where she is, and protected by presss and

us in the face in the example of our own

country. We see it in every sight; we

feel it in every emotion; we hear it in

every sound. When our present govern-ment was established, every thing possible

was done in the interest of State Rights,

every conceivable gnarantee was taken for

individual freedom-as little as possible

was conceded to the Federal government.

The Federal government was "cabinned,

cribbed, confined, hedged in by saucy doubts and fears." The school of extreme

State Rights were at work framing a Con-

stitution for a federal government, with

the accumulated suspicions of seventy

years. Their did their work well. The

problems to be solved was the framing of

a Federal government, with the minimum of power to function. I thought at the

time it was useless labor, because I con-

ceived, in the humility of my judgment,

that the Constitution of a country was that

which its necessities pointed out, and that

you could not in advance say would be the

necessities of a Confederacy exposed to

perpetual war with a neighboring power

of superior force. But the framers of our

Constitution were not deterred by any such

considerations as these from their work .-

They established their Confederacy, guard-

ed and limited in the interest of the rights

of the separate States as much as possible.

Well, we have been at war not quite four

years, and what is the result! Is not our

Federal government in the exercise of eve-

ry possible power of a national centralized

military despotism? Suppose there were

no States, only provinces, and unlimited

power was conferred upon you and Cou-

gress, what greater powers would you ex-

ercise than you now do? Have we not

not every man in the country between 17

and 50 subject to military authority?-

None are exempt except upon considera-

tions of public interest. Have we not

been compelled to lay direct taxes in the

very teeth of the theory of the Constitu-

tion! Have we not issued such vast

amounts of paper money as to unsettle all

values? - Have we not compelled the hold-

ers of our paper money to fund it, or lose

one-third? Have we not seized all the

railroads? Have we not destroyed rail-

roads and built others? Have we not es-

tablished an universal system of impress-

ment of property, at our own prices, in

our own money? Have we not establish-

ed a government monopoly of the expor-

tations of the great stapl s of the country !

Have we not forbidden the importation of

luxuries? Have we not compelled those

whom we permit to remain at home, to

execute bonds to furnish their products to

us at our prices? Have we not suspend-

ed the writ of habeas corpus? Have we

not introduced the passport system, which,

we used to think, belonged exclusively to the

iron despotisms of Europe! In short has

not our Federal government done every

thing that a centralized military despotism

could do? Indeed if you were appointed

Military Dictator, what greater powers

would you exercise than you now do! I al-

lude to these things not to complain of them,

but to lament them. If you tell me they

are necessary, I reply that is precisely my

argument. My argument assumes and re-

quires that necessity. It is plain that our

government exercises the powers of a cen-

tral despotism. I blame no one for it. I

am sure those who are at the head of the

government would gladly have it other-

wise, but necessity compels the course they have taken. But I shall be told, per-

haps, this necessity is limited to the war,

and when peace returns we will go back

to our old state of liberty. That depends

upon the kind of peace. A peace without reconciliation carries in its bosom the seeds

of new wars. This armed peace and its

offspring war would fasten upon us perma-

nently a central military despotism. It is

common to hear it said that the United

States have gone into despotism. If so,

then it is a very sad truth for us, for that

would develop their maximum military

power, and would, of course, necessitate

the same thing in the same way on our

part. The truth is, we are vitally interest-

ed in the preservation of free institutions

in the Northern States, because the people

of the United States will not make their

own institutions, but they will make ours.

If they acquire their maximum military

strength by going into despotism, we must

do the same, just as if they were to origi-

nate new and overpoweringly destructive modes of warfare, we would have to re-

sort to the same or be overwhelmed .-

Some persons of intelligence concede that

the Northern people have gone into des-

potism, but ridicule the idea of such a ca-

lamity befalling us. To such I would re

ply, we are but human beings, not Gods,

and we acted upon a necessity as other

people. The truth is, that the government

at Washington has not dared to exercise

power on the grand scale that our govern-

ment has. The Lincoln government has

not ventured to resort to an effective con-

scription; it has not resorted to taxation

as we have; it has no tax in kind; it does

Morth-Carolina Standard

THE COUNTRY CLERGYMAN. Near yonder copse, where once the garden smil'd And still where many a garden flower grows wild There, where a few torn shrubs the place disclose The village preacher's modest mansion rose. A min he was to all the country dear, And passing rich with forty pounds a year; Remote from towns he ran his godly race, Nor e'er had chang'd nor wished to change his place. Unpractic'd he to fawn or seek for power, By doctrines fashion'd to the varying hour; Far other aims his heart had learn'd to prize, More skill'd to raise the wretched than to rise; His house was known to all the vagrant train, He chid their wand'rings but roller'd their pain; The long remember'd beggar was his guest, Whose beard descending swept his age! breast; The ruin'd spendthrift, now ro longer proud, Claim'd kindred there, and had his claim allow'd; The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay, Sat by his fire and talk'd the night away,

Shoulder'd his crutch, and show'd how fields were Pleas'd with his guests, the good man learn'd to

Careless their merits, or their faults to scan, His pity gave 'ere charity began : Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride, And even his failings lean'd to virtue's side; But in his duty prompt at every call, He watch'd and wept, he felt and pray'd for all; And, as a bird each fond endearment tries, To tempt its new fledg'd offspring to the skies; He try'd each art, reprov'd each duil delay.

And sorrow, guilt, and pain, by turns dismay'd, The reverend champion stood, at his control, Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul; And his last falt'ring accounts whisper'd praise. At church, with meek and unaffected grace, His looks adorn'd the venerable place; Truth from his lips prevail'd with double sway, And fools who came to scoff remain'd to pray : The service past, around the pious man, With ready-zeal each honest rustic ran; E'en children follow'd with endearing wile,

His ready smile a parent's warmth exprest, Their welfare pleas'd him, and their cares distrest; To them his heart, his love, his griefs, were giv'n, But all his serious thoughts had rest in heav'n; As some tall clift that lifts its awful form, Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm, Tho' round its breast the rolling clouds are spread, Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

MR. BOYCE'S LETTER.

WINNEBORO', S. C., Sept. 29, 1864.

His Excellency, Jefferson Davis: Sig: The Democratic party of the United States, in their recent Convention at Chicago, resolved that if they attained power they would agree to an armistice and a Convention of all the States, to consider the subject of peace. I think that action demands a favorable response from our Government. You are the only person who can make that response, because our Congress does not meet until after the time appointed for the Presidential elec tion. If our Congress met in time, I should propose the action I desire taken to that body, and submit to its judgment my argument; but as that opportunity does not occur, I have no alternative but to remain silent, or address myself to you. I cannot consistently, with my ideas of duty, remain silent. I therefore address myself to you. We are waging war to obtain a satisfactory peace. By a satisfactory pleace. I mean a peace consistent with the preservation of our free institutions. By a satisfactory peace, I do not mean that cossation of hostilities which might, after a protracted contest, result from the exhaustion of the belligerents, whereby the sword would fall from their nerveless hands, their hearts a prey to the furies .-Such a peace as that would be but a hollow truce, in which each party would be incessantly preparing for a new, final and decisive struggle. The peace which I mean is a peace which reconciles the interests and the feelings of the belligerents; a peace, in short, which restores harmony. Unless we can obtain such a peace as this. our republican institutions totter to their fall, and we become the subjects of a military despotism. Every Government must exist; that is the law of its being. If it is attacked by great force it must bring a proportionately great force to its defence. If its form is such as not to furnish military strength to the full extent of its means, it must disregard that form. The Republican form, especially the form of a Confederacy of free States, is not the best adapted for war. In fact it is a peace establishment. The form best adapted to war is a national military despotism. The Republic at war is gradually passing into military despotism. As the war continues and the pressure of its enemy increases, this transition is accelerated. A Republic forced to the wall by a powerful enemy must end in despotism. If we turn our eyes to Europe we find only two nations with free institutions, Great Britain and Switzerland. Why is this! The reason is obvious. The necessity of being constantly in the highest state of preparation for war, compels every country to the utin ist development of its military strength. Absolute government is a part of that state of preparation, and therefore absolute government is the ordinary condition If there were no other obstacle to France being a rapublic, the immense standing mics she is compelled to keep constantly under arms, would be conclusive. France is compelled to keep 600,000 men always in arms. France is obliged therefore to be what she is a military despotism .-Take the case of Prussi in the celebrated seven years war. Suppose her institutions had been liberal, what would have been the result? Frederick the Great would either have had to abandon the struggle, or seize all power. Nothing but absolute power in the hands of Frederick enabled him to come forth victorious from the contest. He sacrificed everything else in Prassia to the one idea of military strength. As Prussia had no natural defences, and was greatly interior in strength to the other great powers, it was necessary to give exclusive development to the military iden; this Frederick did. As Macauly said, he made Prassia "all sting." This was logical in Frederick. To save Prassia it was necessary to give her the maximum of military strength-he did this. Prus-

found Prossis an absolute monerchy, he | lise the experts; it does not rely on im-left it an entrenched camp. Liberty was | pressments. It plays the tyrant, but it presements. It plays the tyrant, but it hesitates to seize the sceptre.

I think I have established my proposinever thought of. It is impossible in her condition. If Prassia with her excellent population were at a vast distance from

tion, that our Republican institutions are lost unless we have a peace accompanied mountains, she might be a republic; but where she is, it is impossible. On the conby harmony with the North. The great question for us then is: How are we to obtain such a peace?

Before I consider this question. I would call your attention to this fact, that the peace we are to make with the North, is to be made by us and the North alone. There is no probability of any foreign intervention; by that I mean any armed interference in our behalf. The peace between the North and the South, when it comes, must come then by the action of these parties alone. Foreign powers will not interfere. The question then is: How are these belligerent States now so fiercely engaged, to obtain this peace with reconciliation, which I have said is necessary to preserve their Republican form of government? It is a great question. I now ap-

I admit in the first place that a success ful military defense is indispensable; without that nothing can be anticipated but utter rain. But is this all I think not. There is something over and above success in war. That is political policy. If Mr. Lincoln remains in power, there is no hope of accomplishing anything by political policy. Mr. Lincoln is the exponent of the fanaticism and hatred at the North .-He holds power because he is the expe nent of these sentiments of his party; in order to be master of others, he has to be their slave. He cannot be rational upon the subject of slavery, because he represents madmen; he cannot exercise what Burke calls the truest political wisdom, magnanimity, because he represents malignants. Besides Mr. Lincoln is committed by his past career to the most violent course. If he had been a statesman when he became President he could by a wise policy have restored harmony. But in the great crisis, when statesmanship could have accomplished so much, he uses no effort to harmonize, but yielded himself up a mere instrument of the foolish mob, as if statesmanship came from below upwards. Mr. Seward by his speeches made in the winter of 1860, showed that he comprehended the policy of conciliation, but just at the moment when it became necessary to put in force his fine maxims he found no use for them. Mr. Lincoln's mode of carrying on the war, his emanci-pation policy, the licence he gives his army to commit the greatest outrages shows that he relies on nothing but force. I confees, therefore, I have no hope of Mr. Lincoln as a pacificator. I should as soon have selected Charles IX. to pacify the Huguenots after the massacre of St. Bartholemew. But fortunately Mr. Lincoln and those he represents, are not all of the North. There is a powerful party there which condemn his policy. The party is carried conscription to its last limits? Is rational on the subject of slavery. It represents whatever of amity or conservation is left at the North. This party proposes that the war shall cease at least temporarily, and that all the States should meet in amicable council, to make peace if possible. This is the most imposing demonstration in favor of peace made at the North since the war broke out. I think our only hope of satisfactory peace, one consistent with the preservation of free institutions, is in the supremacy of this party at some time or other. Our policy, then, is to give this party all the capital we can. You should, therefore, at once in my opinion, give this party all the encouragement possible, by declaring your willingness to an armistice, and a convocation of all the States in their sovereign capacity, to enter upon the subject of peace. The theory upon which this party goes, is that we are willing to cease hostilities, at least temporarily, and meet in council to obtain peace if possible. The theory upon which Mr. Lincoln goes is, that there is no use to attempt any negotiations with us; that the sword is the only arbiter. Our policy is to show that the theory of the Chicago party is the true one. To put this matter in another light, let us ask the question, what is the policy that Mr. Lincoln wishes us to pursue? Of course he wishes us to verify his theory and falsify the opposite theory .-He wishes to treat the advances of the Chicago Convention with contempt. He wishes to be able to say to the Northorn people, "see the government at Richmond tramples upon your tenders of peaceful negotiation, McClellan could ac-

we know what Mr. Lincoln wants us to do, then we know very certainly what we ought to do. -It may be said, the proposed convocation of the States is unconstitutional. To this I reply, we can amend the Constitution. It may be further objected that to meet the Northern States in Convention, is to abandon our present form of government. But this no more follows than that their meeting us implies an abandonment of their form of government. A Congress of the States in their sovereign capacity is the highest acknowledgment of the principle of State Rights. This imposing assemblage is, in my opinion, the best, while it is the most august tribunal to which the great question of peace could possibly be referred. Imagine this grand council of States in the act of convening after the people everywhere in peaceful possession of the right to elect their ambassadors, had done so. What a sublime spectacle it would present. There would be nothing to compare with it in moral grandeur in ancient or modern times. The friends of humanity and progress, and civilization, and all Christians in every land would rejoice at the spectaele, and millions in every clime, the good everywhere, would mingle their prayers in all tongues for an auspicious issue to those great deliberations. The question rests with you. The responsibility is with you, the consequences will be with your country. You and Mr Lincoln can never make peace. You may traverse indefinitely the same bloody circles you have been moving in for the last four years, but you will never approach any nearer than made no effort to save liberty. Frederick not prohibit imports; it does not monopo- | you now are. Your only hope of peace

complish nothing by negotiation, war is all

that is left, don't remove me, I am carry-

ing that on with especial zeal." When

is in the ascendancy of the Conservative party North. Fortify that party if you can by victories, but do not neglect diplomacy. It was the boast of Philip the great king, that he gained more cities by his policy than by his arms. A weak power engaged with a stenger must make up in sagacity for what it lacks in physical force, otherwise the monuments of its glory become the tombe of its nationality. With sentiments of the highest respect,

I remain, your fellow citizen, WILLIAM W. BOYCE.

The Position of the Standard in 1863. Extract from the North Carolina Standard, of date August 25th, 1868.

The Observer reminds us that when this State seceded (for they would pass Mr. Craige's accession ordinance,) from the old government, that act was "final." So it was to all human appearances, and so we hope it may be. We hope the State acted "finally," and we still think she acted "wisely."— When two evils are before us, and there is no escape, true wisdom is shown in choosing the lesser evil.-Our State did that. Her people did not desire to secede. They were wiling to try the administration of Abraham Lincoln, and to rely meanwhile on the great body of the American people to rescue the government from sectional conflicts, to restore to it a national administration, and thus perpetuate it if possible, for all time. They felt that, having with them both branches of the Congress and the Su preme Court, President Lincoln could not seriously injure their property in slaves, nor deprive them of their rights in the territories, even if he would .-They intended, if he attempted such a thing, to resist him in the Union, aided as they would have been by one million of national men in his own section. If, during this trial, he had driven our people with their slaves from the common territories or attempted in any way by an overt act to impair our right to our slaves in the States, they would have succeeded, with the help of their Northern at-lies, not only in checking him, but in punishing him for such maladministration and corruption in office. But the precipitate and wicked action of the cotton States on the one hand, and the cruel and wicked policy of President Lincoln on the other, left us no alternative. We were obliged to figure our full brother of the South or our half brother of the North. We chose to do the latter, and we acted "wisely." If we had not done so, we should have been trampled by both armies-we should have had civil war among ourselves-the North would have despised us for our want of manhood, and the South would have regarded us as false to our own instincts and our own blood. We repeat, our State was not a free agent-she was obliged to pursue the course she did. Thoughtful and sagacious men, while they trod unshrinkingly the path of duty, saw before them the fires of civil war, but beyond these fires all was darkness and uncertainty. Acting "finally" as they hoped, they put every thing to the arbitrament of arms. The result is partially before us. The abolitionists of the North and the original secessionists of the South, acting and reacting on each other, have in all probability "proved themselves the most skilful architects of ruin that any age has produced." Stavery has suffered more injury during the last two years than would probably have befallen it in the long sweep of fifty years under the old government. The peculiar champions of the institution have placed it, we foar, on the high road to extinction. And just here, we beg leave to say to the Observer, is the source of one of the most serious apprehensions of our people. The sudden emancipation of our slaves in our midst would be the greatest blow which could be inflicted on Southera society. It would ruin this generation beyond redemption, and its effects would be felt for ages to come. Nor would this rain be partial. It would include the non-staveholder as well as the slaveholder, and finally the slave himself. Subjugation, if tion. Hence our people, while they are for contin-uing the atruggle, and while they are still anxious if possible to make good their "final" separation, are nevertheless disposed to pry into the future, to see if, in the last resort, something better than subjugation cannot be obtained. If the worst should stare them in the face as it does not now but as it may, they would have peace under certain circumstances; yet if the worst should come, and they could see no honorable mode of escaping it, they would all die together with their slaves and their little ones, fighting with a desperation which the

world has never witnessed. The Observer is disposed to twit us on our decla ration in May, 1861, that this State had pledged to the cause her "last man and last dollar." Let us see if this pledge has not been redeemed. This State has sent 95,000 men to the field. This comprises all her fighting population, (of course we did not mean to include the old men and yearling boys,) save those between 40 and 45, now being conscripted, and about 10,000 able-bodied original sccession isis, who refused to redeem the pledge which they authorized us to make in May, 1861. So much for the "last man." Our debt. County and State is equal in amount to one-tenth of what the whole State would bring in market, in silver and gold. The "last dollar" in specie, or in convertible paper, has long since disappeared. The State could no doubt borrow Confederate money at a premium of two for one-that is, she could sell one of her one hundred dollar bonds for two hundred dollars : but ten dollars in gold will purchase one hundred dol lars in Confederate money : and it follows that she could sell her bonds for only ten cents in the dellar in specie. So much for the "last dollar." We re gret to have to make these statements, but we are

ooliged to do so in self defence. The Observer, very ingeniously, and very justly

in one sense, says that negotiations for peace can be instituted only through the Confederate government. But we must look at things as they are, and not as we would have them. It Mr. Lincoln should so far recognize Mr. Davis as to open negotiations with him, he would surrender the whole question of the war. To treat with the Confederate government for peace is to recognize shat government .-Will Mr. Lincoln do that? No. Will he ever do it? Not unless the Northern Governors and Logislatures shall rise up and command him to do it. Is that probable? Not in the present status of things .-We may werry the Northern people to such a point, or we might so interest foreign powers as to induce them to take steps which would lead to such a re sult; but are these things probable? Not just now-not, we lear, for some time to come. What then? Shall we again invade the Northern States and so distress them by fire and sword as to com pel 'them to sue for peace ? Can we do that? Are we able to do it? We fear not. What then? 1 the federal government will not hear the Confeder ate government, it may hear the severeign States The people of the States, North and South, by mu tual co operation, may obtain an armistics. If that can be done, the war will be at an end. Is it not worth the trial? If the two armies should once rest to listen to the voice of negotiation, our word for it hostilities would not be resumed. The whole question would pass, and pass finally into the bands of the statesmen of the two sections. "Grim-visaged war would smooth his w.inkled front "-the arbitrament of the sword would give place to the voice of discussion and negotiation-reason would be substituted for passion and revenge, and the ex asperations of the two sections, cooled and sobered by reflection and a calm survey of the entire situation, past, present and future, would leave the mind of the country in a condition to devise some means for restoring peace on terms honorable to all. Nor will these movements by the States depress or discouraged our soldiers in the field. On the contrary, they will fight and endure with renewed cheerful ness when they know that their friends at home are omitting no steps that may promise to crown them with the reward of all their toils-a just and honor able peace. But it is said that some of the cotton States are already greatly distressed, and that they may soon indicate a wish for negotiations. But they are already subjugated, and at the mercy of the enemy. Mississippi and Louinens are prostrate, sullen and silent. They have ceased, so far as their peo ple at home are concerned, both to fight and talk for peace. They are powerless. South-Carolina and Alabama may soon be in a similar condition. -Must we swait the action of these States? And if we do, are we, with arms in our hands, unsubdued,

with the port and spirit of freeman still characterizing

our people, to be bound by what they may agree

to? They are in no condition to offer terms, but cers from other States; and though this does we are. We may interpose to obtain terms for them and ourselves, but they are comparatively power-less, with the boof of the invader already on their breach. The Observer says, "if we had—gained some great rictory, or series of victories" recently, "there would be some sense in proposing to negoties." But when shall we gain even one great victories. Still suppose a should some home way. tory? Still, suppose we should, as we hope we may, what would be the result? What is to become o Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Western Virginia? Does any one believe that a great victory would not encourage our government to insist that all these States shall go with us? Will one great victory, or a series of victories, wrest from the enemy the Mississippi valley? Are we likely to recapture Vicksburg, Port Hudson, Memphis, Natchez, and Nashville, or either of them? We fear not. Can we even drive the enemy from Newbern, in our own State? Will we be able three months hence to hold the Wilmington and Weldon Road? Is Charleston safe? Is Richmond entirely safe? These are questions which deserve the most serious con sideration. Reasoning and reasonable beings must look ahead, if they would profit by the lessons of the past or provide for the future. The farmer who pitches his crop, and the mechanic who casts off his work, look ahead and provide for events. Shall those who have in charge the affairs of a great people be less thoughtful and less forecasting? wise man foreseeth the evil and hideth himself, but

fools pass on and are punished." The Observer does us the justice to say that we are opposed to reconstructing the old government. We are opposed to it, and have been from the first whatever some of our correspondents may have been permitted to say to the contrary; but, having put the whole matter on the issue of the aword having discarded reason under the pressure of circumstances we could not avoid and appealed to physical force, we do not hesitate to say that before we would see our State permanently subjugated and trodden down, as Mississippi is; we would consent to a restoration of the eld government, or the establishment of a new common government, with all our rights guaranteed, as the lesser evil. But we would avoid this by all the means in our power, as a great political and sectional humiliation; and beuce we are for fighting and talking at the same time for some settlement which will leave at least a portion of the slaveholding States under a separate, common government. If forced to choose between the two evils, we would rather live with than under the Northern people. Our resentments are as strong as they can be against those who have carried fire and sword through our country, and many of whose soldiers have committed wanton and crue outrages on our people; but we could not, as a ra-tional being, sacrifice the happiness and the lives of both races in the South merely to gratify hatred

North-Carolina and the War. Extrast from "The Battle of Great Bethel," by FRANK I. WILSON, Eag.

Let it be remembered that the first blood shed in this war, in regular battle, was shed at the battle of Great Bethel; and let it also be remembered that the first blood of a Southern soldier that stained Confederate soil, was the blood of a North Curo linsan-young Wyatt, who knew not the meaning of fear, and was insensible to danger when and where duty called. He was but a private soldier but no braver spirit has more nobly perished on the battle-field, whether clad in uniform or in humble garments. And from the day of his death the troops of North-Carolina seem to have emulated his example. They have been among the bravest and most reliable troops in our armits, and have been excelled by none. They have ever sprung with alacrity where duty called them, and by their steady firmness, their determined purpose, their resolve to conquer or die, they have accomplished deeds that will place them among the highest on the scroll of fame, when the truth of history shall be unrolled. For all this they have not sought preise-they only want justice, for justice itself is their highest praise. And little, indeed, is the praise they have received, tongues, envious pens, and begrudging hearts. On-hundreds of bloody fields thousands of her best and bravest sons have fallen with their faces to the foe; and their heroism and self devotion are unchron

bloody graves. Do North-Carolina troops achieve a victory, the newspapers nearest the scene of operations, either pass it over in silence or represent it as a small afair; or if they speak of the bravery of the troops, they strangely forget to tell what State the troop are from. If they meet with a reverse, which, thank God! is seldom, these same newspapers bruit it abroad, magnify it, and ring changes upon it with

icled-their glorious deeds are as silent as their

apparent delight

It is not my purpose to retaliate by concealing the heroism of other troops, or by attempting to pluck one leaf from the wreath of honor that encircles their braws; but to contrast the conduct of those papers, and to show their (im) partiality in chronicling faithfully the events of the day, I will say they have never yet published the fact that North Carolina troops have, on two occasions at least, charged over the prostrate forms of troops of another State, and accomplished the work to which these prostrate soldiers could be neither led nor

Let us look at a few recent events. Gen. Ram seur not long since met with a slight reverse near Winchester, Va. What degree of consure, if any, he merits. I know not But let him be fairly judged and acquitted or punished as he deserves; for would screen no officer or soldier from merital censure, whether from North Carolina or elsewhere. But certain newspapers in and around the seat of Government, seized upon the affair, held it up as 'Ramseur's defeat," and seemed delighted to ailude to it as " the first reverse to our arms since the Maryland campaign commenced," Of course this "reverse" was attributable to North-Carolinans, under a North-Carolina commander. Had they been troops from some other State, would the have been heralded with such a flourish "reverse" of trumpets? Perhaps the following will answer

Quite recently-since "Ramseur's defeat"-Pe gram's Battery was captured and the troops sup porting it repulsed. I know not that those engage were to blame. I have no reason to think they did not fight bravely and do all that brave men could under the circumstances; but these same news papers touched the affair gingerly-cut it off with a paragraph—and never mentioned the States from which the troops came-a sure indication that they were not from North Carolina; and they were not. A few days afterwards about 5,000 North-Carolinians, with a few other troops, encountered about 17,000 of the enemy at Gravely Hill, not far from Richmond, drove them back several miles, and killed, wounded and captured many; and yet, if the editors of these papers have ever heard of the fight at Gravely Hill, I am not aware that they have ever communicated the information to their

In fact one or more of the Richmond papers, some lays after the affair at Bethel, seemed to have doubts about any such battle having been fought at all.— Was it because North Carolina troops, principally,

were engaged? More recently still. On Sunday, 21st of Augus last, our forces were repulsed in their assault on the enemy's lines near Petersburg, on the Weldon railroad. Virginia papers told us that the repulse was attributable to the conduct-one of them says "the shameful conduct" of a certain brigade which gave way at a critical moment, and could not be rallied but they told us not what brigade it was, nor have they yet done so. We all know it was not a North-Carolina brigade.

On the following Thursday the enemy was attacked near Reams' Station, on the same road, driven ack into their fortifications-their fortifications stormed and carried—and the Yankee bosts scatter ed like chaff before our invincible soldiers. Thanks to that good and greet-hearted man, Gen. Lee, he tell us in his official dispatch that Cook's, McRae's and Lane's North Carolina brigade, with Pegram's artillery, composed the asseulting columns.

If ad not Gen. Lee stated these facts, it is quite

likely none of the Virginia papers would have

troubled their readers with the information. North-Carolina, too, has fewer high officers than any other State that has furnished so many troops. But few of her sons have been promoted, and too many of these few, here, as well as elsewhere, have apparently been selected, not so much with reference to qualifications as to partizan predilect ons. Our troops, for the most part, must fight under offi-

affect their willingness to fight, they cannot considering it an indignity to their State. Look, too, to the present position of one of he most cherished sons, Gen. D. H. Hill, the hero Bethel. For nearly a year he has been command, but he has not been idle. He has suffino fine drawn military etiquette, to which victor no fine drawn in the same too frequently sacrific and the cause itself put in jeopady, to and the cause itself put in jeopardy, to interior with his love for and duty to his country. He has taken part something in many recent battles, taken part, some signed to a command for the special occasion. case is awakening indignation against his pursuen and creating a corresponding sympathy for him a the hearts of his countrymen throughout the Control of the hearts of the federacy. He is now more honored, more resp sad looked to with more trustfulness, than those who would hold him down. He has proven the he has the cause of his country at heart, and the self is not considered. He knows his country will do him justice, and lets not the injustice him by malice or envy or other cause, interior with his lave of duty. He had too much of the "ge ahead," and too little of the "falling back" qualifications, to render him a fitting person for special favors and place him in the safe line of properties.

Posterity will do him justice, and litting person to the safe line of properties. pecial lavora and place do him justice, and like his adopted State, he is content with this. North Carolina, too, has more volunteers in pro-

portion to her population, than any other State; and the Conscript law has been more rigidly enforced in her borders than in those of any other forced in her borders. State; yet, because there are some deserters and State; yet, because skulkers in her western counties, more than ball of whom are from others States, she must be signatised as "the tory State," and the Habeas Corps act must be suspended for her special benefit. On half of Virginia may set up for itself and join Lin-coln, and hundreds of her Eastern citizens may have taken an oath of allegiance to Abraham the last; yet we hear nothing of tories there. Cotton and sugar planters "down South" may take the oath of allegiance and cultivate their own land with what were formerly their own negroes, by giving the Yankees one half of the products; pr we are not told of any tories there. North-Carolin must be made the scape-goat to bear off the sins of the other States, to gratify official spleen, partian malice and envious hearts. She can well afford to act in this capacity; she can well endure the contemptible scoffs and sneers of her traducers, for sta knows the sun of her fame shines but the mon brightly, in contrast with their dark conduct to wards her, and that she is so far beyond their pury shafts that, but for pity, she could smile complecently upon them. The truth of history, she knows, will do her justice, and conscious of this she moves along serene and undisturbed, though the lets fall a toar of pity for the depravity of those usailing her. She asks no official bolstering, no high wrought eulogies of venal pens and, hireing scrib blers. She would blush at any notoriety given her by such means, and in her honest pride would de nounce such false glitter, knowing it was not glor. She cares not that abuse of her is made a stepping stone te court favor and promotion. She know that all such will soon find their level, unfathomabir beneath her. She does her duty, bravely, nobly and is satisfied to bide her time until the demoni zation and enviousness of the present day shall he given place to a fairer, less prejudiced and less corrupt era.

One other instance. At the battle of Gettysburg certain brigade was hoisted to the top of the lader of praise for having stormed and carried a portion of the enemy's works. It is needless say what Sine these troops were from; they were not from North-Carolina, or we should never have heard of the grand achievement. The Virginia papers piled Pelion upon Ossa, and day by day bore up material to add to the length, breadth and height of the sta

pendious pile. And what are the facts? The works were stormed and carried in spite of a few straggling Yankes left behind, the "grand army" having evacuated the place and commenced its retreat. There had been, but a little time before, a heavy force there, and had it remained until our assaulting column arrived it is highly probable that few or none the assailants would have escaped. In that case had they been North Carolina troops, it would have been a blunder. But honor to the officers and men engaged, for they expected formidable opposition; and I mention the affair merely to show with what facility Virginia editors can magnify mole hills into mountains when certain troops are spoken of, and reduce mountains to mole hills when other troops form their theme. Had North-Carolina troops stormed these works, the whole affair would most like have been considered a ludicrous joke; or an attempt might have been made to create the impression that they knew the works were abandoned, and sough

glory which they knew would be bloodless. To add insult to injury, it is also sometimes intimated that the North-Carolina troops are put in the front of the fight, in order that other troops behind them may prevent their running away; but none of them have ever yet been made to fall while other troops have charged over them. Ask Gen. Lee and other honest officers why they are so frequently put in the front, and they will tell you, because they are reliable. At Yorktown North-Carolina troops were placed in front, and in the retreat from that place they brought up the rear. Thus was the post of honor and of danger assigned them in both

Quite recently-O, tell it not in Gath, nor pub lish it in the streets of Richmond !- these same Vir ginia papers, for purposes beat known, perhaps to themselves, have spoken well of the "honor," and "conservatism" of North Carolina. "Timeo Do naos et dona ferentes." Still they say nothing of

the bravery of our soldiers. If a man has reviled, abused, and spoken contempt uously of you through a series of years, or slighte and ignored you, and all at once begins to praise you, can you regard it as complimentary? Can you believe him sincere? Would you not not urally suppose he had some sinister motive for his sudden change? It you are wise you will watch

him with incessed vigilance. It must be mortifying, too, to every true son of North Carolina to see our own State papers copying these articles, and expressing thanks and grateful feelings for them; just as a child who has been scolded, is pleased by a kind word from the one who had scolded it. It is too much like the whipped spaniel that will turn and lick the hand that smots him, for a kind pat on the head. No; let them abuse her-it is her praise; their praise is her bank Sordid motives sometimes prompt the language compliment. Political considerations often do the same. Spite at one party not unfrequently suggest praise of another, when neither is regarded with any kind feelings, the show of kindness being put for party purposes—to dupe one into antagonism with another. North Carolina has too much seem to be thus duped, and too much penetration not it see the serpent coiled beneath the rose. She above calling upon her defamers to prove her gove character. She can afford to despise both them and their testimony, well knowing they will have no weight with an impartial historian. Concious retitude can wait its vindication; conscious guilt seeks for props and stays, and would deceive the world by creating an impression of its innocence, even by pulling down the innocent and building itself upon the ruise. The guilty are generally the first accessers, in order to divert suspicion from themselve.
To prezent their own conduct being discussed, the had rather discuss and draw public attention to that

North-Carolina rests her fame upon her deeds not upon her words. It is not necessary for her defame others. She is willing to award praise to all who deserve it. She seeks the injury of none, and she has no fears that others can irjure her. Calin and unmoved she pursues the even tenor her way, appreciating her friends and passing by her foes with silent contempt, mingled with pity for the envy of some and the malice of others. groundless projudices of those high in authority, weigh no more with her than the paltry attacks or slights of petty newstaper scribblers, puffed up sub-officials and dastardly tools of would be tyrant

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Relaigh, Sant. 99, 1274.

Raleigh, Sept. 29, 1564.

sia still has a place on the map, but he

tinent of Europe no State can exist with free institutions, because the form of government must be such as furnishes the greatest amount of military strength. -Perhaps it may be said that Switzerland contradicts my theory. I reply that Switzerland is an exceptional case—a few nests of poor people buried in remote vallies surrounded by inaccessible mountains; they are not worth conquering. Besides the mutual jealousy of the great powers is their real safeguard. England is the only great and free power in Europe. This is owing to her insular position. The ocean is the divine charter of her freedom. If Wept c'er his wounds, or tales of sorrow done, nothing but a surveyor's line separated England from France, England would be a military despotism as France is. No country can be free which has to sleep with her hand on her sword. But why resort to general reasoning and the condition of European nations to prove what I have asserted, when the proof stares

And quite forgot their vices in their woe; Allur'd to brighter worlds and led the way. Besides the bod where parting life was laid,

Comfort came down the trembling wretch to raise, And pluck'd his gown, to share the good man's

Goldsmith.