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NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS.

It can no longer be doubted or denied that there is a division in public sentiment in North Carolina—on the one hand a determination to resist subjugation by the Yankee government, and to achieve the independence of the Confederacy; on the other a "peace party," as it is falsely called, that would be willing to have independence, but clamors for peace, with or without independence. Those first mentioned are unmistakably headed by Gov. Vance. The others by the Raleigh *Standard*, though that paper does not itself go the length of some of its followers, for it has very recently declared itself opposed to a reconstruction of the Union.

Before addressing a respectful appeal to the *Standard* to consider well the character and tendency of the so-called Peace Party, we feel it right and just to say, that we do not hold that paper primarily responsible for the most unfortunate condition in which the State is involved. The real authors of the mischief are those who refused to recognize the palpable fact that, after Lincoln's Proclamation of April 1861, North Carolina was thoroughly united in the determination to resist the subjugation of the South under the policy foreshadowed by that Proclamation. We say thoroughly united, and know what we say. With more sorrow than we ever did any public act, this paper promptly and unhesitatingly resolved to resist subjugation. Without waiting to see what the members of the great party with which we had been identified would do, and fearing indeed that many of them would adhere to their love of the Union and come to a different conclusion from that at which we had arrived, we felt that the existence of the South as a people and the security of their liberty and property, demanded instant and effective resistance. Within six hours after the receipt of that Proclamation, without consulting with a human being, for there was no need of consultation about so self-evident a proposition, we united in the determination unanimously made by a great meeting in this town, to "take all proper steps to maintain, secure and defend the rights of North Carolina as one of the Southern States," and to support the authorities of the State in "asserting our rights and defending our soil." We had the inexpressible gratification to find that this action met with a cordial and unanimous response from all parts of the State, and from none more cordial or unanimous than from our old political friends. The *Standard* of that day, with equal promptitude, took the same stand. And five weeks afterwards, as a member of the State Convention, its Editor voted for and deliberately put his name to the Ordinance which forever separated North Carolina from the Federal Union, and identified her, in interest and honor, as she was already identified in location and homogeneity of institutions, with the Southern Confederacy. We have no doubt now, and never had, that the Editor of the *Standard* was perfectly sincere in his course, and in the pledge he then gave of "the last dollar and the last man" of North Carolina to maintain the declaration then made by him and his associates in the Convention, and approved by her whole people, as was abundantly testified by the promptness with which her "best and bravest" rushed to arms.

But unfortunately the State Administration of that day and its organs and advisers were incapable of comprehending the amazing spectacle of a divided people united in one moment by a common impulse of self preservation. The condition of things demanded that a party Administration should as instantly throw off every shackle of party, see nothing but a united people, and tolerate no proscription or denunciation—no war but a war upon the common enemy. There was not soul enough in the whole set that then controlled the State to realize the importance of this line of policy. Every man who had been a Union man was sedulously proscribed.

Certain malignant organs of the pow-

ers that were, talked of "putting a mark upon the foreheads" of those who had been their political opponents but had become their co-laborers in the work of defence against Lincoln. The most eminent men of the old Whig party, such as Messrs. Badger, Graham, Vance, and Gilmer, were falsely and foully denounced along with the Editor of the *Standard* as faithless to the South, opposed to the war, and in favor of reconstruction. Even we, only about a year ago, were plainly charged by one of these contemptible organs with favoring the North because we favored the election of Col. Vance as Governor. We treated the imputation with scorn, and so did all of those whom we have named except the Editor of the *Standard*, who unfortunately did not choose to suffer the incessant abuse heaped upon him above all others.

The result of all this, to say nothing of the aid and comfort given to the malignant partisans by the unfortunate course of the Confederate Administration towards North Carolina—a course evidently prompted by those partisans and which might have been avoided if the President himself had so far realized the unity of the country as to call into his councils even one man that had the ear of his old political opponents—was to infuse into the minds of many people in and out of the State the false idea that there was a party in North Carolina opposed to the war and to a dissolution of the Union. And when the people looked at the alleged leaders of that pretended party, and found them to be men eminent for their ability as well as for personal integrity and purity, what more natural than that they should conclude that there was reason for hostility to the war and to dissolution, else surely such wise and good men, who had so great a stake in the community, would not entertain such opinions. As we have said, it was not true that they did entertain such opinions. But the incessant dinning it into the ears of the people persuaded many a man that it was true. And so men have been educated by certain bad papers and bad men in North Carolina into the belief that there were weighty reasons for opposing the war and desiring reconstruction.

With inexpressible regret we have seen the *Standard* giving way before the assaults of its enemies, which it could so well have afforded to disregard, and lending its admitted ability and influence to the malcontents thus created by the teachings of those enemies. We have not, however, denounced the *Standard*, as many have done and do, because we still hoped that some remains of common sense and patriotism would come to the aid of our suffering country and preserve it from the evils of division, and from the even possible horrors of civil war. We do not denounce it now. We rather appeal to it, to its good sense, its love of country, its every feeling of humanity, to use its influence to discountenance the meetings which its friends are holding in various parts of the State. The immediate cause of the earlier of those meetings was the appointment of a Virginian to an important civil office in this State. That cause has been removed by the removal of the Virginian. Another cause was the vindication of the Editor of the *Standard* from those assaults which he and they would have been wise to have treated with contempt. The third and last avowed cause of these meetings is a desire for peace. Everybody in the Confederacy desires peace. The questions are, what sort of a peace, and how is it to be obtained?

The *Standard* has very recently denied, with emphasis, that it favors a reconstruction of the Union. Of course it does not. What it said, on the 20th of May 1861, it still wisely holds to, viz: that North Carolina then "acted FINALLY" and "WISELY." But some of its friends, not so discreet as the *Standard*, have gone beyond it on this question. Witness the treasonable resolution that disgraced the action of the meeting in Surry county, which we were mortified to find in the *Standard* of the 11th inst. That resolution will do more for the Yankees than any army that they have can

effect. But not that meeting only will encourage them. All the resolutions about peace, and sending commissioners to negotiate, are but so many instigations to the enemy to persevere, so many indications that they may hope to find friends in North Carolina. It is said by the *Standard* and others, with great plausibility, that there can be no peace without preliminary negotiations. But it is perfectly manifest that Lincoln's government is now utterly unwilling to negotiate upon any terms short of unconditional submission. The *Standard* is naturally and properly opposed to that, and no meeting but this one in Surry has hinted at such disgraceful terms. Why therefore encourage the enemy and discourage our own gallant soldiers, all for nothing? If we had gained some great victory, or series of victories, or if our nationality had been recognized abroad, or if the Yankees had gotten to fighting among themselves over their conscription, there would be some sense in proposing to negotiate. And if the *Standard* and its friends will wait till some of these things occur, and we don't think they will need to wait long—we will join them in the hope that the Confederate Administration, (the only power that can lawfully or properly do so,) shall again propose terms of peace and independence, or negotiations, or an armistice to lead to them, notwithstanding the refusal even to listen to the formal proposition carried to them by a commissioner no less eminent than Vice President Stephens, as they had previously refused to listen to the proposition of President Davis.

The *Standard* may not possibly be aware of some of the influences that have led to and controlled some of these meetings. We have reason to believe that in at least one case a meeting was in great part composed of the immediate relations and friends of a number of deserters who are prowling about the woods in that neighborhood, and that its main object was to countenance the dastardly conduct of these deserters. Again we have heard that the prime movers of some of the meetings are men between 40 and 45, who are thus muddying the waters for the purpose of divising some mode of screening themselves from obedience to their country's call. They held no peace meetings when their younger neighbors were carried off to the army; but are suddenly great peace men now that they themselves are called to the field. And still again, a friend has stated to us the argument of one of the so-called peace men, which was to this effect: That peace and reconstruction would only result in the abolition of slavery, and as he and many others owned no slaves, they need not care—their property would be safe. To say nothing of the baseness of such a motive of action, it is false in fact. The Yankee confiscation law embraces every kind of property, negroes, lands, furniture, goods, everything. There is no exception whatever, and he is simply a fool who imagines that the law will be varied to suit his own case. The Court in Washington City has already expressly decided otherwise, in twenty cases that came before it, and all the property, none of which consisted of slaves, was condemned. Besides, the express promise to the Northern soldiers has been that they shall have the plantations of the Southern people after conquering them. And while the Yankee officers took the large possessions of the wealthy planters, the small plantations of the non-slaveholders would be the very thing to allot to the brutal Yankee soldiers, who have been guilty of every sort of outrage, from stealing to murder. Let no man delude himself with an idea, which the *Standard* is too sensible to entertain for a moment, that the non-slaveholders would be exempted if they should be so unwise as to make any peace short of independence.

But suppose they should be so favored as to escape confiscation, we ask them how they would manage to live in such a state of society as would be forced upon them, in which they would be the inferior race, kept down by Yankee bayonets?

But perhaps they might purchase a tem-

porary exemption by doing what Kentucky and Missouri and Maryland are doing, that is, by allowing themselves to be conscribed in the Yankee army. That is the fate of those three States. They undertook to stand neutral, and the consequence is they have thousands of unwilling soldiers in the Yankee army. But what advantage would that be to our peace men? If obliged to fight at all, is it not far better to fight on the side of their neighbors and friends, their section and their country, their honor and their property, than on the side of the mean and base and malignant and thievish Yankees? They must fight on one side or the other: which shall it be? Can any sensible man, to say nothing about patriotism, hesitate to take his stand against the infernal Yankees?

Such are some of the views which we take of the present condition of things. There are others of more delicacy to which we refrain to allude. They are presented, not in the usual style of denunciation now too common, but calmly, appealingly, even beseechingly. Some may think it beneath their dignity to appeal to the *Standard*. We do not. The peace of the State and the independence of our country are objects of incalculable value. They would have been far more likely to be secure if we had had less of denunciation and more of reason and persuasion. The only hope we have of their preservation is in the restoration of that feeling in which the whole State, as one man, entered upon this great contest of resistance to subjugation. That unity can never be restored by violence. It is possible that it may be by reason, remonstrance, forbearance, and justice. We make an appeal, the most earnest that we know how to frame, to the good sense and patriotism of the *Standard*, to discountenance those meetings, to forego the gratification of their endorsement of its course, and thereby prove that it is in the highest sense worthy of respect and praise;—to discountenance their assaults upon our common Administration and their worse than idle talk of peace, which the *Standard* knows they have no prospect of obtaining by such illegitimate and insufficient means. These meetings are powerless for good, and only productive of ill blood at home and of encouragement to our common enemy. So far as the Confederate Administration is concerned, it is understood that North Carolina will have no further reason to complain—that the late conference between Gov. Vance and the President led to the most cordial good feeling, producing results perfectly satisfactory to Gov. Vance.

The *Standard* has for years past treated the Observer with uniform and marked courtesy. The Observer appeals to it, implores it, not to pass unheeding by this opportunity to save the State, which we think its Editor loves, from a bitter personal and party contest, and possibly from anarchy or civil war, and thereby to make for itself and him a reputation above the value of ten thousand resolutions. It is possible that such a course will show even to those who own and those who control the party presses which seem to have no other food than abuse of the *Standard*, that they may be better employed. But even if it should fail of so sensible an effect, the *Standard*, if it pursue so sensible and patriotic a course, may well afford to treat them with scorn and contempt.

HON. THOMAS S. ASHE.

The Hon. Thomas S. Ashe has been nominated for re-election in the Seventh Congressional District under circumstances which leave little doubt of his success—his nomination in the *Wadesborough Argus* having been endorsed by the Charlotte Democrat with warm commendation. Col. S. H. Christian is his opponent. We copy from the Fayetteville Observer the following report of the remarks made by Mr. Ashe at a meeting at Albemarle on the 11th instant, when the candidates announced themselves:

Mr. Ashe opened the discussion by reviewing the course he had pursued in the last Congress; stating what votes he had given on the leading questions before Con-