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THE WESTERN SENTINEL.

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THE SOUTH MUST BECOME A MANUFACTURER.

If the time ever comes, says the Richmond *Whig*,—as we hope it will before many years shall elapse—when Southern agriculture shall reach that high point of development of which it is capable—when the Southern staples of corn, wheat, rice, sugar, tobacco, and those numerous other products to which our soil is adapted, shall be produced in the abundance so easily attainable under an adequate labor system and a judicious management—a new occupation, scarcely less profitable than agriculture, will be opened to us—manufactures.

Hitherto our planters and farmers have been in the habit of investing the profits of agriculture in negroes and lands. The abolition of slavery has rendered the former mode of investment of capital impossible, and that renders further investment in land undesirable. How will, how should, the profits of agriculture be invested? Obviously in manufacturing facilities.

It is to the interest of every people to make all they can out of the raw material they produce. We, of course, do not mean that the farmer shall himself turn manufacturer. One pursuit is enough for one man. We simply mean that when the producer has performed his function, and got the raw material ready for market, it would be desirable for the manufacturer to be at hand, and work it up on the spot, in the various fine fabrics suited to the markets of the world. The perfection of an industrial Commonwealth is, that it shall make all that can be made out of its crude productions. Why sell these products to a New Yorker or an Englishman, to be shipped to the North, or to Europe, and there manufactured, and to be returned in those fine and costly fabrics that are in almost universal use? When thus returned and purchased by the original producer, he has to pay, as part of the price, the cost of transportation to and from the point of manufacture. With manufacturing establishments on our soil, and at our doors, this important element of cost will be saved, not only to him but his neighbors, his whole community and section, and all the immense manufacturing profits will go to swell the coffers of that community and section, and to build up private fortunes. The industrial system of that country that makes cotton, for instance, and sells that product to a foreign manufacturer, and then buys his fabrics at a high price, is immature and imperfect. It involves an unnecessary sacrifice of gains that should be reaped by itself.—There is but one Southern staple out of which the South has made what it ought make—tobacco. That has not only been made, but it has been manufactured in its various forms at the South—not only, to any considerable extent, for chewing and smoking purposes.

If manufacturing should, as it ought to, become a leading business at the South, it will duplicate and re-duplicate its wealth, population and influence. To suppose that this would diminish exports is to sup-

pose an absurdity. The condensation of value, which is gained by reducing the bulk of the raw material into the more portable forms of marketable fabrics—for instance, of compressing a hoghead of tobacco leaves into compact and convenient boxes of chewing tobacco; or of reducing a bale of cotton to cotton cloth; or a bushel of wheat to its proper measure of flour—is a great point gained in international commerce, besides the profits realized and retained at home by the performance of every function necessary to put the raw material in these shapes. This condensation of values increases exports; for it enables us to send abroad what would otherwise be too bulky for transportation. The smaller the bulk the less the cost of transportation, and much of production has been, and will continue to be, lost to the commerce of the world by reason of its not being put in portable shape at the point of production.

The great exporting nation is England. Why? Not because it is the great producing nation, but because it draws the raw material from all parts of the world, manufactures it into fabrics and then sells it at high profits to the producers. Its exports are its manufactures, and they are made out of the productions of other and less shrewd and enterprising nations. It has been appropriately said that "England purchases our skins and pays us back with the tails." If England raised the raw material, which she manufactures into all the various fabrics, her profits would be so much the greater. That is precisely what the South should do, and doubtless will do in course of time. The South raises these products, she ought to manufacture them; supply her own population on cheap terms with all the needed fabrics, and throw the surplus into all the markets of the world. The home consumption would be inconsiderable compared with that without her borders.

The manufacturing advantages possessed by the South are not exceeded by those of any part of the world. The extent of them was not fully comprehended until recently. Living in comfort, nay luxury, upon her agricultural resources, the need of other resources was not felt. We think we may go so far as to say that the manufacturing advantages of Virginia are greater and more varied than those of any other locality in any part of the world. She has a boundless water power—inexhaustible supplies of wood, coal, iron and minerals of every description. She has it in her power to manipulate all her raw productions and manufacture them into all the diversities of fabric needed in the markets of the world.

The time cannot be far distant when Virginia will take the lead not alone in agriculture but in manufactures. In this age of enterprise, development and progress, it is not possible that her immense resources and capacities can be long neglected. She has hitherto been known as the Mother of States and Statesmen; the time will come when she will be known as the great centre of industry and capital.

WHAT THE WAR DID NOT DESTROY.

We are indebted to Mr. Chauncey C. Burr, the very fearless and able editor of that sterling magazine, *The Old Guard*, for a timely and powerful reply to all the ignorant, vicious and unmanly bosh which has recently been written and spoken upon the text that "State sovereignty is dead, having been determined against by the late war."

We agree with Mr. Burr, says the Richmond *Times*, that the war has no more killed State sovereignty than it has *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, or those manly and splendid qualities of head and heart which belong to the people who failed in their great effort to achieve a distinct nationality. "It is not in the power of war to kill State sovereignty; it can overcome it for a moment, as a giant can overcome a weaker man, but can never destroy the principle, nor alienate the right or sovereignty. States stripped of the power to exercise their legitimate and proper sovereign rights, have no more lost their

rights than the man who is robbed of all his property loses the right to hold property. A man may have rights which he cannot for the moment exercise, because of defeat, misfortune, or of some wrong or illegal force in his way; but does he, therefore, lose the sacred quality of his rights? Does he, therefore, passively sit down and consent that he has been transformed into a creature without rights, and without manhood? No, certainly, unless he be the veriest fool or coward that ever disgraced the human form. Because a war has for the hour overcome State sovereignty, are we therefore to acquiesce in this great crime against liberty, and admit to be our deplorable status for all time to come? Not unless the war has also made us a nation of sneaks and cowards. And even admitting that, for the present moment, we are thus cowardized and belittled by the war, has the devil so far got possession of us that we mean to lie down forever in swinish rest and sleep? No, in God's name, no! Rather let us cherish at least so much of the pluck and decency of manhood as shall make us trust the time will come when we shall arise in our wrath and seize this gigantic, monarchical, despotic, centralizing heresy by the throat and assert again the liberty which can never be lost except by our own weakness and crime! It is the nature of sovereignty that it can neither be destroyed, alienated, divided, nor given away. It is to the State what the will is to the man. A State can no more lose or give away its sovereignty than the man can lose or give away his will. No war can so far kill State sovereignty that it will not, during all future time, have the sacred and eternal right to hang whomsoever has attempted its destruction. When old John Brown made his attempt upon the sovereignty of Virginia, all admitted that he was justly and legally executed. There can never come a time when Virginia will not have the right to administer a similar punishment to any party violating her sovereignty. Her inability to enforce her sovereign rights cannot be quoted as proof to the contrary. On the other hand, that very inability must be received as a presumptive evidence that her people will never cease to watch and pray and struggle to re-assert their sovereignty, and to punish the criminal violators of it.

In this State for twelve months the strong hand of the military subordinated civil to martial law. The will of the soldier was omnipotent. It overrode the organic as well as the statutory law of the Commonwealth. It determined who should and who should not hold office. It set aside constitutional elections, and utterly ignored every article of the bill of rights. It nullified acts of the Legislature, disregarded the orders of the Executive and the decrees of the Judiciary. It asserted and exercised the most rigorous censorship of the press, suppressed public journals, and imprisoned editors at will. But this exercise of the most absolute powers by the army of occupation did not destroy a single constitutional or legal right of the Virginia citizen. It did not change the character of our State Government, nor permanently disqualify any gentleman who was excluded from office by order of the military. With the President's proclamation of peace we were at once rehabilitated in those rights which martial law denied us for twelve months.

As soon as the proclamation of peace announced our liberation from the thralldom of the sword, with the noble manliness of a free people we straightway asserted those rights. Nowhere was this assertion of our civil rights more speedily than in Richmond. The late charter election show that our people did not regard some of our best citizens as disqualified from holding offices because they were not acceptable to the military authorities.

The war has not "destroyed" a single civil or political right, State or Federal, which is guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the citizen.

ACTS OF GENERAL CONFERENCE.

We gather the following acts of the General Conference, from the New Orleans *Advocate*:

1. The name of the church it was resolved

to change to Episcopal Methodist church, provided that three fourths of all the members of the several annual conferences shall concur therein.

2. Lay representation—four laymen, one of whom may be a local preacher; (to be elected by the district stewards or in such way as the annual conference may direct) to each presiding elder's district in the annual conferences; an equal number of laymen and clergymen as representatives to the General conference, excepting the number be given to the advantage of the odd number to be given to the clerical portion—the lay members of the annual conference to elect the lay representatives to the general conference; and the clerical members to elect the clerical representatives. Upon the request of one-fifth of the general conference, the laymen and the clergymen can from two distinct houses, when a concurrent majority will be necessary to pass any law. This action, however, is subject to the same confirmation and approval of three fourths of all the preachers in the several annual conferences.

3. The limit of the pastorate has been extended from two to four years.

4. A system of church meetings was adopted, to be held once a month if practicable, otherwise once a quarter—to be presided over by the preacher in charge. The object of it is to put the membership more thoroughly in connection with various enterprises of the church.

5. The probation system has been abrogated—members are to be received formally by the preacher in charge, according to the form of the baptismal service, or some other form in an appendix to the discipline.

6. Class meeting is placed upon the same footing with prayer-meeting, and is no longer a test of membership.

7. This missionary society is divided into a domestic and a foreign missionary society, with district boards, secretaries and treasuries—the former located at Nashville, and the latter at Baltimore.

8. Everything in the discipline in regard to the men and women sitting apart in the church, has been taken out.

9. The whole matter of the quarterage has been merged into a real support.

10. Everything advisory in regard to dress is taken out; and so too all that part which requires preachers to consult the presiding elder upon the delicate subject of matrimony.

11. No travelling preacher can be proposed to an annual conference for ordination, except he shall have passed an examination before the conference committees to their satisfaction in the prescribed course of study.

12. It is recommended that, for the present a Bible chair be established in connection with each of our colleges, for the theological education of young preachers.

13. Several important changes in the boundaries of conferences were made, for which we refer to the report of the committee on boundaries; and Northwest Texas, the Columbia, the Mobile, and the Montgomery conference were formed. The name of the "Rio Grande" conference was changed to West Texas, and that of the "Ouachita" conference to Little Rock. The Kansas conference was divided between the Missouri and St. Louis conferences. The St. Louis, the Missouri, the Baltimore, the Virginia, the Georgia, and the East Texas are permitted to divide during the next four years, if they shall deem it expedient and desirable to do so.

14. The vote on licensing preachers and recommending persons for ordination, is to be taken by ballot in the quarterly conferences.

15. The colored members of the church are to be formed into their own quarterly and annual conferences, the latter at the discretion of the bishops, with a view to their ultimately forming their own General conference. Meanwhile the bishops, of our church are authorized to confer with the bishops of the African M. E. church with a view to a union between our colored churches and that church. It is also recommended that day schools and sabbath schools be formed among the colored people where practicable.