

THE DAILY SENTINEL.

WM. E. FELL, Editor.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29 1865.

OUR TERMS.

THE SENTINEL is issued every morning (Sun day excepted) at the following rates: From the present to the 1st of January \$4.00 For one month 1.00 For two months 2.00 Our terms are invariably in advance. The scarcity of money however, obliges us to say to our friends, that responsible and prompt persons who desire the Sentinel need not delay sending us their names at once, who can send us the Cash in a short time. The money may be sent us by the Rail Road Conductors or the Express Company.

THE SCARCITY OF MONEY leads us to suggest to our friends who find it inconvenient to remit the cash for the Sentinel, to send us Bacon, Flour, Meal, Butter, Fowls, Eggs, &c. for which we can always obtain the cash here.

THE DISCUSSION OF THE subject of repudiating the debts of the State or individuals, in the canvass for the State Convention, strikes us as premature. It is a subject of vast moment, requiring the simplest investigation. Our people are too sore under the friction of their losses and the pressure of their poverty, to determine now what is wisest and best to be done. Moreover, it is a question of legislation, with which the Convention should not be tasked. It will have quite enough to do to revise the Constitution, to adapt it to our present circumstances, and to restore the State to its former position, and render its action acceptable to the President and the Congress. It is a body specially charged with constitutional prerogatives and should not clog itself with legislative work. Our laws should emanate from one source and be embodied in one book, to prevent confusion and difficulty.

REPUTATION we believe to be wholly at war with the temper and spirit of our people. The conduct of Mississippi years ago in repudiating a debt brought upon her by the infidelity of her agents, made her an offense and a by-word to North Carolina. The connection of Mr. Jefferson Davis with that affair, always constituted a serious objection to him as a leader. Indeed the spirit of repudiation which infused itself into the late Confederate Congress, unsettled the faith of our people in that government and made many indifferent and doubtful of its success. Shall North Carolina repudiate—ignore a just debt contracted by her people or her constituted authorities? The very thought is humiliating, withering. Nor does it do to say, that the debt was illegal, that the authorities had no right to contract it. The question is was the debt contracted under her assumed authority? Did her creditors furnish the quid pro quo, believing she was sane and capable of acting for herself? The same question is equally forcible in regard to County or individual debts.

But it is said, the State and the people are not able to pay these debts. The abolition of slavery and the ruin of their property disqualifies them—renders them unable. If that be really true then acknowledge your poverty, but never yield to the temptation of dishonesty. It is no crime to be poor, but it is to be dishonest. What is to be done then? Why do all honest creditors do. Render up your schedule honestly, fairly and satisfy your creditors by an honorable compromise. The plea to repudiate the war debt is no worse morally—no worse in the sight of God, than it is to repudiate the old debt. We are just as unable to pay at maturity the old debt as the war debt. If we must acknowledge ourselves either a bankrupt or a scoundrel, pray let us choose the former.

THE PATERNAL INDEX urges upon the consideration of the South, direct trade with Europe. This has been a favorite project with many persons for twenty-five years. It commends itself to the consideration of commercial men, by the promise of a large remuneration, and would be a direct means of stimulating the production and energy of the Southern States. Our exports are every way fitted for the enterprise, and all that is wanted is the disposition and the funds. In former days when money was abundant in the South, it was in the hands of men who had no commercial enterprise and whose views were too narrow and avaricious. Perhaps in five or ten years from the present time, ample means may be in the hands of the right kind of men to promote this scheme. While we would therefore encourage proper efforts at an early experiment, the great question which now demands the special attention of the South, is the best method of securing an early day the production of that class of articles which are necessary to promote direct trade.

The change in the character of Southern labor, renders it exceedingly doubtful whether for the next five years at least, cotton, rice, tobacco or sugar can be produced in such quantities, as to make their direct shipment to Europe desirable or profitable. England and France will do all in their power to stimulate the production of cotton in Asia, Africa, and South America. We can, always produce a better article here than in those countries, but we must produce a cheaper article to make it compete with them.

WE SHALL BE GREATLY OBLIGED to any and all setting Post Masters in the State, or any friend, to inform us at once whether the Sentinel forwarded to any one is not taken out. Gentlemen or ladies, to whom the Sentinel has been sent regularly, and who have not informed us to the contrary, after the 1st of September, will be regarded as subscribers, and expected to pay for it accordingly.

IN A SPEECH DELIVERED by President Johnson in the lower House of Congress in April, 1863, when the war was in full blast, the following paragraph appears:

"Some object to this measure, as calculated to take away the population from the old States. Let me ask the old Dominion—let me ask North Carolina—God bless her! for although she is not, as the Romans would call it, my alma mater, yet she is my mother! Although poverty—want and haggard monster—expatriated me from her limits, to seek a home in my adopted State, where every fibre, every tendon of my heart, is entwined with the interests of her people—yet still, North Carolina is my native State, and 'in my heart, I respect and love her.'"

We have heard of other instances in which President Johnson has spoken warmly of his native State and her people. Such feelings are reciprocated by North Carolinians.

No one out of the State certainly knows better the actual history of our people and the action of the State, than the President. None are more competent to judge correctly and charitably of the motives of our people than he is. Hence he must know that of all the Southern States there are vastly fewer men in North Carolina who have rendered themselves justly offensive to the government in the origin or prosecution of the late war. What our people have done was the result of a combination of circumstances which they did not create and which they could not avoid.

We are not disposed to exempt any one from blame or deserved punishment, who really merit them. We think we understand the past and present temper, conduct and character of our people. We have been decidedly opposed to many of them politically, yet we do not know a man in the State, that we can now call up to our mind, who in our judgment deserves confiscation or severe punishment for his offenses. The universal readiness of our people to return to the Union, cured of their hostility, and their readiness to acquiesce in all just and judicious measures for their restoration, ought to go very far to secure for them the clemency of the government.

Some evil disposed person or persons, on Tuesday night last, at the Court House in Winston, cut down the United States flag and carried it off to parts unknown. It was a mean, low, cowardly, disloyal act, and we hope those engaged in the black deed will be ferreted out and brought to justice. At the close of the business for which the Magistrate met at Winston, on Thursday an order was issued offering one hundred dollars reward for the apprehension and conviction of the perpetrators of the deed. Another flag was procured and raised at the same place.

The Salem Press mentions the above fact and very justly denounces it. No sensible or thoughtful man will justify it, but it affords no justification for the constant reiteration that our people are disloyal. We have among us some irresponsible, lawless people, without character or reputation who are reckless in regard to public opinion. Such people, under the rule of the late Confederacy, did not hesitate to become "buffaloes," and now, when the Old Flag is restored, will show their real villainess and worthlessness by attempts to dishonor it, or by other exhibitions of opposition to proper authority. They are impatient of restraint—a reckless, don't care sort of people who are without influence or respectability.

WE SEE IT STATED in the papers that Gen. Schofield had applied for and obtained leave of absence to go to Europe. There has been a general expectation that Gen. Schofield would return to his command in this State. His administration of public affairs while among us, met with very general approval, and he had the confidence of our people as a man of ability.

Since the command however, has devolved upon Gen. Huger, we are glad to say, the same judgment and feelings have been entertained for him, that were entertained towards Gen. Schofield. If Gen. Schofield should go to Europe the public interest will not suffer in Gen. Huger's hands. He has shown himself to be an able and judicious officer.

THE FOLLOWING extract from a letter received from a gentleman of Wayne County, expresses substantially the views of every gentleman, who has heard declare his opinion, among those who were known to be politically opposed heretofore either to President Johnson or Gov. Holden. This ready acquiescence argues well for the quiet of our State and our early recognition by Congress. The writer says:

"I fully concur with you in saying it is the duty of every good citizen to aid in the reconstruction of the State government, and to restore the State to her former relations with the Federal government. Her law-abiding citizens merit this. I shall give the administration of Gov. Holden and President Johnson my support."

OUR FRIEND, the NALLEY BANNER insists upon it that Rowan County is thoroughly reconstructed and pacified. We are quite sure our contemporary is correct about the pacification; the doubt was in regard to the reconstruction. He says:

Not at all, we are not too fast. So far as the people are concerned, the county is thoroughly reconstructed and pacified. The citizens of all classes have promptly come forward, taken the oath and renewed their allegiance and obedience to the Constitution and the Laws. They have done all they have been called to do. The Government has now to perform its duty, but we know that it will be many a weary month before the work can be finished, and before the great work of reconstruction can be completed. We know that the Radicals and extremists, in Congress, will throw every impediment in our way, but we trust in the good sense and patriotism of the President and the great mass of the people; so that we shall be able to announce soon in the winter that North Carolina is once more one of the sovereign States of the American Union. But we repeat, so far as the citizens of Rowan is concerned, the work is already done.

Gen. JOHNSON—He is still in Baltimore—He has applied for pardon and will get it.

CARD OF B. F. MOORE, ESQ.

To Messrs. Allen Adams, Isaac Rowland and S. M. Williams.

GENTLEMEN—Absence prevented my seeing your card in the Standard of the 22d instant, until recently. I feel much flattered by its complimentary notice of me.

For many years past I have regarded myself as wholly withdrawn from public life; and, but for the unhappy and afflicted condition of the country, I would feel myself at liberty to respectfully decline your invitation to re-enter the public councils. In view, however, of the lamentable results of the late attempted revolution, and the necessity for amending our State constitution and re-tracing our public policy, which has grafted itself during four years of war on our institutions, I could not, as a good citizen, justify myself, if I should withhold from my countrymen any services which they may think I could render them, in this hour of trouble and difficulty.

Notwithstanding, however, any abilities which age, experience, observation and study may be supposed to have invested me with, I deem it highly proper, that you should understand my views upon all subjects proper to be considered by the Convention. And I proceed to give them:

I deem it wise for the Convention (as a general rule) to forbear all action upon such matters which may as well be done by the Legislature. Not only because legislation is flexible, and may be repealed or modified from time to time, as experience may teach us; but because we are not as likely, at this time to be from exciting influences as we shall be at a more distant day.

If I am a delegate I shall assume as the basis of my action: 1. That the act of the Convention of May 20th, 1861, which undertook to withdraw the State from the Union, was and is void; and that all acts of arming the State and confederating with other States, in hostile resistance against the authorities of the United States, were acts of rebellion against our country, and, therefore, unlawful. 2. That all enactments, whether by the Convention or the Legislature, designed to aid the rebellion, were and are void, and not obligatory on the State.

Keeping in view these fundamental principles, I proceed to exhibit my views of a proper policy to be pursued by the Convention:

1. Negro Slavery—I regard slavery in the State as extinct. If there should be no action by the Convention upon the subject, and the proclamations of President Lincoln were deemed ineffectual in point of law, to free the slave, yet the occurrence, since the surrender of Gen. Johnston has thoroughly effected his emancipation. It is a fact accomplished; and so we ought to accept it. It is impossible to reverse it, and what I regard as a practical fact, I am for making a legal fact. I shall, therefore, propose to remove, by an ordinance, all doubts as to the legal status of slaves. Let their domestic relations be legalized; their informal marriages confirmed, and their issue legitimate. Let them take on themselves the legal responsibility of husbands and wives, of parents and children. Let the law enforce the performance of all these duties as it does in the case of the white race.

2. Negro Suffrage. I know no fundamental policy in the government of a Republic, which would be so certainly destructive to the prosperity of the State, and the morals and character of both races, as would be the issue of suffrage to the colored race.

The right to vote ought to be conceded to no class of men if, thereby, the government would become worse. Who, for a moment, can suppose that the government would be bettered by the allowance of negro suffrage? Does any person believe that an addition of sixty thousand ignorant voters, wholly unacquainted with our form of government, of whom not one in one thousand knows what is meant by the word constitution, would tend to the security of the fundamental principles of liberty, or bring a wiser policy in legislation? The race, long degraded by servitude, ignorant of the politics of government, very low in its grade of morals, and wholly dependent for a living on the ability of the wealthier class of society, would, if allowed to vote, consult their material aid, and speedily engender, among the whites, habits of vice and reckless demagogues, whose flatulencies, promises and agitation would keep the public mind instantly inflamed with agrarian projects, until the candidate and black voter, mutually acting on the views of each other, would become utterly depraved and demoralized. And in those counties where the black race might predominate, the virtuous white man would cease to vote in all local elections; under the apathy of constant defeat. Nothing, in my judgment, would more effectually demoralize the entire negro race than its free exercise of the right of suffrage, or more deprave the white man.

But independently of these considerations, let it never be forgotten that the right to determine the qualification of the voter is a sacred right, enjoyed and practiced from the beginning of our government by every State in the Union, and every territory seeking admission into the Union; and its denial to us, or making the concession of negro suffrage a condition to our re-entry into Congress, would affirm, in the most solemn manner, that our motto of association, *Union & Liberty*, is a political falsehood. Yes, it would do more, and do worse; it would punish loyal and innocent citizens, in order to reach the disloyal and guilty. The most unscrupulous demagogue can do nothing worse. It is obvious from experience that the two races cannot harmonize, socially or politically, upon a basis of equality; and where the number of the inferior race is, comparatively, so great as it is with us, it will always be an element of serious discord. The prosperity, happiness and peace of each will be retarded and disturbed. It is the unquestioned interest of both that they should be separated into distinct communities. Gov. Brown and Gen. Cox spoke wisely when they advised colonization. Enlightened humanity demands it. The negro race can now be removed, as the Indians were. They have no property—not even hunting grounds—to leave behind them; they will make no sacrifice of cherished homes; for they are already roaming over the State, unsettled as the air they breathe. I think they will freely go. Will not the Federal government take charge of this unfortunate and much to be pitied race of men? and, as it has forcibly changed our social relations, will it not freely associate the unhappy results?

3. Ratification of judicial proceedings, marriages, contracts, &c., which have taken place during the war. I do not concur with those who hold that all judicial proceedings, marriages, legal contracts, &c., which have occurred during the war, are void. In my judgment, our acts, so far as they have not violated our duty to the United States, are valid. There is no moral reason, and I am unable to perceive any legal reason, why they should not be so. It would be revolting, indeed, to maintain that a Justice of the Peace, who sat on the trial of a murderer, who was hanged for his crime, was himself guilty of murder; that

a bank which has issued its notes, is not bound to redeem them; or that a child born of a marriage, contracted since 20th May, 1861, is a bastard. The existence of a whole community, in a state of nature for four years, is an impossibility; and their common agreement about matters, which do not affect their relations with the rest of mankind, must be valid in order to preserve every valuable interest of life. But, in defiance to a contrary opinion, I am in favor of ratifying all such acts and things as were done, consistently with our proper allegiance to the United States, or the ratification of which is necessary to give peace and repose to society.

Contracts to pay money, however, (except in the case of bank notes, which are always issued on a promise to pay specie), unless otherwise understood by the parties, ought to be regarded as intended to be paid in Confederate currency, and ought now to be dischargeable with a sum equal in value to the Confederate currency, at the date of the contract.

4. Debts contracted by the State during the rebellion. The principles which I have announced will exclude from payment all debts created for the purpose of carrying on the war, whether authorized before or after the ordinance of secession. Without some action by the Convention or Legislature, our courts, if the State could be sued, would be bound to declare void all bonds and treasury notes issued for that purpose, because founded upon a consideration repugnant to our allegiance. The question, therefore, will be whether the Convention will assume their payment—not whether it will repudiate them. It is a misapprehension of the subject to call the non-assumption of them an act of repudiation.

I own no bonds of the State issued prior to 20th May, 1861; and I am much interested to uphold those issued since. In giving my judgment on the question, I desire it to be understood that I am not, in the least degree, influenced by the cry raised by certain critics on our loyalty, at the North, who affect to regard the assumption of such debts as a new act of treason. I have a profound contempt for notions of loyalty deduced from such reasoning. Many of these bonds are in the hands of loyal persons; and many are investments for the feeble and helpless, and if the Convention should recognize them at their real value, it would doubtless be done with no purpose to sanction or countenance the rebellion, but to protect the innocent, and uphold, as many think, the honor of the State.

For myself, after much consideration, and some doubt, enforced by an abhorrence against anything which may seem even to reflect upon the honor of the State, I incline to the opinion, that none of the obligations undertaken by the State to carry on the war against the United States, ought to be assumed by the State.

According to our code of law they are void on account of their consideration. And I believe we cannot assume their payment, without impairing our financial credit, and disabling the State from fulfilling those of its obligations, which are admitted on all hands to be valid and binding by our code, both of law and morals.

If we recognize these bonds, we shall be obliged to recognize the justice of all claims for damages done by our State troops in the course of war in depredations on farms, burning houses, cotton, impressing horses, provisions, &c. For justice knows no difference in an obligation to pay a debt, and one to pay a damage, or compensation for an injury. And, in my judgment, national compensation to a destitute family, made poor by the death or wound in battle of its head and support, is as obligatory on the honor of the State as any of its highest obligations. If the Confederacy had succeeded, all these, and many more claims of a similar character, would have been placed on the same footing with the bonds. The present debt of the State, due upon its old bonds and the accumulated interest, cannot be short of fourteen millions. The war debt, by bond and treasury notes, is about sixteen millions. The resources, except by taxation alone, for maintaining the public schools, are, I fear, utterly exhausted. The tax due the Federal government for five years is yet to be collected. Now, when so many unavoidable taxes are to be paid, whilst the industry of the country is not only disabled but almost paralyzed, I cannot advise the State to assume, at this time, a new burden, unless I may be assured that the fulfillment of the other, and perfect obligations will not be endangered.

There is one class of debts created during the war, and because of the war, by an act of May 11, 1861, anticipatory of hostilities, which I think are proper debts and ought to be paid. These are debts contracted by the Counties for raising money to support the indigent families of persons in the military service. The fund thus raised, was for charity. The case bears the same relation to the raising of money to equip troops, as does that of raising money to clothe and feed prisoners of war, which, although it be the means of restoring the prisoner to the battle-field, is nevertheless regarded as not only lawful, but proper. Indigent families of soldiers pressed into service in a war, however unjust, must not be left to perish. A debt created for their relief is a sacred one. It must be paid under the rule for scaling. In many instances the bond sold for a sum equal to about four dollars in specie in the hundred. Perhaps it is not amiss to say that I do not own any of them. In connection with this subject I will remark, that I am informed through the press and private sources, that the policy of repudiating all contracts of every kind, and wherever made, is being publicly debated. In regard to State debts, I have already expressed myself. In regard to private debts, the constitution of the United States expressly forbids it in this language: "No State shall pass any law impairing the obligations of contracts." A contract on the part of a State can not do, what the State is forbidden to do. Every delegate will be obliged to take a solemn oath to support that clause of the constitution; and I could not sincerely promise you that I would advocate repudiation in the Convention, unless I had determined to commit a perjury, in order to qualify myself to enter its halls. Such an ordinance would be null, and every court in the land would so adjudge, as they have done a hundred times.

It had been supposed by some, that the emancipation of slaves would throw on the Convention the necessity of passing many ordinances respecting their future status, as for instance adopting new rules of evidence as to them. This is a mistake. I have mentioned all the cases concerning freedmen that are proper for the consideration of the Convention. Whether there ought to be any alteration of the rules concerning their competence to depose; and, if so, to what extent, and all other questions affecting their status, are matters which have ever been considered by the Legislature. I shall oppose the consideration in Convention of matters purely of a legislative character, and if contrary to my opposition, any such should be considered, I shall endeavor to reflect your sentiments. The people have been not a little impatient at the delay of the Convention, I shall not complain of it. I know the obstacles

and difficulties attending the execution of the President's plan to re-establish the State in the Union. I know also that there has been, on the part of the Government, no lack of industry, and ability in the business. I shall not criticize the mode adopted, since it has been I have advised all persons to abstain from carrying it through. Perhaps its execution may show it to have been the best proposal. But in vindication of my former views which have been publicly assailed, I take this occasion to say, that when Johnston's army surrendered, I regarded the rebellion as at an end; and, in the language of Gen. S. Johnston, there was peace between the State and the United States. My anxiety was very great that the State should return into the arms of the Union, at once and with as little delay as possible. In my first interview with Gen. Sherman, he freely announced his ideas of a proper policy for the State; which were, that the Government should convene the Legislature, and that body forthwith provide for calling a Convention; and that the Convention should proceed to re-establish our federal relations. I fully concurred with him in that part of his duty, I supposed that there would be an appointment or election of a new Governor, and an election of a new Legislature.

I had every reason to believe that a Union Governor and a Union Legislature would triumphantly elect me. I had no purpose to continue in power the Governor or Legislature longer than was necessary to see them, as mere constitutional instruments, to return the government of the State. If, from this, any deduction can be drawn, that I was in sympathy with secession, I am honored by sharing the disapprobation with the distinguished General.

I have, gentlemen, in a long life witnessed much political tergiversation, that I am slow to bestow confidence on any but tried men. When President Johnson was recently proclaimed to be, I know not it is but candid, however, in my mind that I daily become better satisfied with his policy, and more convinced that the South may expect kindness at his hand. She needs it; and he may fill a land with thankful hearts by freely bestowing it. The innocent and the guilty are alike overtaken and overwhelmed in a common calamity and disaster. He will not, I believe, withhold his charity, because it may fall on the guilty; and the fortunes of our people are intertwined, that of whatsoever it may fall, both parties will enjoy it.

Our destiny as a people must be one. We shall act but the part of folly by cherishing kindness one towards another. We cannot mend our own fortunes nor impair the fortunes of others, by brooding over our own losses and indulging in spleen. Our State will gain nothing by such conduct, and we shall but nourish, in our bosoms, animosities which may become the inheritance of our children.

I rejoice with my fellow citizens, that the spirit of peace and quiet is hovering over the chthonic waters of strife. Submission to the new order of things is almost perfect throughout the State. Let us resolve to carry through our reorganization before we allow any political experiments to disturb the progress of the work. I deeply regret that there are so many persons who delight to alarm the public sensibility by continual cries of *disloyalty and secession*. My correspondence and associations with the people assure me of a general quiet and submission to the State; and I sincerely believe that if every outrage by the citizens were met, so many here, now occurring within two months past, as have happened in the city of New York within half that time.

Let our virtues be equal to our calamity and Heaven will smile upon us again.

I am, very respectfully, yours,  
B. F. MOORE.

For the Sentinel.

Thoughts for the Times.

"PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN."

This was the rallying cry of political parties some years ago when no qualification was demanded in the candidate for the highest office that the suffrages of a free people could bestow, but availability.

But what are principles without men? Principles without men are nothing but dry abstractions—powerless for good, without influence, and without efficiency. What can the best political moral or religious principles do in the hands of ignorant, inefficient and wicked men? How can they effect good for the people, if they are to be supported by stupid or drunken men?

What are good or wise political principles worth in the hands of men that may be bribed by gold, rendered oblivious by the influence of the wine cup, or controlled by the smiles of the baron or the laugh of the huckster?

Principles become efficient for good as elements of power in society, in church or State, must be incarnated in men. They must be embodied in human thought, instinct with human feeling, vocal in human language, potent in human volition and visible in human action. Then and not before, are they elements of power, and efficient for good.

Hence we should unite men and principles by selecting as our representatives good men with good principles, wise men with wise principles. We should vote for men who have the intelligence, to know what is best for the country, and with the honesty, integrity, firmness and courage to do it at all hazards. Only in the hands of such men can the wisest and best political principles become practically available for good, either in the constitution or administration of government.

When we vote for bad men we vote for bad principles—yes for bad principles embodied in organized evil. To elect to office a bad man is to endorse his principles and approve his wickedness. We circulate and make current his wickedness. We honor it. We make it respectable, and give it position and influence. Our representatives make laws for themselves as well as for us, for their families as well as for ours, hence we should elect men that know how to legislate for the good of the whole country.

SCHEMERS BROKEN.

General Terry, at Richmond, has required Alexander Dudley, President of the York, Hanover and Roanoke Railroad, to surrender his pardon recently obtained from the President. This has caused considerable flutter in Richmond, among the schemers. It is understood that Dudley is a man of means, who paid money to a pardoner, to secure his pardon, and the President is determined to break up this class of men by compelling them to disclose their names, and their mode of obtaining them.

One of our worthy State senators, says the Asheville Democrat, was attacked by the late Mr. Curry street last night, and driven to a shop, where he sat until a late hour, awaiting the pavement to recover its equilibrium.