

my remarks before the committee of the House

~~Electors of President, Vice President &c~~

and I trust will be considered by the Senators
~~committee~~ before ^{adopting} ~~introducing~~ a bill of ^{a different} ~~another~~
character.

~~for~~ ~~out~~. We have had so much ill-digested
and impudently legislation in regard to
the South that it seems to me about time that
we took pains to have something effective of

anything at all. A spotted, or an inter-
mittent bill, which hits one district

and misses another, or a mere ex-
tension of supervisory control, ^{would} ~~will~~

not only be useless but irritating and
unpopular. I speak with some confidence on
the matter because I suppose it is well

~~known~~ that I have studied election laws
and election methods, ^{and conditions} at the South for a
longer time and with ~~more~~ greater care

care and thoroughness than any ^{other} man in the
country, ^{I know} and I ~~suppose~~ it will hardly be
~~doubtful~~ ^{too} ~~questioned~~ ^{too} ~~how~~ ^{too} ~~done~~ ^{too} ~~so~~ ^{too} with
that especial regard for practical utility
which only a thoroughly trained lawyer famil-
iar both with ^{existing} conditions and the ~~features~~
defects of previous legislation ~~one~~ is likely to
~~possess~~ have. I do not mean to say that
the bill ^{is the best that can be drawn} ~~is better than~~
~~any other~~ but I ~~do mean~~ ~~to say~~ and I
~~do~~ have no hesitation in saying, that
one which covers less scope or lacks
several of its features will not only be
a dead flat failure but will add to
the burdens, without in any degree increasing
the chances, of the Republican Party. It is on
account of this belief and because I regard
it as doubtful, if the present ^{occurrence} ~~opportunity~~

unimpaired, whether another opportunity
passes if ~~there will in many years again~~
~~will occur, at least in many years,~~
~~occur again or an opportunity, so easily,~~

surely and effectively, to begin the cure
~~the most~~ ^{now existing at the South}
of dangerous possible conditions. I ~~shall~~
~~you wish to call your attention~~ I do not
~~think I have~~ The bill contains ~~contains~~ my
best judgment in regard to what is feasible
and effective. I have that horror of ^{insufficient} ~~inadequate~~
legislation which fifteen years at the North and in
the South could not fail to in-
spire in a Republican who looked with hope
and confidence to the law-making power
of the nation to cure the very evils which
have developed and flourished there for lack
of proper ^{legal repression} ~~legislation to prevent~~. We cannot ^{remedy} ~~eradicate~~
the first-moon is the pity, but I wish to say in
conclusion, that it is my deliberate conviction
that the result of careful constant and consci-
entious study of conditions and their causes,

but
that if the Congress, had taken the election
of Representatives under National control
with similar protective clauses to those found
in Mr. Kelley's Bill, # in 1868, "the Southern
question," (and I mean by that the whole
array of unpleasant ~~and~~ facts resulting from
anomalous conditions, ^{there}) would have been
fairly and justly settled without serious difficulty.

~~The Southern whites, or~~ Reconstruction,
without this natural and reasonable restriction,
in a sense tempted to violence. It presented
this option to its opponents, (1) To recognize the colored
man as a co-ordinate in citizenship and
avert any danger that might result from
his ~~domination~~ predominance by dividing and
weakening it, or (2) To divert him of ^{all part} ~~the power~~
in political control by violence and perpetuate
this usurpation by fraud and terror.

They chose as we know the latter, It was
natural that they should. The usurpation was of the
same nature as the Rebellion, except that it ended

the laws of the United States instead of defying them. With such a law as the Kelly Bill they ~~would not have dared~~ could not have done this, and ^{they} would not have dared ~~at it~~ to put themselves in direct antagonism with the Federal authority. This would have driven them back upon the former remedy for what they speak of with such horror as "Negro domination", and compelled them to recognize the colored man as a citizen, in order to divide his power. This would have ~~been~~ produced a healthful condition.

The effect will be less immediate and complete ~~over~~ than it would have been then. There will no doubt be some instances of ~~defiance~~ ^{evasion} and possibly some cases even of defiance. But contests are so simplified, the collection of testimony so facilitated and responsibility so definitized ^{by this plan,} that they are not

likely to be many or serious.

Patiently, in my opinion, the immediate result, ^{would} ~~shall~~ be the return from the South of a considerable number of Republican Members, fifteen or twenty, at the least; probably more. Ultimately, the result will be to break up the white feature of the Southern politics by compelling ~~some~~ Congressional aspirants to compete for colored votes. This will rapidly lead ~~to~~ ~~as~~ to a like competition and tolerance in State elections. When that time comes, I have ~~no~~ no doubt that the great bulk of Southern Representation will again be Democratic; because the South ^{is} Democratic in its thought and bias, leaving the colored question ^{entirely} out of consideration. This will be merely a healthful result and the first effective step towards a

peaceful solution of the race = problem.

Sincerely Yours

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