

Hillsborough Recorder

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS—THE GUARDIANS OF OUR LIBERTY.

Vol. XLIV.

HILLSBOROUGH, N. C., AUGUST 12, 1863.

No. 2207.

ENGLISH OPINION.

In the English House of Lords, on the 4th July, Lord Campbell spoke to his motion for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. We give some extracts from it:

"From the Northern mind it would take away the hope of Southern subjugation, from the Government of Washington it would take away the power of describing eleven communities contending for their liberty as rebels. The people of America are influenced by phrases and will not come to terms with what they have been hounded on to look at as a rebellion. But they can see a fact when Europe blazons it before them, and they will be awakened by her judgment to the nature of the foreign war on which their treasure and their happiness are wasted. When Europe has acknowledged it, the independence of the South may be debated in the Senate and the House, where no one now can venture to advert to it. A probable result of such a measure, if pursued by France, Great Britain, and other neutral States together, is, that it would weaken in the Executive at Washington its borrowing ability, because their loans are founded on the chances of reconquest; and reconquest would then appear what it is, a vision and a mockery. And it would do so with good reason. Victorious already, animated then, the Southern armies would be doubly irresistible.

"Another practical effect of recognition would be that the belligerents might then endeavor to negotiate, which it is clear they cannot do at present. A separate result would be to put an end to all the idle dreams of reconstruction and of union which are floating in America, and which serve to prolong the war, because they incline the North to the only basis upon which the close of it is possible.

"And is the issue doubtful? The capitalists of London, Frankfort, Paris, Amsterdam, are not of that opinion. Within the last few days the Southern loan has reached the highest place in our market. £3,000,000 were required. £9,000,000 were subscribed for. The loan is based upon the security of cotton, and it has been well known for a twelvemonth that as the invaders march that security must perish. But what is the opinion of military men upon the issue? The Emperor of the French, having been brought up as a soldier—having given a long life to military science; and having recently commanded the greatest armies of the day at Solferino and Magenta—in the dispatch of November last did not conceal from the Government of Washington that subjugation was impossible. The Princes of the House of Orleans, who served with Gen. McClellan, are thought to have inspired the excellent account of the campaign which appeared on October 15th, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and which has also tended to disperse the vision of reconquest. To the same scale of judgment Gen. Scott appears, by recent revelation, to contribute. And this, too, is remarkable. Not one military man in the North is known to view reconquest as attainable. Neither Gen. McClellan, Burnside, Rosecrans, McDowell, Halleck, or Buell, have ever publicly declared, so far as it has reached us, that the object of the Government they serve under is feasible.

"The cheap, ignominious task of prophesying triumph has been wisely left to the voluminous dispatch writer, Seward, who, whatever be his virtues or accomplishments, is no more qualified to judge the issue of campaigns than he is to guide the movements of battles. It is, therefore, necessary to inquire what proof, then, of its ability has this aggressive Cabinet developed? Is it in appointing, superceding, or replacing the commanders it must lean on? Is it in their firm adherence to principles? At one time they were opposed to the invasion they have plunged into. Is it in their conduct about slavery? At one time they boasted of their disposition to maintain it. Soon after they desired the larger States to be delivered from it. After that emancipation was declared, but

only in the States which were resisting them.

"Are these the movements of a Government by which the broken fragments of the Union can be welded, a mighty continent subdued, eight million freemen braced into a unit, robbed of home, of honor, and of freedom? But who are they arrayed against? The House ought not, indeed, to join in the encomiums on the Southern President, which heat and sympathy have prompted. As no one was deemed happy by the ancients until his life had closed, no one will be stamped as great by us until his enterprise has triumphed. But so much may be hazarded of this extraordinary man, that, gifted amply by nature, he has made the union of political and military excellence his object, and that as far as Europe has observed, in the midst of danger and care, such as few men have the power to imagine, fewer to sustain, he has exhibited the patience and the enterprise, the ardor and the coolness, the heroism and urbanity, for which it generally happens that nations draw their birth and civil wars accept their destination. And this is most important to remember—if we look back to such conjunctures we do not find an instance in which mind, character, capacity have yielded to the want of all, no matter how well sustained the latter as regards forces, number and revenue.

"If noble lords agree, therefore, with the financial world, with military men, and with the Government of Washington itself, that the issue is not doubtful, and if, therefore, Great Britain has the right to acknowledge Southern independence, why ought she to exercise it? The first answer is because honor calls on her to do so, and it rests on a detail which I shall rapidly explain to your lordships. British Consuls have remained during the war at Mobile, Charleston and Savannah. They are there for the protection of our subjects, who reside by thousands on the seaboard. In times like these their presence is essential. Were it not for consuls to identify them, the severe enlistment laws of the Confederacy might at any time descend on our people; or in the sudden turns of war their goods might be destroyed without a clue to ownership or means of compensation. They are also there to witness the blockade, and to report upon its efficacy. And these Consuls draw their *exequaturs* from the Government of Washington. They are a standing degradation to the power which receives, which shelters and endures them. We are not inclined to withdraw them. We ought, therefore, to accredit them to the insurgent who permits them to reside, and if we do he is acknowledged. Honor forbids nations, as it does men, to run up a score of gratitude themselves, and to create a score of just resentment in its object, to offer insult at the moment they are profiting by favor. In one sense alone do the Confederacy gain by the arrangement; we give them all the grandeur of forbearance; they allow our Consuls to reside, and we withhold the recognition which public law entitles them to ask of us. But is not our aspect with regard to them a poor one? We deny their rights over their territory, and yet at their hands receive the safety of our citizens.

"A noble earl who gained his laurels in the East, well pointed out to us last session that, whenever the war closed Canada would be endangered. If victorious, the Northern States might attack it in the drunkenness of pride; if defeated, in the bitterness of torture. Some men, out of doors, have been so infatuated as to hold that by carefully abstaining from anything which gives umbrage to the United States we should defend it. As if aggressive powers had ever been restrained by wanting pretenses for the wars they were inclined to. The security of Canada is quickly seen by your lordships to reside in one circumstance alone—the danger of attacking it. That danger will at least be greater when the Southern power is kindly to Great Britain than when it is estranged, inasmuch as the aggressive State will then have to contemplate the chance of an attack upon his rear as well as the blockade

of his seaboard. No doubt Canada is safe while the civil war continues; but we are neither able nor entitled to prolong it for her safety. The civil war may close after the acknowledgment of Southern independence by the Emperor, although Great Britain has not shared that manifesto.

"The friendly disposition of the South is therefore necessary to us; it is attainable, and if we wantonly forego it, if we allow the war to close before we have acknowledged, both the separated powers being irrevocably hostile to us, we may be forced, now to guard Canada from one, the West Indies from the other. Our diplomatists, moreover, would have no influence or voice in the Confederacy, whether they attempted to soften the resentments which the war had left behind it, to gain legitimate advantages in trade, to deprecate aggressive views, or to improve the situation of the negro.

"It is for a despotism that the people of the North are pouring out their blood, and tarnishing their glory. Already it exists. It had its birth in war, and it would take its immortality from conquest. Then, would the Union be restored for the advantages of the world? What country would be safe? What country would be free? Would Poland gain when the only friend and patron of the Czar recovered his original dimensions? At first, indeed, the necessity of Southern garrisons might keep them in repose. But in a few years—and they do not labor to conceal it from us—a power more rapacious, more unprincipled, more arrogant, more selfish and encroaching, would arise, than has ever yet increased the outlay, multiplied the fears, and compromised the general tranquility of Europe. And on this overgrown, on this portentous form of tyranny and egotism, many countries would depend for the material of that important industry which languishes at present."

VICKSBURG WHILE UNDER SIEGE.

Correspondence of the Augusta Constitutionalist.

Vicksburg, June 26.

MR. EDITOR:—About five weeks of this long battle have gone by, and at the hour I write Vicksburg has not fallen.

But will it fall? Yes. True, you can neither get this nor my former letter until either my prediction is falsified by the victorious advance of Gen. Johnston, or verified by the flag of truce by which I hope to forward my letters after I am a prisoner.

You have been informed that this boasted Gibraltar of the South is impregnable to all save starvation; and so it is, for the enemy pronounce our works stronger than the famed defences of Sebastopol. Commodore Porter says so, and he was there at the siege.

The soldiers now do not get in a day as much as a man usually eats at one meal. The citizens suffer like the soldiers; corn meal has sold at \$40 per bushel, and now cannot be had. My mess bought a barrel of flour for \$130 in the first days of the siege. Beef was long kept down to 75 cents per pound, by the fact that the beef cattle were all driven inside of the lines, and one small cane-break and a few shucks were the only means of feeding them. Beef is now \$2 per pound, and the family I board with has not been able to buy any at that price for three days. Corn meal brought \$60 per bushel to-day. Molasses is \$8 per gallon. Sugar 75 cents. (Remember that the sugar crops of the West were stored here!)

Some of the Louisiana regiments eat anything, and some of them called here yesterday with a large wharf rat, and offered to pay fifty cents each for every rat they could get! A neighbor of ours gave them four.

Examine then the probabilities, which will be certainties when you get this. For five weeks, the most of the time under a rain which converted the lime dust into a bed of paste, the soldiers have lain in the trenches, six feet wide and four feet deep, without shelter above, and with only dust or mud under their thin blankets. The water is hot, scarce, and only to be procured from the ponds or river, under fire,

and at the risk of life. There are not enough of our men to relieve each other, while the host in front of them sends fresh men forward every twenty-four hours, who fire with artillery and small arms day and night, and consequently our men get little sleep or rest. The lines of the enemy are in some places within ten feet of our ditches, close enough to make scribbling on ship crackers and tossing them into our ditches, a favorite amusement. Consequently one-third of the men have to be always watching for a charge, knowing that the occupation of twenty yards of our entrenchments would be fatal to Vicksburg.

When they yield at last, as yield they must to some terrible assault or to starvation, let no exempt who reads of the fall of Vicksburg as he sits at a table piled with enough food for a company of soldiers, presume to question their patriotism or their courage. Defeated and prisoners as they will be, the historian of other days will record no prouder names than those of the Defenders of Vicksburg.

* * * Inside of this slaughter pen we have the same solid facts as before. Shells the size of half a bushel, filled with powder, and containing tubes filled with a liquid which burns all in reach of its molten flame; huge black monsters, borne in an instant from that red hell beyond the trees, and sweeping down in the roar of their own whirlwind, looking with that one red demon eye for something to destroy; they come, thicker than did the lost angels from the battlements of Heaven.

* * * A few are singing their "peculiar song" just now, but not so numerous. The loss of life here is not great, considering that shells have fallen sometimes at the rate of five thousand an hour, and Minnie balls are buried in these hills by millions. I find few now who do not acknowledge to some special providence. The terms with which men disguise from their fellow men their own deep feelings are still upon their lips, but many a heart has learned again the prayers of childhood, and lofty faith looks out amid the invisible perils of the day and the flaming terrors of the night, feeling that the soul can "defy a darkening universe, to quench its immortality or shake its trust in God."

July 3.—This is now our 48th day within this Gibraltar of the South, and our rations are out. I told you we would stay until starved out. Well, rats are a luxury. Small fishes sell at twenty dollars, chickens at ten dollars each. Corn meal has sold at one hundred and sixty dollars per bushel. Mule meat has sold readily at two dollars per pound in market, and I ate it a week. The soldiers have had only one meal a day for ten days, and then one man does not get what a child should have. My regiment got their last quarter rations to-day, and while there are a few peas left, I presume General Pemberton does not wish to surrender his command in a high state of colic.

I have lately spent considerable time at the lines, and can speak from experience, both of the horrible heat and terrible fire. All the heavy guns captured from us at Snyder's Bluff, Grand Gulf, Port Gibson and Baker's Creek, are now in position, besides the siege guns of the enemy. I stay in the tent of Col. Barkaloo, at the lines, and the shells which pass through the crest of the earthworks, pass over the top of the tent just eight inches. As the rush of the huge Parrot shells, which are twenty-two inches long, and seven inches thick, can be distinctly heard at a mile distance, you can imagine the perfect shriek with which the 150 pounds of iron rushes by one's head. I have heard them whistle fully as loud as an ordinary locomotive would at a few feet distant.

As to the huge iron orbs of 200 pounds weight, which yet come by hundreds from the gunboats, they would make a hurricane ashamed of itself.

Several mines have been exploded under our trenches, and while the earth does not produce such terrible results as falling masonry would, still the list of killed and wounded in this way is frightful. Three regiments were blown in the air at once,