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RIGHTS OF THE FREEDMEN.

The rights claimed for the colored people of the South, made free by the war, originated in New England fanaticism. We learn that the Northern colored men in the colored Convention, talk boldly, impudently and excitingly of their rights. They assume to instruct the colored people of North Carolina in those rights, inculcate erroneous and dangerous sentiments, and labor to intensify and excite our colored population to make extravagant demands upon the white race in this State.

The Northern radical papers teem with similar sentiments, and the changes are rung upon the rights of the Freedmen. Now the question is, what are their rights? We will be behind no one in endeavoring to secure to them all the rights which they can justly claim. But what rights have they acquired by the war? What rights belong to them either natural, political or moral, by the change in their condition?

We acknowledge that as an accident of the war, and by the power of the sword of the white Federal army, they are no longer subject to slavery or involuntary servitude. We are ready as a peace offering to the North, and as a penalty of our unsuccessful revolution, to amend the Constitution of the State, ratifying what the war has done. But does that settle the question that the blacks are entitled even to that much as a right? Certainly not. If the whole testimony of the North on this point is admissible—if the official declarations of the government will be allowed in evidence, it is palpably proven, that the war was undertaken for no such purpose as freeing the slaves. It was solely to restore the Union and nothing else, the North being the witness. The freedom of the slaves is an accident—a result over and above that for which it was undertaken and prosecuted. And do men acquire rights, especially political right by accident? Certainly not. The freedom of the Southern slaves forced by the sword and then ratified by amendments to the Constitution, does not, cannot make the freedmen either American citizen, or citizens of North Carolina. Heretofore all the sound interpretations of the Federal Constitution from the days of Jay and Marshall down to Chief Justice Taney, have all declared that the African race are not American citizens. The war could not settle principles and reverse the decisions of the Courts. It has settled a fact—that African slavery or involuntary servitude shall no longer exist in the United States, and we accept it as a fixed fact; but the principle whether African slavery is right or wrong—whether it is best, wisest for both races, that the slave should be free—or whether it is just and right to the former slave holders that they shall be free, or whether the slaves are of right entitled to be free, these are still open questions and must be proven or overturned by facts and arguments, or the future history of both races. Nor can the amended Constitution settle the principle, that they are free of right. It will fix the fact unalterably that they are free, but will not settle the principle of right.

If it can be shown clearly that they are free from slavery, by the interposition and purpose of God, that would we grant establish their right to freedom from involuntary servitude, but that would by no means establish their right to citizenship. That is a purely political right and depends entirely upon the sovereign power of the State. That sovereign power lies wholly with the white people, the citizenship of the State. Hence the claim set up by these freedmen, that they have a right to testify in the Courts against citizens—a right to sit as jurors on the trial of a citizen—a right to vote at the polls for officers to fill high stations and by consequence to fill those offices themselves, is arrogant, impertinent and impudence. No such political rights can be theirs until the citizens of the State bestow them upon them.

Nor can they claim them as natural rights. These are purely political and do not naturally inhere to any man. The people of France, Germany, Russia and Prussia, are

white free people—free from involuntary servitude, except when the State demands their services, and yet they do not claim the prerogative to testify in Courts, to sit as Jurors or to vote, as a right, because they are free from involuntary servitude. Nor do they claim it as a moral right—a right which God has given them or which their loyalty or good conduct merits, but if they ever expect to enjoy these privileges, they look for them as an act of grace from the government under which they live.

To that source must the colored people of the South look for them. They are still aliens, not citizens. If they ever become citizens, it must be by the grace, the mere favor of the sovereign power of the State.

How then may the colored people of the South hope to obtain these privileges, these rights? We answer, not by holding colored Conventions, not by loud, exciting and threatening speeches, not by impudent and unreasonable demands. If they ever get them, it must be by first proving to the people of the South that they are worthy of them.

So far, they have shown—we speak of the masses—that they are unworthy of citizenship. In the broken down, exhausted and impoverished condition of the South they have manifested no disposition to improve that condition. Being the chief reliance of the South for labor—the only means for the recuperation of the South, they have given up regular, systematic labor, and thrown themselves upon the government, or the social means of the whites, to be fed. The crops have been neglected, leaving the country unable, without great stinting and economy, to feed both the black and white races. We find no improvement in their morals—no proper appreciation of their new condition. Under these circumstances, to talk of rights, is sheer impertinence.

The State Convention which meets to-day, will undoubtedly declare that slavery or involuntary servitude in North Carolina shall no longer exist, but it will not confer upon them all the rights of citizenship or declare them to be citizens at all. To be a citizen of the United States is a dignity, which even white aliens cannot claim as theirs in a day. It must be gained by showing the purpose to make a citizen.

But the approaching Legislature will recognize the freedom of our colored people and will appreciate their condition. It will pass laws conferring upon them the right to buy and sell, to acquire the right of property, to live where they please and to enter into contracts, to sue and be sued, and to protect them, their lives and characters and property. Beyond this, the Legislature will not go, at least for the present.

GOVERNOR PERRY ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

In his late address to the Convention Gov. Perry holds the following language concerning negro suffrage:

"The question of suffrage and who shall exercise the right of voting in South Carolina is one of grave importance, and must be settled by you in your new constitution. In 1790 the State constitution declared that no one should be allowed to vote unless he was a freeholder or tax payer and a free white man of the age of twenty-one years. In 1810 the right of suffrage was extended to all free white men of the age of twenty-one, who were residents of the State two years and of the election district six months previous to voting. The qualification of a freehold or the payment of a tax was no longer required. It was thought proper at that period that a free white man who had to serve in the militia, do patrol duty, work on the roads, and defend his country in time of war, should be allowed to vote for members of the Legislature and other officers of the State, without the ownership of a freehold or the payment of taxes. To extend this universal suffrage to the 'freedmen,' in their present ignorant and degraded condition, would be little less than folly and madness. It would be giving to the man of wealth and large landed possessions in the State a most undue influence in all elections. He would be en-

abled to march to the polls, with his two or three hundred 'freedmen' as employees, voting as he directed, and control all elections. The poor white man in the Eastern Districts would have no influence, or their influence would be overpowered by one man of large landed estate. In Connecticut, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and several other non-slaveholding States at the North, free negroes and colored persons are entirely excluded from voting. In most of the Northern States there is a property qualification required of all voters, which excludes them. If the New York qualifications of a freehold for a person of color voting were adopted in South Carolina, very few of the freedmen in this State would ever be able to exercise the right of suffrage. In North Carolina, Tennessee, and perhaps other slaveholding States, free negroes formerly were entitled to vote, but it is understood that they seldom saw proper to exercise this franchise.

The radical republican party North are looking with great interest to the action of the Southern States in reference to a negro suffrage, and while they admit that a man should be able to read and write and have a property qualification in order to vote, yet they contend that there should be no distinction between voters on account of color. They forget that this is a white man's government, and intended for white men only; and that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the negro is not an American citizen under the Federal constitution. That each and every State of the Union has the unquestioned right of deciding for herself who shall exercise the right of suffrage, is beyond all dispute. You will settle this grave question as the interest and honor of the State demand."

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S POLICY.

The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia Ledger writes:

The President will fight this radical war to the end. Within one month after the inauguration of our new President, I advised you on high authority, that in no event would the radical element be favored, and the whole course of Mr. Johnson since has proved the correctness of that assertion. There is no colder quarter of the city to the destructive faction than the white house. Representatives thereof have called and called, sent card after card but in most cases, the President was too "busy" to attend to them; he is "engaged!" Their calls are less frequent, and they have opened the war outside.

It will be futile! though not without probable serious embarrassment to the President in carrying out the work of "restoration" he has so nobly commenced. This is the "new danger that threatens us." As long ago as the 14th of July, the executive saw the cloud of opposition to his policy rising, and then used the above words. His sagacity—far seeing and penetrating—saw it all. To meet the contest he armed at once and planted himself square upon the bulwark of the constitution. To a well known Southerner, last week, he said, "My chart is the constitution. I shall not deviate from it a hair's breadth if I can help it. On that constitution the States must be restored, and the privileges which it confers must be theirs. They are entitled to them and they shall have them!"

The President is firmly anchored there, and it is because he has so fast a hold upon the helm of the national ship, that the waves of fanaticism and discord dash about him. They would beat him from his position, but it will be "thus far and no farther," and they who think otherwise do not know the pilot they are dealing with.

The list of radical complaints thus far made out, and to be presented immediately after the opening of Congress, is as follows:

- 1st. Refusal to extend negro suffrage.
- 2d. The appointment of secessionists as provisional governors.
- 3d. The free exercise of the pardoning power, wherein were included many who should have been hanged.

4th. The introduction of arms into the Southern States.

5th. The disbanding of the colored regiments.

6th. The refusal to order a sweeping confiscation.

7th. The restoration of the Southern churches.

8th. The refusal to arraign Lee, the leader of the rebel hosts, after he had been indicted for treason.

9th. The refusal to try Davis by a military court.

10th. The spathy shown in the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine as applicable to Mexico.

Such is the list so far, and there is no disputing that it is quite formidable; but I repeat, the President is ready, not only for the opening gun, but for all the terrible fire that is expected to follow. That the conservative masses—those who love their country and their whole country; will sustain him in solid column, there can be no question, and this is all the President asks. Grant him this support and he will hand his name down to posterity a second Washington.

The time is not distant when there will be an entire reconstruction of the cabinet. The members whose "time will have come" are Messrs. Stanton, Harlan, Speed, and Judge advocate Holt. You may rely on what I assert. It is the President's wish that his cabinet shall be a perfectly harmonious one; or as nearly so as possible, and when all is ready the change will be made and the new members duly announced.

Of course, nothing is known as to when the portfolios will be tendered, nor is it likely the names will be divulged until made public by the President himself.

Rev. Dr. Newman has had an interview with the President with reference to securing, if possible, one of the Methodist churches at New Orleans for the use of those who have attended upon his preaching during the past two years in that city. The Doctor I hear, represents the number of said attendants at "one hundred," and he thinks it no more than right that one of the three Methodist Episcopal churches in that city should be set apart for their use; in other words, that the edifice shall be known as the property of the northern church. But to this Mr. Johnson most decidedly objected. He considered the churches the rightful property of the trustees, and if the Methodists of the north were anxious for "one church" at the south, "the best way was for them to come together."

The propositions of Bishop Ames to submit the question of "title" to the chief justice of the United States is a ludicrous one, when it is considered that there is, by the decision of the President restoring the churches, no such question at issue. Perhaps the bishop had not then heard of the restoration.

Rumors of a probable general amnesty by proclamation of the President are still current, and it would not surprise me, if such a proclamation were issued. As matters now progress, years must elapse before the docket of rebel applicants is cleared, and the best part of the President's time during the whole of that period must necessarily be occupied in hearing the individual cases. I cannot believe that he will much longer continue the present system, but that an important change will be made at an early day.

HORACE GREELY TO THE COLORED PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

In response to an invitation to be present in Raleigh on the 29th instant, Horace Greely writes to the colored people of this State a letter from which we make some extracts below. We do not endorse his radical views on negro suffrage, but some of his advice is good, and we give it:

"Be peaceful. Do not be seduced nor provoked to resist lawful authority with lawless violence. Better suffer wrong in silence, or be worsted in invoking the protection of the laws. You see what the slaveholders have incurred by resisting authority by force. Let nothing tempt or sweep