Private entirely.

Greensboro, N.C., April 2, 1892.

My dear Judge: What follows I desire you to keep to yourself, or to yourself and wife, which (in your case, at any rate,) is the same thing. When your letter came to me last summer, just after I had had what some have called a stroke of paralysis, and which may have been what it was called, for all I know to the contrary, I was very much pleased and touched; especially as you spoke of having yourself been confined a long time to the house — with what affliction you did not say. Since then I have seen a paragraph floating around, to the effect that you had been paralyzed. This I do not believe, because I am a faithful reader of The Tribune, and I had seen no notice of it there. A few days ago, I saw in the World what purported to be the expression of your opinion to the effect that there would some day be a terrible war of

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races in the South, as a result of the ill treatment of the colored people. Well, others have expressed the same opinion - notably Gen Sherman, a few years ago, in an article of his which appeared in the North American Review.

A queer book fell into my hands, last summer, when I was in New York and I read it. The name of it was "89." The style was singularly like yours, if a man can have a distinctive style. I was particularly interested in the book, because it treated the Southern Question. I am more interested in this than I probably would be, had I not lived so long in the South, and during the times when the devil was to pay generally. The private part of my letter is now coming: When Cleveland came into the Presidency, I found myself regretting that I had not preserved data, from which I could write up a truthful account of the

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occurrences down here for the last twenty years. No one has tried to present the truth from my standpoint, that is, in the shape of a history. Your Fool's Errand did its work thoroughly well, but it was fiction — although not improbable fiction. To go back a little: when A Fool's Errand, appeared (or soon thereafter) I went North, several times, especially in 1880, when the book was having its marvellous run. I never went anywhere (if it was known where I came from) that I was not overwhelmed with questions, prompted by "A Fool's Errand." My recollection of many occurrences was then vivid and I noticed that when I talked, my hearers seemed deeply interested. In the summer of 1880, I was going, on the Limited Express, from Washington to New York. At Baltimore

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a gentleman came upon the train and occupied a seat next to mine. He looked at me intently and continuously and at length called my name. Instead of his being a bunco man, I soon recognized him as a bustling Philadelphia gentleman, whom I had met at Asheville, once, while there attending Court. Our rooms were opposite, at the Eagle Hotel, for a whole week, and I got quite well acquainted with him and with his artest friend, Mr. Frank H. Taylor, also of Phila.— The first one's name was Nagle— I do not remember his other names. Mr. Nagle, like the others, commenced asking questions about the incidents and characters of "A Fool's Errand." I remember to have told him all I knew of the murder of Stephens and Outlaw, and of the incidents attending the holding of the April term of the Caswell Superior Court, next before the May when

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Stephens was butchered. His attention was absorbed with my story. As we approached Phila he said if I would reduce what I had told him to the form of a lecture, and come to Phila and deliver it, he would insure me the Academy of Music, full, at 50 c. a "head". I told him I had been lectured and would not know how. He then said if I would write the narrative, he would insure me a good price for it in either a newspaper, or magazine. Well, I did neither; but the next winter, after Garfield was elected, I went to New York again. While there, one lonely Sunday, I thought of what Nagle had said; and having several pieces of paper in my valise, I recalled, and wrote out, as near as I could remember, what I had told Nagle. But I did not try to do anything with the article. A year or two thereafter, I was talking with Judge Settle, about his experience during the war and

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not after it. I asked him if he would allow me to write up what he had told me. I did so, when he had consented, and then submitted the sketch to him and he said it was accurate. So I had two Chapters, or Sketches, written. This brings me again to when Cleveland came in, in 1885. The idea seized me and held me to the work - that some one ought to write a truthful account of those days - some one besides the Democrats. Of course, everything has been said by them, that could be said, to justify their deality. They seem to have taken possession of public opinion, North and South, so that no one seems to dare to accuse them of false-hearted insincerity. A Massachusetts Republican said to me, only a few days ago, that the New England people desired to be "pacific". In other words, they are so afraid of Southern aggression and the cry of bloody shirt, that

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they seem willing to surrender to the South political power in great chunks.

But I am making this letter too long and I have yet much to say. I went to work. I examined and analyzed the Election laws of North Carolina and of the late Confederate States - which are veritable "Force" laws, ten times more severe than the Lodge bill, in their operation. I saw Gov. Holden, and got from him all I could. I reviewed the evidence taken before the Judges in the bench-warrant cases, and the impeachment trial of Gov. Holden. My work is confessedly a political history, written from the standpoint of a red hot Republican. But my statements of fact, no one can gainsay. I have collected photographs with which to illustrate the work, among

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them Gov. Holden, Ch. J. Pearson, Ch. J. Smith, Ch. J. Merrimon, Judge Settle, Gov. Scales, Judge Dillard, Z. B. Vance (with long hair,) Gov. Jarvis, Jim Boyd, Keogh, Jake Long, Dick Badger, J. M. Justice, John W. Stephens, Wilson Carey, Yanceyville Court House, Stephens's residence, Red Eye Albright, J. W. Harden, W. A. Albright, Geo. Wm Welker, Rev. Daniel Worth ~~Albright~~ (in carcerated for circulating Helper's book) J. R. Bulla, Rev. J. C. Price (colored) Rev. C. N. Grandison (col^d) Rev. Bishop Hood (col^d) and very many others. The foregoing I recall as they occur to me. If I could publish my work as I want it, I would have also subject illustrations. I have in mind one of these, to be entitled "Vance and his Grasshopper," showing the orator with his bottle, within which is a Kansas grasshopper, as he appeared in the campaign of

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1876, opposing Judge Settle for Governor.
I would also have a picture of the
Graham court house, and the procession
taking Outlaw to his death. I men-
tion these, to give you an idea of
my conceptions. I estimate that
my volume contains about 100,000
words. It would cost $1500.00 to
publish the work, illustrated as
I have planned.

But everybody says there is
no interest in these things, any
more, in the North. I suppose that
fiction would take better with the
public, than a recital of historical
facts. In the early days of the cam-
paign of 1888, before the nominations,
I had an interview with Chas. Emory
Smith and afterward a correspondence
with him. He examined - read through

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several of the chapters. He wrote me then a long letter, in which he said, "The sketches are well-written, the narrative is clear and direct and the matter is handled with good judgment. In point of style they are not open to objection, and the question of publication, therefore, turns upon these two points × × × Second, Will it be good public and political policy?" Aye, there's the rub! His conclusion was in the negative. The Republicans were afraid of the bloody shirt.

But since then, I have added valuable matter to the work. The "Force" Bill has been defeated. The Democrats will attack the Republicans and arrogantly maintain that the Force bill was inhuman and despotic, forgetting their own Election laws, concerning which the

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North — even Northern Senators — knows not a thing.

I am certain that if the book could be published as I propose, illustrated as I propose, and then pushed in the trade, it would find numerous readers, among Stalwarth Republicans.

The purpose of this letter is to know from you if you cannot devise a plan by which this matter, the preparation of which has cost me so much labor, can be used in the approaching campaign. Would not your publishers take the matter in hand? Of course you would first have to see the work before you could speak a good word for it — yet you would say, I think, that its statements are reliable. If the Inter-Ocean, for which you write, would publish some of the chapters, illustrated,

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it might bring the subject before the public. When you wrote to me last summer, you suggested that I should spend some time with you in Maysville. I was then too weak and poor to think even of a short journey; to Piedmont Springs, for instance; but if I had gone, I would have taken my mss. and photographs with me; for I know they would interest you and Mrs. Tongue, if no one else.

I send you my Introduction. If you should chance to take any interest in what I have written, and tell me so, I may then send you an analytical index of the work. I hope my letter has not bored you. And if you are not interested, I again ask you to keep the matter to yourself. I do not trust, even Republicans, in this country, with the fact of my having written this book. I fore-

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some some of them, (like Keogh, who is always on the look out,) may have heard of it from the North, where I have been with the mss. to some of the great men, like Clarkson. But I tell, unless something comes of it, I would rather not have the news spread any further; for you know, very well, it would do me no good here. I wrote the whole of it, in my office, (except the Sketches and Letter chapters,) by piece-meal, with my papers so fixed that I could shove it away into a drawer, if I heard any one coming.

Give my warm regards to Mrs. Tourgee and to "Annie"; and if you are not too busily occupied, please write. I think I could make good campaign speeches on the "Force laws of the Confederate States."

Yours very truly, Wm. S. Ball

(over)

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P. S. - I ought to say from that Judge Noah Davis, of New York, my old law-teacher, has read the whole book and pronounces it "interesting and instructive."

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Twenty Years in the Solid South:
The Confederate Force Laws.

Introduction.

The purpose of this work is to render plain the methods of government, and to lay bare the operations of the Force Laws of the South, which control Southern elections. These statutes now take the place of the vulgar violence of earlier days.

The historical parts relate to a critical Epoch in the struggle for freedom; and whether pleasing, or not, to any portion of the people, should be preserved, that future generations, when all races, at last, are really free, may know what sufferings have secured their liberties.

The narrative is interspersed with personal reminiscences, anecdotes and incidents, and includes Characters and Events prominent during, and since, the rebellion.

It is brought down to embrace the amend

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ments of March, 1889, to the North Carolina Election laws, Enacted to save the State to the Solid South.

Under the operation of the election statutes, and the amendments referred to, the majority in North Carolina, grew from 13,000 for Cleveland, in 1888, to 42,000 for Chief Justice Merrimon of the Supreme Court, in 1890.

The new Mississippi Plan is likewise Explained in its proper place.

Tables are given Exhibiting the startling disparity between Northern and Southern popular suffrage; and showing how the Southern vote is suppressed and Democratic majorities are obtained.

The men of the new generation, who have grown up since the civil war, do not understand, either the tyranny of Southern laws and leaders, or the means by which Consolidated power in the South has been secured. These (and their fathers also) may be enlightened by this authentic history, written by one who, for more than twenty years, has seen what he describes, taking his observations on the spot.

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