A SOUTHERN CAMP.

Intimidation in South Carolina--The Whites Under Arms.

THE DEMOCRATS DETERMINED TO CARRY THE STATE.

Peaceably if they can, but Forcibly if they Must.

Wade Hampton's Apprenticeship in Mississippi.

[From a white native of the State who is not a Republican.]

CHARLESTON, Oct. 6.—One passing through South Carolina would imagine that it was in a state of war. It resembles a vast armed camp. On every green and public square the clang of muskets can be heard, as parading infantry ground their arms. From every old field rings out threateningly the note of the bugle or the booming of the field-piece, as cavalry and artillery perform their evolutions. The depots are crowded with cases of firearms, ordered from the North. The stores cannot supply the demand for arms and ammunition, and every gunsmith in the city and blacksmith in the country is repairing dilapidated weapons. No one is seen on the streets without a repeater or rifle; and not a day passes in town or city but that the quick and scattering reports of guns and pistols used on targets in the vicinity, would lead a stranger to suppose that a skirmish, if not a battle, was in progress around him. Nor is this all. In every part of the State there are monster open-air political meetings. These meetings are followed by torchlight parades, or preceded by processions of the clubs, cavalry, artillery companies, and militia, marching to the sound of martial music. The speakers, invariably master spirits of the Lost Cause, arise and deliver the most vehement addresses, denouncing the Republican Administration and the Republican party, State and National, and calling on their hearers to rise. The wildest cheering rings out in response, mixed with the notes of the bands and the crashing of cannon, and the people disperse to their homes with war, war for their cry—war even to the knife.

What has caused this? If the Democrats are to be trusted, it is a grand uprising of intelligence against ignorance, of wealth against non-taxpaying aggression, of civilization and refinement against barbarism and degradation. Their banners bear the inscriptions of "The Prostrate State Aroused," "Forbearance has Ceased to be a Virtue," "Down with the Thieves," "Home with the Carpet-Bagger," "Honest Government or Death." It is, they say, a repetition of the stirring scenes of 1776; an irrepressible uprising of the people against grinding tyranny and intolerable oppression; against outrageous encroachment on their rights and privileges; a strike for liberty or for death; in short, a second revolution as momentous as that of a century ago. But, they say, it is a revolution this time not against foreign domination and rapacity, but against an intestine foe; against the subjection of class to class, of enlightened property-holding Anglo-Saxons to a horde of African barbarians under the guidance of unprincipled scoundrels from the North.

REACTION AGAINST CHAMBERLAIN.

Four months ago the quiet of the graveyard reigned in South Carolina. For the first time since the war the people were contented. The rotten government of the carpet-baggers had passed away. The robber Governor was no longer in power. An honest ruler had been found at last. From the very moment of the inauguration of Governor Chamberlain in December, 1874, reform had been the order of the day. He presided over the people with the cold neutrality of an impartial judge. The depredations of the Legislature were forcibly stopped by the veto. Ex-corrupt or corrupt officers of the former administrations were relentlessly weeded out, new and competent men, in half the instances Democrats, were put in their places. The taxes were reduced. The installation of two unscrupulous judges who, arbitrarily, though with good reason, prohibited by the Governor, the prostrate State was prostrate no longer; she had risen from the ground. Her sister had come; D. H. Chamberlain was the mother. The whites were genteel, and were loud in their expressions of commendation. Their popular imitations of lecturing made him their orator. The fashionable clubs and associations extended cordial invitations for him to attend their celebrations and respond to toasts. The ladies of society were flattering to him, and the haughtiest member of the old Southern aristocracy—nay, even the ladies—deigned to honor him and to entertain him at their houses. The Democratic papers openly and generally advocated his re-election. The Hamiltons, the Perrys, the Kershaws, and the Simonses—the political leaders of the whites—lent their sanction to the idea. And though the corrupt element of the Republican party—its element which, as had so resolutely thwarted—was bitterly inimical to the measure, yet everything pointed to his renomination by the Republicans, indorsement by the Conservatives, and triumphant re-election to the executive office.

But, wonderful to relate, this man is to-day denounced from every Democratic stump in South Carolina as an unprincipled adventurer, a scoundrel, a ringleader in rascality, a carpet-bagger of the carpet-baggers. They have in all the force of war against him. Verily, a change has come over the spirit of their dream. What student of political science could, four months ago, have ventured to predict that it would come to this?

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EFFECT OF DEMOCRATIC SUCCESS.

Governor Chamberlain's administration, then, for a year and a half was the golden era of South Carolina politics. The negroes were free, unmolested, and undisturbed in their rights, and yet the whites were conscientiously protected from plunder and high taxes. But Governor Chamberlain had not been in power a year when the XLIVth Congress assembled at Washington. The great tidal wave of 1874 had sent a large Democratic majority to the House of Representatives, and prominent among that majority were many ex-Confederate generals. From the very moment it was I noticed an unusual though carefully-concealed agitation among the fire-eating aristocracy of this State. For years their occupation had been gone. Disunion in politics, cut of office, they had been compelled to keep the ravenous tenor of their way along the cool, unpurchased vale of private life. But their pride, it seems, had not fallen with their fortunes. They had been compelled to keep quiet; they compelled against their will and held to their old opinions. They bitterly reflected that they had seen better days and nursed their wrath to keep it warm. But now a ray of hope dawned on them. They heard of Ben Hill defending Andy Johnson and Jefferson Davis in the Congress of the United States. They saw Southerners once more holding up their heads in the National Capital. They could hardly trust their senses. And then they looked around them; all the Southern States were once more Democratic except South Carolina and Louisiana. There were Hampton and Republican Governors and carpet-baggers. They alone had not their Gordons, Lamars, Hills, and Pooes in the halls of Congress. Then they reflected on the Republican majority of 30,000 negro majority had been converted into 30,000 Democratic majority by the use of the shot-gun and revolver. It was true that they had been relieved from oppression; that their confessed debt to their reform Governor was yet unpaid, and that while they supported him, as in the past, there was no danger of misgovernment. But should they rest contented with this? Why not get the upper hand at home, and then make a desperate attempt to seize on the reins of power at Washington?

RACE CONFLICTS—HAMBURG.

Race difficulties became frequent in Edgefield. At last, in June, six negroes, accused of the murder of two whites, were seized by an armed band of white men, evidently well organized, and shot. They were made to face the force, and every man, at the word of command, emptied the contents of his gun into their bodies. The affair stirred up much bad blood between the races all over the State. The Republicans denounced it, and the Governor, though he knew it to be useless, offered a reward for the apprehension of the lynchers. The straight-outers and fire-eaters sided with the lynchers. But so pacified had the whites become under Chamberlain that many were found to condemn the shooting as cruel, unnecessary, and likely to produce trouble. This affair is known as the lynching of the Hartmon murderers.

General Butler now resolved on a bold, desperate stroke. It was the massacre at Hamburg. Every one is familiar with that horrible tale. I desire to call attention to the evident premeditation of the whole affair. A State militia company composed of negroes was parading on the Fourth of July. Two young aristocrats, one of them a Butler, drove up the street in a buggy, and instead of turning aside demanded that the militia should give way. After some ineffective protests this was done. They drove past. The captain was arrested for obstructing the highway. The young men and the father of one of them were the prosecutors. General M. C. Butler appeared as their counsel. Hardly had they reached the office of the justice when armed bands of white men began to pour into town; the captain and the company, all residents of the town, hastily assembled at their armory for consultation. The whites soon made a demand on them for their arms; unable to understand the right of a band of rioters to disarm a legal military company, and fearful of their treatment should they surrender, they refused. Fire was opened on them. They returned it after a half hour. Then hundreds of armed Georgians hurried over the bridge from Augusta, on the opposite side of the Savannah river, and joined in the contest. Finally a cannon was brought from Augusta, and the company compelled to abandon the house. Many of them were captured. Of these, seven were shot in cold blood, and the rest turned loose and fired on as they departed; and the rioters, after despoiling the property of their victims, broke up and departed for home. Butler was at the bottom of the conspiracy, which will go down in history with Glencoe and Wyoming, condemned to the eternal execration of humanity.

THE CONVENTION.

Butler had calculated well. The affair stirred up the passions of the races. The straight-out organs boldly defended it. Every fire-eater defended it. They caught at the chance. Country papers were purchased. Every county was canvassed. The passions of the Confederate soldiers were appealed to. The young men were called upon to rally to the support of General M. C. Butler, who had lost a leg in defence of South Carolina, and won honors in the war. The editor of the *News and Courier* had, as far as he dared, put the outrage in its true light. An attempt was made to throttle him. General Gary strove to engage him in a duel. Mr. Rhett also tried to foist upon him an affair of honor. Both were thwarted, but at the expense of much influence to the editor, as a withdrawal from a duel is still considered cowardly and degrading in South Carolina. The organization of Democratic clubs, rifle companies, and mounted companies were rapidly begun. The fire-eaters induced all the young men to join them, and send to Coventry those who would not. The call on the President for troops by the Governor, though absolutely justified by Hamburg, was also used to stir up animosity. The State Democratic Convention was called unusually early by the Central Committee, composed largely of fire-eaters, and the election of delegate after delegate pledged to straight-outism in the compromise counties indicated the success of these tremendous efforts. The convention finally met on the 15th of August. The straight-outs were in the majority. But so strong was the confidence of the whites in Governor Chamberlain that, notwithstanding all the exertions that had been made, this majority was only a few votes. But it was sufficient. The convention resolved to nominate a straight-out Bourbon Democratic ticket, and to make a desperate attempt to carry the State on the Mississippi plan. The ticket was nominated. Every man on it is an ex-Confederate officer and bears wounds received while fighting against the Union. And at the head of it, nominated for Governor, stands Wade Hampton, the aristocrat of the aristocrats, the fire-eater of the fire-eaters, a famous general in the Confederate army, the incarnation of Calhounism, Jeff. Davisism, anti-Northism, and Southern intolerance. After the measure was once resolved upon the delegates acted in concert. Butler, the hero of Hamburg, placed Hampton in nomination before the convention. The whites once more resolved to trust them and surrendered at discretion. The convention gave sentence for open war. After a torchlight procession and a mammoth ratification meeting the delegates went home with a full understanding of the methods to be employed.

A MASS MEETING IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

And by St. Paul! the work has gone on bravely. Never since the passage of the ordinance of secession have there been such scenes in the State. The whole white population is up in arms and drilling. Wade Hampton and his colleagues are canvassing the State. Everywhere they go there are mass meetings and torchlight and military processions, recalling those of 1860-61. A wide-spread system of terrorism and intimidation reigns supreme. The negroes, now so long unmolested that they have come to look upon freedom as the natural order of things, have been suddenly awakened from their dream. They see the military drilling all around them. Dark faces scowl at them when they go abroad. They hear of secret meetings and gatherings of their old-time owners. Whisperings of the Hamburg butchery reach them. They hear the whites all around them saying that the bottom rail has been on the top long enough—that the darkey has to step down and out—that Hampton must be elected. In alarm they call a mass meeting of the Republicans for consultation. Their prominent men are invited to be present and speak. The time comes. Thousands are present. They organize and the speaking begins. Suddenly a commotion arises. The orator stops. The tap of the drum and the sound of the bugle are heard down the road. Two long columns of white soldiers, armed to the teeth, mounted and on foot, come filing around the corner and march to the platform. They push aside the frightened negroes and select the best seats. Their leaders, ex-Confederate officers, then mount the platform and demand half the time for Democratic speakers. It is tremblingly accorded. A Confederate general arises, delivers a blood-and-thunder harangue, telling the negroes they have been fools long enough, have got to discard their present leaders and come back to their old masters, who intend to carry the election, peaceably if they can, but forcibly if they are resisted. A Republican follows. He is greeted with a storm of hisses and a deafening yell of derision from the military. His mutters a few words, every sentence being drowned by the hooting. At last a sentiment is uttered loud enough to be heard. Forthwith an armed bully steps forward from the ranks and pronounces that assertion a lie. The speaker dares not resent the insult—nay, he dares not notice or allude to it. He talks on for a while. But the insults, jeers, impertinent questions, &c., come faster and faster, and finally, in alarm for his life, he resumes his seat. When the hissing has subsided another Confederate takes the floor. He goes over the rambling remarks of the poor Republican, pronounces each and every one of them an infamous, malicious, damnable lie, and dares him to arise and say they are not. There is wild cheering. The Republican, quivering with fear and indignation, is forced to swallow it at the point of the bayonet. The other speakers on his side are treated in the same way. The meeting breaks up with three times three and a tiger for Hampton and Tilden. And each of the negroes as have not already fled in alarm are followed to their homes by the jeers and curses of the riflemen.

FIRE-EATER.

But this is not all. The air is filled with reports of outrages and murders which never appear in print. No prominent Republican of either color can safely leave a town. Let a hint that he intends to ride out in the country get wind and he is sure to be ambuscaded. But more than this. The whites regard a Republican of their color with tenfold the vindictiveness with which they look upon the negro. Scores of white Republicans are hurrying in alarm to the newspaper offices to insert cards in which they renounce their party and profess conversion to Democracy. If these men hang back and refuse or neglect to join the precinct club or the nearest military company, their conduct is reported to the township meeting. A committee is appointed to request an explanation. They call on the suspected man at their earliest convenience. If he be sensible he will submit profuse apologies and regrets, and hurriedly take up his rifle and follow them to the drill-room. Three or four white circuit judges have been dragooned into conformity, and the crowd of lesser lights threatens to absorb every white Republican in the State except Governor Chamberlain and the United States Senators.

"ONE MAN KILLED."

If a white man refuses to join the precinct club; if a white man's loyalty to the party is suspected; if a white Republican persists in his opinions, he is spotted, marked, doomed. He is scowled at if he walks abroad. If he passes a crowd of loitering whites at a street corner an ominous silence falls on them till he is out of hearing. No warning is given him. No midnight visits are now paid or Ku-klux missives despatched. The whites have found by bitter experience that such things are boomerangs, which return with tenfold force to injure the thrower. They manage the matter better now. They wait till an obnoxious man whom they have doomed as a victim chances to stand or pass near them, say on the public square, at the post office, in a bar-room, on the street. A crowd of white desperadoes will cluster near him or follow him. They appear to be drunk, and begin to quarrel over some silly matter having nothing to do with politics. Several bystanders come up and take sides. Finally blows are exchanged, pistols drawn, and a regular free fight occurs. Shots are fired by all the party. Yet, strange to say, when order is restored, it is found that not one of the combatants is injured, while the poor Republican has been struck by several random shots and killed. An account of the affray appears in the press (the press is almost wholly Democratic) under the heading, "Street Row—One Man Killed." Not only are single men picked off in this way, but sham fights are arranged by white ruffians on some non-political pretense, which swell to the proportion of riots, and in which several Republican bystanders are killed by chance shots, while none of the combatants are hurt. Of course, the authors of these deeds go unpunished. In the first place, it is impossible to tell who fired the shot. Then it is unsafe for any one to indict anybody about it, or for the officials to be too zealous in investigating or prosecuting. But if an assassin does get into trouble by imprudence, his comrades, who of course compose most of the bystanders, are called as witnesses, and swear him out safely by giving in doctored testimony.

THE MISSISSIPPI PLAN.

I now find myself carried back to the time of secession. Then no Southerner dared avow Union sentiments. Then there were thousands of them in the South, but they were ruthlessly subjected to a system of terrorism, and had to choose between conformity and almost certain death; and with hardly an exception they conformed. To-day there are thousands of whites forced into this Confederate revival against their judgment and inclination; but they must conform or take the consequences. They conform, and then, to avoid the imputation of lukewarmness, they endeavor to prove their sincerity by outdoing their comrades in violence. The same men head this movement who led the State into secession. They have thoroughly revived the policy of intimidation. Talk of the blacks being intimidated! It is through the intimidation of the whites that the intimidation of the black is rendered possible. The election is to be carried on the Mississippi plan; and a part of the plan, be it remembered, was the intimidation of the whites. Wade Hampton is as much a Mississippian as a South Carolinian. It is true that he is descended from Carolinians famous in the Revolution, that his ancestors have always lived in this State, that he himself is a citizen of this State, and that the family homestead is in the city of Columbia. But besides the immense estates he owned in South Carolina before the war, he had vast demesnes in Mississippi and other Southern States. This will not seem surprising when I mention the fact he possessed 90,000 acres of land in fee simple, and owned 4,000 slaves. Now the war took from him the bulk of his property. But so much remained after all his losses that he is at this day the wealthiest man in the Southern States. Most of his property now, however, is in Mississippi. He has abandoned by far the larger part of his ancestral estates in South Carolina. Though his home is in Columbia, he spends half his time on his plantations in Mississippi. He has one plantation there on which 800 of his former slaves are employed, so well has he been able to keep up this old-plantation plan while the small-farm system has been becoming well nigh universal. The fact I desire to call attention to is this: Hampton was in Mississippi prior to the last election there, which the Democrats carried by the shotgun policy. The similarity of the methods employed by the Democrats in the canvass going on here now, with Hampton as their leader, forces me to the conclusion that the experiment is to be repeated here.

THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

[From a recent speech by Hon. Edward McPherson.]

What is its present attitude? It is the apologist of the worst political crimes of the century, the benefits of which it reaches out its hands eagerly to clutch. It is the protector of the Southern miscreants who have planned and executed, and are planning and executing, every outrage, even the most shocking, upon whole masses of voters, white as well as colored, whose only offence is an unwillingness to vote the Democratic ticket. This element of that party has, by intimidation and violence, wrested State after State from the political control preferred by its voters, and is preparing, by public and shameless means, to wield them unlawfully for the election of a President. This policy was successfully begun in 1874 in Louisiana, when "White League Clubs" combined to "refuse to employ, rent, lend to, or in any other manner give aid, comfort, or credit to any man, white or black, who votes against the white man's party." Such is the respect for the rights of the laboring and independent poor felt by the late slaveholding class who now constitute the Southern Democracy. Combinations to starve labor were followed by combinations to murder it; and we have the authority of so distinguished an officer as Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan for the fact that from 1868 to January, 1875, over three thousand persons had been killed and wounded in Louisiana "on account of their political sentiments." The recent Congressional report on the election of last year in Mississippi is confirmatory of the existence of this defined and malicious purpose of the Southern Democracy; and who can close his eyes to the present enormities practised by the same reckless and desperate class in South Carolina? In most of the late rebel States the freedom of the ballot has thus been as substantially destroyed as it was during the administration of Jefferson Davis in the palmy days of the rebellion. And the men who are reeking with the blood of probably ten thousand innocent victims are held up by their Northern confederates as constituting a model party, fit not only to bear the nation's honor, but to "reform" its administration!

First Murderers, Then Robbers.

"YOU ARE A RADICAL NIGGER, AND HAVE GOT TO DIE."

The writer of the article from which we make this extract, in support of his statement that utter lawlessness prevails in the South, and that no man's life is secure, be he white or black, who is known as a Republican, relates the following:

As an example, I may refer to the murder of Simon Coker, an honest and well-meaning black man who represented Barnwell county in the Legislature. On Tuesday, September 19, a rifle club commanded by Captain A. P. Butler, went to Ellenton and took a wood train on the Port Royal Railroad, with which they proceeded to a station called Robbins. Here they found Coker quietly seated on his valise and waiting for a train. Some of them exclaimed, "There's that —— Radical nigger, Coker." Captain Butler went up to him, and said, "Coker, I'm the nigger ruler, and you've got to go with me." Then the unfortunate man was surrounded by Butler's command and dragged into one of the cars of the wood train, which then returned to Ellenton. Arriving there, Coker was taken into a field about one hundred yards from the road, and Captain Butler said to him:

"Coker, what's your business?"

"I am a Representative from Barnwell county to the South Carolina Legislature," was the reply.

"All the better," said Butler, "Representative or no Representative, you are a Radical nigger, and have got to die."

"For God's sake, give me time to pray," cried the unhappy negro.

"Certainly," answered Captain Butler; "pray away, but pray —— quick."

Coker then knelt down and began to pray. While he was in this position Butler stepped back six or eight feet and shot at him twice. He fell forward on his face, bleeding and dying. Butler then made a sign to his men, and six of them fired into the wounded man. He died. The men who killed him took his watch, money, and gold shirt buttons, and then, leaving the body to rot, returned to Robbins. These facts are sworn to by three eye-witnesses, who state that Coke's only crime was his Republicanism

[From the Cincinnati Commercial.]

CAMPAIGN LYRICS.

"Will you walk into my parlor? said the spider to the fly."

Will you walk into my parlor? said the Ku-klux to the nigger.
I've a derringer to show you with a very handsome figure;
And my brothers who are bandits, as Phil Sheridan would say,
Will do much to entertain you if you'll stop a while to-day.

We have shot-guns, rifles, pistols, knives, would arm a Modoc brave;
Bloodhounds worth a heap of money when you want to track a slave;
Ropes to hang a Yankee schoolmarm when she won't get up and git—
Won't you walk into my parlor, Mr. Nigger, just a bit?

We have stories, I assure you, that you really ought to hear.
Do come in Mr. Nigger, for election day is near;
And I think I might convince you with my derringer and things,
That this cursed nigger voting all our Southern trouble brings.

Or I might, perhaps, persuade you with a double-barrelled gun,
We can do your voting for you—as our interests are one;
And I'm sure you'll not insist, with a derringer in view,
That the cares of holding office are desirable for you.

I can show by facts and figures what destruction to your race
Must result, as here at Hamburg, when you don't keep in your place;
And that "riot" down at Vicksburg, with a hundred I could name,
Varied slightly in the details, but resulting just the same—

Show conclusively to niggers that down South they have to cease
Holding offices and voting if they want to live in peace.
If you've rights to keep we'll keep them, only stay where you belong—
Hoeing sugar cane and cotton—or you'll find your rights are wrong.

So just walk into my parlor, there is nowhere so secure,
For my arguments are deadly, and like vermifuge, are sure.
Very sure and very classic, as in Æsop's Bons' den,
Where the tracks are all pointed inwards, but not one came out again.

Politics and Trade.

HOW THEY ARE COMBINED IN THE SOLID SOUTHERN STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

[Boston Transcript.]

The ways of Southern politics, in some respects clear enough, are still past finding out. South Carolina is a Republican State by a majority of many thousands, but the declaration has gone forth that the Democrats are to take possession after this year, and the small traders and poor laborers have taken the alarm. The advertising columns of the daily Democratic papers show how the alarm is manifested. The Charleston *Journal of Commerce*, R. Barnwell Rhett, Jr., editor, contains the following:

"A CARD—UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE I will receive applications from those seeking employment, on MONDAYS, WEDNESDAYS, and FRIDAYS, and orders from employers for Straight-out Democratic Workingmen, on TUESDAYS, THURSDAYS, and SATURDAYS. I am prepared to furnish Democrats with Democratic labor at reasonable wages, to any extent at a moment's notice. To employ Republicans and starve Democrats no longer pays. It is a crime, and will be held to strict accountability.

"R. S. THAIRN,
"75 Broad street."

To understand the effect of an announcement of this kind, it must be remembered that the great majority of Republicans are laborers, and the majority of Democrats are employers of labor, in some form or other. Such a notice as this is, therefore, an appeal to the fears of those who are dependent on their daily earnings, and would rather change their politics than lose them. It is also a threat against those who refuse to surrender. Here is another notice of the same kind:

"TO OUR MERCHANTS, WHARF OWNERS, AND TRADESMEN GENERALLY: The Workingmen's Democratic Association are now prepared to furnish from one hundred to two hundred able-bodied men for any kind of work. Apply at their hall, Queen street, near meeting, from 9 to 12 M.; 2 to 6, and 7 to 9 P. M."

This modified form of intimidation is carried into the various branches of retail trade. Twenty-one butchers of Charleston unite in a card, which the *News and Courier* prints under the heading:

"BUTCHERS TO BUY FROM."

"WHERE DO YOU BUY YOUR MEAT?—*To the Democratic Public.*—The undersigned, butchers in the Charleston markets, who are earnest supporters of the cause of HAMPTON AND GOOD GOVERNMENT, respectfully solicit the custom of their Democratic fellow-citizens.

"HOUSEKEEPERS CAN GET THEIR Meats from 'Democratic Headquarters,' Stalls Nos. 49, 50, 57, and 58, Lower Market. Also No. 9 and 10, Upper Market, 4 to 12½ cents per pound. It is not Democratic money alone that we want, but WADE HAMPTON and REFORM."

Paul Trescott, a good South Carolina name, adds to the number of his stalls the information —"Straight-out Democrat;" and T. R. Tully, caterer, "desires to remind the general public of what his old customers all know, that he has been for years a staunch Democrat, and is now a supporter of Hampton and good government." Surely the ruling white race, "the natural leaders," are setting a noble example for their less fortunate fellow-citizens. If the marketmen and household purveyors of any Northern city were to advertise their wares in this way, toadying to the prejudices of their rich customers, and threatening their rivals with the destruction of their business unless they changed their opinions, our rigorous Northern climate would soon be made uncomfortable for them. The negroes have, indeed, much to learn and to unlearn when the superior white race sets them so poor an example.

[From a recent speech by Carl Schurz.]

The Democratic Party North Swallowed up in a Solid South.

It has frequently been said that no Northern Democrat, after voting for such a bill, will be able to come before his constituency. Is that true? Don't we see things which, under ordinary circumstances, would be deemed incredible? The South is now a compact unit again in the Democratic party. At least the Democratic party wants to fight us, and in case of a Democratic victory the South will not only be solidly Democratic, but it will also remain so for an interminable time. Let me say to you, I would look upon that as a great national misfortune, for when, in a republic, political parties are divided by geographical and sectional lines, it will create an unsound and unpatriotic public sentiment; and if it were for that reason alone, I think there would be some impulse of patriotism moving almost every one to fight against the Democratic party this fall. [Applause.] But that is not the point I want to dilate. I say the Democratic party wants to unite the South once more as a solid unit upon its side. In that case the Southern people will hold the majority of the Democratic party, and direct its purposes. That majority of votes will necessarily, as before the war, give them the control of the party; they will fall at once again into their old seat of power, and holding the preponderance of influence in the Democratic party the South will necessarily insist upon dictating the nominations for the Presidency and Vice Presidency in that organization. In other words, just as it was before our great civil conflict, so Northern Democrat will have the least chance for the Presidency or Vice Presidency unless he enjoys the decided favor of the Southern Democracy. What will be the consequence of this? Why, it is evident. Every Northern Congressman who thinks that there is some Presidential stuff in him, that a Presidential lightning may strike him some time, will be very much inclined to do that which will be surest to gain him the favor of his Southern brethren. So it is evident that not only a few but a large number of Northern Democrats, impelled by their ambition, and, I am sorry to say, also impelled by one of those impulses that seems to be indigenous to the Democratic mind by the influence of subserviency to Southern dictation, will vote for just such bills as have been laid before you by Republican speakers. So I believe that a Democratic Administration will, by the very necessities of the case, be one of the most extravagant Administrations this country ever had. There is still another reason why this will be so. The Southern people, being the preponderating power in the councils of the Democratic party, will also dictate its financial policy. The Southern people stand now, compared with us, in the position of poor relations. In other words, they, being comparatively poor, and the North comparatively rich, the North will pay the great mass of taxes and the South will pay comparatively little. The necessary consequence is that those who pay very little don't feel the burden of an extravagant Government, and will, therefore, always be in favor of spending as much money as possible. You have an illustration of this in the city of New York. A very large number of your voters are non-tax payers, a minority of your voters are wealthy tax payers; the non-tax payers do not care a snap of their fingers how much money is spent by the city government, and, therefore, you have always a lavish administration. Is not that so? Then the same relation will be borne by the South to the North as to our national councils, and, therefore, I repeat, it is by the very necessity of the case that a Democratic Administration, governed as it must be by Southern influence, will be a most extravagant one. [Applause.]

Rifle Club Intimidation.

MR. SCHURZ DECLARES MILITARY FORCE THE ONLY REMEDY FOR THE SHOT-GUN POLICY.

There is still one other thing I would call your attention to, and that is the question of national peace. I do not mean to repeat what I said of my action with regard to the Southern people, and the impulse of generosity which I have always followed. Of course I did that with the expectation that satisfactory response would be elicited from the other side. We gave them back their rights with a lavish hand; we gave them back their rights so shortly after the rebellion that I can only repeat what I have said before, that the generosity of the American people has never been equalled by any other nation in the world in that respect. We did it with the just expectation, or at least the reasonable expectation, that the Southern people, receiving their rights at our hand, might be counted upon to respect also the rights of others. I am sorry to say that that expectation has been in a great measure disappointed. When you look at the State of South Carolina you will not deny that the situation of things is exceedingly serious. I am the very last man in the country who would approve of the presence of troops in the neighborhood of the ballot-box, and I would stand by to the last in the endeavor to secure to every man the right to vote uninfluenced by force of any kind. But, as things now stand, if the United States troops are withdrawn we are pretty sure to have another armed force in its place, and that is the rifle clubs of the South Carolina Reform Democracy. I believe in reform, gentlemen, but I do not believe in the reform of the rifle and the revolver in the hands of a terrorist. Now, then, they may succeed possibly in subjugating Republican majorities, but one thing I look upon as perfectly sure—we have come to the settlement of the questions growing out of the war by debating certain Constitutional provisions. These Constitutional provisions may, for the time being, be overridden in this or that State, but if the attempt is made—which I look for almost as inevitable in the event of a Democratic victory—if the attempt is made to nullify them in the whole extent of the Southern country, I am sure that the loyal people of the United States of America will not submit to it. [Applause.]

If the attempt be made upon such an issue between the North and the South, the solid South on one side will find a solid North on the other side; and liberal and generous as I may be when the question is between a solid North and a solid South, I am on the side of the North all the time. [Applause.] I am on the side of the North, not because I happen to live here, but because I believe that the North contains the intellectual as well as the moral vitality of the American Republic as it is now constituted. Now, gentlemen, looking at the attempts that are being made in the South, can anybody doubt that they would be greatly encouraged by a victory of the Democratic party? I am sorry I am obliged to say it, but still that party stands in the politics of the country as a continual threat of reaction against the results of the war; and it is my conviction at the present moment that the candidates of the Republican party are not only the best, but they are the only instruments by which the true interests of the American people can be promoted. [Applause.]

POOR TILDEN.

The Washington *Chronicle* publishes the following list of fees paid to Samuel J. Tilden in 1868, 1869, and 1870 by the Erie Railway Company:

J. FISK, Jr., March to December, 1868, six items, legal and incidental	$117,166 34
Daniel Drew and J. Gould, several items, legal and incidental	484,000 00
W. M. Tweed, November 25, 1868	20,000 00
W. M. Tweed, December 1, 1868	5,000 00
W. M. Tweed, December 4, 1868	4,000 00
W. M. Tweed, January to June, 1869	27,912 98
W. M. Tweed, December 9, 1869	20,000 00
W. M. Tweed, April 8, 1870	12,000 00
W. M. Tweed, June 1, 1870	10,750 00
Jay Gould, September 2, 1870	100,000 00
Jay Gould, September 2, 1870	40,000 00
Jay Gould, September 2, 1870	44,000 00
W. M. Tweed, expenses and counsel fees	25,000 00
W. M. Tweed, expenses and counsel fees	25,000 00
W. M. Tweed, expenses and counsel fees	21,000 00
	$1,022,829 32

Not one cent of this was ever returned for taxation, and the Government was defrauded out of its tax upon it.

Besides, these were the receipts from one source—the New York and Erie. His fees from other roads were enormously large, and would swell the total to several millions.

During the years from 1864 to 1873 he paid taxes to the United States on but $470,000—or $15,000 a year, while actually receiving not less, probably, than five millions.

A Bayonet Charge.

This is the way General E. M. Lee, of New York, "surrounds" his audience wherever he addresses a Pennsylvania gathering. It captures them every time:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: My first public appearance against the Democratic party was made in the State of Pennsylvania, and I have no doubt that some of you were present on that occasion. It was on a warm Sabbath morning in July, 1863, at Gettysburg. The Democratic party at that time wore a gray uniform, and was commanded by my notorious namesake. Then, as now, it represented the "solid South." Then, as now, it was determined either to rule or ruin the nation, and its triumph on that occasion would have been no less disastrous to the country than its triumph in the present campaign.

JUSTIFYING PERJURY.

A new explanation of the reason why Sham Tilden refused to help put down rebellion and pay his income tax is given in the New York *Sun*:

"At the same time, we must say that it would have been much more creditable to Mr. Tilden as a lawyer and a statesman to have declined to pay any income tax at all. An income tax, levied as ours was, is a clear infraction of the Constitution of the United States."

This is the opening of an argument to justify swindling the Government. Mr. Tilden is unfortunate in the briefs of his defence which he sends to his advocates.

Will Tilden want to engage the telegraph lines on the night of November 7? Charlie Buckalew is able to give the aged reformer some valuable advice on this score.

CARL SCHURZ

Upon Southern Claims.

IT IS NOT A MERE PARTISAN CRY.

THERE IS MUCH IN IT.

The Democratic Party is Ready to Pay Every Cent Demanded by the South.

It has frequently been said by Democrats that in the question of Southern claims there is nothing but a mere partisan cry. Gentlemen, it is my sober conviction that there is much in it, and I will tell you why I believe so. The South has been impoverished by the war, and in conversation with Southern men myself I have found this to be their idea: You of the North have controlled the Government alone since the war; you have taken out of the public treasury millions of dollars to subsidize steamboat lines. You have granted away millions of acres for railroads to establish your lines of communication. You have spent untold sums of money on internal improvements, and while you did this we in the South were exposed to all the ravages of the war, and out of which we have come in an impoverished condition. Now, they say there is nothing fairer in the world than that we should have the same advantages, so as to get even. Gentlemen, you converse with almost every Southern man on this subject, and if he does not tell you this before election, he will be candid enough to say so after, if the Democratic candidate is elected. What does that mean? We have discovered in the course of time that the policy of granting railroad grants and subsidizing this and that private enterprise was exceedingly costly, without conferring a corresponding public benefit. Therefore, that policy has to a great extent been abandoned; but I predict in case of a Democratic victory that that policy will be renewed and carried on to a more extravagant extent by that party when it becomes the controlling power. That is one point. The second point is this: While I was in the Senate, and ever since, a large number of bills were introduced there aiming at the refunding of the cotton tax. You are all aware that during the war we paid hundreds upon hundreds of millions of taxes for the purpose of keeping our Government alive and our armies going. We did that, having been forced into a war by the rebel States, a war that cost 500,000 precious lives and thousands of millions of dollars. During that whole time the South contributed almost nothing to the public treasury. There is only one considerable item of tax that was levied upon the Southern people, and that was the cotton tax, some sixty-eight million dollars or over. Now they demand a restitution of that tax, as it is proposed by some, not to the individuals by whom the tax was paid, but to the Southern States as such. I am a man of very generous disposition with regard to the South. I thought that when the war was closed the Southern people who had been in revolt would again become peaceable and law-abiding citizens, and that generosity was not only a duty, but an act of wisdom and justice. And so I have been one of the first to advocate a policy of general amnesty and of the complete removal of all those political disabilities which in consequence of the rebellion had been imposed upon a large number of Southern people. In general I advocated a policy of generosity and reconciliation: I am willing to be as generous to them as anybody, but when, after having forced us into so terrible a war—a war that came near destroying the very life of this great Republic—a war that has covered the land with mourning, and put such terrible burdens upon our people—when, after such a war, having contributed this little mite to the sustenance of this great fabric of our institution, they demand that we should refund every cent of it, I think it is a little too much. And yet you are coolly asked—you, the possessors of the wealth of this country—to put your hands into your pockets so that $88,000,000 be given back. I tell you, gentlemen, that it is my honest conviction, should the Democratic party come into power again, they will inevitably return to the South every cent of that money which was contributed to the National Treasury in the cotton interest, with interest too. I tell you candidly that I fear the Democratic party will be exceedingly generous to their Southern friends in the way of putting money into their pockets.

A Record—Not a Prospectus.

Said Colonel Ingersoll in his Cooper Institute speech: "The Republican party comes to you with its record open, and asks every man, woman, and child in the broad country to read its every word. And I say to you that there is not a line, a paragraph, or a page of that record that is not only an honor to the Republican party, but to the human race. On every page of that record is written some great and glorious action, done either for the liberty of man or the preservation of our common country. We ask everybody to read its every word. The Democratic party comes before you with its record closed, recording every blot and blur and stain, and treason and slander and malignity, and asks you not to read a single word, but to be kind enough to take its infernous promises for the future. Allow me to say here that character, good character, rests upon a record, and not upon a prospectus."

A Democratic organ says: "It is generally conceded that Samuel J. Tilden has been quietly 'laying for' Tweed." To most persons it looks as if Tilden had been "*laying* for" him. It was left to the Republican press of New York to expose his crimes; and the credit of his capture, according to Minister Cushing, must be given to the Republican Administration.

Republican Electoral Ticket.

STATE

ELECTORS.

BENJAMIN HARRIS BREWSTER,
JOHN W. GHALFANT,
JOHN WELSH,
HENRY DISSTON,
CHRISTIAN J. HOFFMAN,
CHARLES THOMPSON JONES,
EDWIN H. FITLER,
JOSEPH W. BARNARD,
BENJAMIN SMITH,
JACOB KNABB,
JOHN B. WARFEL,
JOSEPH THOMAS,
ARIO PARDEE,
LEWIS PUGH,
EDWARD S. SILLIMAN,
WILLIAM CALDER,
MILES L. TRACY,
S. W. STARKWEATHER,
DANIEL J. MORRELL,
JEREMIAH LYONS,
WILLIAM HAY,
WILLIAM CAMERON,
J. B. DONLEY,
DANIEL O'NEILL,
WILLIAM KEEB,
ANDREW B. BERGER,
SAMUEL M. JACKSON,
JAMES WESTERMAN,
W. W. WILBUR.