C. S. MONTGOMERY, President.
H. F. MacGREGOR, V.-P. and Gen'l Manager.

Office of

C. A. McKINNEY, Secretary, and Treasurer.
F. MUNDES, Superintendent.

Houston City Street Railway Company.

Houston, Texas, Dec 23 1894

Mrs Albion W. Tourgee
Mayville N. Y.

Dear Sir,

Your letter dated Nov 29 only reached me a few days since and I am also in receipt of the Inter Ocean containing another article from your pen.

I am annoyed at disappointed at the spirit in which you discuss the question.

I had hoped you might view the subject in a non-partisan way.

However, one may perhaps as well expect a leopard to change his spots, as those who believe the mantle of Lawson, Sumner, et als drapes about them and that the issues of slavery days still exist; or that you who with Harriet Beecher Stowe have succeeded in arousing the public conscience to great public wrongs, to realize that with the benefits you produce you bring a measure of ill.

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2013

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Your radical teachings to the ignorant lead many to believe that liberty means license and in the attempt to exercise more privileges than they are entitled to causes trouble.
My observation has been that the northern fanatic is the peer of the southern Bourbon in committing and maintaining rank injustice, and that prejudice is stronger than reason or facts.
The Republican Party is as much responsible for debauching public sentiment in the South as the Democratic Party, and the debauched condition of the regular Republican organization in Texas is more reprehensible than the Democratic organization.
Yet, when we raise our voices to have the Party purged as Tammany has been purged, you insinuate that we are troubled with itch for office of the Flanagan kind, and start out in defense of the Flanagan crowd.
The Republican organization South is an organization as has been nothing more than an organization for spoils.

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We tried to get reform within the organization and failed we are now making an attempt to get it outside.

I for one, did not suppose you were interested in either wing as office seekers, or the local ring the census plan would bring us; and as we would have the negro to deal with hereafter, we did not and do not desire to make the fight a personal one.

The population plan was selected as the negro would not be juggled out of a fair representation.

Referring to your four "plain and actual objections" — it is not true that it gives the county of party voters, control of the party power and party, in Texas for a majority of the republican votes are cast by white men.

Under the census plan 75% of the increased vote accessed thereby would come from the white vote, and any successful party in this State will be composed of over 60% of white voters. The census plan gives the negro 40% all and more than he is entitled to wherever the party is successful.

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as to the third objection.— We care very little about the federal patronage, we would cheerfully contract to have no voice in the distribution if we could accomplish our object of building up the Republican party locally, making it respectable, and putting its machinery in intelligent hands.

The 4th reason:—is frivolous, in the light of history, The Republican vote has decreased in 20 years from about 60% to 12% of the total vote, under ~~present~~ past methods and policies. The drop in the Black and tan vote comes from directing attention to the farcical character of that organization.

40% of the white vote of Texas would be Republican but for the Negro.

We want a trial of the Census plan - or any plan that insures protection from the incompetance and corruption that prevails invariably under Negro domination of party machinery or local governments.

The spoils combination in this state will end when support of the National organization is withdrawn. This is our ~~reason~~ purpose in soliciting support of National leaders, and not

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because we desire to fill federal offices.
You chose to give a one side illustration of our plan but fail to show that in over 100 counties the Negro gets equal representation where now he gets none; this would amply compensate for the few counties where the proportion might be as you state it.

While I am satisfied that I shall not have your assistance and support of any plan - even one of your own suggestion — I would like to have the outline of the methods referred to in religious bodies.

I have the impression that the Methodists have something of the kind, but am not familiar with it.

You say you think sound policy would warrant the Whites having a larger share of representation than the Negro. - Also that the separate caucus or primary may be advisable.

The truth of the matter is that the Negroes admit that the 40 % representation is fair, as an analysis of the vote will show.

They object to the separate primary - any separation by race or class.

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I was in a conference committee between the State Executive Committees of the two parties— Hebbler Flanagan was the Cuney representative on the committee. I proposed retiring or current-ering all positions to the other side, in other words.- give them the offices if they would adopt separate primaries. I offered to let them name the percentage each race was entitled to pending local organization and ascertaining fair representation.

The proposition was refused— The party owned ground and Flanagan might not get a collectorship after the several indictments against him.— but as Chief Clerk, of Cuney & Chairman of his State Convention he will be in good shape for an office in 1897.—

While the welfare of the party is the desired end and I do not see that the party can take action on the ground of local or individual shortcomings, these personal and selfish motives prevent reorganization inside. H. F. Cuney was formerly a gambler, his chief man in Harris County is proprietor of a

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gambling house and supports the local Democratic ticket to get exemption from persecution. He has been arrested three for rape but as he raped Negroes it didn't count with the Democratic officials and he got out of the scrape. He can not vote. —

At the last election the County Chairman, of the regulars, was paid a consideration to support certain candidates. At the Congressional Convention this County was entitled to 12 delegates and $120.00 was set aside for the delegation and the same amount $10. per head for other counties not already controlled, in order to get the prejudiced candidate nominated by the Republicans. Carey supported Sayers, Democrat and had his men vote for him and Sayers acknowledged in an interview in the Washington Post that Carey pulled him through!

The Carey organization supported Geo Clark for Gov- Democrat- in 1892.

I do not know how much of this you think we ought to stand without pro-

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-test, or how buy the machinery should be,
so that by race appeals by the Negro, White
men should be shut out unless they re-
-main in the organization as the servile
tool of one man. All we want is repre-
-sentation of our own selection at separate
primaries in any fair basis.

While we do not agree with you as to the
Census plan - we are not wedded to plans
but results. You are the only one that has
proposed anything so far, and if you
will stand by the separate primary idea
the basis of representation would not
present hammy.

I enclose you the Republican
Ass. plan that we first submitted, with
the circular sent out with it; it ought
to satisfy you that we are honestly trying
to build up the Party.

I believe with L. J. Dingalls that the
"Submersion of brains, political experience,
land ownership etc, would have but one

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vesive" and that you are with those that who "disregarding the dictates of history, the prejudice of the vanquished, and the ordinances of nature, have endeavored to adjust the social and political relations of the white and colored races in the forum of conscience rather than on the basis of reason, and to inquire what was right rather than what was practicable within the limitations of human conduct."

I send you the Ingalls clipping And the circulars referred to.

I am satisfied that the Republican party will not succeed in the South unless it recognizes that intelligence is a factor in government as well as numbers; and that an organization based on the rights of the whole people instead of maintaining its organization in the hands of a minority class whose history questions their ability for self government

There is evidently something radically

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wrong with the Republican organization in the South and White Texas Republicans may show a good deal of temerity in daring to offer suggestions - we have done so and are here to stay.

Thanking you for your letter

Yours truly

H. F. MacGregor