

# HENDERSONVILLE PIONEER.

"NO NORTH, NO SOUTH, NO EAST, NO WEST—OUR WHOLE COUNTRY."

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## NORTH CAROLINA.

The recent Election and how it was managed—

Feeling of the Unionists with reference to the Constitutional Amendment—The growth of Public Sentiment in favor of Impartial Suffrage—Prevalence of Lawlessness and Crime.

Newbern, N. C., October 25, 1866.

The late election in this State was no test of public sentiment. Many sanguine Unionists believe that Dockery might have been elected if he had not declined the nomination, and if he and his leading friends had "stamped" the State. I am far from agreeing to this opinion in the present state of things, but I have abundant evidence that a respectable minority vote would have been cast if proper exertions had been made. I am equally confident in the opinion, that if the President had taken ground in favor of the constitutional amendment, a majority of the Legislature elected would have been for it; but, with the national and State administrations against it, it was doomed from the beginning.

The issues between secession and anti-secession were not fairly presented by the candidacy of two such men as Worth and Dockery, both of whom were strongly opposed to the rebellion, and each of whom acquiesced reluctantly in the attitude which the State assumed. In spite of Worth's present affiliation with the Rebels, to whom he owes his election, and on whom he has conferred the principal places in his gift, the Unionists of the central part of the State still adhere to him and confide in him. Forsythe county, for instance, which elects two avowed friends of the constitutional amendment, gives Worth, who opposed the amendment, some four hundred majority over Dockery, who favored it. The truth is the Unionists of this State are not particularly attached to the plan of adjustment which is embodied in the constitutional amendment. They accept it because it is presented by the National Legislature; but, without exception, almost, I have found that they regard it as defective, in that it leaves too much power in the hands of the rebels. Certain men, they say, who before the war were prominent in public affairs, are excluded from office, but not from the right of suffrage; while there are thousands of others who cherish the same passions and principles left with all their rights unbridled. This younger race of rebels, it is contended, will receive all the honors, to the entire exclusion of the Unionists. I find that the latter class are not yet prepared to accept negro suffrage, but the tendency of public sentiment is manifestly setting in that direction. Many leading men are committed to the principle, while discussion is tolerated and prejudice is abating. When I take into view the strong incentive to justice which the constitutional amendment will place before the Southern people, and the rapid progress of liberal opinions, I cannot doubt that the ratification of that amendment would quickly be followed by impartial suffrage. I would prefer to see the franchise conceded by the white people of the South to the blacks in preference to its imposition by Congress, for the reason that the great and radical change would take place without the danger of violence in the one case, whereas nothing but an overwhelming exhibition of power on the part of the General Government could give it efficiency in the other. But I am not in favor of leaving the negroes in perpetual dependence upon the whites for the means of vindicating their rights. I would trust the latter in the belief that, when their prejudices abate and their passions cool, they will, as an expedient

for increasing their political power in the nation, be just to the colored race, and that the franchise thus gained in theory by the colored people will be enjoyed by them in practice.

While these are my own views, I have felt bound to say to the people of this State, whenever spoken to on the subject, that if they reject the constitutional amendment, they must expect the imposition of measures far more radical by Congress. I am now convinced that this will be the end of the matter. The Unionists here speak ambiguously as to their wishes, but it is clear to my mind that they anticipate, without dreading, a reconstruction of the State government; and that, while some would willingly accept impartial suffrage as the solution of the problem, the prevalent sentiment is in favor of the disfranchisement of all the unqualified friends of the rebellion, without the extension of suffrage to the negroes.

There is much disorder in this State, and in two or three of the southeastern counties, bands of robbers and murderers of high and low degree, have become the terror of all decent people. This is particularly the case in Lenoir and Duplin, and perhaps Wayne. I learn these facts from one of the State judges, who, it affords me pleasure to say, holds such lawless characters in proper abhorrence, and who exerts his authority to suppress and punish the villains. He informs me that these gangs of thugs prowl about the country and rob all who come in their way, and especially the negroes. Men who, at the beginning of the late civil war, claimed to be gentlemen, have become so depraved and degraded as to steal horses, and even blankets from negroes who are endeavoring to support themselves by honest industry. It may be hoped that not many persons of respectable parentage have descended to this level. I learn from the same respectable authority, and from others, that it is unsafe to travel alone and by private conveyance through the counties which are infested by these organized bands of villains.—They have become a terror to all classes, white and black, rebels and Unionists. It is clear that more troops are needed in this State to preserve order. The spirit of lawless violence has been a natural consequence of the civil war, and of the malicious grudge which many whites cherish toward the blacks, because the latter has become free. The sudden liberation of the negroes at the close of a long civil war, in spite of their master's efforts to hold them in bondage, has in like manner demoralized them to a considerable extent, and they too, are prone to vagabondism, violence, and crime. Murder, robbery, rape, theft, and arson are the order of the day, and whites and blacks are alike guilty. The negroes are sure to be punished, while the whites very often escape unwhipped of justice. Perjury among these abandoned wretches, white and black, is common, and they have no scruple about swearing each other out of the grip of the law. There ought to be two or three thousand cavalry in the State, under the command of honest and discreet officers. They would exert a wholesome influence, and would inspire a sense of security which do not now exist. What I have said of one of the State judges I may say of all. I believe that, without exception, they are good men, who mean to do their duty.—They were selected from the class of men who opposed the rebellion as long as opposition was safe and practicable, and who have none of the life-long passions and antipathies of the genuine secessionists to estrange them from the national Government. They were elected before the State fell so completely under the control of the party which brought about secession, and at a time when a decent respect for the opinion of the North was a controlling consideration. But they cannot always control juries, nor prevent them from screening bad men from punishment, where political passions and pro-slavery feelings were the incentives to crimes.

The country is still more fortunate in having a United States district judge in North Carolina whose love of the Union is as strong as his love of justice between man and man. Judge Brooks, in his charges to the grand juries, does no occasion to remind them and the bystanders of their superior allegiance to the United States; that they cannot expect to be entrusted with rights and privileges except in proportion to their manifestation of a spirit of attachment to the Union, and that it is a great mistake for them to suppose that they have been harshly treated by the national Congress in consequence of the rebellion. He points them to the histories of the several revolts against the British and other Governments, and to the severe punishments which they inflicted upon the defeated rebels, by way of the contrasting magnanimity of Congress. These charges cause some of the jurors to make wry faces; but there is no reply, and the majesty of the laws and Constitution is vindicated.

am happy to say that the district attorney, Mr. Starbuck, evinces an equally thorough spirit of loyalty to the Union and fidelity to his trust. D. R. G.

## Shall the President be Impeached?

In the course of our political history it has been often said by stump orators in the rhetorical culmination of their discourses, that the President ought to be impeached; but no serious measure has ever yet been adopted by Congress nor justified by the country.—

But when two gentlemen like General Butler and Mr. Boutwell, each of whom will be members of the next Congress, announce that they shall take the preliminary steps of impeachment, and when one of them states in detail the grounds upon which he would justify his action, it is but fair to suppose that they mean what they say, and intend to bring the subject before Congress?

Mr. Boutwell says, and with perfect truth, that an impeachment is not a revolutionary measure. It is no more so—indeed, in our history, not as much so—as an election. The Constitution plainly provides for impeachment as it does for any other emergency. It is the only way in which the official offenses of certain officers can be reached. But it is, of course, a measure of the very greatest character—one which in ordinary times would profoundly excite the country, and which in extraordinary times like these would produce an equally extraordinary agitation. It is a remedy which should be invoked only in great emergencies. The offense must be plain, the peril indisputable, to justify the temporary suspension of the executive authority in the person of its constitutional representative.—

For, unlike other trials, it seems, according to General Butler, that, in case of impeachment, the accused is to be considered guilty until he is proved to be innocent. He may be suspended from his functions until he proves his unblemished right to exercise them.

There are two questions which immediately present themselves. Has the conduct of the President made him liable to impeachment? and if so, would it be wise to impeach him?

We are certainly correct in saying that there is no general conviction at present that the President ought to be impeached. That his Presidency is a national misfortune, and that for him the country would be rapidly returning to a normal condition, is unquestionable. That he is entirely unfitted by natural capacity and training for the office he holds is painfully conspicuous. That he comprehends neither the cause nor the consequences of the war, and is curiously ignorant both of the American people and of the dominant ideas of our politics is undeniable. But these, although misfortunes for the country, are not impeachable offenses. And we are to remember that the President did not thrust himself into his office, but came to it by constitutional election and succession. Much is said of his personal habits, but it is rumor merely. It has not appeared, nor has it been seriously alleged, that he has habits which substantially prevent him from properly fulfilling his official duties.

Ought he then to be impeached for serious political offenses? He is charged with usurping the prerogative of Congress in setting the questions left by the war, and with a shameful prostitution of official patronage to personal ends. But as to the first charge, his offense thus far is nothing more than a silent and indecent assertion of what is constitutional and of what Congress ought to do. He has expressed opinions, but he has as yet attempted no acts. He has, indeed, denounced the opinions of those who differ with him as treason, and their holders as deserving of the gibbet. But this merely shows the mental muddle in which he has been long involved. It is natural to suppose that a man of his passionate temperament will endeavor to enforce his views in some way, and it is the part of wisdom to be watchful and ready. But until that time his views are mere his own opinions, and they are opinions held among a people who thoroughly comprehend the situation.

The President's abuse of the appointing power, and his total misconception of the relations of the various officers to the Government, are indeed extraordinary, but they are not unprecedented. His conduct is not essentially different from that of other late Presidents, and will lead undoubtedly, as it should, to a legal remedy of a very menacing danger to which the Government is exposed. The whole question of appointment and removal, in its exact constitutional relations, is still an open one, and if the President be guilty of the grossest and baldest attempts at political bribery by patronage, his offense is not so peculiar as to justify, in the public mind, so extraordinary a correction as impeachment.

It would be enough, therefore, to prove the

expediency, under the circumstances, of an impeachment, that the grounds of action are neither evident nor adequate to the public mind. But there are other reasons which render it especially impolitic. It would unacceptably embitter and prolong the present party conflict. Under the circumstances—for it is circumstances which determine expediency—it could wear the air of an act of indignation, and it would be curiously disproportionate to the present offense. If, indeed, as Mr. Wendell Phillips seems to suppose, the President is a conscious and malignant conspirator, in concert with others, to put the Government into the hands of his enemies, and to bring the friends into the position of rebels, the situation is revolutionary, and demands unusual measures. But the elections show that, whatever may be the foul intentions of any man or party, the great mass of loyal American citizens are neither deceived nor asleep. They have paid a fearful price for their control of the Government, and they do not mean to relinquish it. Mr. Wade Hampton, and Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, and Mayor Monroe, and Raphael Semmes, and the President, and Mr. Seward, and Mr. John T. Hoffman, and Mr. Vallandigham, and Mr. Montgomery Blair may say and do what they will. They can neither wheedle nor frighten the people who have the Union from securing it in the way which seems to them most just, most generous and most enduring. And that security no mere repairs the impeachment of the President than the hanging of Jeff. Davis.—Harper's Weekly.

## Good and Bad Rebels.

All the rebels who behaved themselves during the war, going into the Confederate army and fighting for their principles, like men of honor and nobility, and now acknowledging their defeat and the right of the victorious loyal millions of the Republic to exact the terms upon which the Southern rebellion States shall be restored, should and will be pardoned and protected by their conquerors. But the graceless scoundrels, who committed all manner of atrocious crimes, making the war more barbarous and brutal than it otherwise would have been, and persistently protesting their innocence of any criminality, save that of honorable and recognized warfare, and vilifying and denouncing Congress for demanding that they be punished and their treason made odious and disreputable through all the future of our Union, should be hung upon a gallows Heaven high. This is the sentiment of the Radical party, and as soon as the co-ordinate branches of the Government get to working in unison, it will be carried into full effect. The Radical party will be overwhelmingly predominant in the fortieth Congress, and will have their own conditions of restoration. This Congress, if it does not fully attain its purposes, will so have the machinery of legislation adjusted that by the incoming of the next President, the Radical programme will be quietly and easily accomplished. Then the storm of righteous wrath and indignation which has been partially restrained by a faithless and traitorous President, will burst upon secession in all its fury and destructiveness, increased by its long withholding. Our advice to the rebels is, not to be deceived by their worst foe, the Copperhead party. They are powerless and their strength is weakening every day, to restore you to your forfeited rights. Accept—without reviling, without complaining—"answering not again" the terms which a loyal Congress imposes, and cheerful acquiescence will be to your advantage and welfare.

All that the loyal people demand is an unreserved practical renunciation of the heretical doctrine of disunionism, and unhesitating obedience to all laws made for the purpose of suppressing disloyalty now and for all time to come.

These laws will only punish those who have added all other conceivable iniquities and outrages to their crime of treason, whilst those who have demeaned themselves as belonging to the human family will be magnanimously pardoned and in the course of time, by pursuing the policy we have above indicated, restored to political privileges. We are sure that when the Radical plan is fully inaugurated in this particular part of the glorious Union, there will be many who are "long and loud" in their laudation of I, me, my, mine, and will bring their bloody hands in an agony of fear of justly deserved punishment.

The stay-at-home Rebels, plethoric with ill-gotten gains, will see the "gleaming of democracy of delight" when they are brought before the tribunal of justice, and the poor men they induced to enter the rebel service by persuasion and cajolery, and hounded on to the persecution of Union men, going "scot free" by virtue of the amnesty of a lenient and pitying government. May the day soon come when a line of demarcation shall be drawn through the rebel ranks, and those who sinned knowingly, willfully and maliciously punished to the farthest extremity of the law; and those who were ignorant and beguiled, be graciously pardoned, and at once stand erect in the dignity and honor of a noble manhood, so profoundly impressed with a sense of gratitude to a forgiving government and people, that they will never more raise the bloody hand of the pariahs against them.—Union Flag.

John C. Wise, Esq., a brother of ex-Governor Wise, of Virginia, died at Norfolk on the 20th instant.

## Reconstruction in Reference to the Future of the South.

Perhaps there is scarcely a stronger argument against the Presidential plan of reconstruction than that which is furnished by a consideration of its effect on the future condition of the Southern States. Its immediate effect would, of course, be to place the old Southern aristocracy, disloyal as they are, almost without exception, in control in every Southern State. The result of this would be, first, to exclude all men whose sentiments are favorable to the Government from settlement on the vast uncultivated tracts of the South, and next to compel the departure or the apostasy of even the few citizens of this class now living there. Indeed, we have already seen the beginnings of this result in the exodus of hundreds, if not thousands of Union men from North Carolina. Now every one that knows anything of human nature knows that no amelioration of Southern sentiment is to be expected through a spontaneous change of heart on the part of those who now exercise the Government. It can come only through the reinforcement of the loyal population by accessions of loyal people from the North, or of Europeans who are friendly to the Government. In the natural resources of the South and the abundance and cheapness of land there are inducements enough to attract a large immigration of the classes in question. But if the old slaveocracy are restored to power, their hostility will inevitably neutralize all these natural inducements, and thus almost entirely prevent the infusion of that loyal element which alone can operate as a leaven to the rebel masses. One clearly-defined result, then, is the perpetuation of the sentiment of disloyalty which is now all but universal.

This in itself would be an overwhelming argument against the policy which tends to bring it about. But there are considerations connected with the material development and social progress of the South which equally merit attention. Heretofore the industrial enterprise and the social condition of the Southern people have been shaped by the slavholding aristocracy, and this will be so again if the same element is again intrusted with the political destinies of the Southern States. The exclusion of Northern men which will thus be effected will prevent the introduction of Northern ideas and Northern activity and enterprise. Left to themselves this aristocracy will fall back into the customs and modes of life sanctified in their eyes by the traditions of the past, modified only to that degree which the abolition of slavery may render inevitable.—

The system of society which has prevailed in the South heretofore was fatal to all development, or progress, for with the class who owned nearly all the capital of that section—the wealthy planters—the problem has been, not how to augment the wealth and promote the prosperity of the people at large, but the more limited one of maintaining themselves in ease and affluence with the smallest possible outlay of physical or intellectual exertion. Devoted mainly to amusements and social pleasures, and caring for education rather as an ornament and an element of respectability than as an ingredient of progress, they found a system of unpaid and debased labor precisely the thing to answer their purposes. It was a system that made them rich as individuals, and that was all they sought. The enrichment of the laborer and the improvement of his condition was not merely no object, but it was made legally impossible, for he was not permitted to own property nor to acquire education.—

For the object proposed, viz: the enrichment of a class with the minimum of care and effort, nothing better could have been devised than the system which has prevailed in the South and the pursuits to which she has been mainly devoted. The cultivation of a few great staples could be carried on from year to year by a simple mechanical routine, thus relieving the employer from the necessity of thinking himself or encouraging thought in his laborers. The prosperity of the people at large would have been promoted by the introduction of a varied industry and freedom of effort to all the members of the community; but these things would have been a positive disadvantage to the luxurious aristocracy, compelling them to enter into the general competition and participate in the general effort in order to maintain their position. Never since the world began has there been a system more thoroughly selfish than that by which this aristocracy has maintained itself, for its very life-blood has been the ignorance and degradation of all the rest of the people. It did not seek supremacy by elevating itself, but by preventing the elevation of all others. The former method would have required effort, which was the very thing it sought to escape. Hence the South has been closed to mechanical and manufacturing industry, to free schools and the multifarious agencies by the aid of which society in the North advances in wealth, intelligence, and the qualities which adorn and dignify humanity. It needs no prophet to foretell that this will continue to be the case under the regime of this same aristocracy, if Mr. Johnson's policy of giving them control of the South shall prevail. That they are still actuated by their old motives and wedded to their old mode of life has been manifested by their acts; whether as individuals or political bodies, ever since the process of reconstruction commenced. When left to themselves they have adopted legislation tending to keep the freedmen in a condition of serfdom.—

Their opposition to the education of the negro

and his endowment with civil and political rights arises mainly from the consciousness that everything which tends to elevate him tends in the same degree to unfit him for the position they desire him to fill. The system they would establish would be as nearly like slavery as they could possibly make it.—

The same degradation of the laborer would prevail; and carry with it the same contempt for labor which has been so injurious to the interests of the South in the first. Of course, the effects upon the poor whites would be what they always have been, and this class would be again plunged into the dead sea of ignorance and poverty, from which the termination of the war gave a hope of their rescue. The opportunity to infuse new life and energy into the Southern industrial system and set at work new forces for the amelioration of society would be thrown away, and the South would be condemned to a deathlike stagnation which would make it a curse to the age—a region to be visited only by curious travelers, who preferred to study the history of the dark ages by illustration rather than from the written page.

## Southern View of the Amendment.

We observe that many of the Southern papers are very urgent that the Amendment shall not be adopted. Governor Humphries of Mississippi speaks of it as an insult, and Mr. Wade Hampton declaims upon the duty of the North to conform to the terms upon which the rebel armies surrendered. All of them talk of the section of the country in which they live as "their country," and wish us to understand that they will never submit to indignities, and will die with dignity in the last ditch before they will acquiesce in the Amendment.

Now let us be as frank as these gentlemen. If there were anything which seemed harsh or unjust in the Amendment, we should at once concede that it ought not to be adopted. But they will strive in vain who undertake to prove that it is not ungenerous to take the most legitimate and reasonable security for the future, or that it is unjust upon one side to insist, or upon the other to allow, that the basis of national representation shall not be increased by those whom the States disfranchise.—

The question at issue is not one of sides, or terms, or parties, or sections, it is simply of the existence and security of the nation. When Mr. Wade Hampton tells us, of an unsuccessful and utterly causeless and cruel effort to destroy this nation, that all is lost but honor, what idea of honor is he to be supposed to entertain, and how is it possible for him to conceive the amused contempt with which honorable men listen to his words?

The adoption of the Amendment is regarded by the loyal people of the country as essential to the national security. It is repudiated by the late rebels as insulting and dishonorable. If, then, it becomes a point of tenacity, which party is more likely to yield? There is nothing said at the South about rejecting the Amendment which is comparable in fury to what was incessantly said and reiterated during the war about never surrendering. But those who said it most stoutly and most sincerely, and those who believed them, had seen the result. The last ditch was nothing but the consciousness that further fighting was useless. And has the war thrown no light upon the quality of Northern tenacity? Do the elections leave the Northern determination doubtful? Do the late rebels and their friends still suppose that the stale threat of staying out forever rather than assent to the Amendment has any other effect than to fortify impregably the resolution of the people?

The editors and orators of the Southern States forget that it is not the country of fifteen, or even of six and seven years ago, with which they have to deal. They forget that those who, affecting to be their friends and to know Northern sentiment, urge them to oppose and reject the Amendment are utterly scorned by the controlling masses and opinion of the loyal States, and are wholly powerless to stem the great-flood of popular conviction and purpose. They should remember that assent is required to the Amendment not as an arbitrary condition upon which the unrepresented States may be restored, but as a measure of essential justice and national welfare. It is a mild and moderate proposition which assumes a certain state of feeling in the Southern States. If that assumption proves to be mistaken, another policy will become just as certainly the necessity of the situation, and it will be just as universally supported as the present. The paramount right of the nation is to secure its existence, and it will do it just as decisively in legislation as it did in war.—

It is an incalculable misfortune for the true interest of our fellow-citizens at the South, that the action of the Government and the real public opinion of the country are misinterpreted to them by such intolerable gasconades as the speech of Wade Hampton and Gov. Humphreys.—Harper's Weekly.

Scene in a Printing Office.—A patron of a village newspaper once said to the publisher: "Mr. Printer, how is it you have never called on me for the pay for your paper?"

"Oh!" said the man of types, "we never ask a gentleman for money."

"Indeed," replied his patron, "then how do you manage to get along when they don't pay?"

"Why," said the editor, "after a certain time we conclude that a man who fails to pay for his paper is not a gentleman, and then we ask him."

"Oh, ah, yes! I see. Mr. Printer, please give me a receipt, [hands him four dollars] and make my name all right on the books."