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ADDRESS OF THE ARMY.

To the People of North Carolina.

A general convention of delegates from each Regiment of Troops from North Carolina in the Army of Northern Virginia, held at Orange C. H., Va., on the 12th of August, did us, the undersigned, the honor to appoint us a committee, to prepare and publish to you an address, invoking your aid in the accomplishment of an object very dear to those whom they represent, and of unsurpassed interest and consequence to you and to them. They desire that the irresistible influence of the public opinion of all good and patriotic men in the State, may be invoked to put down and destroy, and to silence forever the voice of a faction, which is believed to exist in no inconsiderable strength in your midst, which is daily growing bolder in the expression of treasonable and mischievous sentiments, and whose machinations have been and still are directed towards poisoning the minds and hearts of our soldiers and people, and breaking down the courage and confidence of you and of us, who are sustaining the cause of our country, in the great struggle for independence, in which we are engaged.

It was esteemed a most fortunate circumstance for the honor and welfare of North Carolina, that such perfect unanimity prevailed in her councils when she resolved to break the bonds which had bound her to a government which had ceased to be the representative of the true interest of her people, and which she could no longer respect, and to make common cause with her sister States of the South. Then it was that her great and honored names were found united in the glorious purpose. Her Badger, her Rayner, her Miller, her Graham, her Morehead and her Gilmer, her Edwards, her Outlaw and her Smith, her Winslow, her Shepherd, her Davis, her Ellis and her Vance, her statesmen and men of power, were found to have quit for a time the arena of administrative and party politics, and united in the work of laying anew the foundation of a government of her choice. Her quiet farmers, her honest tradesmen and artisans, her civil magistrates, her lawyers and men of learning, nay, all her plain, sober, thoughtful people, who have always been slow to give their pledge to a cause, yet know so well how to honor it with true loyalty when given, were in happy accord. There were at least, no Carlisle, nor Crittenden, nor Andy Johnson, to head a roll of infamy, within the whole of her widely extended borders.

There was no vote against the ordinance of secession. There was no press to inveigh against it. There was no voice of faction raised in opposition to it. Fairest of hands made appropriate banners and gave rich garlands for expectant heroes, and private contributions, from rich and poor, were bestowed without stint or limit in furtherance of the common cause. The sons of our noble old State, supposed to possess very few of the elements of martial character, came forward with astonishing alacrity, and in very astonishing numbers. Those who had mocked her before, beheld with staring eyes her splendid regiments with full ranks, substantially clad and equipped, and governed by a rigid discipline, which betokened the dread with which the enemy has always been inspired, when they were known to be upon the field. Since then, out of the vast storehouse of her wealth, little known before or appreciated by even her own people, she has poured forth into the lap of the Confederacy, resources commensurate with her other sacrifices. And, whether we measure these sacrifices by the amount of the materials of war and means of subsistence furnished, the spirit and determination of her people, the number of her men given to the cause, the talents, courage and fortitude of those who have fought, or the number and virtues of her noble dead, we are obliged to recognize her sisters leaning on her for support in every emergency of the eventful struggle.

Nor have these sacrifices been made in vain. They have enriched her history,

exalted her fame and increased her renown, and though her material strength has been to some extent exhausted, she is to-day, relatively, more powerful for the defence of the integrity of her territory, and of her rights and honor, than when the contest began. Distracted, despondency and despair reign in the councils of the Northern Government. The hopes at first entertained of our speedy conquest, have sunk in the hearts of our enemies, and as a direct consequence, we find such resistance to the administration at Washington, and mob violence so rife in the towns and cities, that a measure of that government most essential to the further prosecution of the war, is openly resisted and set at naught. Popular assemblies have openly declared for peace, and the press and some of the most influential men, speak now with a freedom and boldness which clearly marks a change in the public feeling upon the all absorbing topic. The people have ceased to prosecute the war, and the government is dealing its blows with an exhausted energy and with fatal blindness. The despot who would enslave us, has found a lion in his path in the shape of opposition to despotic power, and the courage of him and his minions has been broken down.

Volunteering for the armies of our enemy has entirely ceased. Only a small number of the conscripts drafted can be forced into the service, and these will certainly be discontented, mutinous and worthless as soldiers. His armies in the field have been depleted by desertions, humiliated and dispirited by repeated defeats, and all their trusted leaders driven in disgrace from command. Even the partial discomfiture in the attempt to evade his territory, and our loss of the strongholds on the Mississippi have failed to revive his hopes of success, or to change in any material point of view this discouraging aspect of his affairs. His armies cannot be recruited so as to add to their material strength during this campaign. He is daily sending to the rear detachments—in some cases whole Regiments and Brigades (doubtless his best troops,) to keep down by terror of arms a spirit of discontent among his own subjects, which stops little short of actual rebellion. Add to this, the rapid exhaustion of his material resources, and you cannot fail to see very powerful causes at work, to bring about the separation for which we are contending, upon terms which will secure to us independence and the blessings of peace.

Whose sacrifices have tended more to produce these results than those of North Carolina? When the hopes of our enemies were sought to be inspired by stories of Union feelings among her people, the ready answer ever among them was, "It is impossible; look to the number of her troops in the field, and how fiercely they fight!" This answer was then complete. Can the same be said of it now?

That there is an Union feeling proper among her people we cannot believe; on the contrary, there is, we believe, a very unanimous sentiment of hostility to any settlement of our difficulties, except upon terms that shall secure to us our independence and peace upon a lasting basis. But while this is our belief, we cannot shut our eyes to the conviction that there are parties in our State, who are endeavoring to combine certain elements of discontent and party feeling into a faction, to make war for an unholy purpose upon the authorities, to bring the righteous cause in which we are engaged into dispute among our people, and to thwart the designs of patriotic men in their labors for the public good. The sentiments of the parties referred to find utterance principally through the columns of the Raleigh Standard.

"Movements for peace" have been proposed in North Carolina, taking the shape generally of a proposition to hold a convention of the people of the South, inviting similar conventions of the people of the North, to meet them for an adjustment of our difficulties. In none of these propositions are the terms upon which their authors propose to agree upon a peace even dimly shadowed forth. In some it is true

the term "honorable peace" is employed, but their views upon other points are so plainly the promptings of a discontented and desponding spirit, if not of actual treason and disloyalty, that we cannot withhold our minds from the conviction, that if their ideas of an honorable peace were made known, they would fall far short of the dictates of a manly spirit, and of the wishes and expectations of patriotism.

In furtherance of their common design, these parties take hold of every apparent cause to excite a feeling of discontent among our people and soldiers towards the authorities of the Confederate States. They represent that the defence of our State has been wilfully neglected, and our coast and a portion of our territory wilfully abandoned to the enemy. They say our soldiers do not procure a fair share of military honors in the shape of promotions, and even that newspaper correspondents of administrative organs fail to award to North Carolina valor and merit the just meed of praise.

We are painfully conscious of making an undignified descent in noticing this last topic of complaint, and the only reply we shall make is, that the soldiers of North Carolina do not feel so poor in fame as to find it necessary to rely upon ephemeral puffs of ignorant newspaper correspondents for the maintenance of their claims to a just share of reputation. They are content to abide the criticism of the Generals who command them and the impartial judgment of history. The complaint of injustice to North Carolina officers we are not inclined to discuss, lest we render ourselves obnoxious to the censure of claiming more for them than is awarded by the impartial judgment of others.

The complaint that the defence of North Carolina has been neglected is in our judgment wholly without foundation. That all has not been accomplished upon the soil of our State which was apparently within the power of the forces left there, may be questionable, but even upon this point we do not profess to have a sufficient knowledge of the "situation of things" to discuss it, even if we arrogated to ourselves the military skill to make a just criticism. But there cannot be the least doubt that in concentrating the troops from North Carolina upon the soil of Virginia for our own defence, the true military principle has been adopted, and it is to be hoped that when the fact is once pointed out that twice in the history of this war this plan of operations has compelled the enemy to withdraw his forces from our coast for the safety of his main invading army, this senseless caviling will be forever flushed. Burnside was withdrawn in consequence of McClellan's defeat before Richmond, and Foster was withdrawn in consequence of Hooker's defeat at Chancellorsville and the operations which followed. And that our people have experienced few of the horrors of war compared with the people of large districts of Virginia, is attributable to the adoption of this principle in our defence, and God forbid that it should be abandoned except upon the most imperative necessity.

If it shall be said that the enemy ought never to have been allowed to gain a foothold upon our soil, it may be answered, we had not the time and means to enable us to place batteries in a proper state of defence before it was attacked. After this disaster the fall of Newbern became inevitable, unless more troops could have been spared from points of more importance. And it may well be doubted whether the means at the command of the General of the Department of Norfolk were sufficient to have saved Roanoke Island. Certain it is, that he was then regarded as a General of skill, and all the available means at the disposal of the Government were placed at his disposal. With the lights which experience has afforded, and with even the scant means then at command, these places might possibly have all been held, but it is human to err, and we have no reason to suppose North Carolinians (certainly not the parties whose sentiments we are combating,) are exempt from the common frailty. A large and productive region of

our State by those disasters has fallen into the hands of the enemy, and been occupied by him; but to show conclusively how factious and unworthy of North Carolinians is this complaint, we have only to point to the fact that the largest and most opulent city of the South has fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the fortified towns of the Mississippi had to be yielded to him, opening the whole of that State to his ravages. Is there any faction in Louisiana or Mississippi that complains that New Orleans or Vicksburg or Port Hudson were wilfully neglected or surrendered? And can it be supposed that the President of the Confederacy has deliberately chosen to inflict, by his neglect, greater injuries upon his own State and people, than upon even the poor east of people of North Carolina? No! Our countrymen, we are persuaded, will yield to the voice of charity and reason, and say with us, "The President is not infallible; he may, in some instances, have erred in the choice of men and of means, he may have been unduly influenced by the judgment of others, but surely he could not have been so insensible to the preservation of his own reputation and influence (if it were possible to deny to him higher and nobler motives of conduct,) as to wilfully neglect the defence of any portion of the country." Certain it is, that few men have had a more general voice of his countrymen, of his enemies and of the world, to ascribe to them greater political wisdom, firmness, integrity and dignity than President Davis, in the administration of a Government under the most trying circumstances.

And here we may take occasion to remark, that it is to him we may ascribe the preservation of Gen'ls. Lee, Johnston, Beauregard and Bragg for the leadership of our armies; since disaster, in the career of each one of those great military chieftains, has compelled them in turn to pass under a cloud, when popular clamor called for their dismissal. Happily for the country, he did not imitate, in this respect, the example of his blundering cotemporary at Washington.

But beyond these demonstrations of hostility to the present administration, "the faction" declare "that more is demanded of North Carolina than any of her sister States, and that some of them have not been called upon, or have not furnished as many soldiers for the field in proportion to population as North Carolina, and that for this and other reasons, they resolve that North Carolina will send no more troops to the field."

That North Carolina has been called upon for a larger quota of troops than the other States, you may be well assured is untrue. Calls have been made for troops, but for no particular number from each State. The call is for all between certain ages in all the States; and this is sufficient to show how false and reckless men become when they yield themselves to the spirit of faction. If the people of any other of the States have failed to respond to the call, then they cannot escape the charge of disloyalty, and a violation of their pledges, made at the beginning of the contest. This is the accusation made by "the faction" in North Carolina, and they propose themselves to adopt the same disloyal course of conduct. Their avowed sentiments lead to this. All men must be held, morally and legally, to intend the natural and the necessary consequence of their acts; and if this be so, the conclusion is irresistible, that when these men are called upon to render support to the cause of the country and they refuse to do so, but threaten violent resistance to the law, they are prepared for submission, for re-union! Nor does it matter whether they avow these sentiments or deny them, if they are prepared for resistance to a law of the land most essential to the defence of the country, does not their conduct lead directly to this result?

It would be unwise as it would be unjust, to attempt to magnify the importance of these manifestations of disloyalty, but they cannot be without evil tendency in