

# WINNSBORO.

Thursday Morn'g, August 10, 1865.

We surrender our columns this morning to communications and general news. Our readers will overlook the absence of our usual variety of editorial matter.

We direct special attention to the communication of "ONE OF THE PEOPLE," to be found in another column.

We are authorized to give notice that J. B. McCANTS, Esq., respectfully declines to become a candidate for a seat in the Convention.

We learn officially that the 102nd U. S. colored troops, on garrison at this place, are ordered to report immediately to Charleston there to mustered out of service.

We also learn that Co. A, 1st Ohio Cavalry, will leave to day for their headquarters at Orangeburg, to be mustered out.

### Communication.

EDITOR NEWS: Nothing can be of more importance just now than a proper conception of what duties are required of every man who expects to become a citizen of the United States. It has been asserted that great political changes in our political system are necessarily to take place; also, that a very great change in the theory of government is enjoined upon every one who qualifies himself as a citizen with all the privileges which pertain to the elective franchise. To support the assertion, reference was made to the Amnesty Proclamation of May 29th, 1865. An examination of the document must lead any candid mind to the same judgment.

There are three points in the proclamation which require attention. The oath binds the man taking it "faithfully to support and defend the Constitution of the United States." This is the first point. Before the war every citizen of every State believed he was doing this, although there was a wide difference of opinion as to the manner. Each section during the war believed it was supporting and defending the Constitution, and yet the two were diametrically opposed in their efforts to do it. Each claimed that instrument as its arbiter in the contest. Both adopted it as the charter of their liberties. Diplomacy could not decide to which the preference should be given. To the sword the appeal was made. Its decision has been against us, and now we are under the necessity of supporting and defending the Constitution of the United States faithfully, as its provisions are interpreted at the North. The second point involves one of the most vital interpretations. Not only has the res'ored to defend the Constitution, but also the "Union of States thereunder"; and it is to be henceforth. He is to ignore all efforts to produce a schism again. He becomes emphatically an American citizen in its broadest sense. Like a British subject, rebellion will be his crime if he attempts to separate part or parcel from the public domain. The Government to him is a consolidated power, and in the words of the Constitution itself, the Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof \* \* \* shall be the supreme law of the land." The phrase "of the land" leaves him no room to doubt, that, as far as the laws of Congress are concerned, if a State resist them forcibly, it violates the "supreme law." There cannot be two supreme powers in the same government. The Constitution and the laws under it hold the supremacy, "any thing" (as the Constitution says) "in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Any interpretation of reserved rights, then, that would favor a disruption of the Union, is to be forever discarded. Hence the theory of an unlimited sovereignty of States is exploded. Wrongs are to be adjusted in the Union, not out of it. How important then that citizens should acquaint themselves with measures and with men. The ballot box alone is to decide issues.

The third point in the Proclamation need not be enlarged upon. The oath binds the citizen, "in like manner," that is "henceforth," faithfully to support all laws and proclamations in regard to emancipation.

### Communicated.

MR. EDITOR: I hear much consultation among the people of our District as to who should be sent to the Convention. This is very well, but there is a preliminary question ahead of this of far greater importance. It is this, what policy should be carried out by the Convention, or, in other words, what amendments should be made in the State Constitution. If we were to send the wisest men with erroneous political ideas, our labor would be in vain. The first thing for us to realize is that the revolution in which we have been engaged has terminated against us, that the ideas and policy with which the war was waged on our part have signally, entirely, utterly and forever failed. We must realize that we are living under new ideas, a new policy, and new institutions. The only rational course for us to pursue is to conform to the new order of things, and take our political departure on an entirely different line of policy from what we have followed in the past. This is the only way by which we can have peace, security and harmony. If any man thinks he can continue the old contest with the North under the present order of things, he is very much mistaken, and he is preparing only a profounder depth of despair into which to plunge his State. The result of the gigantic war through which we have passed was to destroy slavery, and secession, and all the class of ideas depending on these subjects. The radical portion of the North, not satisfied with abolishing slavery immediately on the termination of the war against us, advanced a step and demanded negro suffrage at the South. This party sought to disfranchise all the white people at the South who had any complicity with the revolution, and confine the right of suffrage in these States to the negroes and original Union men. Most fortunately, the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson with a firmness and courage which does him splendid honor, interposed himself as a break-water between the raging tides of Northern fanaticism and the prostrate South, and taking his stand like a superior general at the first defensive position, negro suffrage, practically, so far as the Executive Government is concerned, decided the question of negro suffrage in our favor by recognizing the white population as the depositaries of political power in the Southern States. In taking this position, President Johnson has put at hazard his darling popularity, by incurring the guarded, yet bitter hatred of the fanatics of the North. To appreciate what President Johnson has done for us, let us imagine what a hell upon earth our condition would have been, if he had abandoned us to the tender mercies of the fanatics, established negro suffrage and forbid all of us who had any thing to do with the revolution from appearing at the polls. This at once would have made the negro race the master race at the South, and we, their former masters, mere underlings.

I have thus alluded to President Johnson's intervention in our behalf, that we may the better understand our present condition.

With these preliminary observations, I proceed to state the policy to be carried out in the Convention and the amendments which should be made in the Constitution as they occur to me.

The policy to be used in the action of the Convention, is a wise and masterly adaptation to the new order of things. Prudence, moderation, conciliation, common sense should have effect there. To throw into that Convention, violent, discontented, inflamed passions, is to commit suicide out-right. We must remember that the policy of the past has brought us to ruin, to bring safety, we need a new policy. In reference to candidates for the Convention the great question for the people is "who represents this new policy?"

The first amendment which must be made to the Constitution is the abolition of slavery. There is no getting over this. It is a matter of absolute necessity. We cannot establish our State Government without it. President Johnson has explicitly stated this in his interview with the Charleston committee. Unless we are prepared to do this, it is perfectly useless for us to go to the polls.

The next amendment, I think, should be the abolition of the Parish Representation. Under the existing Constitution the people of the low country living in what are called Parishes, have a voice in our State Senate out of all proportion to their wealth or population. To illustrate—some Parishes with not more than twenty to thirty votes have a Senator, while districts in the up country like Anderson or Pickens, having three or four thousand voters, have only one Senator. There is no justice in this. If there ever existed any reason for this great inequality it no longer exists, for

the destruction of slavery in the Parishes has almost annihilated the wealth of that portion of the State. Let these Parishes then go over board. Give the low country perfect equality in the Senate, nothing more, nothing less.

Another amendment I think should be made of this kind. More power should be given to the Governor. He should have the appointment of civil officers, with the advice of the Senate, and the veto power. It is impossible in the narrow limits I have laid down for myself in this article, to argue the point as it should be argued. Under our present Constitution the Governor is a cipher, and the Legislature absorbs all power to itself. Our Legislature elects all the officers not chosen by the people. There cannot be a more vicious system than this. A legislative body that does this, necessarily becomes, in the course of time, a mere mutual insurance company to get office. In that great repository of political knowledge, the Federalist, in reference to this subject we find the following considerations.

"In every exercise of the power of appointing to office by an assembly of men, we must expect to see a full display of all the private and party likings and dislikes, partialities, and antipathies, attachments and animosities, which are felt by those who compose the assembly." Give us the man we wish for this office, and you shall have the one you wish for that "this will be the usual condition of the bargain." Legislative bodies should be confined to their appropriate legislative duties, making laws or directing a political policy, but it is outside of their functions to be electing officers as a general principle. In the two most perfect forms of Government in existence, the Government of Great Britain and the Government of the United States, the Legislative bodies have nothing to do with the appointment of officers. It is hardly necessary to say anything in favor of the Governor's having the veto power, not of course, absolutely, but in a qualified form. A Government without a veto power in the executive is like a rail road train without any breaks. It is one of the wisest devices of government, and a government without it has really no Executive, and without it a State is like a ship without a rudder. In this State we have made the office of Governor a blank, and first rate men scarcely ever, under ordinary circumstances, sought it. It was usually sought only by rich men of limited ability. This nuisance has lasted too long already. The office of Governor should be made as efficient as possible, and the very best men put in it. A superior man at the head of a Government is of incalculable service.

As to the election of Governor. I am utterly opposed to his being elected any longer by the Legislature. Let him be chosen by the people. It is impossible the people can select a succession of Governor's inferior in ability to those the Legislature have been in the habit of choosing. At any rate, when the people elect, no man will aspire to the Governorship merely because he is rich and can give good dinners. I have blushed at the scenes I have witnessed in Columbia in this regard. I trust in God we are to behold them no more. Give the people the election of Governor, and men of some reputation will be apt to be chosen. The election of Governor by the people will give what is of immense importance in any State, some mode of ascertaining the public sentiment on great, public questions. In the Federal Constitution and the Constitution of the late Confederate States, the President was elected by the people. No one dreamed of changing this mode and electing him by the Congress. The same principle applies to the election of Governor.

The Constitution should further be amended so as to require the members of the Legislature, in voting for United States Senator, or any other elections, to vote  *viva voce*. The Legislator votes in a represental capacity, and the people have a right to know who he votes for. Under the present system I have heard of members of the Legislature voting steadily and secretly for one candidate and when he was defeated hurrying with breathless haste to congratulate his successful opponent. The present secret system of voting, which permits such odious hypocrisy, should no longer be tolerated.

I have made this paper so much longer than I expected, I must hurry to a close.

Every voter should ask himself what changes he wishes in the Constitution, and then should ascertain which of the candidates are most likely to carry out his wishes and vote accordingly. To cast his vote on any other basis is to ignore the magnitude of the situation, and to abandon the dignity of his position. ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

### G. verner Perry's Speech

There is no need of defending the speech of the new Provisional Governor of South Carolina, in trying to state his position without the usual party heat and clamor. It does not appear that he knew of his selection for the office of Governor until after he delivered this Greenville speech, or that President Johnson had heard of the speech, until the lapse of at least an equal number of days. So that the remarks which he made to his fellow-citizens were made in the capacity of a citizen instead of Governor, and were therefore frank, filled with good counsel, and unqualifiedly in condemnation of the course pursued by the leading men of the South, in their ruinous efforts at secession.

The ghastly social and industrial picture which he sketches of the present condition of the South, with the fearful contrast it presents with what existed there five years ago, should satisfy every one who has already condemned him that no word of his has thus far been put in for the defence of secession. He speaks sympathetically for the South, and that is perfectly natural. He praises General Lee, too, as second only to Washington in purity and greatness; that is a matter of private opinion merely. Even while betraying the distaste which so many men of the South feel about returning to the authority of the supreme law of the Union, he unconsciously confesses to the supremacy of that authority, and by his very reluctance acknowledges the general submission to the necessity which overcame everything that opposed it.

But there are two points in his speech that would fairly excuse its making. One is, his admission that the rebellion was a failure because the heart of the Southern people was never fully in it—and the other, that secession by force is a physical impossibility. He will do his share in rectifying the popular sentiment in South Carolina, if he succeeds in establishing no more than these in the minds of the people. He was not an original secessionist himself, but protested and opposed long after he had any personal influence left. He describes the first wild meeting of the secessionists in Greenville in a manner calculated to make men shudder at the thought of such madness for the future. A few college professors, with a gang of thoughtless boy-students—a knot of hotel loungers—the heated advocates of whatever made men still more hot—as small sprinkling of farmers and planters from the country—that was the whole of that scene in the village where his law office stood, a scene which he then knew they would many of them live to regret having taken a part in. And a hundred and fifty thousand slain Southern men he declares to be perpetual witnesses against an act which men like himself protested against at the time in vain.

In order to judge fairly of such a speech, we must pay regard to its spirit rather than its letter. Judged by such criterion, we do not see why it is not calculated to make the people of South Carolina hate secession and its abettors as earnestly as they once advocated it. Something must be left to local pride, and local sentiments; and to this Governor Perry has, as might naturally be looked for, paid as much regard as under all the circumstances was its due. He will make an excellent use of it in bringing back the people of the State to their allegiance to the Union and Constitution; and if himself sound in his professions of allegiance, there is no reason why he may not be trusted in his modes of persuasion. At any rate, if the recreant States come back into their former relations at all, it will be through the efforts of their own people, and not by any compulsory process administered by the people of another section of the country.—*Boston Post*.

A late letter from Hilton Head, says: "The crops on the Island and especially the cotton, never looked in better condition than they do now, and the planters carry a smile on their faces at the prospect of a better harvest than they have had for years." We trust that their prospects may not be blighted. [*Augusta Constitutionalist*].

DROUGHT IN EUROPE.—Letters from Americans traveling in Germany state that the fields are parched by drought, and groups of persons are everywhere seen in which clergyman and people are imploring Heaven to refresh the suffering earth with copious rains.

JUDAH P. BENJAMIN.—A correspondent of the *Richmond Bulletin* writes that Judah P. Benjamin, late Secretary of State of the Confederacy, has reached Paris. Ex-Quartermaster General Meyers is also in that city.

# THE LATEST NEWS.

## TELEGRAPHIC.

### EUROPEAN NEWS.

Petersburg, Aug. 5.—By the *Liberian*, we have one day's later news from Europe. The *Great Eastern* was still at Valentia, but expected to sail on the 22d. The elections in England had closed, the Liberals having made a gain of twenty members. Mr. Gladstone was elected for South Lancashire. The Prince Imperial of France had entirely recovered from his sickness, and the Emperor and Empress had left Paris. An authoritative denial of the rumored call for a European Congress is published in the *Monitor*, Louis Napoleon being determined to let events justify his proposition which was so disdainfully rejected two years ago. The cholera, which was rapidly abating in Egypt, had made its appearance in Turkey, and several cases are reported at Birmingham, England.

### FROM TEXAS AND MEXICO.

Petersburg, Aug. 4th.—Our files contain the following news from Texas.

The *Matamoros Commerce* of the 12th inst., says General Steele has required Cortinas, who is now in Brownsville, to keep the peace, but having access to Mexico, he continues to rob on that side and seek refuge on the American side.

Gen. Monot had received authority to raise a battalion of Texans for guerrilla service instead of ten thousand.

There are between seven and eight thousand Missourians and Texans on their way to Mexico. They were organized and armed by Gov. Allen, of Louisiana. They are hourly expected at Monteray.

Complaint is made that the Federal authorities do not furnish transportation to paroled rebel soldiers who wish to return to loyal States, many of whom went to Texas before the war and were conscripted.

Business is becoming quite active in San Antonio. There was no general celebration of the 4th of July there, though most of the people ceased business, and some celebrated it by hoisting the Union flag, and others by hauling the flags down.

General Shelby had reached Eagle Pass, but the authorities at Piedras Negras informed him that he would not be allowed to take his men into Mexico with arms in their hands, but he would, however, be allowed to come into the country with his men as emigrants. He agreed, to this, and sold his arms and cannon to the Liberals at Piedras Negras for which he received six thousand dollars in specie, and five thousand dollars issued by the Liberals. The arms were immediately shipped to Chihuahua, where the President still remains. The place is strongly fortified, and no imperial troops to threaten it.

The *New Orleans Times* has Brownsville correspondence to the 14th inst., which says that Cortinas, who is still there, is very hopeful of success by the Liberals, and looks upon the prompt movement of the United States forces to the frontier as advantageous to the cause. He has a great number of Americans in his ranks, and he speaks very enthusiastically of their dash and daring.

The correspondent is very favorably impressed with the appearance of Cortinas, and has a high opinion of his capacity.

The Galveston correspondent of the *Times* says there is a reign of terror in the interior of Texas, murder and robberies prevailing to a terrible extent.

CASE OF GENERAL JOE. JOHNSTON.—It is probable that an exception will be made in favor of General Johnston, and his pardon granted at once, instead of putting him on indefinite probation, as in the cases of other rebel Generals. Among the grounds suggested for making this exception is the fact, said to be well authenticated before the Attorney-General, that Johnston did all in his power to bring the rebellion to a close long before it became palpably evident that the thing was in a collapsed condition.