

NO. 2.

ISSUES OF THE CANVASS, OF 1876.

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

RADICAL EXTRAVAGANCE

CONTRASTED WITH

Democratic Economy.

Editors CLARION:

I have seen so much in the papers, and heard so much from public speakers, in relation to Radical waste and extravagance in Mississippi, that I concluded to look into the matter for myself. By your permission, I will give your readers the benefit of my investigation. I do not insert all the specific items of expenditure in each year, as this would make the tables of figures so long that they would not be read. I adopt the plan of giving the total expenditures for the State government each year, and then giving a statement of leading items, which will indicate pretty fairly the character of the administration as to economy or otherwise.

The expenditures of the State government from 1848 to 1853, inclusive, ranged from \$223,637 15, the lowest, to \$349,236 39, the highest. In 1858 and 1859, they were about \$500,000 for each year. I am unable to find the Auditor's Report for 1860.

After the war, the expenditures were as follows:

From 16th October, 1865, to 1st	
May, 1866 (5½ months)	\$296,823 82
From May, 1866, to May, 1867,	
one year	555,627 83
From May, 1867, to May, 1868. . .	576,723 11
From May, 1869, to March, 1870	
10 months	387,961 32

At this point the Radicals came into full power.

The expenditures for 1870 (balance of that year) were \$1,061,249 90. But of this it seems there was paid

Chickasaw School Fund int.	\$104,129 06
Common School Fund.	4,259 24

Total. \$108,388 30

which leaves for purely governmental expenses for the remainder of the year 1870, \$952,861 66.

In 1871, the total expenditures were \$1,326,161 57. Deduct again amount disbursed for

Common School Fund.	\$ 48,992 53
Amount paid Chickasaw School	
Fund.	145,721 44

Total. \$194,713 97

Leaves for State expenditures, \$1,131,447 60.

In 1872, the total expenditures amounted to \$1,596,828 64.

Deduct Common school fund, as	
before	\$ 72,001 02
Deduct Chickasaw School Fund. . .	69,753 31

Total. \$141,754 33

Leaves for State expenditures, \$1,455,074 31, nearly three times as much as before the war, and the short time after the war in which the people ruled.

In 1873, the total expenditures were \$1,450,632 80.

Deduct Common School Fund. . .	\$ 97,900 82
" Chickasaw School Fund.	69,609 47

Total. \$167,510 29

Leaves \$1,283,122 51.

In 1874, the total expenditures were \$1,319,281 60.

Deduct Common School Fund. . . .	\$20,000 00
" Chickasaw School Fund.	77,120 02

Total. \$97,120 02

In 1874, they gave \$20,000 to common schools, and three and a half times as much, or \$75,238 to this same newspaper.

In 1875, they gave \$118,690 14 to common schools, and nearly half as much, viz: \$50,000, to their partisan press, and taking the whole period of Radical rule, they gave out of the State Treasury, \$451,244 23 to sustain a partisan newspaper, and \$361,843 75 to common schools—being \$89,400 48 more for their press than for schools.

The amount expended by them, over and above what was necessary, in all the departments of the State government, would, out of the State Treasury alone, without any county levies, have furnished common schools, for 9 months in the year, to every child in the State.

To show how hypocritical is their claim to being the friends of common schools, we have only to look, in addition to the foregoing, at the waste they committed on moneys collected for common school purposes.

Let us see how much of each dollar, collected for common schools, ever reached, in school benefits, the children of the State.

The assessor got 7 cents for assessing the dollar. He was also paid for assessing insolvencies and the large number of polls who never paid their tax. This could not have been less than 1 cent more.

The collector got 5 cents for collecting it. The county Treasurer got 2 cents for disbursing it. All this reduces the dollar to 85 cents. But this is not all the deductions each dollar, collected for school purposes, was subject to. There were the salary of State Superintendent, and his office expenses—over 18,000 in one year. There was, also, an enormous salary to each County Superintendent, amounting, in the aggregate throughout the State, to \$49,650, to which add the \$18,000 above named, and it makes \$67,650, being more than the average annual appropriation from the State Treasury for school purposes. This charge could not have amounted to less than 15

cents more on each dollar. This reduces the dollar to 70 cents. But there are still further deductions. The dollar was almost always paid to the collector in money. It was always paid out in warrants. These warrants did not average over 80 cents on the dollar. Here is 1-5 more to be deducted, or 14 cents. The dollar is now reduced to 56 cents. But still there are other deductions. The teachers' salaries were fixed at enormously high figures, more than double what is now allowed. So the teachers were paid two dollars where they ought to have been paid one, or, in other words, the children of the State only got tuition for one-half the time they were legitimately entitled to for the money collected. This halves the 56 cents remaining, and reduces the dollar, collected from the tax payer, to 28 cents in benefit to the children of the State.

That is the way in which the Radical party fostered and encouraged schools. They collected thousands of dollars from our impoverished people, and yet by waste and extravagance, and to pamper and enrich worthless Radical officials, they so maraged that only twenty-eight cents on each dollar collected was ever applied to the benefit of the children of the State; less, in fact, than one-fourth of the amount they lavished on a partizan press, kept up through the public treasury, to advance the aims and purposes of the Radical party.

But this is not all. They spent for purposes other than common schools, and in their wasteful extravagance, \$769,451 97 of the fund arising from retailer's license, fines, etc., dedicated by the Constitution to common schools. This large sum, actually paid in for the common school fund, the Radicals have wasted, and it is now irrevocably lost to the children of the State.

I might pursue the subject further, but it would make this communication too long.

I will add, however, some statistics taken from Campaign Document No. 4, issued by the Executive State Committee in 1875.

By that paper it is shown, that the actual loss in the assessed value of property in the State, from 1871 to 1875, was

On Personalty.....	\$12,108,659
On Land.....	29,919,540

On both together..... \$42,028,199

And that more than 27 per cent. of the lands of the State, amounting to 6,500,000 acres, had, under the merciless system of taxation of the Radical party, been forfeited to the State.

Are the people of Mississippi prepared to restore this party to power? God forbid!!

CITIZEN.

September 11th, 1876.

NOTE.—By the Auditor's report for year 1871, the public printing for that year is set down at \$95,861 66, but a detailed report of James Lynch, Secretary of State, to be found in appendix to House and Senate Journal of 1872, from p. 18 to p. 57, inclusive, shows it to be \$127,848 12, as set down in above table.

Letter of Attorney-General Geo. E. Harris, Accounting for the Defeat of the Republicans in 1875.

He Attributes it to the Corruption, Dishonesty, Imbecility and Villiany of the Radical Administration.

THE LETTER.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Jackson, Miss., Nov. 24, 1875.

To His Excellency U. S. Grant, President of the United States:

SIR—Mississippi, with a Republican majority two years ago, of 24,000, has just gone Democratic by an overwhelming majority—say 30,000. This was no less astonishing to the Democracy than it was sad to the Republicans, and inasmuch as many have undertaken an account for our

defeat, and contradictory statements have been made as to the real cause, I think it proper to write and give you a plain and unvarnished statement of affairs here; and while it is painful to give the whole truth, yet it will in some degree relieve me, as legal adviser, from the responsibility of many of the fatal blunders of the present State Administration, and at the same time give the real causes of our defeat. Gov. Ames was inaugurated in January, 1874, under the most favorable auspices. His address promised economy and reform, and was well received by the whole country. Even our political opponents, in a state of disruption, many of them having voted for him, expressed a willingness to support him in all that he had promised and advised. But instead of encouraging every indication of returning friendship, his cold indifference drove them at once into a direct antagonism. He seemed to contract his views and narrow his circle of friends to a few confidential advisers, as it were, a close corporation of mercenary men, who knew but little of the wants of the people of the State and cared less—men who have no indentity of interest or sympathy in common with the people of the State.

And to deal plain I must call names—A. R. Howe, and a few lesser lights, if possible; Raymond, the State printer and chief clerk in the Treasurer's office, lobbyist around the Legislature, especially on the printing bills, which pay him nearly \$80,000 per annum, when \$30,000 would be too much. He leaves his printing office in the hands of another, it is said, at a salary of \$1,800 in currency, and takes a clerkship in the office of the State Treasurer at \$1,500 in State warrants, worth 75 or 80 cents on the dollar. This he could well afford, because he handled the funds of the State, and if he cashed his own warrants, he makes nearly \$20,000 per annum on that, and there was nothing to prevent it, except his known honesty. There has been much complaint of this yet it is persisted in to this day. But the Treasurer's office is to change hands, since the special election to fill the vacancy, and his office as State printer is about to

expire, and now he wants to be postmaster at Vicksburg. I regret to add that he is so degraded, that the charge of corruption and bribery is no offense to him, and it comes from various sources.

Morgan, who is sheriff of Yazoo county, has long been a refugee from his county, chairman of the late State Convention, and husband of a very respectable colored woman; who, when State Senator, offered in writing to sell his vote for \$2,000, and Raymond refused to pay it, saying that he had already paid him \$900, and that was enough for that vote.

A. R. Howe, ex-county Treasurer and ex-member of Congress, who took from the Treasury of Panola county, through an ignorant colored board of supervisors, and now unlawfully retains, the sum of \$5,125.97, (I have a certified transcript of the record,) and which he does not deny but refuses to pay. This, in brief, is a small part of the record of three of the Governor's confidential advisers, friends and counsellors, and he must have known their character all the while.

TAMPERING WITH THE BENCH.

Through these and other friends, he had very full control of the Legislature, and could prefer almost any legislation that looked at all plausible either for the good of the State, the good of the party, or for self-aggrandizement, and the sequel has shown how he used that power. The first session of the Legislature passed with but little or no reform, and we felt sad. Under the Constitution and Laws of the State, he was required to appoint 20 Chancellors, with the advice and consent of the Senate. This, of course, should have been done during the session of the Senate; but for some reason, best known to himself, he refused to do it, but waited until the adjournment and then made the appointments in vacation, and this was set aside by the Supreme Court, (see Brady agt. Howe, 50 Miss. Report, p. 607,) the court holding that the appointments should have been made during the session of the Senate. It was manifestly his duty to make the appointments during the session of the Senate, and to have sent them in for confirmation, as the terms of office expired long before

the next session. But the Governor, in his desire to control the judiciary, as well as the executive department of the State, resorted to the expediency of making the appointments in vacation, and then holding the appointments over them in terror until the next session of the Legislature, and if they did not please him in their decrees, etc., he would withhold their names, (as he did in one case,) thus making the Judiciary of the State subservient to the Executive, in violation of the Constitution, (see Art. III, Sec. 1 and 2,) and he actually removed Chancellor Drenam, as I believe, because, in a case of habeas corpus, he refused bail to the Governor's friend, Morgan, on charge of the murder of Hillard.

In his selection of men to fill these important judicial positions, he did not confine himself to the legal profession; made some good appointments it is true; but 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, totally ignorant of the law or practice, who did not know a plea in bar from a demurrer. In one case a man notoriously venal and corrupt, and in another case for the avowed purpose of giving strength to his friend Howe for Congress; and that Chancellor to secure the sending in of his name for confirmation, appointed Howe's brother clerk of the Chancery Court, and clerk of the Board of Supervisors of Panola county, for the express purpose of preventing an investigation of Howe's indebtedness to Panola county. In one case, he appointed a Mr. Peyton, son of the Chief-Justice, and then refused to send his name to the Senate because he decided a case contrary to the Governor's wishes, and pending the trial of this case he sent for the Chief-Justice and desired him to control the action of his son, the Chancellor. This aroused the honest indignation of the Chief-Justice, and broke up the friendly relations between them. The Chief-Justice then dealt him a well-merited castigation, which resulted in the withholding of the name of young Mr. Peyton from the Senate.

BLOODY BLUNDER AT VICKSBURG.

In December, 1844, troubles grew up in Vicksburg. Indictments were pending against two or three of the county officers; complaints were made as to the Sheriff's bond as Tax Collector. He was ill-treated and forced to resign. There was much confusion and anarchy. The Sheriff fled to Jackson for advice and instructions, disregarding his resignation under duress. I do not know all the advice the Governor gave him, but the presumption is that he received advice, as he returned and acted. He notified the colored people by circulars to come to Vicksburg armed on Monday morning, which they attempted to do, and nearly one hundred lives were lost in the fight. How far the Governor is responsible for these lives, or whether responsible at all, I cannot say, but Col. Wells has charged him in the papers with the use of language well calculated in its nature to produce riot and bloodshed, and he has never denied it, and I do not think he will. Since that time he has never conferred or advised with me about anything or matter whatever, being by law his legal adviser. I speak of this to say that I am not responsible before the country for any of his blunders.

REFORM TRAMPLED UNDER FOOT.

In January, 1865, the Legislature met (after a short extra session in December, 1874,) and then the friends of economy and reform were hopeful of some legislation that would give relief to the people and give to the party a record that could be defended before the country. The taxes are too high, especially as the property was, in the main, unproductive, and relief was asked for by the whole people. A few of us were in earnest in our entreaties for good and honest State Government; so much so that on the 10th of February last, I wrote an open letter to the Hon. A. Warner, a prominent Republican State Senator, which was published, and in which I gave him what I regarded as the duty of the party in the Legislature. The lower House indorsed my letter by resolution and promised to act upon its suggestions. It advised a liberal and honest policy,

pointed out the danger of defeat if we pursued the course of other Southern States, and predicted the result that has ensued; begged the party to redeem its pledges, if it would protract its lease of power; declared that if it violated its pledges it deserved to be defeated, using every argument in my power to induce the proper action on the part of the Legislature, pointing out the means by which expenses could be cut off and the taxes reduced.

I advised a reduction in the matter of public printing. The Legislature passed a bill and the Governor vetoed it. (Raymond was State printer.) I advised a reduction in the salary of County Superintendents of Public Education. The Legislature passed the bill and the Governor vetoed it. I advised a change in the Constitution, so as to give us biennial sessions of the Legislature. (This would save nearly \$100,000 per annum.) We had pledged it in our message. The resolution passed the lower House and went to the Senate. There the Governor actually lobbied the Senate and advised his friends to vote against it, and defeated it by one vote.

On the contrary, in his aspirations for the United States Senate, it seemed necessary to strengthen his hands by giving him more patronage and power. At this time, it may be well to note, that quite a number of the legislators, having no interest or connection with or in the State, were out of employment, except during the session, and set about to create new offices, and did create the office of "revenue agent," whose duty it was to hunt up frauds, defalcations, etc., and receive half the sums collected as his pay, and the Governor appointed to this office five members of the Legislature, in open violation of the express provision of the Constitution. They having created the offices could not hold them by appointment. (See Constitution, Art. IV. Sec. 38.) This gave lucrative employment for his friends, while they could work for him for the United States Senate, and I believe that was generally a condition precedent to his appointments. Again, in the face of the Constitution,

his adherents introduced a bill authorizing him to appoint the tax collector for each county. They passed it after much caucusing, in which pistols (I am informed by a member) were presented to force members to pledge their support to the bill. The Governor approved it, and acted under it in one or two cases, and the Supreme Court has set that law aside as unconstitutional. (See L. French, agt. The State of Mississippi, opinion.)

Thus it will be seen that the party in this State has been governed and controlled by a few men—not to exceed a half dozen, including the Governor—who have persistently violated the Constitution, and the most sacred pledges that the party had made in its platform. Then, in two instances he approved two bills on the same day which contradicted each other, and this with a few other unpardonable blunders, caused the calling of an extra session of the Legislature in July last, without any extraordinary occasion, thus giving us three sessions in eight months, instead of one in two years, as we had promised.

AMES' PARTY BLUNDERS.

Then came the canvass for the November election of 1875. The State Convention was held with Morgan, as Chairman. It not only failed, but positively refused to endorse the National Administration, Senator Pease insisting on it; but before the delegation started to Washington to ask for the removal of several of the Government officers, they called a Central Executive Committee together, and they endorsed your administration and added it as section 20, and then started to the capital to ask the removal of Senator Pease, Judge Stearns, and Capt. Lake, to make room for some of their friends.

I presume that the reasons of the refusal to indorse the National Administration were this: The Governor had proclaimed that he had "been snubbed" by the administration at Washington. The Governor had commenced his fight on Senator Pease doubtless because he thought Pease would be in his way for the United States Senate. He and Howe

fought Col. Wells, because they thought Wells would be in Howe's way for reelection to Congress, and it seems now that he was. You will perceive that there is some difference of opinion among Republicans here as to what is true and genuine Republicanism; the adherents of the State administration who have pursued a suicidal policy on the one hand, and on the other, those of us who advocate and defend the National Administration, and insist upon honest and economical State government.

As a further evidence of the effect produced by their course of conduct in the recent canvass, there was not a man in the State who would so stultify himself as to undertake to defend the record made by the party in the last two years; and we were under the necessity of discussing men instead of measures, and no one could meet the Democrats in joint discussion as formerly. Senator Pease, Gen. McKee, Judge Stearns and myself made a few speeches for Wells against Howe, the friend of Ames, and for this offense we were called Democrats, by Howe and others. That was a falsehood too infamous to require contradiction. Now, I think the real cause of our defeat is obvious. The Democrats, at all times ready to use any and all means, fair or foul, to succeed, seized upon this as a favorable time, when our record could not be defended, to produce terror and to intimidate the colored voters, which they did. Whether there was real danger or not, the colored people believed it, and many thousands of them either remained at home or voted the Democratic ticket, and hence the peaceable and quiet election and our defeat.

Another cause: The Governor, a short time before the election, commenced organizing the State militia. This led the colored people to believe that there was real danger and that Ames was their best friend, and that he would protect them. But a few days before the election there came among us a strange man, (I think they called him Col. Chase)—I never met him—who took charge of the Peace Department, as it was called, and made a compromise with the Democracy and

Gov. Ames disbanded his militia. And now, his record having driven almost every white man from the party, the colored men had no moral support and they despaired of success, and the party was an easy prey to the political enemy. But while they thought they had protection, they had nominated in some of the counties tickets that would disgrace Mexico or Santo Domingo, and this, too, served to exasperate the Democracy; and thus it is seen that our defeat was caused by the Democrats taking advantage of the shameful imbecility and base corruption of our State administration and a few adherents.

As to the complaints against Senator Pease, the head and front of his offending is, his bold and fearless manner of defending the National Administration in the course you have taken in Mississippi affairs, and his fair exposure of corruption in the State.

Col. Wells is called a Democrat by the wreckers, because he beat Howe for Congress, and had the temerity to speak the truth concerning affairs here. He was the regular Republican nominee for Congress. Howe was the issue of a bogus and bolting Convention. The Democracy had no candidate; they preferred Wells to Howe, and voted for him, and so he received the support of all of both parties, and hence a large majority. He is a true Republican and a staunch supporter of the National Administration, as I am sure his course in Congress will prove, and this I regard as a good test of a true Republican. As a theory in government, I would say, we will generally find good people to uphold a good government or to resist a bad one.

MISSISSIPPI'S NEEDS.

It is easy to enforce a good government, because we will have willing people, but it will be difficult to enforce a bad government, because we will have an unwilling people. A constitution and laws are of little value on paper, unless they find a lodgment in the hearts of the people. We have a good constitution, but our legislation has been unwise and has given us much trouble. And this is the point to which we have come; in the

light of the experience of other Southern States, our party has rushed heedlessly into a shameful defeat. We should have known as well before as since the election that the Democrats were unscrupulous in a contest, and would have resorted to every stratagem, and therefore we warned our friends of the importance of abundant caution.

We want to carry this State next year in the Presidential election. We cannot do it as we now stand. We must have honest men in the front. Those who have scuttled the ship of State must take back seats. We must have men on whose promises the people can rely. Men who will give character and moral support to the party; otherwise, the white people will never again rally to us. We will be again defeated, and the architects of our ruin will leave the State as rats leave a sinking ship. I believe we can carry the State next year by proper management and an honest course. Thousands are against us now who fear to trust the Democracy, and will go with us under favorable auspices; and if our State administration had pursued the proper course for the last two years, the Democrats could never have beaten us. I know the people of the State, having resided among them for twenty-three years. The Government appointees here, we think, are good men and true Republicans. We need no changes made for political purposes, and no troops. Leave the management of these matters to your real friends. I am sure that affairs here have been misrepresented to you by designing men for their selfish ends. I think I can take a fair and impartial view of the situation, having no aspirations for place or position, but have the temerity to speak the plain, unvarnished truth in these matters.

This letter, though of some length, has been but a bare outline of the character and conduct of a few would-be leaders who have wrought our sad defeat, and should they choose to deny anything I have said of them, I will not only prove it, but strike them at other points that are equally salient.

Your obedient servant,

G. E. HARRIS.

For Colored Voters.

What an Ex-Slave and Colored Preacher has to say to a Northern Radical Republican.

The True Interest of the Colored Voter is against and not with the Radical Politicians, who have used him for their own Advancement.

Rev. Silas Right, of Concord, N. H., wrote to Rev. John W. Dunjee, a leading colored clergyman of Richmond, Va., urging him not to vote for Tilden and Hendricks. The letter was of the most bigoted and partisan character. Rev. Mr. Dunjee replied in the calm, dignified letter which follows:

RICHMOND, Aug. 21, 1876.

DEAR BROTHER CURTIS: Yours of July 26th is before me, asking me about rumors which you have heard in regard to my going over to the "rebels." First, I would state that I have tried to fulfil my whole duty in my work here, and have not at any time neglected my mission duties. No man is more interested in all that pertains to the best welfare of the colored people and their highest development. So I have tried to conduct myself and teach my people that it is their Christian duty to make friends with the white people of the South, among whom they live. This can be done without sacrificing any principle of manhood; in fact, the Southern people do not ask the colored people to compromise a single right. But we who live here see the great importance of a full and manly reconciliation between the two races. This can be done by dividing the colored vote between the two parties. As soon as it is thus divided they will cease to be an object of ostracism and a bone of contention. Both parties will then treat them with due respect. Take Virginia, and the white people of this State are as friendly to the colored people as they are anywhere in America; the

most friendly feelings exist between the two races. What we, who are interested in the great cause of humanity, are endeavoring to do, is to break down all color lines, and altogether forget slavery, the war and the past, and go on to higher attainments and a broader Christian manhood. I believe the white people of the South are true in the professions they are now making. They do not desire any more slavery; they will stand by all the results of the war; they are in the Union to go out no more forever. They are laboring nobly in our State for public education, without regard to color. I have every right in Richmond that I would have in Boston. They are doing all for the colored people in a benevolent way they can do. You know the late war laid its withering hand upon the South, and there are many poor people, both white and black; notwithstanding, there are many of the white gentlemen who have contributed largely to mission work for our people in Richmond and other places in the South. There are 31,000 colored people in this city who are depending on the whites for the bread they eat. Many poor people of color would starve to death here but for the kindness of the whites in giving them shelter and food. You can have no idea of the true condition of things here. Now, in the face of all these facts, I do not think the white people of the South very dangerous rebels. Just a word about some of our troubles. You have heard much talk about "carpet-baggers." You have no idea the amount of trouble these men have given us. Men who were of the worst characters in the North, who were from the lowest haunts of New York and Boston, men as bad as crime could make them, who were negotiators at the North, have come South and taken advantage of the ignorance of the colored people, and have been elevated to places of high trust in our State governments, for the sole purpose on their part to plunder the public. This same class of men have arrayed the colored people against the whites for political purposes, and when trouble comes, desert them. All the mobs which we have had in the South, have been gotten up by bad men. I know we have some lawless white men

here, but the good people of the South must not be blamed for their acts. You have them at the North with you.

This will and fruitless contest has been going on for years, and who are the sufferers? The colored men, being the weaker party, always lose ground, and must at last go to the wall if the fight is kept up. I know you in New Hampshire may not see this matter as I do, but I tell you that the negro of the South must go under if the policy of the last few years is to be continued. Now, if the Home Missions Board discharges me for these sentiments I regret it, but cannot yield my honest convictions. I am sorry I cannot make them see the rightfulness of my position. You ask me what the persons who have contributed from time to time for my support would think. To this I would say, if they understood my true position, they would, I think, make those contributions more readily than ever. The negro is now passing through the most critical period of his history, and his destiny for good or evil will be sealed by his action. If he arrays himself against the white people, he must, sooner or later, be ground to powder. There is no natural antagonism between the two races in the South; the whites and blacks were born and brought up together, and must live and die together. The late trouble at Hamburg, South Carolina, and other troubles we have had in the South since the war, have not been the result of any ill feeling on the part of our home people, but are the result of the action of bad men who have come South and kept up from year to year the most bitter political contest, and have used every effort to keep the white and colored people from making friends. One of their principal means is the wholesale use of bad whiskey—also appealing to the very worst passions of the ignorant. No stone is left unturned on their part to exasperate and excite the feelings of our poor people, which might at any time be kindled into a flame which might result in bloodshed.

I only wonder we have not ten riots where we have one. Now, I say that every good man in the South, white and

black, ought to join hands and rid our fair section from this terrible state of things. I hope you will not misunderstand me; these charges are not against the good people of the North. We will give the most hearty welcome to any good men of the North who may come among us for good purposes. I think that if you were to live here a few years, you would take the same stand I have. We have some men from the North who are highly respected, but all of these take the same stand, and are not the men objected to. The colored men, if they are to be citizens of this country, must differ just as white men do on all the great questions of the day, such as finance, tariff, taxation, and questions of law, trade, etc., etc. Until we arrive at this point, we will be mere machines, and not men in the true sense of the term. In conclusion, I would call your attention to the report of the Hon. B. B. Douglas, of Virginia, on the freedman's bank fraud, and the speech of Hon. W. S. Stinger of Pennsylvania on the same subject. I would also call your attention to the large amount of money stolen from the widows and orphans of the colored soldiers and sailors. The District Ring, and many other things might be mentioned, but time and space will not allow it. The colored voter of the South, as ruled by the Radicals, has no liberty in the use his ballot; which liberty we claim and must have, or continue slaves. He should be taught independence and self-reliance. Please answer me a few questions. Who should be the best judge of the true condition of the Southern people, I, who was born and brought up in the South, as I been, and served twenty-seven years of my life a slave (when a boy I played with white boys, and know there is no natural bad feeling between the two races), or yourself? What can you in New Hampshire or Maine know of our condition down here? When you call our people "rebels" you do them a great wrong. I believe the people of the South are as loyal to the Union as those of the North.

I ask you, as a Christian, do you think it right to be constantly abusing the Southern people? They have come back

to the Union and fully accepted all of the amendments to the Constitution, with all the results of the war. The only reason why they have made such an effort to get hold of their own State Governments is to protect themselves from the wicked plunderings and robbery of carpet-baggers, and every good man, white and black, ought to join hands to emancipate our section from this fearful state of things. Remember that our homes in the South are as dear to us as yours in New Hampshire. Now, how would you like your State to be infested with a gang of these political thieves, from another far country, plundering the public treasury and leaving a tax on the people too heavy for them to bear, exciting riots and causing bloodshed? I ask you, would you help them to continue the work of destruction against your own people? I tell you this is our condition, and the colored people are the main agency by which they are enabled to do their work; and in my judgment, nothing but a division of the colored vote can bring peace and prosperity, which we so much need; and I feel that no pulpit work or mission effort will enable me to do as much for my race as this work; I have given this matter eleven years' thought, and for years I have taken great pains to inform myself as to the true feeling of the people of the South, and these are my conclusions: First, that the whites desire to live with the colored people in peace and quietness, and are doing all they can to gain that object. They do not want all of the colored people to vote the Democratic ticket, but believe it would be best to divide their vote between the two parties. This point would have been gained years ago, but for the terror of the Radical party and its loyal leagues. There has been no intimidation in the South worse than that practiced by the carpet-bagger party of the South. I do not charge the colored people with this cruelty. They are not to blame; they are only tools in the hands of these bad men. I have known some colored men to be whipped, some turned out of their churches, and all kinds of intolerant abuse have been heaped upon these colored men who

dared vote the Democratic ticket. In some parts of the South the life of a colored man (Democrat) is not very safe. I submit these facts as the honest convictions of my heart, and must say I cannot accept your advice, because, in doing so, I would not do justice to myself and my race.

Yours, with great respect,
JOHN W. DUNJEE.

WHAT HENRY MUSGROVE

—SAID ABOUT—

"Negro Rule" and the Road to Peace and Prosperity.

This is what Mr. Redfield writes to the Commercial, dated August 14, 1876, as follows:

When a man becomes a property-holder in one of the cotton States, he finds no alternative but white rule or negro rule. There is no half-way ground. Under white rule, the State does best. There is absolutely no question of this. There is less rioting, consequently less lawlessness; less taxation, less inefficiency in office, and the interests of the property-holders better secured. Therefore, Northern and European emigrants to the cotton States are almost invariably found on the white side, sooner or later, the exceptions mainly being those who are politicians.

In this connection, I have in mind two Northern men of wealth and influence in Mississippi, both Republicans, who deliberately voted with the whites at the late "outrage" election, that so much fuss is made about, *telling me at the time why they did so, namely, that they found negro rule destructive of every interest, and that the only road to permanent peace and prosperity was through white supremacy. Therefore, they vote the straight Democratic ticket.* And if their testimony was taken as to what to do with Mississippi, I have no doubt they would all say, "for the Lord's sake, let her alone!" The gentlemen to whom I refer, and who, I imagine, will not take issue with this, if they see it, are Henry Musgrove, banker, of Jackson, (formerly of Illinois,) and Mr. Huntington, of Washington county, planter, formerly of Connecticut.