

NO. 1.

ISSUES OF THE CANVASS, OF 1876.

Published by the State Executive Committee of the Democratic-Conservative Party of Mississippi.

ADDRESS
OF THE
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
Democratic-Conservative Party.

HDQRS. EX. COM. DEM. and CON. PARTY,
JACKSON, MISS., August 3, 1876.

To the People of Mississippi:

The pending Presidential election, the third since the war, will be followed by such grave and important results, not only to the people of this State and of the entire South, but to the whole Union, that it cannot fail to excite, in all thoughtful minds, the liveliest interest and the most profound solicitude.

In the election of 1868, the people of Mississippi were not allowed to participate. In the election of 1872, the result was practically decided a month before the formal voting was held, and hence the interest in it was languid and lukewarm.

The pending election is, therefore, practically the first since the close of the war, in which the people of this State will have a fair opportunity of discharging that highest of all duties of citizenship—participation in the selection of a Chief Magistrate of the Union.

How much of weal or woe for the people, shall result from this election, will be seen from a comparison of those periods of our past history, in which the Government was administered by able and patriotic men, who sought only the public good, with those years in which incompetency and selfishness, and a

disregard of the public welfare were conspicuous in the administration—a notable instance of the latter being the last eight years.

The condition of the whole country is now such, that the greatest caution should be exercised in the selection of the man, who is to preside over its destinies.

Never before in the history of the Union, was there such universal distress of the people, nor so great waste and extravagance in public administration, and never before such absolute and cynical contempt on the part of rulers for the distressed condition of all classes of citizens. Capital is hoarded, because it distrusts all securities offered for its investment. Labor is unemployed, factories are stopped, and the products of our fields are barely bringing the cost of production. All industries are prostrated, and the very well-springs of our National prosperity seem to be unnaturally closed. Notwithstanding all these distresses, Radical leaders oppose all attempts to reduce public expenditures, and all efforts to reform abuses of administration, and all measures to prevent plunder of the government. But recently a prominent official delinquent was boldly defended before the Radical Senate, upon the plea of a common infamy—a common Radical usage to make unlawful gains as perquisites of office.

The earnest endeavors of the Democratic House of Representatives and of liberal Republicans to secure economy and reform, have been thwarted by persistent opposition of the Radical Senate and of the President.

This sad condition of affairs is not accidental; nor even temporary, unless the causes which have produced it be removed. It results from governmental action based on the false pretense, first introduced into American politics by the party now in power, that official place is a perquisite, or property-right of the incumbent, and not a high trust to be held only for the public good. From this pernicious doctrine have grown the large increase in official salaries and fees, the creation of new and useless offices, and the appointment to office of persons related to, or in some way bound to the appointing power; and the consequent neglect of the proper discharge of official duties. From it also has sprung that other heresy, now so widely embraced by the party in power, that the interest of the party is the supreme law of political action. Personal loyalty to party, and to party leaders, has been substituted for devotion to the common good.

There can be no change for the better in our condition, until there is a change—radical and thorough—in the principles and methods on which the government is now administered. There must be speedy and thorough reform, or national death—the overthrow of those great maxims of popular freedom, on which our fathers established the Union—is sure to follow. Without such reform, our prosperity as a people, and consequent ability to maintain the public credit, is impossible. Continual official plunder and abuse are ruin, both to the people and to the public creditor. This false Radical theory of personal government, which assumes that public officials are the masters, not the servants of the people, means a reduction of all classes and conditions to an abject slavery, under subjection to corrupt rulers.

The necessity for reform has become so apparent that many Republicans have united with the Democrats to secure it. To prevent the secession of others, the Radical managers profess a purpose to reform. These professions have often before been made by them, and are sent forth as regular precursors of important elections, but they have not, in any

instance, been redeemed. They are but pretenses of a sort of death-bed repentance, forgotten as soon as the exigency which extorted them has passed away; they are the last refuge of the detected malefactor, by which he hopes to escape the punishment due to his crimes, and to acquire opportunities for the renewal of his guilty career. Our Saviour accepted the repentance of the thief on the cross, but the Omniscient One knew that the sufferer, renewed as well as crucified, desired no further opportunity for theft. It would be a fact unprecedented in history, that a party which had for sixteen years grown more and more corrupt on each succeeding success, more and more forgetful of the principles and policies necessary for good government, should suddenly, after a new lease of power granted by the people, and a new endorsement of its conduct, conclude to cease doing evil, and to relinquish those practices of abuse and plunder which had been the main cause of its cohesion, as well as the leading aim of its administration. But if the Radical managers had the power and disposition to reform, still they should not be entrusted with a longer continuance in power. The public need now is, for a party which shall reform the government, not one which shall profess a desire to purify itself.

On the great issue of the canvass, Reform, the Democratic party has placed itself in that position which challenges the admiration of the country and demands the confidence of the people. Its nominee for the Presidency is not an untried man. He stands pre-eminent as an earnest and intelligent Reformer, thoroughly tried in high office and found invincibly firm, unselfish, honest and capable in administration and all official action. Pure in character and conduct, and too firm and independent to be led or moulded to do wrong, his whole history is but a record of aggressive warfare upon, and triumphs over, official corruption, waste and extravagance. He has convicted the thieves, Democrats and Republicans, in office in his own State, and sent them to the Penitentiary. He has selected for office not his para-

sites and flatterers,—nor yet mere party hacks, but able, efficient and honest men. He has stopped all waste, cut off every useless expense, reduced disbursements to the lowest standard compatible with efficiency, and has, in less than two years reduced the taxes of the State of New York, over seven millions of dollars. On this record, and on account of it, Mr. Tilden received at the St. Louis Convention a large majority of the votes on the first ballot, against many able, pure and distinguished statesmen, and on the second ballot he was nominated almost unanimously. Far different was the fate of Mr. Bristow in the Cincinnati Convention. His following was almost contemptible in numbers. He was rudely pushed aside by that Convention, and was then expelled from the cabinet of President Grant, because he had shown a disposition to punish speculators on the public treasury. A party, which, acknowledging its administration of affairs to be inefficient and corrupt, at the same time discountenancing and punishing real reformers, cannot be trusted to reform the abuses which have grown up under its patronage and favor. The Republican party reformed would lose its identity and cease to be itself. Reformation in that party can result only from dissolution first, and resurrection afterwards. Let its dissolution come now, and restoration be left to that period when a just but inscrutable Providence may, with pestilence and famine, add to the reforming agencies for a sinful nation, the curses of misrule.

The Republican party has grown corrupt, through long years of wasteful expenditure and abuse of administration.

It is far otherwise with the Democratic party. For sixteen years it has been excluded from power, and undergone the discipline of adversity. It has been the victim, not the beneficiary of bad government. Its aims, its policies, and its traditions all lead it to a pure and just administration. It had its birth with the Constitution; it witnessed the rise and subsequent progress of this great nation, and directed, in the main, the agencies through which this greatness was achieved. It will perish only when the

constitution itself shall no longer be revered and obeyed. Its policies have been broad and national; its aims have been, by constitutional and legal methods, to do the greatest good to the greatest number, in all parts of our common country. All its struggles with the great old Whig party, were but contests of generous rivalry, how best, and how most to promote the public good. It has always been the firm friend of the laboring classes, who, in great part, have always been its chief support. At the same time, it has been just and conservative to capital. It has kept down, when in power, all antagonism between labor and capital, by being just to both. Under its leadership and management, the nation acquired its marvellous growth, and the people steadily advanced in enlightenment, morality and material prosperity. Under its policies we had no overgrown wealth, no squalid poverty. The opportunities for the sudden acquisition of immense individual fortunes, and the circumstances which ground the poor to a still harder and more hopeless poverty were alike wanting, under its rule.

But let us now see what local reasons, pertaining to the State of Mississippi, exists for our preference for Mr. Tilden. Independent of the manifold and weighty reasons which should, and we firmly believe will, control the preference of the American people for Mr. Tilden, we have still others of even greater moment and concern to us in Mississippi, which should cause every citizen of the State to use every exertion in his power to secure the election of the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President.

The history of the Republican party in Mississippi is a sad record of woe to the people, and a blot upon free institutions. Its advent into power here found the people indeed poor from a long and exhausting war, yet lightly burdened with taxation and engaged in an earnest effort to restore prosperity.

The two races were living in harmony and peace. There were no distrusts, no jealousies—each recognized the mutual dependence of each upon the other. The offices in the main were filled by honest and

capable men. This state of affairs did not suit the adventurers who had migrated hither to better their fortunes. The colored people were organized into secret leagues, and taught to regard all Southern white men as their natural enemies. They got possession of the State, and most of the county governments, and then ensued a carnival of crime and official malfeasance, that beggars description. The salaries and fees of all officers were largely increased, new and useless offices were created, and taxes levied almost to the extent of confiscation. The officials they placed in power were, with a few exceptions, incompetent or corrupt, and, frequently, both. Judges were appointed to office who had never even studied law, others were selected whose legal learning was of that meagre sort, that defied discovery in their official action. Clerks, Sheriffs and Tax-Collectors, Assessors and Supervisors were elected who could not read nor write, and who were utterly irresponsible. Their straw bonds were generally made by a class of penniless bond-makers. A U. S. Senator, and afterwards Governor, was elected—a stranger to our people and without sympathy in their destinies and fortunes. He was not even a citizen of the State prior to his election, and on his ejection from office, he remained in doubt whether he would renew even that shadowy and flitting sojourn, which, in Republican practice, constituted residence and citizenship.

The Legislature, charged with the high duty of making laws for a great commonwealth, was composed, in the main, of ignorant negroes, who owed their election to race prejudice which they had skillfully inflamed, and of scheming and corrupt aliens and strangers, who sought power solely for their personal advantage. The administration of justice became a farce, and the entire government was a grotesque sham, possessing no power for good, and effective only for evil. Sudden and large fortunes were made by officials, and the people grew poorer and poorer every day. Taxes were increased more than 1,000 per cent., and yet the public debt was increased at the rate of nearly \$500,000 a year.

All this was done for the mere ordinary expenses of the Government—for no public works of any sort were made. Under this great calamity, the want of credit by the State, usually considered a misfortune and a reproach, was a signal benefit; money could not be borrowed on the faith of the State. Our situation was so calamitous that the mistakes and errors of all former administrations became a refuge from plunder and oppression. Reference is here made to the appendix for some figures showing the waste and corruption of the Radical party.

Under this rule, every industry languished, every enterprise failed, every noble aspiration for the public good was discountenanced. Every surplus dollar produced was demanded by the inexorable tax-gatherer. Nothing prospered but office-holding. The wealth of the State diminished every year, steadily and rapidly. In 1870, the assessed value of the property of the State was \$161,000,000; in 1875, it was barely \$120,000,000.

In the meantime we remonstrated and petitioned. In January, 1875, the largest convention ever held in the State met to petition for a redress of grievances. It was non-partizan. Republicans as well as Democrats participated in its deliberations; and among them was an ex-member of Congress (Mr. Morphis), another, a Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor (Mr. Jamison), and another, an ex-Auditor of Public accounts (Mr. Musgrove). This convention prepared and presented a respectful petition to the Legislature then in session, setting forth the grievances of the people and the proper remedy. The Hon. Geo. C. McKee, Republican member of Congress, in a letter published in the Weekly Times, said of this petition that it was "the ablest paper he had seen in Mississippi in many years;" "it was singularly and carefully non-partizan," "that the grievances complained of were well founded—the evils sought to be remedied were 'enormous;'" yet the Legislature treated it with absolute contempt, (see appendix). Many leading Republicans declared (and among them Attorney-General Harris) that unless there

was reform in the party it would be defeated. But the party was deaf to all these appeals, and continued their career of usurpation and plunder. They "laughed at our calamities and mocked" at our fears. They denounced our respectful remonstrances as the "howlings" of faction. At length as the election for 1875 approached, it was found that the Republican party had fallen to pieces by its corruptions,—it was rent by division and dissension. In each of two Congressional Districts there were rival conventions, each claiming to be regular, and each making a nomination, which claimed the loyalty of the party. In a third the nomination was secured by a fraud so patent, that the nominee, after vainly endeavoring to reconcile the opposing wing, was compelled to decline just on the eve of the election. In a fourth, one of the tried and trusted leaders (McKee) who had served for three terms, was set aside, under circumstances that caused the nominee to lose the support of the defeated aspirant and his friends. A large number of Republicans resolutely refused to follow Gov. Ames, who was freely denounced as both incompetent and selfish; and charged with fomenting riot and murder for his own advancement and that of his party.

These circumstances furnished us opportunity for victory. The opportunity was seized, and with what result is well known. As soon however, as the government passed into the hands of the Conservatives, we began to hear that the election was carried by force and fraud,—this charge, too, in many instances, coming from the lips of the very men who had contributed to our success by voting for our candidates and sympathizing with our aims.

The success of the Democratic Conservative party in 1875, marks the beginning of a new era in Mississippi. The power thus won has been used with moderation and wisdom. Every pledge which the party made to the people has been fully redeemed. The Judiciary has been reformed. The Judges and Chancellors are men of learning, character and ability. Justice is administered speedily and impartially. Crime is pun-

ished and lawlessness suppressed. No citizen of any race or class, can justly say, that he has been injured or oppressed in any way, by the government; and there is none who does not feel more secure in person and property, than under Radical rule. Taxation, notwithstanding provision has been made for the payment of a large debt created by the Republicans, has been reduced nearly one-half. Salaries and fees have been reduced, whilst the service of officials has been greatly improved. The common school system has been extended and cheapened. In short, instead of a corrupt and incompetent government, at a cost entailing taxation amounting to confiscation, we have now as the result of our success in 1875, a pure, able and efficient administration, at a rate of taxation greatly reduced and still capable of further reduction when we shall have paid off the debt created by the Republican party.

There are yet other reforms, to be completed at the next session of the Legislature. Among these, is a revision of the crude, contradictory and undigested legislation which the Republican party has placed among our statutes; a simplification and cheapening of the administration of justice; a still further revision of our financial system by which the public burdens will be still more lessened, and industrious labor still more relieved from taxation; a revision and simplification of the laws for the sale of lands for taxes, by which, on a wilful default in the payment of the now easily paid taxes on lands, a sale can be made which will confer a good title, whereby the public revenue will be fairly collected and the industrious laboring population of the State may acquire homes leads at a small price.

We repeat, the laboring classes have always been favorites of the Democratic party. Many of the brightest and most trusted leaders of the party have sprung from the laboring classes, and it is now, and has always been, the boast and pride of the party, that, under its benign policies, there is no position in society, untainted with crime or bad conduct, which is a bar to promotion. Whilst

this is its position with reference to labor, it is equally protective as to capital—since it is impossible that industrious labor can ever better its condition, unless its gains be protected by the Government.

The issue is now presented to the people of the State, whether they will surrender the great fruits of the victory of the last year—will allow the State to again fall into the terrible condition from which it has been rescued; or by a manly and vigorous effort place their fortunes and destinies forever beyond the control of the men who have caused us so much ruin. Shall the fortunes and destinies of the people be once more committed to men whose misrule, for six years, destroyed every vestige of our prosperity, and infused into all official action the spirit of selfishness and contempt for the public good?

If, after having got possession of the Government and used our power wisely and for the public weal, we cannot, or do not, retain it, what prospect will there ever be again to have fair and honest Government in Mississippi?

The Radical leaders in Mississippi are determined to leave no stone unturned, and spare no effort to wrest the Government from the honest and capable hands in which it now is. Shall we be less energetic and earnest for good, than they for evil? The answer, we seek to these questions, is the complete and thorough and immediate organization of all good citizens for the approaching election.

There is everything to inspire us to action,—the great evils of Radical rule to be averted—the great benefits of good government to be secured and perpetuated. There is no reason for despair or discouragement. Everywhere throughout the Union, the friends of reform and honest government are rallying around the standard of the St. Louis nominees, with zeal, energy and hope. There are no laggards in the camp, and none who doubt as to success. Our deliberate judgment, from a calm and impartial survey of the whole field, is that it is impossible to defeat Tilden and Hendricks; and that on the 4th of March next they will be installed into power, with so near an approach to unanimity, that the dissen-

tients will be marked by the circle which encloses the bigoted and unreasoning partizan, and the corrupt and scheming placemen, who have so long preyed upon the industries of the country.

Nor do we doubt that the voice of Mississippi will be in accord with that of her sister Democratic States of the Union. The power of the enemy has been broken, the charm of invincibility no longer exists. Nor will the threatened intervention of the military be of any avail, for there is no law by which a despotic President can employ the army in controlling elections. Troops indeed may be sent to the State, but they will be utterly powerless for evil, unless our friends, under a mistaken view of the military power, shall be discouraged and disheartened.

If it were at all necessary, we should urge you to peace and good order—a resort to law for the redress of wrongs, rather than violence; but the patient submission with which you bore insult and wrong in adversity, assures us that the like moderation and forbearance will characterize your conduct now.

Let every friend of honest government go to work; see that all register, and that all vote. Let no man, either from over confidence or indifference, fail to contribute his full share to this second redemption of Mississippi from that greatest of all earthly misfortunes, the restoration of Radical rule.

Mississippi has now for the first time since the war, the opportunity of doing a great service to the whole country, by contributing patriotically and unselfishly to that reform, now so sadly needed everywhere. In taking this action, she remembers nothing of the past, in anger or disappointment. She recognizes that she is a member of an indissoluble Union, and that this association imposes on her high duties to her sister commonwealths. These duties she proposes to discharge for the good of the entire country, in no selfish or sectional spirit, and seeking no other advantage to herself, than such as may result from the blessings of a government, just to all and equal in its benefactions and in its burdens. She asks no controlling voice in

the government for herself or her section, no conspicuous place for her sons, no bounties from the national treasury. She claims only that her children may not be treated as aliens in the land of their birth, and that when commissioned to represent her interests and her aspirations in the common council of the Nation, they may be allowed with modesty and moderation to co-operate in the advancement of the Nation's welfare. If there be those, within, or outside her borders, who shall falsely attribute to her other motives, who shall challenge her patriotism, or charge her with an ambition to dominate through partisan agencies and party alliances, and thus rekindle against us the fires of sectional hate, she will make no other answer, than refer to her history of the olden time, when in the halls of Congress, on the plains of Chalmette, and on bloody fields in Mex-

ico, she honestly endeavored, as now, to contribute her full share to the good of the common Union.

J. Z. GEORGE, Ch'm.
F. LABAUVE,
JOHN A. BINFORD,
E. C. WALTHALL,
GEO. L. POTTER,
A. T. ROANE,
L. W. MAGRUDER,
J. D. VERTNER,
H. M. STREET,
W. A. PERCY,
W. H. H. TISON,
THOS. B. SYKES,
THOS. W. HARRIS,
JOHN W. SMITH,
L. A. CAMPBELL,
E. RICHARDSON,
J. B. CHRISMAN,
T. V. NOLAND.

APPENDIX
STATEMENT OF DISBURSEMENTS IN 1874, 1875, 1876, BY STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

FISCAL YEAR.	1874	FOR 1875	1876
Legislative.....	133,519 91	\$118,624 39	\$100,000 00
Judiciary.....	300,854 10	230,025 98	a91,000 00
Executive.....	54,909 50	33,947 30	b27,850 00
Appropriations.....	15,316 03	31,573 38	Spec'l items
State Library.....	3,467 03	4,528 87	2,500 00
Commissions Assessing.....	29,388 13	34,588 03	15,000 00
Penitentiary.....	162,712 84	66,646 20	c3,700 00
Public Printing.....	75,238 36	50,000 00	24,000 00
Capitol Expenses.....	600 00	600 00	Spec'l items
Repairs.....	3,600 00	2,498 41	d500 00
University Mississippi.....	50,000 00	35,000 00	e30,000 00
Recording tax titles.....	22 75		
Common School Fund.....	20,266 62	118,690 14	(f)
Lunatic Asylum.....	93,750 00	97,000 00	60,000 00
Executive Contingent Fund.....	10,262 53	10,000 00	g4,000 00
Auditor's ".....	2,763 56	2,738 29	Spec'l items
Chickasaw School Fund interest.....	77,120 02	77,646 37	70,350 00
Deaf and Dumb Asylum.....	15,000 00	15,000 00	49,900 00
Blind Institute.....	10,000 00	10,000 00	i8,500 00
Alcorn University.....	50,000 00	15,250 00	j10,000 00
Commissioner Immigration.....	9,533 32	5,216 55	100 00
Express and Postage.....	1,440 99	2,559 01	2,500 00
Crop Reports, 1874.....	499 98		
Distributing Laws and Journals.....	1,287 70	1,518 60	1,000 00
State Tax, 1873, (overpaid).....	18,632 86	43 39	
Geological Survey.....	2,625 09		
State Normal Schools.....	9,000 00	9,000 00	7,600 00
Bonds and Int'est, Series (A.).....	19,292 00	163,000 00	
" " " " (C.).....	8,000 00		
" " " " (D.).....	8,000 00	104,000 00	
Interest on Insurance Deposits.....	15,294 98	15,816 00	15,000 00
Erroneous Assessment.....	84 00		
State Tax 1872, (overpaid).....	1,327 39	141 78	
Miss. State Bonds, (Series C.).....	100,000 00		
Int. Miss. " " (E.).....	4,000 00	8,000 00	
" " " " (B.).....	12,000 00	13,164 00	
Tax Sales (overplus).....	32 00		
Total, 1874.....	\$1,319,281 60		
State Tax 1874, (overpaid).....		3,183 59	
Secretary of State, (Contingent).....		100 00	400 00
Teachers Fund Tax, '73, (excess).....		7,282 52	
Militia.....		5,000 00	
Treasurer's Contingent Fund.....		307 00	500 00
Certificates of Indebtedness.....		137,200 00	
Total, 1875.....	\$1,430,192 83		

SPECIAL ITEMS—1876.

Attorney General's Contingent Fund Deficit.....	\$190 00
Fire Companies, Jackson.....	700 00
Fuel and Gas.....	2,500 00
Superintendent Education, Traveling Expenses.....	1,000 00
Supreme Court Reports.....	4,000 00
Porter Capitol.....	400 09
Stationery—Legislature.....	2,920 00
Expense Serg't-at-Arms, House.....	307 81
P. J. Roach, services.....	70 00
Expense Serg't-at-Arms, Senate.....	182 00
Clarion, during Legislature.....	324 00
Pilot, Public Printing, 1876.....	3,408 80
Salary Adjutant-General.....	500 00

Penitentiary Inspectors.....	1,500 00
Investigating Committee.....	5,000 00
<i>Note.</i> —The Bond account is paid out of special funds, and no appropriation was regarded necessary. A few local appropriations, not published, are not in statement, amounting to about.....	
	5,000 00
Total for 1876.....	\$542,482 61

(a) Expenses now paid by County. (b) And \$5,000 on former appropriation. (c) And \$16,000 Penitentiary deficit. (d) And \$552 Capitol repairs previous appropriation. (e) Including interest to said University on Land (fund) Scrip. (f) Act of April 10, 1876, provides that the fund arising from Liquor licenses, fines and forfeitures, and tax land sales, shall be set apart for the support of the Common Schools, and if this fund shall not amount in the fiscal year to \$200,000, then the Treasurer shall pay the deficit out of the general fund. (g) And \$400 deficit Executive Contingent fund. (h) \$350 repairs Deaf and Dumb Institute. (i) \$500 repairs Blind Institute. (j) Including interest to University, on Land scrip fund.

[Compiled from THE CLARION.]

DEPARTMENT.	AMOUNT.
House.....	\$24,691 42
Senate.....	12,301 49
Legislative.....	5,131 05
Executive.....	1,274 65
Secretary of State.....	841 15
Auditor of Public Accounts.....	15,969 80
Treasurer.....	425 90
State Librarian.....	1,197 00
Educational.....	12,949 55
Adjutant-General.....	247 00
Commissioner of Immigration.....	3,777 30
Grand total.....	\$78,806 31

RECAPITULATION OF PUBLIC PRINTING, REPORTED BY SECRETARY OF STATE, 1875.

DEPARTMENT.	AMOUNT.
House.....	\$24,691 42
Senate.....	12,301 49
Legislative.....	5,131 05
Executive.....	1,274 65
Secretary of State.....	841 15
Auditor of Public Accounts.....	15,969 80
Treasurer.....	425 90
State Librarian.....	1,197 00
Educational.....	12,949 55
Adjutant-General.....	247 00
Commissioner of Immigration.....	3,777 30
Total.....	\$2,292,648
Annual average increase of debt.....	\$573,214

STATEMENT SHOWING INCREASE OF STATE DEBT.

1871—increase.....	\$586,423
1872 ".....	569,122
1873 ".....	373,976
1874 ".....	763,127
Total.....	\$2,292,648
Annual average increase of debt.....	\$573,214

STATEMENT SHOWING RATE OF TAXATION IN HINDS COUNTY FOR YEARS NAMED.

YEAR.	TAX ON EACH \$,1000.
1866.....	\$ 3 25
1867.....	3 50
1868.....	3 75
1869.....	5 75
1870.....	16 25
1871.....	16 00
1872.....	22 52
1873.....	25 00
1874.....	30 00

State tax, 1869.....	1 mill
Various county taxes.....	1 mill
	2 mills
State tax, 1870.....	5 mills
Various county taxes.....	40 mills
	15 mills
State tax, 1871.....	4 mills
Various county taxes.....	14 mills
	18 mills
State tax, 1872.....	8 1/2 mills
Various county taxes.....	28 3/4 mills
Levee construction tax (on realty).....	10 mills
	47 1/2 mills
State tax, 1873.....	8 1/2 mills
State teachers' tax.....	4 mills
Various county taxes.....	25 mills
Levee construction tax (on realty).....	2 mills
	39 1/2 mills
State tax, 1874.....	10 mills
State teachers' tax.....	4 mills
Various county taxes.....	16 mills
Levee construction tax (on realty).....	15 mills
	45 mills

From official figures from Auditor's office the following appears, with reference to two years under Democratic and two years under Republican rule. These two years from each class may serve as a fair sample of the whole.

1854 State tax.....	\$1.60 per 1000
Average county taxes for the whole State.....	2 99 per 1000
Total.....	4.59 per 1000
1855 State tax.....	1 60 per 1000
Average county levies.....	2 62 per 1000
Total.....	4.22 per 1000
1873 State tax.....	8.50 per 1000
Average county levies.....	13.19 per 1000
Total.....	21.69 per 1000
1874 State tax.....	8.50 per 1000
Average county levies.....	14.10 per 1000
Total.....	22.60 per 1000

These taxes do not include school levies or railroad taxes, or other special levies.

The following table is taken from a report of a committee of the Legislature of 1876:

State indebtedness 1st Jan. 1876	\$2,631,704.24
" " " " 1870	221,522.75

Increase in six years \$2,410,181.49

STATEMENT SHOWING RATE OF TAXATION FOR THE YEARS THEREIN STATED.

1865	\$1.00 per 1000
1866	1.00 per 1000
1867	1.00 per 1000
with 50 cts. additional for Convention tax.	
1868	1.00 per 1000
1869	1.00 per 1000
1870	5.00 per 1000
1871	4.00 per 1000
1872	8.50 per 1000
1873	12.50 per 1000
1874	14.00 per 1000
1875*	9.25 per 1000
1876	6.50 per 1000

* In 1875 the Judiciary expenses, amounting to \$1.65,000, were put upon the county treasuries.

APPENDIX A.

Extract from a Letter from Geo. C. McKee.

"I would beg you to bear in mind that there is no fear of cutting too deep. The evil is too enormous. The 'Petition and Appeal' of the Tax-Payers' Convention should be heeded. It is about the ablest paper I have seen in Mississippi for years. Of course I do not subscribe to each and every one of its sentiments. I do not suppose there was a single member of the Convention who did. But in its general tenor it is correct, and I hope our legislators will not allow themselves to be scared off from what is right by any outcry of partizanship. Let not the action of the Tax-Payers' Convention at Jackson be identified with the action of the 'Tax-payers' league' at Vicksburg. The 'Petition and Appeal' are singularly and carefully non-partizan. Although I doubt not that a large majority of the members of that Convention are working and plotting for the overthrow of the Republican party, yet when the people meet as citizens, and present to the peoples' legislature well-founded grievances, it is no answer to their complaints to say that most of the Convention were Democrats.

When a party governs for the party alone, and not for the people, it has no business to govern at all.

"And this tax-paying is not so much a question of partizan feeling as of pocket-book feeling. Party feeling is altogether too high in Mississippi. Remember, then, that the deeper you go into a man's pocket, the deeper you stir up his feelings. No matter whether it is the usual swindling charges of sextons at a relative's funeral or onerous taxes upon a dilapidated plantation, the victim may pay silently, but not the less angrily.

"What Mississippi needs is not a comparison between parties as to the relative extravagance of this or that party. We want not comparative and relative economy; we want absolute economy. We are pledged to it. Let us have it."

Extract from Summit Times, A Republican paper, date July 7th, 1875.

The action of the Legislature, in its recent extraordinary session, did not meet the wishes of the people, nor did it fulfill the promises made by the Ames Republicans in the last gubernatorial canvass.

The Republican party of this State is pledged to an economical administration of public affairs, and to a positive reduction of taxes, and unless these pledges are made good, the days of the Republican party are numbered. The party leaders must rise above the petty tricks of political demagogues, and they must use their energies and their brains to originate and push to successful issue some well matured and definite plan that will positively reduce the public expenses and the rate of taxation. Gov. Ames and those elected on the ticket with him, owe their election to the Conservative element, white and black, of the country, and these men voted the Ames ticket because they believed that his election and the success of the party to which he was allied would give that relief which they promised, and which the depressed condition of the country demanded. Thus far these expectations have not been met, and unless the pledges of the party leaders are made good, then they will have to

give way to men who regard the pledges made the people as worthy of their attention even after they are snugly placed in office. By pursuing that course indicated by the party leaders in the last canvass, the Republican party would very soon receive the unqualified support of the entire Conservative element of the State; for our people are heartily tired of strifes and turmoils, and yearn for real peace with its attendant prosperity and good feeling between all classes. There are men in Mississippi, even Democrats, who love their State above all party ties, and who would most earnestly support any administration or party that will economically and honestly administer the public affairs; and there are men in Mississippi—Republicans too—who love the State and its prosperity even more than the party to which they belong. If the promises of the party are not carried out, then those leaders who betray the trust reposed in them will be forced to give way to purer and better men.

The Conservative Republicans, and this includes a very large number, are determined to have retrenchment and reform, and if the leaders of the party cannot be induced to heed the low but constant murmur of the masses, then here in Mississippi will be witnessed even a greater revolution than that which recently occurred in Massachusetts.

Attorney-General Harris, in an open letter to Senator Warren, published in the Pilot, Feb. 13, 1875, complained of the failure of the Legislature, then in session, to give redress as asked in the Tax-payers' Memorial, and among things stated by him he said:

"The people are in a state of exasperation, and in their poverty and desperation they are in arms against the burden of taxes that is levied and collected on the value of their property, which is unproductive. They have made a respectful appeal to the Legislature for relief, and are now waiting in breathless silence to hear the result of its action. Four years in war, and ten years in peace, and yet there is no peace.

After urging reform and redress of grievances, he proceeds:

"The honest political party is not formed alone for political purposes, but for the nobler purpose of subserving the best interest of the masses of the people; and whenever a political party fails to accomplish this purpose, it ceases to deserve the power and should have its lease of power terminated."

He further said:

"The all-absorbing question that engages, the attention of all classes of people throughout the State, is the burden of taxes; and the question is can we afford relief? I answer we can; and if it is now omitted we are guilty of a culpable negligence that is unpardonable, however elastic the pardoning power. There has been a steady increase of taxes for the last four years, during which period the value of property has been constantly diminishing, thereby rendering it the more difficult to pay the taxes; and it is an appalling fact that only about one-third of the land in the State is now paying taxes; and year after year as the lands are forfeited to the State for the non-payment of the taxes, the amount to be taxed is growing beautiful less."

Yet no relief was granted—but the same system of wanton extravagance and corruption continued.

In a letter from Attorney General Harris, dated Nov. 24, 1875, to President Grant, in which he reviews the history of the Republican party in this State, among other things he states:

That Raymond received for public printing \$80,000 per year; that A. R. Howe, ex-member of Congress, "took from the treasury of Panola county through an ignorant colored man and the Board of Supervisors, and now unlawfully retains \$5,125 97;" that A. T. Morgan, State Senator, offered in writing to sell his vote for \$2000, that Raymond refused to pay it, saying that he had already paid him \$900, and that was enough for that vote; that Gov. Ames, in order to control the Judiciary as well as the Executive department of

the State, appointed the Chancellors in vacation, so that if any did not please him in their decrees, etc., he could withhold their names from the Senate; that Ames in making appointments to Judicial positions did not confine himself to the legal profession, "in two or three instances he appointed men who had received a law license only a few days previous, for the purpose of being appointed, who had never had a case in court, and who were totally ignorant of the law or the practice of it; and in one case a most notorious, venal and corrupt one."

That in January, 1875, "quite a number of the Legislators, having no interest in connection with or in the State, were out of employment except during the session of the Legislature, and set about to create new offices and did create the office of revenue agent"—"and the Governor appointed to these offices five members of the Legislature in open violation of the Constitution."

REPUBLICAN TESTIMONY.

The following extracts from a long and able letter, written by a Republican and published in the Vicksburg Weekly Times, of October 8th, 1873, contains valuable information, and is republished:

STATE FINANCES.

Every Republican may well regret that the financial exhibit produced by three and a half years of Republican administration, is not more favorable to our party, but, good or bad, I believe in letting the people know exactly our condition, so that they may consider it and determine the remedy that should be applied.

The following table shows the condition of our State finances, at the inauguration of Republican government in 1870, and successively in each year and fraction of year, till September 1st, 1873:

STATE INDEBTEDNESS.

1870, January 1st	\$ 1,177,629.24
1871, " "	1,764,542.86
1872, " "	2,333,175.78
1873, " "	2,707,152.76
1873, Sept. "	3,242,903.84

Deducting the indebtedness of 1870, from our present indebtedness, we have an increase of 2,065,274.60

RECEIPTS IN TREASURY.

1870	\$ 1,066,072.15
1871	1,338,150.85
1872	1,249,276.28
Total	3,653,519.28

The indebtedness reported above, embraces the Chickasaw and Common School Funds and the Insurance deposits in the State Treasury.

These figures are truly startling, and, to say the least of them, are very discreditable to those who have controlled our finances.

It will be seen that the increase of indebtedness has been at the rate of \$50,000 per month or \$600,000 per annum through our entire administration, and this increase has been accompanied each year, save one, with increased rates of taxation, and consequently increased revenues to pay the expenses of the government.

The following table shows the rates of taxation for the years named:

RATES OF STATE TAXATION.

1854 to 1859 inclusive,	16cts, per \$100, value.
1860 to 1864	20cts, " "
1866-7-'8-'9	10cts, " "
1870	50cts, " "
1871	40cts, " "
1872	85cts, " "
1873 (including four mills school tax)	\$1.25, " "

The entire expense of the State government, from October 1st, 1865, to January 1st, 1870, including \$211,735 State warrants outstanding at the latter date, was \$2,248,202, being but \$182,928 more than the increased indebtedness alone of the last three and a half years.

The total disbursements from March, 1870, to January 1st, 1873, less than three years, as shown by the Auditor's reports were \$4,387,123.

In order that some idea may be obtained as to the disposition of this vast fund, I submit the annexed statements which I clip from the Vicksburg Times of the 27th inst., showing the expenses incurred under the several heads enumerated, before and since the war:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT.

LEGISLATIVE EXPENSES.

Legislative expenses for the year 1857-'58, amounted to	\$ 17,824.32
1858-'59, amounted to	26,592.06
1865-'66, amounted to	77,567.60
1866-'67, amounted to	72,407.50
Total in these four years	\$194,391.48

Legislative expenses for the year 1870, amounted to	\$ 241,191.93
1871, amounted to	201,012.80
1872, amounted to	139,452.85
1873, amounted to	130,572.84
Total	\$ 712,230.42

JUDICIARY EXPENSES.

Expenditures for the Judiciary in 1857-'58, amounted to	\$ 139,842.48
1858-'59, amounted to	147,105.56
1865-'66, amounted to	49,775.22
1866-'67, amounted to	163,340.67
1867-'68, amounted to	191,440.04
1868-'69, amounted to	208,919.14
Total in these six years	\$ 900,423.11

Expenditures for the Judiciary in 1870, amounted to	\$ 220,399.81
1871, amounted to	389,991.22
1872, amounted to	434,693.43
1873, to Sept. 1st, amounted to	223,685.60

Total in these three years and eight months \$1,268,870.66

PUBLIC PRINTING EXPENSES.

The cost of public printing in 1857-'58, was only	\$ 9,104.50
1858-'59, was only	16,297.73
1865-'66, was only	5,964.71
1867, was only	6,228.75
1868, was only	18,675.37
1869, was only	19,638.50

Being a total of these six years of only \$ 75,909.56

While in 1870 it was	\$ 52,976.22
While in 1871 it was	120,785.20
While in 1872 it was	69,781.82
Eight months to September 1st, 1873, it has been	73,276.42

Making a total in the six years and eight months of \$316,820.66

The salary of Probate Judges during each of the years of 1867-'68-'69, was \$64,800, which was paid by the counties, and, therefore, does not appear in the above amounts.

According to the Code of 1857, their salary aggregated \$37,700 per annum. By adding these amounts to the expenses above reported, the entire annual expense of the old judiciary system will be obtained.

These figures make an unfortunate showing for our law-makers who are chiefly responsible for them, and bear unmistakable evidence of gross extravagance in the appropriation of public money and intolerable financial management.

Surely it were reasonable to expect that the enormous taxes paid every year, would meet the current expenses of the State and gradually liquidate its indebtedness, but the fact is, that we are spending every dollar of money that is received, and increasing our indebtedness month after month to alarming proportions. And this process bids fair to go on until our certain and speedy ruin is accomplished, unless steps be taken to check it.

At the present rate of taxation, the annual assessment of taxes, for general State purposes alone, excluding schools, is \$1,289,419, or at the rate of \$10.36 to each voter in the State. After paying this fearful amount, he finds himself still in debt \$3.90—his share of

THE BEAUTIFUL \$600,000,

which is the amount of our increased yearly indebtedness. And who pays this money? Let us examine this subject and see.

The Constitution and laws say that all property shall be taxed according to its value, and, inasmuch as the white man owns the bulk of the taxable property, it is argued that he pays the largest portion of the taxes. Grant that this is true in the abstract, and that he is the party the law looks to for the taxes, where, I ask, does he get his money? Does he not realize it on cotton made by the poor man's hands and watered by the sweat of his brow? How many men, who own plantations, actually make their own crops? How many, on the other hand, rent their lands and have others to work for them and make the cotton which brings the money to pay the taxes?

To carry the enquiry still further, let us suppose that a colored man who does not own a dollar's worth of taxable property, rents a hundred acres of land to cultivate.

The planter says to him that he wants nothing but a fair profit on the value of his land, and will be reasonable in his charges. So he calculates what the taxes on the hundred acres for that year will be, and, adding that amount to what he considers a fair profit, he arrives at the amount which the renter has to pay. If there is a tax of \$20 or \$50 on the hundred acres, it is counted in the cost per acre and the renter has to

FOOT THE BILL.

So, it will be seen, that high taxes bring high rents, and the poor laboring men and women are the sufferers. They are at the landlord's mercy and have to pay his prices or go without land, while he is at the mercy of the men who make laws and compel him to pay high taxes.

The same is true of the merchant. His goods are comparatively cheap, but when he brings them here and puts them on his shelves, they are subject to be taxed like any other property. So he adds the amount of tax to the cost of the goods and the purchaser has it to pay. Every pair of shoes and barrel of pork has this tax added to its cost. The physician adds it to his medicines and visits; the lawyer to his fees, and the office-holder to his salary. All of them say their taxes are high and they must make a living, so they charge high prices for everything they do, and thus make the people they serve pay their taxes for them.

And it is more true in the South that the laboring people pay the taxes, than almost anywhere in the world. We are distinctly an

AGRICULTURAL PEOPLE,

and derive our support from the cultiva-

tion of the soil. We have none of those vast depositories of wealth, which, in older States, contribute so largely to the annual revenue. Massachusetts, for example, has her millions invested in manufactories and banks; New York, her vast railroads, canals, insurance companies; Pennsylvania, her inexhaustible coal-mines and iron-mines, railroads and manufactories; and so of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and other States. In these States, agricultural labor feels but little of the burden of government, because the vast moneyed interests I have named, with many others, constitute their chief taxable wealth.

The products of their mines and factories are sold all over the land at prices which their proprietors largely control, and at fair profits. Nearly everything that we use is made at the North and brought here to be sold. We pay the price demanded and our money goes to the man who made the article. He is thereby enabled to carry on his business and to pay his State and County taxes with our money, instead of money made in his own State.

But here in Mississippi we have no such sources of revenue, we have no coal-mines, iron-mines, banks, manufactories nor insurance companies to tax; no great cities with their own independent sources of wealth.

By another year, our railroads should have paid at least \$200,000 per annum into the State Treasury, but the Legislature, at its last session, exempted all of them from taxes for the space of ten years, so that even they will pay nothing now, and their share of taxes will have to be paid by the people. It therefore follows that our taxes must all be levied on what little personal property the taxpayer has, his horses, mules, household furniture, etc., and on his real estate, which mainly consists of plantations.

* * * * *

ECONOMIST.

PLATFORM

—ADOPTED BY—

THE DEMOCRATIC-CONSERVATIVE CONVENTION,

JUNE 28, 1876.

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the Federal government to be in great need of immediate reform, and do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention and of the Democratic party in each State a zealous effort and co-operation to this end, and do here appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake with us this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country we do here re-affirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union; our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments, universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered the civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republic in self-government; in absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military; in the total separation of Church and State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope,—we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history.

But while upholding the bond of our Union and the great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism, which after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpet-bag attorneys, has honey-combed the offices of the Federal government itself with incapacity, waste and fraud, infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of hard times. Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure for all these eleven years to make good the promise of the legal tender notes which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which in eleven years of peace has taken from the people, in Federal taxes, thirteen times the whole amount of the legal tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense,

without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, made no preparation for resumption; but instead has obstructed resumption by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income—and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such a hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation, by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system, well advised and, above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vast machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of our business transactions is performed—a system, open and public, and inspiring general confidence, would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its sources the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and mode of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust and labor lightly burdened. We denounce the present tariff levied upon nearly four thousand articles as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality and false pretense, which yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue; it has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few; it prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor; it has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank upon the high seas; it has cut down the walls of American manufactures at home and abroad; it has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people; it costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury; it obstructs the process of production and wastes the fruits of labor; it promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—Federal, State and Municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from sixty million dollars in gold in 1860 to four hundred and fifty million dollars in currency in 1870, our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions in gold in 1860 to seven hundred and thirty million dollars in currency in 1870, or in one decade from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace the people have paid to their tax-gatherers more than thrice

the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered two hundred millions of acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to the tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, re-erasing the Atlantic from the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and, in fact, now by law denied citizenship through naturalization, as being unaccustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization, and unexercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates the revival of the Coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts. We, therefore, demand such modifications of the treaty with the Chinese empire, and such legislation by Congress, within constitutional limitation, as shall prevent the further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the election, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and party in power seek to smother it—1st. the false issues with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several states, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation and is resolved to maintain without partiality or preference for any class, sex or creed, and without contributions from the treasury to any. 2d. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples, once unnaturally estranged, but now re-united in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that an efficient and economical conduct of the government is not

possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election—if it be a prize fought for at the ballot-box—or if it be an approved reward of party zeal instead of posts of honor, assigned for approved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ. That the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of our public men, nor an instrument of their ambition. Here, again, professions falsified in the performance attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service—President, Vice-President, judges, senators, representatives, cabinet officers—these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not private perquisites, they are a public trust. When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President, a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer, three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as lawmakers, five Chairmen of leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery, a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing bal-bances in the public accounts, a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds, a Secretary of the Navy enriched and enriching his friends by a percentage levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation; the President's Private Secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. The demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or party we get no change of measures, and no real reform.

All these abuses wrongs and crimes, the products of a sixteen years ascendancy of the Republican party, create a necessity for reform, confessed by the Republicans themselves, but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet, and the party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the eighty thousand office-holders, its leaders and guides. Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.