

Persons subscribing for the Standard will please observe that our terms are as follows: Weekly 6 months \$10; Semi-Weekly 6 months \$15. We regretted to have to advance our prices, but we could not possibly afford the paper at former rates. We are under obligations to those who have promptly renewed in accordance with our new terms. Advertising: One square of ten lines or less, \$3 for each insertion.

RALEIGH: FRIDAY, NOV. 11, 1864.

We had no mail from Richmond on Wednesday last, and did not, therefore, receive the President's message in time for to-day's paper. We give a synopsis of the message to-day, and will publish it in full in our next.

We have the pleasure of laying before our readers to-day that portion of Gov. Brown's message which treats of "Confederate Relations." This is the boldest and ablest document of the kind which has yet proceeded from the pen of the Governor. We commend it to our readers. It has our warm and unqualified approval.

The *Confederate*, of this City, is not willing that its readers shall have the privilege of perusing Gov. Brown's message in its columns. It not only refuses to let its readers see the message, but it declares "we have no" ourselves "read this production"—and then the Editor proceeds at length to ridicule and assail Gov. Brown for penning and issuing a document which he, the Editor, confesses he has not read! This is a specimen of candor which would excite general attention at any other time than this.

The attack by the *Confederate* on Gov. Brown reminds us of the sparrow hawk dashing at the eagle. We may admire the courage of the former, but we can have but little respect for his judgment.

The annual meeting of the stockholders of the Wilmington, Charlotte and Rutherford Railroad Company will be held in Lincoln on Wednesday the 30th November; and the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Wilmington Railroad at Wilmington, on the same day.

The people of the United States voted on Tuesday last for President and Vice President. We have no returns at the time of writing this, but it seems to be conceded that Mr. Lincoln has been re-elected.

What does this mean? It means that a vast majority of the people of the United States are determined to prosecute the war against the South for the next four years. This is so, and we might as well look it right in the face. Well, what then? Can five millions of white people, situated as ours are, successfully resist twenty millions of white people four years longer? Shall we of the South grow stronger or become weaker as the war progresses? Is it the part of wisdom to hold out and fight on, and meanwhile make no effort through the Congress or through the States to end the conflict by negotiation? What would independence be worth with three-fourths of our male population slain, with the slaves set loose, and the women and children beggared, and some of them starved? Suppose the North should say to us, go, and take what you have, would we be willing to establish an independent government over the States and fragments of States in our possession? And if we have not been able to recapture Newbern or Norfolk, is it by any means certain that we shall have the good fortune to drive our enemies off the territory they now occupy?

These are questions which are calculated to excite the deepest interest among the people. We hear them frequently asked and discussed. Depend upon it, our wisest men must put their heads together and devise means for obtaining an honorable peace. What says the Congress, now in session? What say the members of our Legislature, soon to assemble? If we are able to hold out and fight on for four years more, then let us do so; but if not—if starvation and extermination are before us, then in the name of God and humanity—in the name of our wives and little ones—in the name of both races in the South—in the name of every thing sacred and dear to man, let something be done to close the war. Negotiation must end this war sooner or later. Then why postpone it? If the worst is in reserve for us, let us know it; but if the worst is not ahead of us, but, on the contrary, success and good fortune, let us have a taste of it, and that right soon. But if we are to fight four years longer, no matter what the result of the conflict may be, every thing like liberty will depart from us, and we shall be the poorest and most thoroughly ruined people the sun ever shone on. It will do us no good, but only gratify our vengeance, to know that the North is ruined also; but that will neither give us the means of future prosperity, nor mend our fortunes, nor preserve our liberties, nor restore to us our dead of both races, both sexes, and all ages.

FACTS.—That our government has done all in its power to put down manufactures, and production, there can be no doubt. That the government has done all it could to depreciate its own currency, there can be no doubt.—*Edmonton (Ga.) Countryman.*

If there be no doubt about these "facts"—and we do not say they are true—how are they to be accounted for, and what is the enemy? It is not to be supposed for a moment that "the government" has done these things intentionally. But if they have been done, is it not clear that those who are at the head of "the government" are too self-willed, ignorant, and short-sighted to conduct "the government" as it should be conducted? To put down production and manufactures, and to destroy the currency is to destroy the Confederate cause. What is the remedy? It is in the people. Let them instruct their representatives to change their policy. But suppose they should do this, would their representatives, executive and legislative, obey them? Aye, "there's the rub." A remedy without the power to apply it is no remedy at all.

The Bank of North Carolina has declared a dividend of 6 per cent. in the capital stock of said Bank for the last six months, payable in the 4 per cent. bonds of the Confederate States at their face; and all sums under one hundred dollars payable in Confederate Treasury Notes at a deduction of one third—said Dividend payable to the Stockholders on the 20th instant, at the principal Bank, Branches and Agencies.

The Dividends of Tarboro', Newbern, Wilmington, Windsor and Goldsboro' payable at Raleigh, and of Westworth Agency at Milton.

For the Standard.
MR. HOLDEN:—Does your recollection of the speech made by Mr. Boyce in the Yarrowburgh House, in December, 1860, accord with what he now says with his position at and before the beginning of this contest? I think you were present on the occasion; and if he counselled "moderation" then as he now says he did, my memory is greatly at fault, or his ideas of "moderation" are different from those of me.

"Can any good come out of Nazareth?" Admitting the possibility of his being right now, and no one can deny that he argues his cause in a most able, dignified and candid manner, I must doubt the propriety of following the teachings of any South-Carolinian hereafter:
"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."
Call this prejudice and bigotry if you will, but I must adhere to the belief that the doctrines of Palmistodorus are always dangerous.

By the way, do you remember Mr. Ashmore's speech on the occasion referred to? Blood thirsty and venomous, he howled, and ranted, bordering closely on blasphemy, and creating the impression that his diet consisted of brimstone, fire and hot shot! But, like many of his class, when the storm burst upon us, that they had raised, he went out of sight and out of danger! The last I heard of him he was mail agent on a railroad!!

NUF SED.
We recollect very distinctly, and shall never forget, the two speeches referred to by our correspondent. The speech of Mr. Boyce was much more moderate, as it was more statesmanlike than that of Mr. Ashmore; but Mr. Boyce was in favor of secession on account of Mr. Lincoln's election, and he so told and advised our people. But Mr. Boyce was "moderate" in his views in 1850. He opposed secession at that time on account of the so-called "compromise measures," and he delivered a speech in which he emphatically declared that the dissolution of the Union for any cause would result in the destruction of the institution of slavery. Our correspondent will recollect that a meeting was called at the Courthouse the night these gentlemen spoke, which was addressed by the Hon. Z. B. Vance, then a member of Congress from the Mountain District. Mr. Vance referred in the course of his remarks to this same speech of Mr. Boyce, in 1850, and used it to break the force of the speech just delivered by that gentleman in the Yarrowburgh House.

We concur generally with our correspondent as to the teachings of South-Carolinian politicians.—With a few shining exceptions, the public men of South Carolina and the public men of Massachusetts were the main disturbers of the peace of the old government. But we subscribe to the truth by whomsoever uttered. Mr. Boyce is a statesman and a gentleman, and we ought not to allow our aversion to the course and teachings of the great body of the politicians of his State to prevent us from agreeing with him when he is right, or from commending him for unselfish, or courageous, or patriotic conduct as a public man. We cannot expect a permanent peace between the two sections until prejudice and passion shall have been discarded, and reason shall have resumed its sway in the minds of our people and our public men.

Yes, we do remember Mr. Ashmore. He did make a "blood thirsty" speech; and having done his duty, as he conceived, with his tongue, the gentleman retired to a mail agency on the Railroads.—But in this as in other respects he has shown his consistency. He said secession would be "peaceable," and he acted accordingly.

We observe that Col. W. L. Saunders and Maj. W. J. Saunders have both declared, in the papers, that they are not candidates for Decker to the Senate. As the advertisement referred to first appeared in this journal, it is, perhaps, proper that we should state that the gentleman, W. J. Saunders, who announces himself for the office, is a soldier on light duty, and is a citizen of Stanly County.

The Standard, we observe, notifies the *Conservative* of the Legislature, to meet in this City on Friday or Saturday before the meeting of the Legislature, to organize for the purpose of defeating the aims of the "Destructive" party. In this it assumes to be the organ of the *Conservatives*. You, fellow citizens, do not acknowledge such leadership. The *Conservative* newspaper will not, while under the control of the undersigned, seek to instruct you or your representatives as to your or their duty. You and they know it, and will faithfully perform it.

In the last issue of the Standard we said: "The Legislature of North-Carolina will assemble in this City on Monday the 21st November. We respectfully and earnestly appeal to the Conservative members to be in Raleigh on Friday or Saturday preceding, so as to unite in some way to prevent the Destructives from controlling the organization and legislation of the two Houses. This is a matter of paramount importance, and ought not to be neglected."

In the first place, we "notified" no one to attend, but simply appealed to Conservative members to do so; in the second place, we never have, nor do we now "assume" to be "the organ" of Conservatives, but only the Editor of a Conservative paper; in the third place, we have not sought to "instruct" any one as to what they should or should not do.

We now repeat our appeal to the Conservative members to be in Raleigh at an early moment, so as to make arrangements to defeat the aims of the Destructives. There are four parties or divisions among the members elect, as follows: Conservatives "after the strictest sect"—Vance Conservatives elected by Conservative votes—Vance Conservatives elected by Destructive votes—and Destructives. We have made a careful calculation, and find that the Vance Conservatives elected by Conservative votes, and Conservatives "after the strictest sect," have a small majority in the two Houses; and therefore, by uniting, as they should do, and as the Conservative voters of the State expect them to do, they can shape and control the legislation of the State. There may be, and there are, no doubt, a few Conservatives elected by Destructive votes who can be relied on, but, as a general rule, these gentlemen will vote with the Destructives.

Having made these suggestions, our skirts will be clear, whatever may be done or omitted to be done. We do not even "assume" to speak for the "strictest sect," but have expressed only our individual views. But of two things we are sure: First, that the "strictest sect," ready and willing as they are to harmonize with all true Conservatives, will do nothing to compromise their principles or forfeit their own self-respect; and secondly, that in no event will they vote for or unite with the Destructive either as to men or measures.

If this is not true Conservatism, then pray tell us what is.

Congress—The President's Message.

RICHMOND, Nov. 7th, 1864.
Congress met to-day pursuant to adjournment, and the message from the President was received and read. It begins with a review of the military operations since the adjournment of Congress in June, and recognizes the protection of Providence in enabling us successfully to withstand the utmost efforts of the enemy for our subjugation.

We have recovered Texas from the enemy, and Arkansas with the exception of a few fortified posts; nearly the whole of Northern and Western Mississippi, Northern Alabama and Western Tennessee are again in our possession. All attempts to penetrate from the coast have been baffled. In Southwestern Virginia successive armies have been routed. A portion of Eastern Tennessee has been reconquered by our troops.

The enemy's main army, after a series of defeats and constant repulse of repeated assaults, is still engaged in an effort to capture Petersburg. The army of Sherman having succeeded in obtaining possession of Atlanta, is unable to secure any ultimate advantage from this success. Had we been compelled to evacuate Richmond as well as Atlanta, the Confederacy would have remained as defiant as ever. No military success of the enemy can accomplish the destruction of the Confederacy, nor save the enemy from constant drain of blood and treasure which must continue until he shall discover no peace attainable unless based on the recognition of our indefensible rights.

No change in the conduct of foreign affairs can be announced. The recognition of our independence is withheld from us on the assumption that recognition would be valueless without intervention. We wish no intervention. We know ourselves fully competent to maintain our rights and independence.

Peace is impossible without independence, and it is not to be expected that the enemy will anticipate neutrals in the recognition of that independence. The total amount of the public debt, on the first of October, was eleven hundred and twenty six millions of dollars. No additional appropriations are required for meeting the needs of the public service up to the first of July, as the unexpended appropriations exceed the estimates for that time.

The Secretary of the Treasury recommends that the faith of the government be pledged that notes shall ever remain exempt from taxation; that no issue be made beyond that already authorized and that a portion of the receipts from taxation and the tax in kind be pledged to the gradual redemption of the entire circulation.

Referring to the report of the Secretary of War, the President says the exemption from military duty of persons of a specified description is a discretion is unwise and indefensible in theory. Discretion should be vested in the military authorities, so that a sufficient number of those essential to the public service might be detailed to continue to exercise their pursuits or professions, but exemption from service of entire classes should be wholly abandoned.

Various recommendations of the Secretary of War are referred to and approved, among which is the reorganization and consolidation of reduced regiments. In regard to prisoners of war, the President says, each government will hereafter be allowed to provide necessary comforts to its citizens held captive by the other. The subject of employing negroes in the army is discussed at some length. The President dissents from those who advise a general levy and arming of slaves for the duty of soldiers, but recommends the employment of forty thousand to be employed as pioneer and engineer laborers, in addition to duties heretofore performed. He favors the acquisition for public service of the right of property in the labor of the free, government engaging to liberate the negro on his discharge, after service faithfully rendered.

The President closes by reiterating the willingness of this government to negotiate for peace.—Peace is manifestly impossible unless desired by both parties to this war, and a disposition for it among our enemies will be best and most certainly evoked the demonstration of our part of ability and unshaken determination to defend our rights. Let us then, resolutely continue to devote our united, unimpaired energies to the defence of our homes, our lives and our liberties. This is the true path to peace. Let us tread it with confidence in the assured future.

Confederate Congress.

The two Houses assembled on Monday last in Richmond. Mr. Graham and Mr. Dortch, of the Senate, and Messrs. J. T. Leach, Fuller, Turner, Gilmer, Ramsey, and Gaither, of this State, were in their seats. Several resolutions were offered in the House, as the States were called.

The message of the President was sent in and read. It is not a lengthy document. We give below from the daily papers the following telegraphic summary:—
RICHMOND, Nov. 9.—In the Senate several resolutions were submitted and referred to appropriate committees.

The delaying of the payment of troops was incidentally discussed, and a purpose evinced to adopt at an early day, measures to secure prompt payment in future.

In the House a multitude of propositions were introduced. Mr. Foote submitted a resolution that the recommendation of the President in his message for detaching Editors and necessary employees of newspapers, is one which the House can by no means approve. He declared that without the freedom of the press there could be no freedom of the people. The press was recognized in all countries as the bulwark of public liberty, and the destruction of its independence would reduce us to the most degrading servility the world ever saw. The army would not be strengthened, but a piece of tyranny was inaugurated. He was no friend nor favorite with the press, and ought not to win its favor, he was governed solely by public consideration, in the resolutions submitted.

Mr. Barksdale defended the President and denied that he desired to trammel the press. Here, under the very shadow of his office, the press was as free as the air. He moved the reference of the resolution to the military committee.

WAR NEWS.

From Richmond and Petersburg.
There has been no change in the two armies since our last.

A telegram from Petersburg of the 9th says that the Yankee videttes report that on Tuesday last Warren's 5th corps voted for McClellan for President overwhelmingly, and that the army of the Potomac has done the same thing throughout. They say New York City gave him 40,000 majority, and Kentucky has gone for him by an immense vote.—They report the Lincoln officers in the army as very uneasy.

The Yankee pickets in front of Richmond states that a telegram has been received at their headquarters, announcing the capture of the Privateer, Florida, off the coast of San Salvador.

Nothing additional from Wilmington or Georgia, except the statement in the *Macon Telegraph* that the federal garrison at Atlanta has been largely reinforced recently, and the trains are running through from Chattanooga. It is rumored that Gen. Thomas, with 40,000 men is confronting Gen. Hood, and that Sherman has four corps in Atlanta.

The Late Operations in East Tennessee.

We condense from the *Ashville News* of the 3d inst., the following account of the late operations in this region:
When Colonel Palmer with a portion of his command advanced into East Tennessee a short time since, Gen. Vaughn was ordered by Gen. Echols to fall back and defend the rail work, and thus the object of that expedition failed. Col. Palmer then threatened the rear of the enemy who had followed Vaughn to Carter's depot, forcing them to fall back, when the two commands of Palmer and Vaughn were again united and moved forward, pushing the enemy hurriedly from Bull's Gap to Strawberry Plains, where they began to fortify. Gen. Vaughn moved as far down towards the New Market.

Gen. Gillen commanding the Federal's having secured reinforcements now established himself at Panther Springs, whence he moved forward with his entire force against Vaughn on the morning of October 28th. The same morning Palmer moved his command from Bull's Gap to Russellville, while Vaughn began to fall back from Morrinstown, resisting the advance of the enemy at every step. Palmer now selected a good position for his troops, when they were ordered to fall back to a different position in the rear of Russellville, and while this movement was going on Vaughn's Virginia cavalry stamped and fled in the utmost confusion. Palmer, however, rapidly moved the 29th and 63d N. C. troops into line of battle, threw forward skirmishers, began the fight, and with the assistance of Jester's battery, checked the advance of the enemy and ultimately caused them to retreat.

One mountain howitzer was deserted by Vaughn's cavalry and captured by the enemy. Had his troops done their duty the fortune of the day would have been very different.

Subsequently the "Tar Heels" being unsupported were ordered to fall back, which they did in good order, covering the retreat and bringing off all the stores safely, besides destroying the railroad, &c.

New York and Philadelphia papers of the 4th have been received in Richmond.

A correspondent of the *Herald*, writing from Gaylesville, 24th, says Sherman's headquarters to-day are at Gaylesville. The army has been here five days, subsisting off the country around.

A telegram from Nashville, 5th, says on the 3d a rebel force attempted to cross the Tennessee river at the mouth of Blue Water, but was repulsed with considerable loss.

Another Nashville telegram, same date, says yesterday, at daylight, the gunboat *Andre*, captured a few days ago by the rebels, came through the Shute at Reynoldsburg island, and landed rebel troops, who then fired her and left at 8 o'clock. The gunboats steamed down near the west side of Reynoldsburg island from Johnsonville and engaged the rebel battery of 24 pounder parrots.

The gunboats were driven back and badly damaged. At two o'clock the enemy's batteries, opposite, above and below Johnsonville, opened on the disabled gunboat. They responded until ammunition was exhausted and were then blown up. Their crews are at Johnsonville. This morning the rebels are crossing five miles above Johnsonville. Gunboats from Paducah are in sight. Schofield takes command of the *Loey* and *Anna*, each laden with cotton and tobacco, were captured off Wilmington last week.

Butler has issued an order stating that by the direction of the President he has assumed command of the troops detailed for duty in the State of New York to preserve the peace of the United States, to protect the public property, to prevent and punish incursions into the borders, and to insure calm and quiet.

The *Herald* intimates that Sherman will return to Atlanta and inaugurate an offensive campaign from that point, leaving the 4th corps to operate against Hood.

He that is good, will infallibly become better, and he that is bad, will certainly become worse; for vice, virtue, and time, are three things that never stand still.

The Second Class of Home Guards has been called out to relieve the first class whose time will expire in a few days. The following is the order:
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT N. C.,
Adjutant General's Office,
Raleigh, N. C., Nov. 8, 1864.

Special Orders, No. 187.
I. The Commanding Officers of the several Regiments and Battalions of the Guard for Home Defense will at once call out for field service the second class of their respective commands as organized under General Orders No. 24, arm and equip them as far as practicable and send them, without delay, to Goldsborough, with instructions to report to Brig. Gen. C. Leventhorpe. Those persons who were drawn with that class, but failed to report for duty with that class, will be ordered with the second class to Goldsborough. Commanders will at the same time, send to Goldsborough for examination by a Board of Surgeons all persons of the first and second class claiming exemption on account of physical disability, but who do not hold certificates of disability approved by the Surgeon General and Adjutant General, or exemptions or certificates of disability from the State Examining Boards. In case any one is physically unable to proceed to Goldsborough to appear before the Board, he will be examined by the Medical Officer of the Battalion, who will send to the Surgeon General a certificate on honor describing his case. They will likewise send to Goldsborough all rifle and musket accoutrements in their possession to be turned over to Lieut. Josiah Collins, Ordnance Officer. Commanding Officers of Regiments and Battalions are admonished that they will be held responsible for a prompt compliance with the foregoing orders. They will each report to this office the date, on which these orders are executed, and at the same time forward a return of the troops sent to the field.

II. The following named Field and Staff officers will repair to Goldsborough, and report to Brig. Gen. Leventhorpe for duty with the second class of the Guard for Home Defense:
Lieut. Col. T. H. Brem, Mecklenburg.
" " K. Murchison, Harnett.
" " R. R. Irlie, Chatham.
Major W. C. Drake, Warren.
" C. F. Dowd, Wake.
D. Settle, Rockingham.
" C. Dowd Moore, Guilford.
" G. Hied, Cabarrus.
" A. Summers, Guilford.

Surgeon W. C. McDuffie, Cumberland.
" J. B. Robertson, Johnston.
" T. W. Keen, Rockingham.
Assistant Surgeon A. G. Lee, Sampson.
" F. H. Rountree, Greene.
" J. M. Branch, Halifax.
" Quartermaster W. T. Plummer, Halifax.
" L. P. Tyson, Moore.
" W. B. McKay, Harnett.

III. As these troops arrive at Goldsborough, Gen. Leventhorpe will organize them into regiments, and send them to relieve the regiments of the first class. When so relieved these latter regiments will be dismissed and sent to their homes, having previously turned in their arms and accoutrements to the Ordnance Officer, Lieut. Collins. The design being to require thirty days' service from each individual, those of the first class who may not have completed that period at the time the regiment to which they are attached is relieved, they will be required to serve out the remainder of the time in the next regiment.

By order of Governor Vance:
R. C. GATLIN, Adjutant General.

THE NEWSPAPERS.—In an able article on the indispensable importance of the Press to the country and society, especially in our great pending struggle for independence, the *Augusta Ga. Register* remarks:
"Our honest opinion is that no class of our countrymen, except our soldiers, have done more for our success than newspaper men. This is our candid opinion after maturely considering the subject. They have given tone to public sentiment, and aroused the patriotism of the people to every demand made upon them. In the emergencies of our country, many harsh and grievous laws have been passed, many orders and regulations hard to be borne have been adopted. In some cases designing men, in others well meaning ones, supposing they were doing their duty, have done much to arouse all the feelings of prejudice and opposition by the people to these supposed usurpations and tyrannies. Just here the press have come in and by their daily pleadings, their patriotic appeals, reconciled apparent differences and allayed all opposition. They have educated the minds of the people to every great and important change in the policy of our government, and have, with all their powers, sustained the cause of our country."
But out of the newspapers of the country and you will have no general policy among the people.—There will be as many opinions as there are individuals and as many leaders as there are communities. Rumors will be rife all over the land, and in the absence of reliable information, as now obtained, the people will be subjected to imposition and will always be depressed by dangers real or imaginary. Newspapers form a kind of bond of union—a common medium of the interchange of ideas, and next to our organized armies are the most powerful agencies within our country for the attainment of its independence, by holding up the duty of the citizen on the one hand, and the rights of the government on the other; the grounds for encouragement on the one hand and the necessity for endurance on the other. From the President to the humblest citizen—from the General to the private—the high and the low, the rich and the poor, would all feel the need of this common source of information and its diffusion. We be unto our country when it is destroyed!"

[From the Progress]
"Whom the Gods would Destroy, They first make Mad."

MR. EDITOR:—It is related of the celebrated Dr. Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham and author of the immortal "Analogy," that he was accustomed to walking in his garden during the darkest nights which the year afforded, and that during such walks he was in the habit of holding the following colloquy with himself:—"What security is there against the insanity of individuals?" "The physicians know of none, and as to divines, we have no data either from Scripture or reason, to go upon in relation to this affair." "True, my Lord, no man has a lease of his understanding any more than of his life; they are both in the hands of the Sovereign Disposer of all things." "Why, then, might not whole communities and public bodies be seized with fits of insanity as well as individuals?" "My Lord, I have never considered the case and can give no opinion concerning it." "Nothing, but this principle that they are liable to insanity equally at least with private individuals, can account for the major part of those transactions of which we read in history."

This was thought to be an odd conceit of the great philosopher and divine in his day, and attracted but little attention at the time. But I imagine that many thousands of intelligent persons who have read the history of the French Revolution which occurred since his time, and many thousands who will in a few years read the history of the present revolution, will be enabled to account for the same, or at least for many of the "transactions" of them, in no other way than that in which Bishop Butler accounted for "the major part of those transactions of which he had read in history." Many of our leading public journalists, and the great body of our public men and statesmen seem to have lost all powers of reason—in fact to have become perfectly demented. They remind me of the simpleton who, in the midst of a great storm at sea, in mortal fear lest the ship should go down, lashed himself to the mast, so that he at least might be safe. So too, they seem to be disposed to lash themselves fast to the anchor of some fatal measure or measures, and it is greatly to be feared, if they do not speedily desist, that "the genius of gravitation will carry them all so straight and so profound to the bottom that not a bubble will ever rise to mark the spot where they went down."

These reflections have been called forth by the great favor with which the proposition to arm our slaves has been received by a part of the Press, and many prominent public men in the South. Certainly these men have never calculated for a moment the awful consequences likely to flow from such a fatal measure. Let us but consider for a moment the present condition of our country. "Conscription has been carried to its last limits." No exemptions have been allowed except for State officers and those who may be adjudged by an examining board of physicians to be physically incapable of performing military duty. "Nearly all details have been recruited, and the invalids are being sent to the army. Add to this the fact that most, if not all, the State officers are likely to be absent in the service of the State, and it will be seen that we have no white population at home except the women and children, the boys under sixteen, and a few old men over fifty. The probability is, taking the Confederacy as a whole, that we have more than ten male slave slaves at home to one white man.—Excite the negroes to frenzy by passing a law to conscript them, and all the horrors of the scene that we would have an immediate insurrection of them. Is there a man living wise enough to tell us how such an insurrection, if general throughout the South, could be put down?"

But suppose no such insurrection should occur, but that they would submit to be collected together in camps of instruction, and formed into regiments and brigades, and receive arms, the danger would be increased a thousand fold. Just imagine 250,000 negroes well armed, with all their malignant passions aroused, and the women and children left defenseless. In that event we should undoubtedly have re-enacted among us all the horrid scenes of the massacre of St. Domingo, where, in the graphic language of Burke, "every demon of destruction seemed to be let loose, and hell itself appeared to yawn." Or if this should, perchance, not occur, they would most likely go over to the enemy in a body, as the Yankees would hold out greater inducements to them of liberty to themselves and their families than we do. And besides the events

of war, the vast numbers of them that have voluntarily gone over to the enemy whenever a favorable opportunity presented itself to them, and, in many instances, joined their army of their own free choice, proves beyond question that they would place much more reliance in their promises than they would in ours.

But it may be said that they would not be formed into separate regiments and brigades, but would be sent to fill up our depleted regiments. So it is not to be supposed for a moment that our brave and high-minded soldiers, who have been a thousand times assured that they were fighting against an attempt on the part of the Yankees to place them on the same level with the negro, would thus submit to be placed on that same level by the action of the Confederate government. I know but little of them if they would. The consequence then would be, that our army would become thoroughly demoralized. A conflict between our white and black soldiers might, at any moment, be expected. These reasons would seem to be sufficient to cause our statesmen to recoil from the proposition with horror. But there are still other very powerful reasons why it should be rejected. Even if none of the consequences mentioned above should be realized, there can be no doubt that the persons of them, headed by desperate white characters, which will always be found in armies as large as ours, especially when such armies are created by compulsory conscription as ours are, will desert, and every where infect our country as armed banditti. Then neither life, nor property, nor female honor would be safe. Such scenes as we may anticipate in that event beggars all description.

Vice President Stephens, who is, without doubt, one of the ablest statesmen and purest patriots in the Confederate States, has in his great speech before the Legislature of Georgia, that no nation could place permanently in the army more than one-third of its arms-bearing population without eventually being subjected; and in this opinion he is sustained by all great writers on political economy. On that occasion he also assured us that if the conscript law of the last Congress was executed, then, in his opinion, the country would be ruined. That law has been rigorously executed, and most of the State troops are in the field. In fact, all the white laborers have been taken from the farms, and now are generally proposed to take at least one-half if not two-thirds of the slave population capable of bearing arms. If this insane proposition should be carried into effect, it must be apparent to every thinking man, that if we should even be so fortunate as to escape horrors of a servile war, the Yankees could subjugate us by starvation within the next year without any further aggressive movements, but by simply acting on the defensive themselves. Just imagine the war ending in that way. Such a scene of suffering, distress and anarchy, which would occur in any country, would transpire among us.—The civil authorities, already greatly weakened, would be completely overawed, and mob law would reign supreme. Then we to be the authors of such a fatal measure. They would do well to remember that they may be heaping up wrath against a day which ought to be considered, and that is, the effect the measure would have in Europe. I candidly confess that I approach this point with great diffidence. The great sensitiveness of Southern gentlemen on the subject of slavery is well known. The almost universal opposition to the institution among the Christian nations of Europe is also well known. It may be doubted whether the course pursued by Southern statesmen, Southern writers and Southern divines, has been a politic and prudent one. Instead of discussing the question in the abstract as they were always doing, endeavoring to convince all Christendom that slavery was a divine institution, and morally justifiable *per se*, they should always have treated it solely as a practical question. This they should have done, if for no other reason, out of respect to the opinions of the civilized world.—They should have taken the ground that whatever wrong, if any, that attached to the institution belonged not to us, but to the generation that introduced it here; that it was an inheritance, good or bad, that had descended to us from remote ancestors; that finding the institution here, we saw no way of ridding ourselves of it without ruin to the negro. This they could have demonstrated by numerous arguments not necessary to be repeated here. Such a course—such a respect shown to their opinions would undoubtedly have averted much of that indifference, if not hatred, with which we are now regarded by the great mass of the people of Christian Europe. But so it is, we are certainly not high in favor with any of the great powers of Europe. All that we have been able to obtain at their hands thus far, has been a most impartial neutrality. Adopt this fatal measure, and it is by no means certain that we can retain even such neutrality as has thus far been observed between the two belligerents now warring against each other on this continent. Nay, it is not almost certain that from neutrality their course will be changed to hostility towards us?

We cannot justify our course to them by pointing to the course of Mr. Lincoln in using our slaves against us. They see that transaction in very different light from what we do. We feel it to be all against the institution of slavery, and against us for foolishly justifying it *per se* without necessity for our doing so, they probably regard with great complacency, the course of Lincoln in liberating a part of our slaves, and using them as soldiers to fight for the liberation of the remainder. But that we should use a large part of slaves as soldiers—as they will believe—to perpetuate the slavery of the remainder is an idea that which they will be horror struck, and which will most probably make them change their course towards us on this point—what they may believe to be—humanity.

But supposing them not to be actuated by any such motives, is it not highly probable, nay, almost certain, that they will regard the measure as affording conclusive evidence that we are exhausted, that our cause is hopeless, and that it is, therefore, their duty to interpose as once mediators, and say to us, "It is now a self-evident fact that you must fall in this struggle, and in the name of humanity, of civilization, and of the rights of man, we feel it to be our duty to interpose to stop that unnecessary effusion of blood. Return again to your former allegiance to the Federal government of the United States. Having commenced this struggle to perpetuate the institution of slavery, and having failed, you are now required to place it upon a basis of ultimate, if not immediate, extinction."

VERITAS.

MARRIED.
At the residence of the bride's father, on the 14th September, by James S. Turner, Esq., Richard Harris, member of House of Commons, to Miss ANN M. LANIER, all of Stanly County.

At the Church in Summerville, on Wednesday evening last, 9th inst, by the Rev. Neil McKay, Mr. JOHN W. HOWARD and Miss FANNIE, daughter of Gen. A. D. McLean.

At the residence of Dr. Allison, on the 30th of October last, by J. J. Allison, Esq., Mr. ELKINS PETERBORO to Miss AMANDA J. MURRAY, all of Orange County.