

Worcester
Mass

Sir: I had not forgotten your recommendations in the Message & knew they were wrong in principle and dubious in practice: but did not think I ought to fall foul of them both ^{with a full, explicit statement of the principle of Federal Supervision} ~~with a full, explicit statement of the principle of Federal Supervision~~ ^{even their merit} upon full presentation of a state election is inherently wrong ~~to the voters~~ and the law has been deservedly a failure. Supervision is merely the placing of an ~~arbitrary~~ official date of doubtful right and questionable authority at every poll.

It is the most irritating sort of legislation, the most difficult to enforce where it is most needed, to wit, at the South, the most likely to produce conflict and provoke bloodshed, the most onerous ^{that region} upon the Republicans of the South to enforce, the most easily avoided and the most conducive to bull-dozing and other delinquent influences ^{that could possibly be devised.} ~~to your~~ ~~for~~

Besides that, it is unpopular in most parts of the South and deservedly obnoxious on account of the disproportion between ^{provision} and results. Their faults are inherent in the system.

I still think that a special message calling attention to the need for early and effective legislation in this matter and suggesting vigorous and positive action to secure a free expression of the popular will in the election of congressmen would be a good move and a healthful one. Just as an army needs to see its commander now and then so a party needs to have its leader and a nation requires to know its head.

It seems to me that without envy of any one a man in your position ought not to desire it to be said of him, that "his administration was a time when great reputations were made by many ^{political} public leaders who parcelled out the credit of what was done between them leaving little enough for ~~his~~ its head."

It offers no opportunity for avoiding the force of such infamies as the Dutch Law and other state provisions intended to cut down the electorate.

The usual way to effect results is for the Government to act within its clearly defined and expressly reserved powers by taking the election of its own Representatives into its own hands and leaving the States to control entirely the election of its own officers.

The effect of such a course would be a thousand times more healthful at the South than a half authorized espionage. It would afford means of comparison and be an object-lesson in free speech, free assemblies, and a free election, which would shame them into decency just as a few Yankee schools and school-boys at the South shamed them

into a continuation of the system.

~~A law for~~ The election of Congress =
men ~~by federal~~ under federal law
^{would} ~~would~~ be a popular measure at the
North: an extension of supervisory
authority ~~would~~ be unpopular. People like
change. A law that proposes a new means
of accomplishing ~~as~~ a desired end is al-
ways attractive. Besides it is not open to
assault as insufficient. The people North
and South will believe in a Federal
election law: but a mere extension of
supervisory control will be regarded by
the south as ^{and a threat surely;} ~~illusory~~ and by the North
with indifference. ^{The one means business; the other}
^{would be thought to show weakness}
^{and doubt if not cowardice.}

~~As you know~~ I would have been
glad to have talked with you upon

this subject but you did not ask me to express any opinion in regard to it and I did not feel at liberty to speak of what might be implement. I did not wish to thrust any

~~I did feel at liberty to call~~
self upon you as an adviser even in re-
gard to a question I had here studied
so long and so carefully.

It was somewhat different calling to your attention the bill drawn at the request of several members of the House and argued publicly before the Committee.

I added certain matters for your con-
sideration which I thought it ^{well} ~~was~~ ^{desirable} that you
should bear in ~~your~~ ^{your} mind. I did this not
only to incline you, if I might to reconsider your
declaration in favor of a half-way measure but
to help convince you that only radical and de-
cisive action can be of avail ^{I decided} ~~in a sense~~,
not only ^{deprecations} for the sake of the country and the party
that the measure should be adopted but ^{I was} ~~I was~~
in a sense, desirous that you ^{yourself} should benefit
^{by} ~~yourself~~ by ~~adhering~~ ^{adhering} to the policy of ~~your~~ ^{your} as a

I sincerely desire your success — I mean
aside from party-success on the good of the
nation. I could hardly say why if ever.
My acquaintance with you is not extensive, but
I have studied you as a ~~novelist~~ novelist gets in the
habit of studying men or at least as I have
got in the habit of studying them, not simply
to learn what they are like and why they make
certain impressions on other minds. In so doing
I have ~~detected~~ found ^{in you} (or think I have which is the
same thing to me) a simple candidness which I ad-
mire, a pride and sensitiveness which I appreciate,
and a disinclination to ^{that} self-assertion and
~~the exercise of the~~ ^{the} assumption of the attitude
~~of~~ ^{of} ~~demonstration~~ ^{demonstration} of leadership, which seems to be
almost a necessity of your position, which I
greatly deplore. ~~You have~~ I do not think you
are doing yourself justice and because of this
you are hardly just to the party and the country.
I do not know that we could have a better president, we ought
to have a more popular one.
You have spoken but twice in a year. In
the meantime you have deferred very greatly to
the Representatives of the party in Congress. I understand,
I think, the assumption theory on which you have acted

and do not wish to question its propriety, but
only to direct your attention to its present results.
These have become your spokesmen and their oppo-
sents have become lookers-on if not unfriendly
towards you.

The election this fall will be ~~no~~ quite as
much a test of your popularity as of the policy of the
party. You are, ~~and~~ I thank God for it, — unfulfilled by
nature for the continuous self-advertisement which
characterized your predecessor — but some degree
of self-assertion, an ^{express} ~~open~~ individual declaration
of purpose, and determination are necessary to the
proper appreciation by a people of a leader. Knowing that
he is sure to be misunderstood. You know it was
written of one of singular ability as a statesman but
who hid himself behind those uncial with him in
the government "During his time all the leaders of his party
flourished except himself, ~~also~~ ^{desisting} ~~who pursued~~ ^{with such single-}
ness of purpose ^{the responsiveness of his} ~~what~~ he deemed the duties of his of-
fice that his merits as a statesman and were almost for-
gotten." You know I do not say this to find fault; that
I do not give aid or comfort to your enemies, or simply
because I believe in you and wish to see you
win all the credit and renown your opportunity

puts within your reach.

I believe a bold urgent Message reminding Congress that it is their duty to see that some thing effectual must be done to promote free speech, free assembly or free election and fair returns at the South and save the Republic from the shame of a debased ballot and a ^{debased} citizenship, would even the ^{country} party as one of Napoleon's proclamations did his army, would brush away the frost of indifference and put you, in the personal esteem and regard of the true Republican ^{one more} waters on the pinnacle you occupied when the rest of the country echoed with their shouts ^{over} ~~after~~ your election.

I suppose you will not thank me for this letter and I confess it is presuming on a slight acquaintance to write it; but you understand that I do not write without conviction and am without any individual interest in the matter beyond that of any Republican. I believe the opportunity is a great one and have ^{all the more} ~~it is~~ ~~desire~~ desire that you should embrace it because I feel

that the support you have received from ~~within~~
the Republican party has ~~not~~ in many instances
lacked something of that heartiness which ~~every~~
^{at the same time, standing outside the swirl of party}
~~man who expects to be properly appreciated~~
by his acts alone or properly represented by ~~the~~
subordinates who have their own ~~reflections~~ ^{interests} ~~from~~
to enhance and maintain, ~~and~~ ^{and} must expect
such result, ~~and~~ ^{and} One of your ^{marked} ~~abilities~~ in
that direction has the power easily to avert these
consequences. You owe it to yourself to make
yourself popular — beloved by your party
and the people. You cannot do it as Cleve-
land did by self-inflation; You cannot do
it as Lincoln did by ~~a~~ ^a fast which were
at the same time string and parades; You
cannot do it as Grant did it, by silence and
self-occlusion. You can do it as Harrison
the Candidate, won the confidence and affec-
tion of the American people, by ^{speaking} ~~talking~~ directly,
particularly ^{frequently} ~~pertinently~~ and briefly to them — not
through the press — you are right to avoid that

I trust you will see that this view is worthy of consideration though it is quite possible you may feel after reading it that you would like to tell the writer to mind his own business. No doubt he ought, but he has so long played the fools part that he cannot always avoid saying what he thinks even to his own detriment. It is a very little matter what you may think of me: it is a very great matter that the party under your leadership should win next autumn. I may be quite wrong but again, I may see things you cannot perceive because of the point of view you occupy. So I tell you what I think I perceive. If it does no good it can ~~do~~ harm no one but myself

--and that does not matter. I certainly would not have done it but for my ^{belief} confidence in your desire to do the right thing and my confidence in your ability to do great things

A. J. S. K. K.

Remarks of Hon. Albion W. Tourge
of Wayne N.Y., on the election
of Representatives by National Nominations
and in explanation of H. R. No. 8286,
introduced by Mr. Kelley of Kansas, before
the House Committee on the Election of Pres-
ident and Vice President and Members
of the House of Representatives, delivered
March 22 1890.