

J. J. BRUNER, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER

We had intended to continue our reply to the Richmond Enquirer, but the following from one of the ablest and most gifted pens in the Confederate States, saves us the labor of saying one word on the subject in this issue. Our correspondent has felled the forest of Destructive iniquity, leaving to us only the task of rolling the logs, gathering the brush, and putting fire to them. Or, to change the figure, he has taken off all the epidemics of this wretched organ of the administration, and sprinkled a plentiful supply of Cayenne pepper on its shivering flesh. Read what our correspondent says, and hand the paper to your neighbors.

The Enquirer seems to think that we are not disposed to answer some questions it propounded to us some weeks since. In this it is mistaken. We shall meet all these questions in our own way and time. But we are detaining our readers from the rich treat we have in store for them.—Rich. Standard.

From the Raleigh Standard.

Is North Carolina Any Thing?

I am led to this humiliating inquiry by recent and current events in and out of the State. I freely concede that there ought to be no divisions or strife among the people of any State, or among the States themselves. And he who originates strife, is alone to blame; for it is not in human nature to receive offense without return, and self-existence requires self-defence. It is charged, that those who now govern North Carolina, have caused divisions among the people; have organized themselves into a party, and proscribed all others; and have inaugurated measures injurious to the common cause, and in bad faith. If these things are so, it is a great crime. If they are not so, it is a gross slander. And the character of those in power, and the character of the State itself, require that the truth should be known by all who judge justly; and that those who accuse, against the truth, should be exposed.

Soon after Lincoln's election, the propriety of calling a Convention to secede, was by the Legislature then in session, submitted to a vote of the people. The people refused to call a Convention at all, and the vote for members, at the same time, indicated that two-thirds of the people were opposed to secession for any cause then existing. But, in a short time, events occurred which induced these same people to meet in Convention, and decide by a unanimous vote. Up to that time, the two divisions among the people were called, severally, "Unionists," and "Secessionists." And these names truly indicated the sentiments of each party. After it became necessary to secede, and the people were unanimous, the name "Unionists" no longer indicated the sentiments of any party or of anybody; for all were then secessionists, but not in the same sense, for the original secessionists were for secession without sufficient cause, and, together with disunionists at the North, created the necessity which the Unionists were obliged to realize. The secession of North Carolina was not, therefore, the act of the secessionists; for, in their attempt at secession before sufficient cause, they failed; but it was the secession of the Unionists after sufficient cause existed.

So soon as North Carolina declared her independence by a unanimous vote, those who had been Unionists, abandoned all party distinctions, and sought to make common cause, yielded to the secessionists who had possession of the government a cordial support, continued them all in office, and preserved the State and her institutions as they were. And thus were, verily, Conservatives. But those who had been secessionists, immediately organized themselves, or what is the same, retained their original organization as a party; claimed the act of secession as a party triumph, and proscribed and asperged every one who was not of them.

As proof of the first proposition I mention, that although, as shown by the vote before the Convention, and by the vote of the late State elections, two-thirds of the people were against the original secessionists; yet, the Convention did not a single act of a party character; proscribed nobody, and asperged nobody. At the Presidential election, that same year, they made no opposition to the original secession President, but gave him a unanimous vote.

As proof of the second proposition, passing by much that the secessionists did in the Convention—their proposed ordinance to send every man to the guillotine who should question the immaculacy of their men or measures, and the like, I mention the fact, that although officers were, of necessity, greatly multiplied, and although the Conservatives were two to one in numbers, and some of them nearly as good as secessionists, yet, not one office in fifty was allowed to be filled by them. After the Presidential election, which was unanimous for Mr. Davis, they claimed that election as a party triumph, simply because all did not unite upon the same names as electors; which was, of course, the merest matter of form. The organ of the party, the State Journal, said: "It is a strange but pleasing coincidence that the first number of

our new volume should be the herald to our readers of a new victory by the triumph of the electoral ticket advocated by this paper and its political confederates." And it said further of the "former party" that "they should be known by the people."

Now, in what was the "victory?" Over whom was it? For what was the "hideous mark?" If the election was for a President, and all voted for the same President, where could be the victory of one party, or the infamy of the other? What could be complained of, except that the Destructives set up a ticket, avowedly as a party ticket, for which all did not vote, and thereby opposed, not the President, not the Confederacy, not the State, but an acknowledged organized party of "political confederates." Here, then, is full proof that the Destructives had organized a party, and marked every man who did not set with it, even in matters of form. Verily, they are Destructives.

These things provoked retort. Self-respect, self-existence required self-defence. The people began to say, what do these things mean? We are excluded from all places of trust in the State, although we had it in our power to take them; and are denounced as unworthy of confidence. We voted for Mr. Davis, but still a victory is claimed over us. We have poured out our blood and treasure for the State, but those who have done little or nothing, say we are traitors, and have marked us in the forehead, so that in all time to come, we and our children may be known and hated. What must be done? The tocsin sounded, Arouse! Arouse yourselves! rang from one end of the State to the other; and the people ran to the polls, and by such a vote as never was given before, drove these libellers from power, and put in better men. But truth requires that it should be further said, that not for this only were they driven out, but because it was found that they had neglected the best interests of the State; and were as imbecile before the enemy as they were malignant towards their friends.

But what a howl is raised by the Destructives from one end of the State to the other! What is it for? They have been turned out of office! Well, why did they allow it?—Why did not the "political confederates" triumph in the election? Why not "another victory?" Why was not the "mark on the brow" plainer? Aha! Did they have; and have they lost the people's confidence? That was to be the doom of the Conservatives! If they were mistaken in supposing they had the victory and the people's confidence, what right have they to claim what they never had? If they had the victory and the confidence, by what blunder, or treason, have they lost them, and turned every body against them? One of two things is true, it was false to claim the public confidence, or it was a shame to forfeit it. And now you who so lately strutted conqueror; who called every place yours; who, by your professed, have preserved every thing in your State which the enemy did not want, and munificently surrendered to him every thing which he desired; who had no friend that you did not hate, and no enemy that you did not fear; cease, cease to howl as a hound kicked from his master's parlor as a nuisance to his family, and try to catch the spirit of the times, and act like men, and some good may be accomplished in the future, and much error forgiven you in the past.

Not only has this injustice been done us by our opponents in the State, but evidently by concert, the press of other States have come to the attack. They have "intervened." And the press of the party in this State, to their own shame, and to the shame of North Carolina, have undertaken to publish a series of articles from the "press of Virginia," and especially from the Richmond Enquirer, the thunder of Castle Thunder, and the organ of Mr. Davis for whom we all voted, grossly abusive of the Conservatives and impudently disrespectful to North Carolina. The Enquirer already has four articles upon North Carolina, all of which the State Journal copies and endorses. In one of which articles the question is asked of the Conservatives, "whether there was any lurking hope of a restoration or reconstruction?" plainly indicating by the question, the charge that such hope is "lurking" among them—that while they are pretending to battle for independence, they are meditating treason.—It farther asks whether we had "any regrets to indulge or any wrath to gratify over the secession of the State," thereby plainly indicating that we have such regrets.

But the Enquirer does not confine its strictures to the Conservatives as a party, but presumptuously attacks the State itself, and denounces her Legislature as "very ungenerous," and as "acting in violation of her duty," and praises Virginia and holds her up as an example for North Carolina.

Now, all this in the "press of Virginia," is pardonable presumption and vanity; (scarcely) but that the press of North Carolina should join with the press of Virginia in the praise of Virginia, and the denunciation of North Carolina, is insufferable.

I would not, unprovoked, remind Virginia of her misfortunes or mortify her with her faults; but self-respect requires self-defence. What is there, then, in Virginia better than in North Carolina?—A large portion of North Carolina, it is true, has been ravished by the enemy; but a much larger portion of Virginia has played havoc, "opened her feet and called on every passer by to come in." She has pulled down her old prisons and built new ones to hold her own "suspected" and the unsuspected of North Carolina, who have been arrested without cause, to keep Virginia

in countenance. Her press, the Enquirer, itself, for hire, publishes daily for its own money jobbers the depreciation of the Confederate money, as its very capital, 30 per cent. She is ignorant that any body or any party should think of the spoils, or honors of the office or place, or should "care a bit" for the disgrace of being denounced or excluded as unworthy of trust; yet demands and receives for her own citizens almost as many of these, as "is yielded to the whole South besides." She puts her skeleton regiments, full officered, upon the public pay, and boasts of her disinterestedness. She claims Richmond as the vitals of the Confederacy, as if the South could not breathe without, when, truth to say, she can scarcely breathe with Castle Thunder, and could not think without the brains of the Enquirer, which is so stolid as to boast that its master, the President, does not "remember" almost the only thing he ever knew—the existence of party. She impudently rebukes North Carolina within whose territory, raked by the fine-tooth-comb of Richmond detectives, not a traitor can be found, for her want of devotion to the common cause, when Virginia herself has yielded almost as much strength to the North as to the South. In what, then, is Virginia superior to North Carolina? Verily, in nothing except in vanity, vice and vermin!

Let the "press in Virginia" devote itself to the preservation of her own morals; and when it can present Virginia, not as a virgin undefiled, for that were impossible, but as a woman reformed, and North Carolina should not then be, as she is now, without a blush, we will yield to our more virtuous sisters (1) the compliment of copying her reformation. But, until then, let her not haunt her toggery.—Let her, like an imperious courtesan, affect at least enough of reserve to be sought after—lest it be said of her, as was said of Jerusalem:—"And the contrary is in thee from other women, in that thou givest a reward to thy lovers, and no reward is given unto thee."

But what is the ground of this tirade against North Carolina? What has she done? What has she left undone? There she stands—draw nearer. The veil of her modesty need not be raised to discover that she has furnished as many troops as any State in the South, to fight for the South, and not one to fight against it. The "press of Virginia" admits that she had provided for them better than any other State. They have fought as well. More of her territory has been taken by the enemy than any other State, except Tennessee. Less has been done in her defence than in defence of any other State.—There is not a fortification deserving the name in her whole land. Few troops have been allowed her, and they have been commanded by officers who would not be trusted with forces elsewhere. In almost every conflict with the enemy in her borders, there has been just enough of resistance to enable him to boast a victory, and to make her feel the degradation of defeat. What the enemy has left of her wealth has been ordered to be destroyed by her friends; and she has no voice ostentation in the Cabinet. In such a crisis, if North Carolina were to call her soldiers from distant fields to defend her own, who could blame her? But she has done no such thing. She has only called for 10,000 of her citizens who are not in the service, to volunteer in her defence. This is all. This is her crime!

It is said that for North Carolina to do this is to array herself in conflict with the Confederacy.—Well, be it so. What is the Confederacy but her servant? And who claims for the Confederacy the right to question the propriety of the will of a sovereign State? I grant that North Carolina may owe obligations to her sister sovereigns, but she owes no duty to her servant. I grant that she is under obligations to make common cause with her sisters in this great struggle. But does that go to the length that she must yield her whole strength to operate out of her limits, and leave herself to be destroyed? If so, "a bargain broken on one side is not binding on the other." Virginia has her reserve force.—South Carolina has hers—the Governors of Mississippi and Georgia have recommended them in theirs. It is said, however, that Virginia, South Carolina, and probably other States, have only taken such as the Confederacy did not want. It is much more certain that they have kept back such as the Confederacy demanded—for it is said that not a single State in the South executed the conscript law except North Carolina, and she did execute it to the letter. Georgia and South Carolina openly refused to execute it. But what matters all this splitting hairs? The common cause has the right, not to any particular portion or class of the citizens of the several States, but to all the force which any State can spare. Who is to be the judge of what she can spare? Evidently the State herself. If North Carolina can spare more than she has already done, she ought to do it—but she must be the judge. If all that can be raised is due to common cause, then Virginia and the other States must give up their "reserves."

But it is asked, why does North Carolina want any State troops? Why not rely with confidence on the general defence? I answer, that we have confided, and do confide. But our confidence has been abused—I will not say intentionally. North Carolina has had no place beside the Commander-in-Chief. Our claims may have been overlooked, because there was no one by to pull his sleeve. But that is not all. Mr. Davis is a man. The Enquirer, his organ, says that he "does

not remember, or care a fig, about former party distinctions." And yet, in a thousand appointments to office, I challenge the Enquirer to count ten who were not of Mr. Davis' "former party." I concede that this was a novel and unexampled case, but just happened so. I believe that Mr. Davis is so thoroughly partisan that he does not recognize, and in that sense, may "not remember" any but his own.—And as North Carolina is denounced by the organs of his party in this State, and by his own organ at his elbow, as inimical to the South, and has so lately been denounced by his pet, General Winder, as "a nest of damned traitors," it may be, and, truth to say, I believe it will be concluded to be well enough to let her suffer a little for her temerity.

Why do other States want State reserves? Why not turn them over to the Confederacy? Is it answered, because the Confederacy does want them? If the Confederacy does not want them, it must be because the Confederacy already has enough to defend the whole South, and every part of it. If she has enough, then, tell me, why has North Carolina been neglected? The excuse has been, that the Confederacy has not the men to spare. Aha! Then she needs more men, and, according to their own showing, Virginia and South Carolina must yield up their "reserves." Will not do for them to say, that they have furnished as many as North Carolina besides their reserves, because, aside from that being untrue, it will not do for Virginia to do only as well as North Carolina, for she claims to be an example for North Carolina to do better!

If the treatment which North Carolina has received, was the best that could be done; or if her afflictions have been the result of mere mistakes of oversight, it would be best to excuse the past, and hope to amend the future. But, if it had been thought of and determined on beforehand, (which I admit ought not to be lightly indicted,) then North Carolina must take care of herself; must know her rights and make others know them. There must be no trifling with a sovereign State; her honor and her life can be given to the care of no other. If the President does "not remember" any but those who call him master, better arouse him from his torpidity, and tell him plainly that he is only a servant, to be praised when he does well, and to be corrected when he errs. Events remind me of what I do not like to remember, that N. Carolina was not invited to this feast as a guest but was called to serve as a slave, or, more appropriately, as the sacrificer in their ceremonies. For in the campaign pamphlet of the cotton States in 1860, which ran through three editions, in which the plans of the Destructives were all laid down, and their purposes declared and which have been almost literally fulfilled, the question is put: "But is it asked whether the border States will join us in this move?" It is not expected that they will, nor is it desired that they should at first. It is preferred that they should stand as a break-water between us and the North, until we get upon our feet." (This is the substance, I have not the pamphlet by me.) It is a credit to North Carolina to forgive the offence, but it would be a shame on her prudence to forget it. It is at least pardonable caution, to take care that he who threatens mischief does not inflict it. And it is the very weakness of credulity to believe, that he who will make a shield of me to-day for his own safety, will expose himself for my safety to-morrow. It may be that he will "not care a fig" about me; or even so much as "remember" me.

It is said that if North Carolina reserves a force for herself, she will be abandoned by the Confederacy! I would not wonder! She must either be a break-water or nothing. But still, as they turn to leave, I would tell them that if they leave for such a cause, without that they would have sought some other.

I do not maintain that it is best for North Carolina to have a reserve force. I think, however, that after doing all they can for the general defence, it could not be wrong for each State to have a reserve force. But whether that be so or not, North Carolina is her own judge. And, as she never has, so I hope she never will do anything, which has even the appearance of a want of cordiality or courtesy, towards her sisters; or devotion to the common cause.

North Carolina must, at all hazards, have her Eastern coast defended better than it has been. If the Confederate government can do it, it is what we most desire, what we have earnestly plead for. If, however, the President has not the force to spare, and Virginia will not spare her reserves, then North Carolina must call on her. Almost one-third of the State is overrun. Albemarle Sound in the North-east. Pamlico in the middle, and Neuse further South, reach up almost a hundred miles from the sea. The enemy has them all. Our people have been driven away, and have scattered over the country, until there is no where to go. Whole families are nesting in the Railroad cars.—"Damn their souls!" says Gen. Winder, in his arm-chair.

And they must and shall be protected. And their defenders in the State and not out of the State, shall know that North Carolina will protect her own suffering citizens, and will stand ever, and stand fast, as a "break-water" for them, against the enemy that would take their property and lives, and the more dreaded enemy that would destroy their reputations.

VINDICATOR.

Personal.—Major General John B. Floyd, commanding the State Line, arrived at the Ballard House yesterday.

The General is fresh from the field of arduous duties, and is the picture of health and vigor.

Major General Kirby Smith and staff reached the city on Saturday morning from the West, and are stopping at the Spotswood Hotel.—Rich. Examiner.

From the Raleigh Standard THE RICHMOND EXAMINER.

We are glad to find the Examiner putting in a word in behalf of truth

regiment bill pending in our Legislature. Unlike the Enquirer, it is no intermeddler in the affairs of other states. It has simply come forward on this occasion to do justice to our State, when assailed by other Virginia journals. The Examiner, it is unnecessary to add, is the ablest journal in Virginia, and one of the most fearless in the Confederate States. It wears no collar either of Jew or Gentile. Its bold and constant defence of the rights of the States, and the fearless manner in which it exposes corruption in official circles, have entitled it to the confidence and thanks of our whole people.

After alluding to the invasion of this State, and the perilous condition of our Eastern Counties, the Examiner says:

"It is not surprising that the legislature of North Carolina should have sought to defend itself by rigorous measures. The House of Commons, among other steps, passed a bill for raising an army of ten thousand men, drawn from its entire arms-bearing population not yet enrolled in the army, without regard to the fact whether the individuals so drawn were or were not subjects of the Confederate law of conscription. Over this act a great howl has been raised. It is pretended that North Carolina has forced a quarrel on the Confederate Government, and rendered a collision of authority inevitable. But the fact is, that there can be no collision in the case, unless the Confederate government chooses to produce it by its own ulterior action.

The reader need not be informed that we regard the law of conscription as fully warranted by the Constitution of the Confederacy, for this newspaper was the first proposer, and for a long time, the sole advocate of that law. But we hold it equally true, that sovereign States have a right to call their subjects to their own service, so long as it has not permitted them to enter into a military engagement elsewhere. In such circumstances there is evidently a conflict of right. But it does not follow that a collision of power is necessary thereon. How is it to be evaded? By this simple rule: That the Confederate Government make no demand for the conscripts which the State Government has taken into its own service before they had been called by the Confederate enrolling officers.

In cases where a conflict of right occurs, one party or the other must give way, if it is desired to avoid an issue of force.—Which side should yield? Certainly the inferior, and not the superior, the weak and not the strong. Between the Confederation and a State, strength is always with the State; and whenever it shall be otherwise the Confederate Government will cease to be a lawful Government, and become a tyrannical usurpation of power like the present so-called and pretended Government of the United States for the Constitution gives it no authority, or shadow of authority, to coerce a State, or to enforce any laws which its Congress may make, against the will of a State officially declared. The Confederacy owes its existence to a denial of such pretension. Thus the Confederate Government is weaker than any State. It is also inferior in dignity to the States, and owes them respect and deference as such. Let not its ephemeral officials ever forget that truth! The Confederacy is an abstraction the States are realities. The States are sovereigns, the Confederacy their servant. The States are nations, the Confederacy and its Government are the results, the artificial creations of a TREATY between these nations, which they can abrogate by a will limited only by the law of justice and their own sense of equity.

"A breath unmakes them as a breath has made."

Small-Pox City Hospital for Negroes.—We are happy to learn that a separate hospital for negroes has been opened by the City Council.

This hospital is in Howard's Grove, and is now ready for the reception of patients. The ambulance will be found at the old hospital. Only negroes belonging to the city will be admitted, a physician's certificate will be necessary.—Richmond Examiner.