon which their own government rests—the sovereignty of the States, and let our own people hold our own government to a strict account for every encroachment upon this vital principle.

Herein lies the simple solution of all these troubles. If there be any doubt, or any question of doubt, as to the sovereignty will of any one of all the States of this Confederacy upon the subject of their present or future alliances, let all armed force be withdrawn, and let that sovereignty will be fairly expressed at the ballot box by the legal voters of the State, and let all parties abide by the decision. Let each State have and freely exercise the right to determine its own destiny, in its own way. This is all that we have been struggling for from the beginning. It is a principle that secures rights, inalienable to freemen, and formidable to tyrants only.

Let both governments adopt this mode of settlement, which was bequeathed to them by the great men of the Revolution, and which has since been adopted by the Emperor Napoleon, as the only just mode for the government of States, or even provinces, and the ballot-box will soon achieve what the sword cannot accomplish—restore peace to the country, and uphold the great doctrines of State sovereignty and constitutional liberty. If it is a question of strife between Kentucky or Maryland, or any other State shall cast her lot with the United States or Confederate States, there is no mode of settling it so justly, with so little cost, and with so much satisfaction to her own people, as to withdraw all military force from her limits, and leave the decision, not to the sword, but to the ballot box. If she should decide for herself to abolish slavery and go with the North, the Confederate government can have no just cause of complaint, for that government had its origin in the doctrine that all its just powers are derived from the consent of the governed," and we have no right to insist on governing a sovereign State against her will. But if she should decide to retain her institutions and go with the South, as we doubt not she will when the question is fairly submitted to her people at the polls, the Lincoln government must acquiesce, or it must repudiate and trample upon the very essential principles upon which it was founded, and which were carried out in practice by the fathers of the Republic, for the first half century of its existence.

What Southern man can object to this mode of settlement? It is all that South Carolina, Virginia, or Kentucky, claimed when they seceded from the Union. It is all that either has at any time claimed, and all that either has ever had a just cause for. What friend of Southern independence fears the result? What has the Abolition government done to cause the people of any Southern State to desire to reverse her decision, and return ingloriously to its embrace? Are we afraid the people of any seceded State, will desire to place the State back in the Abolition hands, under the Lincoln despotism, after it has devastated their fields, laid waste their country, buried their cities, slaughtered their sons, and degraded their daughters? There is no reason for such fear.

But I may be told that Mr. Lincoln has repudiated this principle in advance, and that it is idle again to tender a settlement upon these terms. This is no reason why we should withhold the repeated rebuke for the proposition. Let it be made again and again, till the mass of the Northern people understand it; and Mr. Lincoln cannot continue to stand before them and the world, stained with the blood of their sons, their husbands, and their fathers, and insist, when a proposition so fair is constantly tendered, that thousands of new victims shall still continue to bleed, to gratify his abolition fanaticism, satisfy his revenge, and serve his ambition to govern the South, and the millions of our property, and like extremes of the Southern side, whose morbid sensibilities are shocked at the mention of negotiation, or the renewal of an offer by us for a settlement upon any terms, I cannot doubt that the cool-headed, thinking men, on both sides of the line, who are devoted to the great principles of self-government and State sovereignty, including the sacred rights of the people, will finally settle down upon this as the only equitable and just solution of the problem which now embarras so many millions of people, and will find the higher truth between the two extremes.

If, upon the sober second thought, the public sentiment North sustains the policy of Mr. Lincoln, when he proposes, by the power of the sword, to place the great doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of this country, under his feet, and to establish his constitutional liberty also. The achievement of our independence is a great object, but no greater than the preservation of constitutional liberty. The good man cannot read the late proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, without being struck with the resemblance between it, and similar one, issued several thousand years ago, by Ben-hadad, king of Syria. That wicked king, after having conquered the city of Samaria, and vanquishing himself in numbers, and putting his trust in chariots and horses, he invaded Israel, and besieged Samaria with an overwhelming force. When the king of Israel, with a small band, resisted his entrance into the city, the Syrian king sent him this message: "Thou shalt deliver us thy silver and thy gold, and thy wives, and thy children; yet I will send my servants unto thee to-morrow, about this time, and they shall search thee, and whosoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall put in their hands and take it away." The king of Israel consulted the Elders, after receiving this arrogant message and replied: "This thing I may not do." Ben-hadad enlarged in this reply, and confident of his strength, sent back and said: "The Gods do so to me, and more also, if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls, for all the dust of Samaria that follow me." The king of Israel answered and said, "Tell him, let not him that girdeth on his harness, boast himself as he that putteth it off."

The result was, that the small band of Israelites, guided by Jehorah, attacked the Syrian armies, and routed them with great slaughter, and upon a second trial of strength the Syrian armies were destroyed, and their king made captive. The king of Israel, following the example of this wicked king, and relying upon his chariots, and his vast armies, to sustain a course equally unjust, proclaimed to us, that all we have is his, and that he will send his servants, whose numbers are overwhelling, with arms in their hands to take it, and threaten vengeance if we resist; let us—tell the people that which girdeth on his harness, boast himself as he that putteth it off." The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. "God is the judge, he putteth down one and setteth up another." Not doubting the justice of our cause, let us stand in our allotted places, and in the name of Him who rules the hosts of Heaven, and the armies of earth, let us continue to strike for liberty and independence, and our efforts will ultimately be crowned with triumphant success. JOSEPH E. BROWN.