

I have had this paper laid  
aside a long time, and now send  
to you, thinking you might be  
especially interested in it.

# The Upper South: Its Republican Probabilities and Possibilities.

Since 1876 Republican managers of presidential campaigns have so fully convinced that all the force and brain needed to keep the sixteen slave States in the Democratic column would be unacceptably used that they have not made a vigorous contest in any of them. This has made the contest very unequal. For in the North, where both parties have a free fight, the Republicans have had to secure 294 electoral votes, while their opponents needed only 185—less than one-fourth as many.

That the Republican party is in bad shape in some parts of the North is painfully apparent, and if the campaign of 1892 had to be fought exclusively on old lines—the Democrats being couched the same territory in advance—that their candidate might safely visit his inaugural message as soon as nominated.

There is, however, no reason to despair. The humiliating defeats of last year, and the serious dangers ahead, have demonstrated the necessity for a change in the attitude, or tactics, of the party calculated to arouse something like the old-time enthusiasm, and there is a spirit, but firm determination among the masses to demand the dismissal of such managers as have proved their incompetency and unworthiness; also, that live issues shall be faced, wise methods adopted, and more "sentiment" infused into next year's contest. The important question of the hour is, what changes will secure the desired result, and the object of this paper is to point out the one which, in my judgment, is the most essential, and will also be the easiest to accomplish.

An AGRICULTURAL POLICY.

During the past twenty years the Republican party, acting largely on the defensive, has been pushed back—back—back to the edge of a quibbling precipice, where it has changed its standing room, and must change the little ground it occupies. It is true that the last Congress made, on the whole, a splendid record, but that will not suffice, for under existing circumstances, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to convince a majority of those whose votes will be counted that fact in time for 1892. Therefore, to simply inherit the party on its record would be almost equivalent to inviting defeat. A forward movement has become an imperative necessity. To insure victory, the enemy must be attacked "where he lives." In politics, as in war, assaults should be made on the weakest part of the opposing lines, and as surprising as the statement may appear to some, I intend to prove—not merely assert, but prove—that the weakest point in the Democratic line is its generally opposed Gibraltar, the "solid South."

The Lower South. Six of the eight States which compose the Lower South are undoubtedly Republican, and the seventh probably is, but the party has been losing ground in all of them, and has no original ground in any of them. There are two principal reasons for this condition of affairs, the blacks constitute 52.25 of the population of the eastern six, and because of that fact, the Democrats have been able, by forcing a race issue to the front, to substantially solidify the whites. They commenced that game twenty-four years ago and have kept it up ever since. The other two States, Arkansas and Texas, have been a sort of "Promised Land" into which the more bitter portion of the ex-Confederate emigrants from other States have flowed in an unceasing stream ever since the war. It is, therefore, apparently impossible to make any headway in that section at this time, and the situation is not likely to improve materially for some years.

The Upper South. Fortunately, the situation is very different in the Upper South. The Republican party has not only maintained an organization, but it has made steady gains in each of the eight States of which it is composed. One reason for the difference between the Upper and Lower regions is that the blacks constitute only 20.34 of the population of the Upper South, and, therefore, the Democrats have never been able to terrify the mass of its white people with the dread of "negro supremacy" as to induce them to ignore every thing else, and submit uncomplainingly to every measure that party supports.

The fact that the Republican party is strongest in the whitest half of the South is not a mere coincidence. The further fact that it is strongest in the States and sections of States in that half that have the largest proportion of whites indicates that a law of cause and effect is at work in that direction, and when it is shown that Democratic gains have been confined almost exclusively to counties containing the largest proportion of blacks, it becomes apparent that that party draws its chief inspiration from the race issue it invented, patented, and has so industriously, and sometimes cruelly, fostered.

Finding most men apparently unable, or unwilling, to accept ordinary proof on this subject, I have prepared a set of tables and maps that demonstrate the correctness of the position herein taken. This may appear to be a strong expression, but those who give the documents a candid and intelligent examination will be compelled to admit that they are unanswerable. All I ask for them is a dispassionate consideration, and a willingness to believe the truth.

The tables need no explanation, except to say that the vote and population columns are derived from official sources. National elections only have been considered, because they most clearly indicate the wishes of the people on national questions, and the drift of public sentiment. Of-year elections are everywhere more or less seriously affected by transient and local influences; and, although some Southern men usually vote the Republican national and the Democratic State tickets, their number is greater where the blacks are most numerous, and diminishes as the party gains strength.

The maps show when the several counties became Republican. Those covered with cross lines were Republican in 1876. Horizontal lines indicate the counties that became Republican in 1880. Lines slanting downward from left to right denote those added to the section in 1884, while lines slanting downward from right to left show the increase in 1888. Counties that went Republican in some previous year, but Democratic in 1888, are designated by perpendicular lines. In the unmarked counties, the first line of figures gives the Democratic majority in 1876, the second, that party's majority in 1880, and the third, its loss or gain.

With the help of these tables and maps it will be easy to verify most of the statements made, and to trace the steady spread of Republican ideas from county to county, and to point out many others that may be expected to repudiate Democracy next year. They certainly appear to conclusively establish the following propositions:

1. Throughout the Upper South the Republican party is most aggressive and strongest where the whites are most numerous.
2. It has made steady, and often large, gains in all sections in which the blacks count for anything.

stipulate only a small percentage of the population. I have prepared a set of tables and maps that demonstrate the correctness of the position herein taken. This may appear to be a strong expression, but those who give the documents a candid and intelligent examination will be compelled to admit that they are unanswerable. All I ask for them is a dispassionate consideration, and a willingness to believe the truth.

The tables need no explanation, except to say that the vote and population columns are derived from official sources. National elections only have been considered, because they most clearly indicate the wishes of the people on national questions, and the drift of public sentiment. Of-year elections are everywhere more or less seriously affected by transient and local influences; and, although some Southern men usually vote the Republican national and the Democratic State tickets, their number is greater where the blacks are most numerous, and diminishes as the party gains strength.

The maps show when the several counties became Republican. Those covered with cross lines were Republican in 1876. Horizontal lines indicate the counties that became Republican in 1880. Lines slanting downward from left to right denote those added to the section in 1884, while lines slanting downward from right to left show the increase in 1888. Counties that went Republican in some previous year, but Democratic in 1888, are designated by perpendicular lines. In the unmarked counties, the first line of figures gives the Democratic majority in 1876, the second, that party's majority in 1880, and the third, its loss or gain.

With the help of these tables and maps it will be easy to verify most of the statements made, and to trace the steady spread of Republican ideas from county to county, and to point out many others that may be expected to repudiate Democracy next year. They certainly appear to conclusively establish the following propositions:

1. Throughout the Upper South the Republican party is most aggressive and strongest where the whites are most numerous.
2. It has made steady, and often large, gains in all sections in which the blacks count for anything.

stipulate only a small percentage of the population. I have prepared a set of tables and maps that demonstrate the correctness of the position herein taken. This may appear to be a strong expression, but those who give the documents a candid and intelligent examination will be compelled to admit that they are unanswerable. All I ask for them is a dispassionate consideration, and a willingness to believe the truth.

The tables need no explanation, except to say that the vote and population columns are derived from official sources. National elections only have been considered, because they most clearly indicate the wishes of the people on national questions, and the drift of public sentiment. Of-year elections are everywhere more or less seriously affected by transient and local influences; and, although some Southern men usually vote the Republican national and the Democratic State tickets, their number is greater where the blacks are most numerous, and diminishes as the party gains strength.

The maps show when the several counties became Republican. Those covered with cross lines were Republican in 1876. Horizontal lines indicate the counties that became Republican in 1880. Lines slanting downward from left to right denote those added to the section in 1884, while lines slanting downward from right to left show the increase in 1888. Counties that went Republican in some previous year, but Democratic in 1888, are designated by perpendicular lines. In the unmarked counties, the first line of figures gives the Democratic majority in 1876, the second, that party's majority in 1880, and the third, its loss or gain.

With the help of these tables and maps it will be easy to verify most of the statements made, and to trace the steady spread of Republican ideas from county to county, and to point out many others that may be expected to repudiate Democracy next year. They certainly appear to conclusively establish the following propositions:

1. Throughout the Upper South the Republican party is most aggressive and strongest where the whites are most numerous.
2. It has made steady, and often large, gains in all sections in which the blacks count for anything.

stipulate only a small percentage of the population. I have prepared a set of tables and maps that demonstrate the correctness of the position herein taken. This may appear to be a strong expression, but those who give the documents a candid and intelligent examination will be compelled to admit that they are unanswerable. All I ask for them is a dispassionate consideration, and a willingness to believe the truth.

The tables need no explanation, except to say that the vote and population columns are derived from official sources. National elections only have been considered, because they most clearly indicate the wishes of the people on national questions, and the drift of public sentiment. Of-year elections are everywhere more or less seriously affected by transient and local influences; and, although some Southern men usually vote the Republican national and the Democratic State tickets, their number is greater where the blacks are most numerous, and diminishes as the party gains strength.

The maps show when the several counties became Republican. Those covered with cross lines were Republican in 1876. Horizontal lines indicate the counties that became Republican in 1880. Lines slanting downward from left to right denote those added to the section in 1884, while lines slanting downward from right to left show the increase in 1888. Counties that went Republican in some previous year, but Democratic in 1888, are designated by perpendicular lines. In the unmarked counties, the first line of figures gives the Democratic majority in 1876, the second, that party's majority in 1880, and the third, its loss or gain.

With the help of these tables and maps it will be easy to verify most of the statements made, and to trace the steady spread of Republican ideas from county to county, and to point out many others that may be expected to repudiate Democracy next year. They certainly appear to conclusively establish the following propositions:

1. Throughout the Upper South the Republican party is most aggressive and strongest where the whites are most numerous.
2. It has made steady, and often large, gains in all sections in which the blacks count for anything.

## ANALYSIS OF LAST FOUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN WEST VIRGINIA.

COUNTIES	1876				1880				1884				1888				Pop. in 1880	Pop. in 1890
	Rep. vote	Dem. vote	Rep. maj.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote	Dem. vote	Rep. maj.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote	Dem. vote	Rep. maj.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote	Dem. vote	Rep. maj.	Dem. maj.		
Barbour	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Berkeley	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Bonhomie	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Brooke	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Calhoun	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Grant	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Lincoln	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Marshall	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Monroe	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Morgan	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Putnam	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Summers	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Taylor	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Wayne	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Wood	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Wyoming	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000

The table opposite shows that Republican progress has been even more rapid in West Virginia than in Maryland. An average majority of 304 in 11 counties has increased to 470 in 24, and in 1888 it lost but one county it had previously carried. The increase in the aggregate vote was Democratic, 22,421; Republican, 30,318—a net Republican gain of 1,168 per annum—and Cleveland's last majority was only 523. The Democratic percentage of the vote fell from 56.16 to 49.83, and that of the Republicans rose from 43.84 to 50.17; the vote to population increasing during the same period from one in 5.26 to one in 4.66.

It is true that the Democrats made an average gain of 127 in nine counties, but that it was in one county; and, as the Republican gain averaged 303 in 46 counties, our friends, the enemy, will not be exasperated by the comparison. It is a very significant fact that two counties bordering on Kentucky and four in the northeast part of the State gave Cleveland 5,789 majority; the other 49—the body of the State giving Harrison 6,337. Of these six strong Democratic counties, four had not a single Republican vote in 1876, and another was barely carried by 100.

Indeed, although the West Virginia blacks are certainly mainly 177 Democrats, the Republicans and the whites who run. Therefore, the fact that new gains are being built into hitherto neglected sections is ominous of further Democratic success. Everything that lies light on our side to develop its vast natural resources strengthens the Republican party. However, as that is true of every State, it is not surprising that 30 counties that supported Cleveland in 1888, five gave him less than 100 majority, eight between 100 and 200, and

his party is losing in all of the 13. The only county in which he made any considerable gain was Logan, which has no railroad, and is the lair of a part of the Hatfield gang (who are Democrats), but the effect of the Democrats will soon announce the advance of civilization, and into that hitherto God-forsaken region.

No stronger proof of the strength of Republicanism in this State need be given than the fact that it contains nearly as many Republicans as Democratic newspapers. In this respect it is far ahead of every other Southern State.

The blacks constitute only 4.39 of the population, and the whites are increasing 18 times as fast; yet even in West Virginia, moslems will grow pale with terror when the race question is dangled before them by Democratic orators. Only in black man's hands can the Southern Democratic party thrive—Jefferson, the solitary county containing 25 per cent. of blacks, is a Democratic stronghold, but for which the Rep-

blains would have carried the State by 673 majority. The 14 counties that contain more than five per cent. of blacks (averaging 1,701 to the county) gave Cleveland 3,701 majority, while in the 40 that contained less than that proportion (averaging 213 to the county) Harrison's majority was 3,149.

Is anything more needed to show that West Virginia can be carried, ought to be carried, and soon will be carried by the Republicans?

blains would have carried the State by 673 majority. The 14 counties that contain more than five per cent. of blacks (averaging 1,701 to the county) gave Cleveland 3,701 majority, while in the 40 that contained less than that proportion (averaging 213 to the county) Harrison's majority was 3,149.

Is anything more needed to show that West Virginia can be carried, ought to be carried, and soon will be carried by the Republicans?

blains would have carried the State by 673 majority. The 14 counties that contain more than five per cent. of blacks (averaging 1,701 to the county) gave Cleveland 3,701 majority, while in the 40 that contained less than that proportion (averaging 213 to the county) Harrison's majority was 3,149.

Is anything more needed to show that West Virginia can be carried, ought to be carried, and soon will be carried by the Republicans?

## ANALYSIS OF LAST FOUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN MARYLAND.

COUNTIES	1876				1880				1884				1888				Pop. in 1880	Pop. in 1890
	Rep. vote	Dem. vote	Rep. maj.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote	Dem. vote	Rep. maj.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote	Dem. vote	Rep. maj.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote	Dem. vote	Rep. maj.	Dem. maj.		
Allegany	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Anne Arundel	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Arundel	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Baltimore	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Calvert	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Carroll	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Chesapeake	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Charles	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Chesapeake	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Frederick	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Garrettsville	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Harford	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Harris	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Hawkins	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Howard	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
King George	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Queen Anne's	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Somerset	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Saint Mary's	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Talbot	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Washington	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Westmoreland	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000
Worcester	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	1,200	1,200	0	0	10,000	10,000

The foregoing table shows that the Republicans have made gains in every county in Maryland. Starting with an average majority of 97 in four counties in 1876, they secured an average majority of 294 in twelve in 1880. On the other hand, the Democrats not only lost eight counties, but had their majorities reduced in all they retained, averaging less than 100 in four of them. The aggregate Democratic increase in 12 years was 14,238, and that of the Republicans 28,005, nearly twice as much. The Republican net gain, which was 13,617, is being remarkably steady, 4,608, 4,073, and 4,936 at the respective elections, the last being the largest. Outside of Baltimore city and county, the State was Republican in 1888.

This continuous change in one direction did not result from Democratic apathy, for under Senator Gorman's management, that party's machine is one of the most perfect in the country, and the vote which was one to 5.34 of the population in 1876 rose to one to 4.94 in 1888. During the same period, the Democratic per cent. of the vote cast fell from 56.04 to 50.33, and that of the Republicans rose from 43.95 to 47.41.

Maryland was never a black State, and she grows constantly whiter. Between 1880 and 1890 the percentage of blacks fell from 22.49 to 20.92. There was an actual decrease in two-thirds of the counties, and outside of Baltimore city, there was a net decrease of 6,836 in the State. The whites already outnumber the blacks about four to one, and are increasing thirteen times as fast. Ten counties, containing more than 75 per cent. of whites, average 75.50 to the county, while the 14 that contain less than

that proportion average only 20.462; and contain but 27.48 per cent. of the population of the State. Do not these figures show that the unceasing efforts of Democratic politicians to substitute a race issue for more important questions in this State are as needless as they are un-American? Do they not suggest the abandonment of unmanly combinations of the many against the few, and the adoption of a policy that will more surely and speedily help the masses develop the resources of the State, and bring increased prosperity to all its people?

The eight whitest counties border on Pennsylvania. Two of them were Republican in 1876, two more became so in 1880, the Democratic majority has been almost obliterated in another three, and in the next two it has been largely reduced.

It will seem almost incredible to many that an increase of five per cent. in the black proportion of the population should cause, or even be coincident with, a diminished Republican percentage of the vote cast, but this is actually the case throughout the white sections of the South. Here is the proof in regard to Maryland.

In Allegany and Garrett counties, the black per cent. of the population was only 2.91 per cent., and the Republican per cent. of the vote cast was 65.71, a majority of 1,167—814 more than the entire black vote cast.

In Carroll and Washington counties, the per cent. of blacks rose to 6.62, and that of the Republican vote fell to 60.88.

Baltimore and Frederick counties contain 13.89 per cent. of blacks, and the Republican per cent. of votes was 48.25.

In Baltimore city and Cecil county, the

per cent. of blacks rose to 6.62, and that of the Republican vote fell to 60.88.

Baltimore and Frederick counties contain 13.89 per cent. of blacks, and the Republican per cent. of votes was 48.25.

In Baltimore city and Cecil county, the

per cent. of blacks rose to 6.62, and that of the Republican vote fell to 60.88.

Baltimore and Frederick counties contain 13.89 per cent. of blacks, and the Republican per cent. of votes was 48.25.

In Baltimore city and Cecil county, the

## ANALYSIS OF LAST FOUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN DELAWARE.

ANALYSIS OF THE LAST FOUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

COUNTIES.	1876.				1880.				1884.				1888.				Gain bet. 1876-1888.	Pop. in 1880.	Pop. in 1890.
	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.				
Albemarle	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140		
Alamance	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>		

NORTH CAROLINA.

The Democratic ascendancy was never so absolute in North Carolina as in the rest of the South, but there has not been as much apparent Republican progress in it as in the other States considered. The Democratic majority was 17,010 in 1876, and 13,118 in 1888. The Republicans carried 25 counties in the first year named, and 34 in the last. The Democratic per cent. of the vote dropped from 53.63 to 51.80, and that of the Republicans increased from 46.37 to 47.74.

There are three especially encouraging features in the North Carolina situation. 1. The proportion of votes has diminished from one to five to one to five and a half, and this, in the present year, which is, here as elsewhere, generally Republican, is more than large enough to change the result. Some day it will do so. 2. Fifteen of the Democratic counties gave 53.63 to 51.80, and the Republicans less than 100 majority, 14 between 100 and 200, and the Republicans are gaining in the 26. 3. But the most important is that, although the Republicans have lost several black counties, they are gaining rapidly in the white section. Thirty-six counties containing less than 35 per cent. of blacks—the average being 12.97—gave the Democratic net majority of 13,221 in 1876, but only 3,362 in 1888. It is therefore almost only

ANALYSIS OF LAST FOUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN TENNESSEE.

COUNTIES.	1876.				1880.				1884.				1888.				Gain bet. 1876-1888.	Population 1880.	Population 1890.
	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.				
Anderson	784	648	136	1,028	574	454	574	1,028	574	454	574	1,028	574	454	574	1,028	574		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
<b>Total</b>	<b>784</b>	<b>648</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>1,028</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>454</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>1,028</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>454</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>1,028</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>454</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>1,028</b>	<b>574</b>		

(especially since the census was taken), there has been a large and increasing order of blacks to the South and West, and the probabilities are that the next census will show a decided decrease for the whole State. As it is, the whites outnumber the blacks two to one, and increased during the last decade about six times as fast.

In 1888 the Legislature came very near controlling the Legislature, and the alarmed Democrats adopted substantially the South Carolina election system. It is not, however, popular with the white masses, and if properly supported, the Republicans can probably carry the State next year in spite of these new laws. Indeed, in some localities

ANALYSIS OF LAST FOUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN KENTUCKY.

COUNTIES.	1876.				1880.				1884.				1888.				Gain bet. 1876-1888.	Population 1880.	Population 1890.
	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.				
Adair	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>		

ANALYSIS OF THE LAST FOUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN MISSOURI.

COUNTIES.	1876.				1880.				1884.				1888.				Gain bet. 1876-1888.	Population 1880.	Population 1890.
	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Dem. maj.				
Adair	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140	0	1,140	1,140		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>1,140</b>		

5765

guer, Prince William, Beppanhook, and Outpiper, which suffered more than any other equal section in the South during the war, gave Tilden 6,816 majority, and came within 586 of doing as well by Cleveland. Fortunately, it is a good agricultural and stock region, it is therefore likely to be among the first to attract farmers when the great home-seeking army starts outward, and with new blood will come new ideas—a new life.

less to say that this section of the State is also the one in which the greatest amount of general progress is noticeable. It is located in the mountain and foothill region—the original habitat of all the native varieties of American grapes—and is supposed by many to be the most desirable part of the continent for the horticulturist. In 1876,

the Republicans carried only four counties in this white section, but increased the number to 14 in 1888, and have made gains in all but two of the others.

The percentage of blacks in this State, which was 37.95 in 1880, fell to 38.55 in 1890, and there has been a decrease in 37 counties. During the past few years

(especially since the census was taken), there has been a large and increasing order of blacks to the South and West, and the probabilities are that the next census will show a decided decrease for the whole State. As it is, the whites outnumber the blacks two to one, and increased during the last decade about six times as fast.

In 1888 the Legislature came very near controlling the Legislature, and the alarmed Democrats adopted substantially the South Carolina election system. It is not, however, popular with the white masses, and if properly supported, the Republicans can probably carry the State next year in spite of these new laws. Indeed, in some localities

ties, indignation at such baseless efforts to enable a minority to perpetrate its power will react against the perpetrators of this iniquity. North Carolinians are naturally honest and fair-minded men, and when they come to understand the situation as it really is they will try to put their State right.

KENTUCKY.

The look of almost contemptuous incredulity with which the prediction that Kentucky will soon become a Republican stronghold is sometimes received is not a little amusing to those who understand the real situation in that State, but, if the scoffers do not wish to have the laugh turned against themselves, they will do well to investigate the facts.

In 1876, the Republicans polled an average majority of 235 in 20 counties, but in 1888 they carried 41 by majorities averaging 350. On the other hand, the Democratic majority was cut down from the 704 in 1876 to 517 in 1888. The aggregate increase in the Democratic vote in the same period was 24,104, and that of the Republicans 57,978, about twice as much. The Republicans have gained in number of counties and per cent. of votes at each Presidential election, the Democratic per cent. of the votes declining from 61.17 in 1876 to 63.32 in 1888, while the Republican proportion increased from 37.83 to 44.99.

The Democrats made an average gain of 89 in 16 counties, but the Republican offset of 346 in 101 is very satisfactory to our side. In 16 of the Democratic counties Cleveland's majority was less than 200. In 1876 those counties gave an average Democratic majority of 254, but it has fallen to 77; the Republicans have made gains to all except Fayette, which has a large black population. The map shows that the Republican counties are not massed, but it is a curious fact that the strip bordering on the great rivers gives the bulk of the Democratic majority. The 31 counties lying on the Ohio river and between the Tennessee and Mississippi gave Tilden 35,693 majority. But even that Democratic levee the Bourbons are losing ground. Four of the counties comprising it are already Republican, three more are nearly so, and in 1888 the net Democratic majority was out down to 22,959.

The vote to population in the State was one to 5.91 in 1876 and one to 5.26 in 1888. And again I repeat that the non-voters in the Upper South are nearly all opposed to the Democratic party, and will vote the Republican ticket when they decide to go to the polls, and there are enough of them in Kentucky to revolutionize the State. The fact that the Republican party has made such decided and continuous progress in every portion of Kentucky—indeed, in almost every county—will astonish most people, but what is to follow will surprise them still more. The percentage of blacks, which was only 16.47 in 1860, fell to 14.69 in 1880. The whites already outnumber them nearly six to one, and are increasing more than 136 times as fast; yet some Kentucky fossils continue to insist that everything should be subordinated to the race issue.

Now let us see how the presence of the blacks affects the vote. They are decreasing in 75 counties, in 65 of which the Republicans are gaining, and which have increased in 41 counties, 25 of which are Democratic. The increase averaged 160 in the 15 Republican and 686 in the 28 Democratic counties. Of the 41 counties that contain between 1,000 and 4,000 blacks 55 are Democratic, and 16 of the 18 containing more than that number are also. Only ten of the 44 Republican counties contain more than 10 per cent. of blacks, but in 44 of the 76 Democratic counties they exceed that proportion.

Forty counties contain less than 5 per cent. of blacks, the average being 3.23. In 1876, 11 of them went Republican and 29 Democratic—the net Democratic majority being 5,879—but in 1888 the vote was almost reversed, the Republicans carrying 27 and the Democrats 13 counties, with a net Republican majority of 3,777. Twenty counties contain between 5 and 10 per cent. of blacks, the average being 6.75. In 1876 16 of them went Republican and 14 Democratic—the net Democratic majority focusing up 11,119—but in 1888 the Republicans carried 8, the Democrats 13, and the majority of the latter was cut down to 4,621. In the 60 counties that contain less than 10 per cent. of blacks—the average being 4.79—the Democratic majority was 18,123 in 1876 but only 1,044 in 1888. In 1876, 43 of them were Democratic to 17 Republican, but in 1888 only 25 were Democratic to 35 Republican.

TENNESSEE.

Tennessee is divided into three sections. According to the New York Tribune Atlas, the 21 counties lying wholly or partly west of the Tennessee river; Middle Tennessee of the 40 east of the above section to, and including, Franklin, Grundy, Van Buren, Cumberland, Fentress, and Hickock counties; and East Tennessee of the remaining 34 counties.

East Tennessee has long been Republican, and constantly grows more intensely so. Its Republican vote increased 28,143 in 12 years, and the Democratic only 7,794. Its Republican majority rose from 6,902 to 25,247. Of its 34 counties, 29 are Republican. Less than 12 per cent. of the people are blacks, nearly half of whom live in Knoxville and Chattanooga. It is, of course, the most prosperous section of the State, growing as fast as all the rest of it combined. While two-thirds of the increase in the other sections is found in Memphis and Nashville, all parts of East Tennessee are prospering.

In Middle Tennessee, the Democratic majority fell from 37,998 to 27,657. That party made an average gain of 82 in 11 counties in 12 years, and the Republicans 988 in 20. The blacks constitute 25.03 of the population, but for Nashville, where they have decreased 0.63 in the section during the last decade. Seventeen counties have less than 10 per cent. of blacks, and 10 more between 10 and 20. The five Republican counties have but few blacks.

In West Tennessee the blacks constituted 37.76 of the population in 1880, and 37.11 in 1890. It is, in fact, the upper end of the black belt of the Mississippi. However, ten of its 22 counties contain less than 20 per cent. of blacks, and several others only a

little more than that, but they have a majority in three counties, and nearly one-half in two more. Now mark the political results. The Democratic majority in this section was 33,286 in 1876, fell to 4,028 in 1880 and 3,154 in 1884, and then jumped to 17,383 in 1888—nearly all of the 14,000 gain having been made in the black counties. The 11 counties which contain 75 per cent. of whites gave nearly 4,000 less Democratic majority in 1888 than in 1876, and three of them returned majorities for Harrison.

Taking the State as a whole, the Democratic majority has been reduced from 43,010 to 19,791, in spite of the evidently fraudulent Democratic gain in West Tennessee. The blacks constituted 28.14 per cent. of the population in 1880, and dropped to 24.57 in 1890. They decreased in 54 counties, and outside of four cities, lost over 7,000 in the State. The whites are three times as numerous, and increase more than six times as fast. Here, as elsewhere, the Republicans' strength and growth is in the white counties. Of the 95 counties of the State 69 contain over 80 per cent. of whites—the average being 89.27. In 1876, these white counties gave the Democrats a majority of 19,308, but in 1888 they went Republican by 4,731. Of the 26 counties having more than 20 per cent. of blacks, 24 supported Cleveland.

The Republicans retain every white county they have ever carried. More than half of the white counties are already Republican, and that party is gaining in nearly all of the others. The Democratic per cent. of the vote, even as counted, fell from 63.78 in 1876 to 62.33 in 1888, and that of the Republicans rose from 40.22 to 45.89. The vote to population in the whole State was one to 6.41 in 1876, and one to 6.02 in 1888. In the latter year the proportion by sections was one to 6.24 in East Tennessee, one to 5.94 in Middle Tennessee, and one to 5.91 in West Tennessee. It is very evident that the non-voters hold the balance of power in Tennessee, and when they go to the polls the Democratic candidates had as well resign in advance. Now that the relative decrease of the blacks has been established beyond controversy, this element is likely to come to the front, and when it decides to do so, it will compel a fair count even in the black counties.

MISSOURI.

In Missouri the Democratic vote increased 55,877 in 12 years, and that of the Republicans 91,234. The Democrats made an average gain of 125 in 29 counties, and the Republicans 428 in 84. In 1888 the Republicans triumphed in all the counties they were ever carried except three, which were always close. The Democratic per cent. of the vote fell from 57.75 to 50.24, and that of the Republicans rose from 41.25 to 46.31. The vote to population was one to 5.90 in 1876, and one to 4.94 in 1888. Of the Democratic counties nine gave less than 100 majority, six between 100 and 200, 10 between 200 and 300, and the Republicans are gaining in 17 out of 20. The blacks are decreasing from 8.71 in 1880 to 5.75 in 1890. The whites are already 16 times as numerous as the blacks, and are increasing 67 times as fast; yet even this small proportion of blacks is a tower of strength or a well-spring of joy—to both—the Democrats, for of the 96 counties containing more than 1,000, 57 support that party, and 30 of the 40 that contain five per cent. of blacks are also Democratic. Nowhere is the race issue urged more fiercely than by some of the Missouri Republicans.

A study of the map shows two large and one small Republican section. The northwest, southwest, and central-east are generally Republican, and the northeast, southeast, and central-west Democratic. Many interesting speculations suggest themselves, but I will only note that here, as elsewhere in the Upper South, it is the Republican leaven that spreads. The Democratic gains are nearly always small in comparison with those of the Republicans. The Democratic party has more genuine strength in Missouri than in any other Southern State except Texas, but it will be overthrown there as soon as the National Republican party arouses itself and enters that field in earnest.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

It seems to me that all candid men who carefully consider the foregoing facts must realize that they establish beyond controversy—

1. That the Republican party has made extraordinary progress throughout the Upper South during the last dozen years.
2. That its growth has generally been greatest in the States having the smallest percentage of blacks.
3. That it has always been most rapid and universal in the whitest portions of those States.
4. That the Democratic gains are insignificant, and are confined almost entirely to black counties.
5. That the size of the last vote, and the steady increase in the proportion of votes to population, proves that these gains have not resulted from Democratic apathy or over confidence.

The fact that the Republicans have carried new counties in all of these States, except Delaware and Maryland, at each of the last three Presidential elections is very important, as it proves that the influences that have brought about this result are not only wide-spread and powerful, but constant in their operation. It is still more encouraging to note the important fact that the party seldom loses a white county of which it once gains full control.

In 1876, those eight States contained 603 counties (including cities whose vote is returned separately), of which 154 were then Republican and 449 Democratic. In 1888, the number of counties was 620, of which 253 were Republican and 367 Democratic. Of the counties that were Democratic in 1880, only 20 had gone Republican at any one of three preceding national elections, and 19 of those had more generally much more than 25 per cent. of blacks. Of the 10 with less than that proportion, six are in Missouri, which has few blacks, and the average Democratic majority in them was less than 70 to the county. I have ascertained that six of these States—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee—can certainly be carried next year. In 1876 they contained only 97 Republican to 299 Democratic counties, but in 1888 the proportion was 173 Republican to 232 Democratic, and 34 of Cleveland's counties gave him less than 100 majority. Of the 13 counties in these States that were returned as supporting Cleveland in 1888, but had gone Republican at some previous election, only three, War-

ren, West Va., Dickinson, Va., and Campbell, Ky., contained 75 per cent. of whites, and their Democratic majority averaged only 30.

I invite, and urge, the closest scrutiny of these maps and tables, for the more they are examined the clearer will it become that the popular drift in the Upper South is toward Republicanism, and is so strong as to be apparently irresistible.

I propose now to refer to a few of the difficulties that Southern Republicans have had to overcome, and show that they were of such magnitude as to justify the assumption that the party is stronger, very much stronger, than even its swelling vote indicates.

First and most serious has been the lack of newspapers. The following table, compiled from Ayer's Newspaper Directory, tells a woful tale:

State	No. of Papers	No. of Copies	No. of Subscribers	Value of Paper	Value of Copies	Value of Subscriptions
West Virginia	148	244	39	6	1	1
Missouri	24	24	40	9	9	9
Maryland	24	24	40	9	9	9
Delaware	24	24	40	9	9	9
Tennessee	24	24	40	9	9	9
Virginia	24	24	40	9	9	9
Kentucky	24	24	40	9	9	9
North Carolina	24	24	40	9	9	9
Total	301	772	376	150	77	11

In comparison with the Democratic list, the number of Southern Republican papers is very small, and, unfortunately, their average quality is not what it should be. But, under the circumstances, this is not surprising. A few years ago there were none at all, and while the obstacles in the way of building up new papers in the South have been so great that Republicans have generally found them insurmountable, "the party" has given little or no assistance in that direction.

The old slave oligarchy hated and feared the Republican party intensely, and a large part of its remnants and descendants are as bitter as ever. Its members despised manual labor, and, with unobscured egotism, declared themselves to be "born aristocrats," and "the nation's natural rulers." Although weakened and slowly disintegrating, this element is still governed to a considerable extent by the feelings and opinions that controlled it in ante-bellum days. It possessed many admirable and captivating traits, and with its "knights tournaments," and other imitations of the Middle Ages, was a picturesque element, but medieval barbarism was not more intolerant of opposition. Before the rebellion all sections in which slaves were numerous were ruled by it, socially and politically, with generally unquestioned authority, and it still looks upon itself as "the South." Congress regarded more largely than formerly in terms, its members and descendants have an especially powerful influence in those centers of business, and, as they are naturally so dominating as ever, and have a special antipathy to independent periodicals, they have systematically organized every force they could control to crush every newspaper whose editor did not worship their idols. They are generally fierce talkers, are often highly intelligent, frequently possess great mental ability and force of character, as well as charming manners, and, where they are numerous, the average business man has as yet seldom dared to incur their hostility. Therefore, even some of those who vote the Republican ticket do not advertise in or even subscribe for a Republican newspaper.

Fortunately, many slaveholders did not belong to this caste, for it became a caste. They worked with their own hands, respected others who did so, and were, of course, more numerous where there were comparatively few slaves. Consequently, the oligarchs were never as powerful in the Upper South as they were in the Lower, and are losing their grip most rapidly in the more intelligent and independent sections. They still have absolute control in the lower region, and therefore only a few Republican papers see out a feeble existence in that section; but in the Upper South, where that class is fast losing what power it had, the number of avowed Republican newspapers has increased from none to 301.

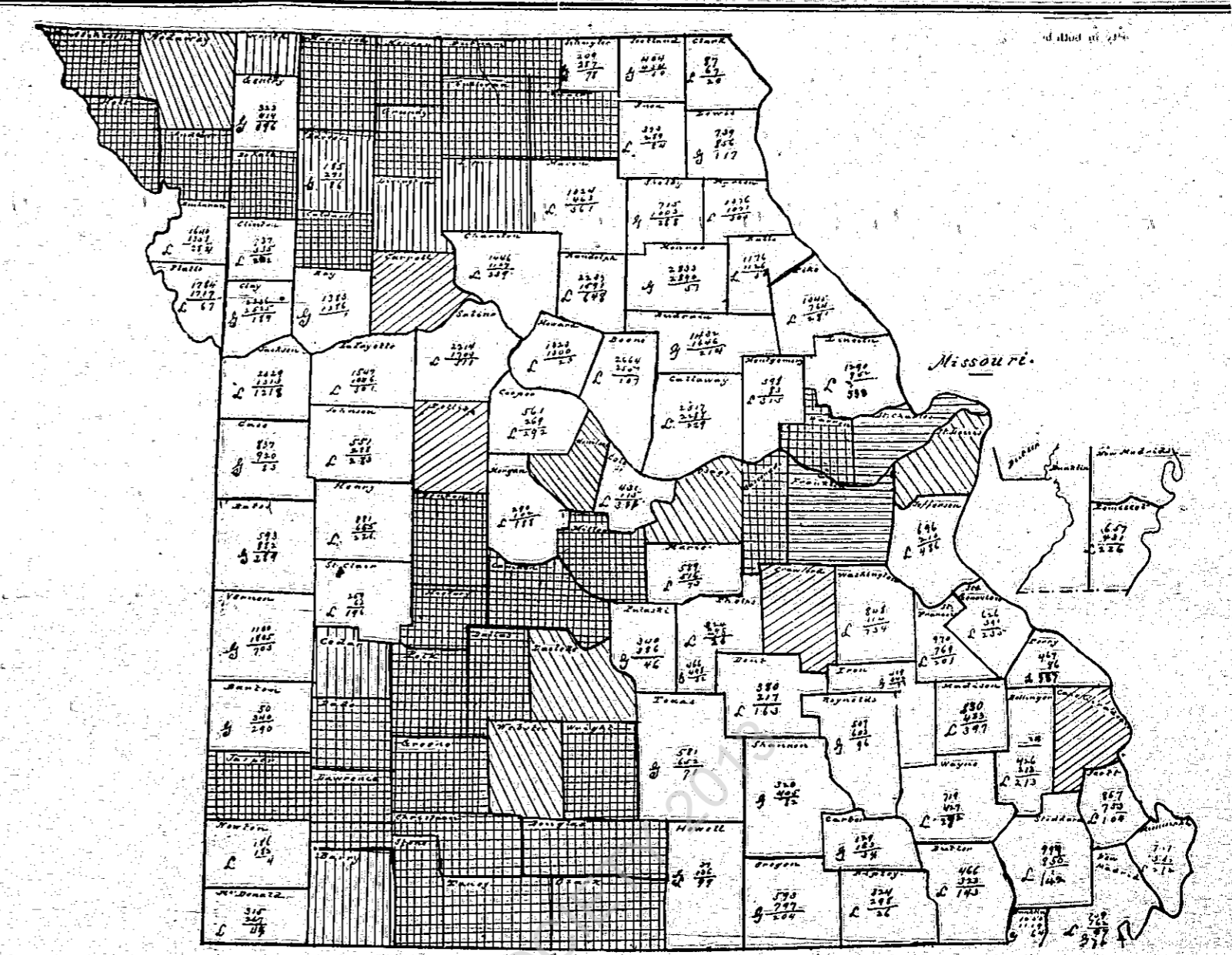
THE CHANGES OF 1890.

was a very real looking and loud roaring lion in the road leading to Republican success. It spread the conviction that the blacks were increasing so much faster than the whites that the latter would soon have to abandon their homes, or fight to retain possession of them. In the Lower South, the prospect really was very discouraging, and a haunting fear exercised a paralyzing influence in some parts of the Upper South also. The appeal to the white people of the old slave States "to stand or fall together," on the ground that "those who are safe should not abandon those of their brethren whose in imminent peril," did not come alone from political demagogues and office-seekers. That class gladly used it, and greatly exaggerated the "impending danger," but a multitude of the very best non-intelligent, generous, and honest—were influenced by it to remain in, or decline to oppose, the party whose principles and general aims and methods their judgments condemned. The influence of this misapprehension has been sufficient to turn the scale in more States than one; but hereafter it must rapidly diminish.

Before the war, the "social" power of the slaveholding class was supreme. Indeed, the slaveholders mainly constituted "society." This factor, which has been cruelly and effectively used against Republicans and Republicanism, is still a powerful force throughout the Lower South, and also in some parts of the Upper. It is, of course, strongest in cities and villages, where blacks and Democrats are most numerous. The Republican party has been steadily gaining strength in this class, although not so rapidly as among the working people, and the extreme bitterness of the opposition to it has very greatly diminished. The introduction of new blood from abroad, the "re-mixing" that follows the building of new cities, the rapid growth of old ones, and the upward movement of successful people who do not belong to the "old set," necessarily somewhat relieve even the most exclusive circles. A few years ago, it took more to count a man "in society" in towns than in a Republican, but it takes less and less as the years roll on—and, in many localities, there is now no difference whatever in the social standing of the members of the two parties.

ANOTHER DISCOURAGING INFLUENCE.

has been the attitude of most Northern Republicans, who have done but little to



help their Southern brethren, and have done

but little sporadically and in spots. They generally talk and act as though they believed the Democratic assertion that "the Republican party in the South is composed of niggers and poor white trash." Some of them treat with scant courtesy those who approach them on this subject, and utterly refuse to even investigate facts that are presented. Undertake to explain the real situation in Maryland and Kentucky, and they refer to occurrences in South Carolina or Louisiana, and seem entirely unable (or unwilling) to baffle the Missouri and Mississippi, Kentucky and Louisiana, West Virginia and South Carolina, differ from each other more radically than New Jersey and Vermont, and are held together, politically, largely by ignorance and misinformation. The density of the ignorance of most Northern men on this subject, and the amount of conceit and unwillingness to learn manifested by not a few of our world-wise, and some of our real leaders, is astounding, and has given every plausible ground for the charge everywhere made that "Northern Republicans care nothing for the South except to use it as a political scarecrow;" that, in fact, they prefer it shall have no claims on the offices when they control the Government. The natural effect of such conduct has been to anger some and to discourage others, who would not have active workers if a different spirit had been manifested, and so seriously increase the labor and diminish the efficiency of those who have kept up the struggle in spite of all obstacles.

I will mention but one thing more. The conviction that "the South cannot be divided in our day" is not confined to the North. The masses of the people of the South know but little, positively, about any portion of it except their own immediate locality. Even when they are aware that their own section is, or could easily be made, Republican, they hear Democrats boast that they have possession of the election machinery, and can and will retain control of them all. They also see that the National Republican organization makes no real effort to fight in the South, and read in Northern Republican papers—the only Republican papers they see—that it is entirely useless to do so. It is not strange, therefore, that many—scores of thousands—who would prefer Republican ascendancy, ask themselves "Why should we separate from our associates, politically, and perhaps suffer in our business, simply to engage in a hopeless contest in favor of a party whose managers do not consider our section worth fighting for?"

Yet in spite of all these steep mountains and fierce lions, brave and brainy Republicans have struggled on, gaining step by step, until they are now able to meet the enemy on almost equal terms. The Democratic party has been steadily losing its hold on the people of the Upper South, and will enter the contest next year with less cohesion and aggressive force than it has had since it obtained control there; while, on the other hand, the Republican party will be stronger, better organized, and more hopeful. Will Republicans of the North continue to be a positive hindrance to their own party in the South, and a help to the opposition, or hereafter give a hearty support to their friends? Will they continue to assume—and dogmatically insist—that the situation in all parts of the South must be the same now that it was fifteen years ago, and that the Southern States are all alike politically?

AN OBSCURE ANSWER.

Long before reaching this point, cronies will remark that it is useless to attempt anything now, because "last year's election shows that the party has lost all that it had gained." These gentlemen forget that the party losses were much heavier in the North last year than in the section under consideration, although it is natural that, in years of disorganization, losses should be heavy. Where the losing party has the least to sustain it. They also forget that Delaware, politically a Southern State, was the only one in the nation in which the Republicans made decided gains in 1890, and it was also the only Southern State in which the Republicans made a specially determined gain.

THE ENTIRE SEPARATION

of National from State elections, as far as the Constitution permits. One of the principal reasons why our form of government has worked as well as it has thus far is that the national and State governments use so little machinery in common—touch each other so seldom in their practical workings—and have no more power than they do to control, or hamper, each other in their respective fields. Prof. Bryce refers to this fact repeatedly in his "American Commonwealth," and lays great stress upon it. Federal elections are the principal exceptions to this rule, and the result of this exception has been unfortunate, to say the least. There are no more fundamental reasons why both Federal and State elections should be regulated and conducted exclusively by State officials than there are that both should be under Federal control, or that there are that the Federal revenues should be collected by State authorities.

SOUTHERN ELECTION LAWS.

Here, also, many are misled by the usual assumption that, politically, "one Southern State is a sample of all." In at least seven States of the Lower South the laws have been framed for the avowed purpose of enabling those who control the election machinery to keep themselves and friends in power, and it is only announced that "no Republicans need apply," no matter how large a majority of the legal voters desire their election, unless they are prepared to fight for their rights. In that section, it will, therefore, be impossible to elect Republicans until the laws or public sentiment undergo a radical change.

On the contrary, in several of the Upper South States the election laws are reasonably fair, in apparent intention, their main defects consisting in the absence of modern guards against fraud, of which there are liable to be more or less everywhere, when party feeling is thoroughly aroused. Outside of occasional black counties, the elections in five or six of these States, are generally nearly as fair as they are under existing conditions in the North; and it is but just to admit that the Democratic sentiment in no one of them is as unanimous as it is in the Lower region in demanding and maintaining the adoption of "any and all means necessary to insure success." Even when the laws are unfair they are often loath to take advantage of them. Moreover, the white Republicans are so numerous that the general support of Lower South election methods would so certainly arouse a style and amount of resistance that could not be overcome, so that even unscrupulous partisans often realize it would be impolitic. So far as the laws are concerned, it can be safely assumed that, if the campaign of 1892 is properly arranged for, in time, and vigorously conducted, fraud and violence can be sufficiently prevented to make the most, if not all, of the Upper South safely Republican.

The mis-called "Force" bill was not a wisely-framed measure. In spite of serious defects it would have done good in some portions of the Upper South, but where protection is most needed it would have signally failed, for the reason that there was no "force" in it. In the Lower South, some violent Democrats would have resisted its execution, and, as in the past, after murdering peaceable citizens, would have coolly held the Republican party responsible for the slaughter of its own innocent members.

—Their Northern allies—regarding the charge. It is greatly to be regretted that this bill came so near enactment and yet failed. Its passage through the Lower House alarmed some of the timid and conservative, while its failure in the Senate looked to others like the betrayal of Republican brethren and principles. It should have properly passed both houses, or been pressed in neither. Unfortunately, on some accounts, this subject cannot rest where it is. The party will be compelled to take a position upon it in next platform. After the failure of Congress to issue an some measure of retraction, mere platitudes will not suffice—no matter how strongly or craftily drawn—and the endorsement of a bill containing so many real defects, and prejudiced to maintain still worse ones, cannot be thought of

for a moment. After much reflection on this

subject it seems to me that the easiest and safest solution of the problem will be for the party to take a stand in favor of

Look at the facts. Nine States have enacted laws for the avowed purpose of enabling one party to secure all the offices, including Congressmen and Presidential electors, against the wish of a majority of their own voters. With deliberate intention they have practically disfranchised a part of that majority, and invited and wronged the people of the entire nation. Moreover, this party thus in effect legislated out of the field in the one that saved the Union, which the rulers of these same States tried to destroy, and had a majority in two-thirds of the other States when these laws were enacted. These were State acts, and this official State action once put in the Presidential chair a man who could not have secured that position if the principles on which our Government is founded had not been thus repudiated. In addition, State action enabled the same minority party to control one house of Congress and block the wheels of legislation for a dozen years. The will of the whole nation has thus, to a large extent, been overruled by a set of States whose legislators, elected by a minority of their own people, have practically nullified the Federal Constitution. Some laws have been enacted or repealed by Congress, and other measures have failed solely for this reason. The nation has for many years quietly submitted to this minority rule, made possible solely by State laws, but it seems to me that all should insist on fair dealing hereafter in National matters; should demand that both parties—all parties—should have an equal chance in every State to influence Federal elections, which it has been conclusively proved they do not have under our present system. With our present laws, the rulers of any State who, for any reason, desire to disregard the rights and interests of other States can easily do so, and there is no remedy. To-day the black man is the excuse offered in justification of this flagrant wrong, but another time it may be something else. The precedent established will be certain to be followed until made impossible. As these wrongs bring great pecuniary gain and official rank and power to many men, they will always be politicians willing to secure their own ends by disregarding the rights of others, and the longer they are allowed to do so the more difficult will it be to legislate and apply laws that will restrain them. The framers of the Constitution evidently contemplated the

POSSIBLE NECESSITY

for the adoption of a different method of electing Congressmen; and therefore expressly gave Congress the right to control that matter, and that undoubted right should, at least, be exercised without further unnecessary delay. But that would only be a partial remedy. The President acts for the entire Nation. His influence and power are enormous. Many are certain to be influenced, favorably or unfavorably, by his action, and every one is liable to be. Congressmen, for instance, has vast interests at stake, and has a large vote in the Electoral College, as several of the States in question, but she says to them,

"your ideas and your people and parties have, and shall continue to have, an equally fair field here with all others." He should not be right to ask, say, it is not his duty to demand, that her ideas and people and parties shall be as justly treated in Florida and Georgia? Let me emphasize the proposition that citizens of States that deal fairly by all others should no longer quietly submit to the casting of loaded dice by States, whose leading men are willing to personally profit by morally dishonest, although technically legal methods.

But I hear it said "this cannot be done, for the Constitution expressly gives States the right to say how the Presidential electors shall be appointed." This is true, but the constitutional provision on that subject can be changed again, as it has been before. Nor would it be really necessary to wait on that slow process if the States would consent to a speedier method, which I believe they would, although possibly not all at once. A general law providing for the election of Congressmen would furnish all the machinery required, with a few additional sections providing for the casting and counting of Presidential ballots. To make such votes valid, it would be necessary for the various State legislatures to repeal their existing laws on the subject, and pass others providing that "the Presidential electors chosen in accordance with the national laws shall cast the electoral vote of this State." Would they do this? That Republican legislators would there can be no doubt. Some Democratic States might at first refuse, but the expenses and other disadvantages attending the holding of additional State elections for Presidential electors (and their uselessness, when cheating was not intended) would soon become so apparent that all States whose legislatures were willing to deal honestly by the citizens of other States would probably eventually agree to such a change. In the meantime, the returns of the Federal elections on file at Washington would be of no small importance as moral evidence. While Democratic politicians would fight such a proposition at first, with the law on the statute-book opposition would probably

squarely in the face. The Republican party

unanimously demands the passage of laws that will secure a fair vote and an honest count at Federal elections in all parts of the Union. They would like to have all State elections equally fair, but are aware that neither the Constitution as generally interpreted, nor the accepted theory of our institutions, authorizes the National Government to exercise control over State elections, except in the contingency of an attempt to establish a State government that is not Republican in form. If it were substituted for "form," Congress would have an undeniable right to act, but as every one of our State governments is now—and probably always will be—Republican in form," the expressed powers of the national law-makers are open to controversy. On the platform of a general demand for "honest Federal elections," the party can utterly and safely appeal to the country. Republicans differ as to the best way to secure that result; but one and all are tired of being governed, in whole or in part, by officials who are notoriously named by election officers and "manipulators," instead of by "the people." It is an open secret, however, that hundreds of thousands of them are losing confidence in their leaders, on this subject, and will not be satisfied with "some promises and demands," that may be again followed by divided councils and disreputable failure. Many are saying, "It looks as though Republican managers are either unable or unwilling to settle this question, and if that is the case it might as well be dropped at once and something else taken up." This feeling has long been preparing a class of Republicans to join new parties, and it is rapidly increasing in strength. Unquestionably, the bulk of the party earnestly desires the adoption of a definite policy, to which every Congressman, Senator, and President will stand pledged before election, so that, if a victory is won, it will be known just what it means. Thus far there can be no difference of opinion between intelligent observers.

AS IT HAS, AND A "SUPERVISING" LAW

would do some good where it is not needed, but in many of the worst localities the Federal waters would be pay-drawng dummies, or candidates for eternity, unless protected by bayonets, not only at the polls, but before and after election as well. This is a lamentable, horrible state of affairs, but the case is not over-stated. Another equally grave fact is that the people will not now endorse the general use of military force at State elections by national authorities, even to secure free and honest national elections. Whether they are right or wrong in this, I am not now considering, but every cool-headed observer knows that no law apparently providing, either directly or indirectly, for such a method could be enacted even with a two-

SPREADS THE OUT.

Indeed, it would not be surprising if some of the extreme Southern States should be among the first to ratify such a proposal. I believe that the mass of the individuals in the South who maintain the machines that enact, execute (and profit by) the iniquitous election laws of the loaded dice States are no honorable as similar classes are in other regions. They were impelled to the adoption of their present course by a sincere conviction that it was the least objectionable way to avert dreadful evils they suppose threaten themselves and those they love. I further believe that they deeply regret this imagined necessity for a resort to methods they would loathe under other circumstances, and that many of them would be glad to be able to exclude from their operation all national offices. As a matter of fact, they care comparatively little about national politics, and do not desire to take an unfair advantage of their fellow-citizens in other States. It is their State and local government about which they are almost insanely anxious, and I repeat my conviction that, as the proposed plan would make our Government more philosophically perfect, remove a necessary source of great irritation and serious danger, relieve them from the charge of dealing dishonorably by the people of other States, and, in addition to all this, would end all danger of Federal interference in State elections, a great number of acting Southern Democrats would gladly accept the proposed measure. These men must realize that the people of the rest of the Union will not submit forever to such flagrant outrages against themselves, and there are but two ways to stop them. Either national elections must be conducted by national officials, or the nation will find some way to control State action as to secure honest Federal elections. This might open a veritable Pandora's box, and it is greatly to be hoped that the speedy adoption of the safer plan will make it unnecessary to run such risks. But the certain, wrong must cease or the

SPREADS THE OUT.

merely possible danger will unquestionably be incurred. The most serious objection to the Lodge bill that I have heard urged by candid men is that, while it ostensibly provides only for a supervision of Federal elections, the same officers could, and often would, exercise an unofficial—but very real—supervision over State elections also. At first I opposed this objection as largely imaginary, but, when urging Senators to substitute for it one providing for separate national elections, I was repeatedly surprised by the answer that the Lodge bill was preferable because it gave an opportunity indirectly to guard against fraud at State elections. I understand that Congressman Lodge and many of the ablest members of both houses preferred the separate election idea, for Congressmen, but there were so many who wanted to "watch" two elections a time, that they were compelled to choose between that plan or none at all. Let us look

thirds Republican majority in both houses of Congress. There appear to be only three really possible plans for voters to choose between...

SOME OF THE REASONS

why Republicanism has gained ground so steadily in the Upper South, and how many thought it had the least chance, was as steadily lost in the section where they expected it would be strongest...

THE DISRUPTION

of the Democratic party in Charleston, in 1860, was the result of a conspiracy, planned and carried out by Wm. L. Yancey, of Alabama, and other "cotton-State patriots"...

HEROIC SHOWS

that political differences between the two sections commenced to manifest themselves at an early period. When the National Convention was framed, slavery had but few advocates...

throughout the Lower South at their own valuation, as "rightful rulers," but, as I have shown, they were never able to entirely suppress free speech in the Upper South...

On the hustings, in the press, in legislative halls, in the pulpits—indeed, everywhere—these propagandists of an anti-Republican political gospel advocated secession as the proper remedy for the intolerable wrongs perpetrated by the long-enslaved...

As is well known, the rebellion was commenced by six of the Lower South States. Not one of those in the Upper South went into it willingly. Each and all of them decried that a sufficient cause for dissolving the Union...

In other words, the half of the South that contained the fewest white people, that was most deficient in everything that helps to make a nation truly great, had been injured least by the alleged wrongs committed...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

By no means the least of the influences that have helped forward the progressing political revolution in the South, and will continue to act much more powerfully in the future, is the patriotic distrust and personal bitterness engendered by the despotic way in which the Democratic party is ruled...

upon by the managers, and told that "all who disturb the harmony of Democratic party are enemies of the State." Moreover, most of the conscientious men, who endorsed the aims and acquiesced in the methods pursued, drew back when asked to become participants, and consequently the more numerous and unscrupulous members of the party early secured absolute control of its machinery...

These are only a few of the influences which have enabled the Republicans of the Upper South to maintain their organization and make such steady and great gains in spite of obstacles and influences that discouraged all but the most courageous...

to refer in detail to the influences and events—some of them serious Republican mistakes—which enabled the old oligarchy to so nearly consolidate the whites of the South in the Democratic party for a number of years after the war...

As is well known, the rebellion was commenced by six of the Lower South States. Not one of those in the Upper South went into it willingly. Each and all of them decried that a sufficient cause for dissolving the Union...

In other words, the half of the South that contained the fewest white people, that was most deficient in everything that helps to make a nation truly great, had been injured least by the alleged wrongs committed...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

city is to travel the only road by which others have "got there." The wisest men make mistakes, but they do not go on far, and repeat them. It is not thus for the sensible men of the South to emerge from the Democratic wilderness in which they "have been going round and round" for so many years?

THE LAW OF MIGRATION

which, in this country, sends the masses "westward" or "southward," has been another important factor in hastening political changes. For twenty-five years a stream of emigrants have flowed from the Upper South into the Lower, especially into Arkansas and Texas...

These are only a few of the influences which have enabled the Republicans of the Upper South to maintain their organization and make such steady and great gains in spite of obstacles and influences that discouraged all but the most courageous...

to refer in detail to the influences and events—some of them serious Republican mistakes—which enabled the old oligarchy to so nearly consolidate the whites of the South in the Democratic party for a number of years after the war...

As is well known, the rebellion was commenced by six of the Lower South States. Not one of those in the Upper South went into it willingly. Each and all of them decried that a sufficient cause for dissolving the Union...

In other words, the half of the South that contained the fewest white people, that was most deficient in everything that helps to make a nation truly great, had been injured least by the alleged wrongs committed...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

senting leading Kentucky statesmen addressing a white man, and urging them to "stand solid" against a solitary negro in the distance, with the plea, "He is an ignorant and a pauper, has neither social standing nor ambition, does not know where he came from nor where he is going to, and you are increasing one hundred and thirty-six times as fast as he is, yet, nevertheless, unless you stand by the Democratic party solidly (and keep us in office), he will surely outwit and overpower you all, take away your rights, and marry every one of your daughters."

North, those who settle in them will get the advantage of the rise in value much sooner than those who select regions that will be developed later.

should be placed on the statement that there should be no attempt to organize emigration on political lines. Members of all parties migrate, and there should be no hindrance placed in the way of any. It is probable that in the future, as in the past, a decided majority of those who leave the great Northern hive will be Republicans...

to refer in detail to the influences and events—some of them serious Republican mistakes—which enabled the old oligarchy to so nearly consolidate the whites of the South in the Democratic party for a number of years after the war...

As is well known, the rebellion was commenced by six of the Lower South States. Not one of those in the Upper South went into it willingly. Each and all of them decried that a sufficient cause for dissolving the Union...

In other words, the half of the South that contained the fewest white people, that was most deficient in everything that helps to make a nation truly great, had been injured least by the alleged wrongs committed...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

By no means the least of the influences that have helped forward the progressing political revolution in the South, and will continue to act much more powerfully in the future, is the patriotic distrust and personal bitterness engendered by the despotic way in which the Democratic party is ruled...

Florida, has sent ten times as many white people North as it has received from that section, and one of the chief reasons has been that the climate drives out of that State the large numbers of white natives to Florida that "The South is not the place for me or mine." Every sensible man must see that keeping the race question political discussion must operate in that way.

should be placed on the statement that there should be no attempt to organize emigration on political lines. Members of all parties migrate, and there should be no hindrance placed in the way of any. It is probable that in the future, as in the past, a decided majority of those who leave the great Northern hive will be Republicans...

to refer in detail to the influences and events—some of them serious Republican mistakes—which enabled the old oligarchy to so nearly consolidate the whites of the South in the Democratic party for a number of years after the war...

As is well known, the rebellion was commenced by six of the Lower South States. Not one of those in the Upper South went into it willingly. Each and all of them decried that a sufficient cause for dissolving the Union...

In other words, the half of the South that contained the fewest white people, that was most deficient in everything that helps to make a nation truly great, had been injured least by the alleged wrongs committed...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

By no means the least of the influences that have helped forward the progressing political revolution in the South, and will continue to act much more powerfully in the future, is the patriotic distrust and personal bitterness engendered by the despotic way in which the Democratic party is ruled...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

mainly by migration. Wherever eighty-five per cent. of the people are white, race prejudice will gradually diminish in intensity until it ceases to be an important factor in politics, and immigration of white people, and other causes, will soon largely extend that area; but where twenty-five per cent. of the people are black, no amount of white blood will remain powerful for a long time, if not forever.

should be placed on the statement that there should be no attempt to organize emigration on political lines. Members of all parties migrate, and there should be no hindrance placed in the way of any. It is probable that in the future, as in the past, a decided majority of those who leave the great Northern hive will be Republicans...

to refer in detail to the influences and events—some of them serious Republican mistakes—which enabled the old oligarchy to so nearly consolidate the whites of the South in the Democratic party for a number of years after the war...

As is well known, the rebellion was commenced by six of the Lower South States. Not one of those in the Upper South went into it willingly. Each and all of them decried that a sufficient cause for dissolving the Union...

In other words, the half of the South that contained the fewest white people, that was most deficient in everything that helps to make a nation truly great, had been injured least by the alleged wrongs committed...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

By no means the least of the influences that have helped forward the progressing political revolution in the South, and will continue to act much more powerfully in the future, is the patriotic distrust and personal bitterness engendered by the despotic way in which the Democratic party is ruled...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

Letters will be gladly received from all who are willing to help the cause of Republicanism in the South, in any way, and as far as possible, questions will be answered.

should be placed on the statement that there should be no attempt to organize emigration on political lines. Members of all parties migrate, and there should be no hindrance placed in the way of any. It is probable that in the future, as in the past, a decided majority of those who leave the great Northern hive will be Republicans...

to refer in detail to the influences and events—some of them serious Republican mistakes—which enabled the old oligarchy to so nearly consolidate the whites of the South in the Democratic party for a number of years after the war...

As is well known, the rebellion was commenced by six of the Lower South States. Not one of those in the Upper South went into it willingly. Each and all of them decried that a sufficient cause for dissolving the Union...

In other words, the half of the South that contained the fewest white people, that was most deficient in everything that helps to make a nation truly great, had been injured least by the alleged wrongs committed...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

By no means the least of the influences that have helped forward the progressing political revolution in the South, and will continue to act much more powerfully in the future, is the patriotic distrust and personal bitterness engendered by the despotic way in which the Democratic party is ruled...

The present and prospective political situation in the South cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the two sections, and the part they took in the long struggle that culminated in what was, in very truth, a "slaveholders' rebellion"...

Address: Albert Griffin, 518 Thirteenth St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

