No. 1. *Issues of the Canvass, of 1876.* State Executive Committee of the Democratic-Conservative Party of Mississippi, [1876].
ISSUES OF THE CANVASS, OF 1876.

Published by the State Executive Committee of the Democratic-Conservative Party of Mississippi.

ADDRESS
OF THE
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
Democratic-Conservative Party.

HDQRS. EX. COM. DEM. AND CON. PAR-
TY, JACKSON, MISS., AUGUST 3, 1876.

To the People of Mississippi:

The pending Presidential election, the third since the war, will be followed by such grave and important results, not only to the people of this State and of the entire South, but to the whole Union, that it cannot fail to excite, in all thoughtful minds, the liveliest interest and the most profound solicitude.

In the election of 1868, the people of Mississippi were not allowed to participate. In the election of 1872, the result was practically decided a month before the formal voting was held, and hence the interest in it was languid and lukewarm.

The pending election is, therefore, practically the first since the close of the war, in which the people of this State will have a fair opportunity of discharging that highest of all duties of citizenship—participation in the selection of a Chief Magistrate of the Union.

How much of weal or woe for the people, shall result from this election, will be seen from a comparison of those periods of our past history, in which the Government was administered by able and patriotic men, who sought only the public good, with those years in which incompetency and selfishness, and a disregard of the public welfare were conspicuous in the administration—a notable instance of the latter being the last eight years.

The condition of the whole country is now such, that the greatest caution should be exercised in the selection of the man, who is to preside over its destinies.

Never before in the history of the Union, was there such universal distress of the people, nor so great waste and extravagance in public administration, and never before such absolute and cynical contempt on the part of rulers for the distressed condition of all classes of citizens. Capital is hoarded, because it distrusts all securities offered for its investment. Labor is unemployed, factories are stopped, and the products of our fields are barely bringing the cost of production. All industries are prostrated, and the very well-springs of our National prosperity seem to be unnaturally closed. Notwithstanding all these distresses, Radical leaders oppose all attempts to reduce public expenditures, and all efforts to reform abuses of administration, and all measures to prevent plunder of the government. But recently a prominent official delinquent was boldly defended before the Radical Senate, upon the plea of a common infamy—a common Radical usage to make unlawful gains as perquisites of office.

The earnest endeavors of the Democratic House of Representatives and of liberal Republicans to secure economy and reform, have been thwarted by persistent opposition of the Radical Senate and of the President.
This sad condition of affairs is not accidental; nor even temporary, unless the causes which have produced it be removed. It results from governmental action based on the false premise, first introduced into American politics by the party now in power, that official place is a perquisite, or property right of the incumbent, and not a high trust to be held only for the public good. From this pernicious doctrine have grown the large increase in official salaries and fees, the creation of new and useless offices, and the appointment to office of persons related to, or in some way bound to, the appointing power; and the consequent neglect of the proper discharge of official duties. From it also has sprung that other heresy, now so widely embraced by the party in power, that the interest of the party is the supreme law of political action. Personal loyalty to party, and not to the people, has been substituted for devotion to the common good.

There can be no change for the better in our condition, until there is a change—radical and thorough—in the principles and methods on which the government is now conducted. There must be a speedy and thorough reform, or national death—the overthrow of those great maxims of popular freedom, on which our fathers established the Union—is sure to follow. Without such reform, our prosperity as a people, and consequent ability to maintain the public credit, is impossible. Continual official plunder and abuse are ruin, both to the people and to the public creditor. This false Radical theory of personal government, which assumes that public officials are the masters, not the servants of the people, means a reduction of all classes and conditions to an abject slavery, under a government of corruption.

The necessity for reform has become so apparent that many Republicans have united with the Democrats to secure it. To prevent the secession of others, the Radical managers profess a purpose to reform. These professions are often thought of by Democrats and Republicans in office in their own State, and sent them to the Penitentiary. He has selected for office not his partisanship and flattery—but able, efficient and honest men. He has stopped all waste, cut off every useless expense, reduced disbursements to the lowest standard compatible with efficiency, and has, in less than two years reduced the taxes of the State of New York, over seven millions of dollars. On this record, and on account of it, Mr. Tilden received at the St. Louis Convention a large majority of the votes on the first ballot, against many able, prominent and distinguished statesmen, and on the second ballot he was nominated unanimously. Far different was the fate of Mr. Brewer in the Cincinnati Convention. His following was almost contemptible in numbers. He was rudely pushed aside by that Convention, and was then expelled from the cabinet of President Grant, because he had shown a disposition to punish peculators on the public treasury. A party, which, acknowledging its administration of affairs to be inefficient and corrupt, and at the same time disdaining and punishing real reformers, cannot be trusted to reform the abuses which have grown up under its patronage and favor. The Republican party re-formed and lost its identity and ceased to exist. Reform in the party can result only from disassociation first, and resurrection afterwards. Let its dissolution come now, and restoration be left to that period when a just but inscrutable Providence may, with patience and famine, add to the reforming sins, a sin of national ruin.

The Republican party has grown corrupt, through long years of wasteful expenditure and abuse of administration. It is far otherwise with the Democratic party. For sixteen years it has been excluded from power, and undergone the discipline of adversity. It has been the victim, not the beneficiary of bad government. Its aims, its policies, and its traditions all lead it to a pure and just administration. It had its birth with the Constitution; it witnessed the rise and subsequent progress of this great nation, and directed, in the main, the agencies through which this greatness was achieved. It will perish only when the constitution itself shall no longer be respected and obeyed. Its policies have been broad and national; its aims have been, by constitutional and legal methods, to do the greatest good to the greatest number in all parts of our common country. All its struggles with the great Whig party, were but contests of generous rivalry, how best, and how most to promote the public good. It has always been the firm friend of the laboring classes, who, in great part, have always been its chief support. At the same time, it has been just and conservative in capital. It has kept down, when uncontrollable, the power of capital; and in power, all antagonism between labor and capital; and in power, all antagonism between labor and capital. The opportunities for the sudden acquisition of immense individual fortunes, and the circumstances which ground the poor to a still harder and more hopeless poverty were alike wanting; under its rule.

But let us now see what local parsons, pertaining to the State of Mississippi, exists for our profession, for Mr. Tilden. Independent of the manifold and weighty reasons which should, and we firmly believe, will control the preference of the American people for Mr. Tilden, we have still others of even greater moment and weight. The conscience of the State of Mississippi is a bad record of war to the people, and a blot upon the free institutions. Its advent into power has found the people indeed, but not from a long and exhausting war, but from a war of taxation and engaged in an earnest effort to restore prosperity.

The two races were living in harmony and peace. There were no distrusts, no jealousies—each recognized the mutual dependence of each upon the other. The offices in the main were filled by honest and
Issues of the Canvass.

was reform in the party it would be defeated. But the party was defat all these appeals, and continued their career of usurpation and plunder. They "laughed at our calamities and mocked us" at our fears. They denounced our respectful remonstrances as the "howlings of faction." At length as the election for 1875 approached, it was found that the Republican party had fallen to pieces by its corruptions,—it was rent by division and dissension. In each of two Congressional Districts there were rival conventions, each claiming to be regular, and each making a nomination, which claimed the loyalty of the party. In a third the nomination was secured by a fraud so patent, that the nominee, after vainly endeavoring to reconcile the opposing wings, was compelled to decline just on the eve of the election. In a fourth, one of the tried and trusted leaders (McKee) who had served for three terms, was set aside, under circumstances that caused the nominee to lose the support of the defeated aspirant and his friends. A large number of Republicans resolutely refused to follow Gov. Ames, who had displayed both incisive ability and potent and selfish; and charged with so many trust, and murder for his own advancement and that of his party. These circumstances furnished us an opportunity for victory. The opportunity was seized, and with what result is well known. Thus the government passed into the hands of the Conservatives, we began to hear that the election was carried by force and fraud,—this charge, too, in many instances, coming from the lips of the very men who had contributed to our success by voting for our candidates and sympathizing with our aims. The success of the Democratic Conservative party in 1875, marks the beginning of a new era in Mississippi. The power thus won has been used with moderation and wisdom. Every pledge which the party made to the people has been fully redeemed. The Judiciary has been reformed. The Judges and Chancellors are men of learning, character and ability. Justice is administered speedily and impartially. Crime is punished and lawlessness suppressed. No citizen of any race or class, can justly say, that he has been injured or oppressed in any way, by the government; and there is none who does not feel more secure in person and property, than under Radical rule. Taxation, notwithstanding provision has been made for the payment of a large debt created by the Republicans, has been reduced nearly one-half. Salaries and fees have been reduced, whilst the service of officials has been greatly improved. The common school system has been extended and cheapened. In short, instead of a corrupt and incompetent government, at a cost entailing taxation amounting to confiscation, we have now as the result of our success in 1875, a pure, able and efficient administration, at a rate of taxation greatly reduced and still capable of further reduction when we shall have paid off the debt created by the Republican party.

There are yet other reforms, to be completed at the next session of the Legislature. Among these, is a revision of the codes, contradictory and undigested legislation has been suppressed and placed among our statutes; a simplification and cheapening of the administration of justice; a still further revision of our financial system by which the public burdens will be still more lessened, and industrious labor still more relieved from the crushing exaction of the laws for the sale of lands for taxes, by which, on a wilful default in the payment of the now easily paid taxes on lands, a sale can be made which will confer a good title, whereby the public revenue will be fairly collected and the industrious laboring population of the State may acquire homesteads at a small price.

We repeat, the laboring classes have always been favorites of the Democratic party. Many of the brightest and most trusted leaders of the party have sprung from the laboring classes, and it is, and has always been, the boast and pride of the party, that, under its benign policies, there is no position in society, untainted with crime or bad conduct, which is a bar to promotion. Whilst
this is its position with reference to labor, it is equally protective as to capital—since it is impossible that industrious labor can ever better its condition, unless its gains be protected by the Government.

The issue is now presented to the people of the State, whether they will surrender the great fruits of the victory of the last year—will allow the State to again fall into the terrible condition from which it has been rescued; or by a manly and vigorous effort place their fortunes and destinies forever beyond the control of the men who have caused us so much pain. Shall the fortunes and destinies of the people be once more committed to men whose mandate, for six years, destroyed every vestige of our prosperity, and infused into all official action the spirit of selfishness and contempt for the public good?

If, after having got possession of the Government and used our power wisely and for the public good, we cannot, or do not, ratify it, what prospect will there ever be again to have fair and honest Government in Mississippi?

The Radical leaders in Mississippi are determined to leave no stone unturned, and spare no effort to wrest the Government from the honest and capable hands in which it now is. Shall we be less energetic and earnest for good, than they for evil? The answer, we seek to these questions, is the complete and thorough and immediate organization of all good citizens for the approaching election.

There is everything to inspire us to action—the great evils of Radical rule to be averted—the great benefits of good government to be secured and perpetuated. There is no reason for despair or discouragement. Everywhere throughout the Union, the friends of reform and honest government are rallying around the standard of the St. Louis martyrs, with zeal, energy and hope. There are no laggards in the camp, and none who doubt as to success. Our deliberate judgment, from a calm and impartial survey of the whole field, is that it is impossible to defeat Tilden and Hendricks; and that on the 4th of March next they will be installed into power, with so near an approach to unanimity, that the dissenter will be marked by the circle which encloses the bigoted and unreasonable partisans, and the corrupt and scheming placemen, who have so long preyed upon the industry of the country.

Nor do we doubt that the voice of Mississippi will be in accord with that of her sister Democratic States of the Union. The power of the enemy has been broken, the charm of invincibility no longer exists. Nor will the threatened intervention of the military be of any avail, for there is no law by which a despotic President can employ the army in controlling election. Troops indeed may be sent to the State, but they will be utterly powerless for evil, unless our friends, under a mistaken view of the military power, shall be discouraged and disheartened.

If it were at all necessary, we should urge you to peace and good order—a resort to law for the redress of wrong, rather than violence; but the patient submission with which you bore insult and wrong in adversity, assures us that the like moderation and forbearance will characterize your conduct now.

Let every friend of honest government go to work; see that all register, and that all vote. Let no man, either from over confidence or indifference, fail to contribute his full share to this second redemption of Mississippi from that greatest of all earthly misfortunes, the restoration of Radical rule.

Mississippi has now for the first time, since the war, the opportunity of doing a great service to the whole country, by contributing patriotically and unselfishly to that reform, now so sadly needed everywhere. In taking this action, she remembers nothing of the past, in anger or disappointment. She recognizes that she is a member of an indissoluble Union, and that this association imposes on her a fair duty to her sister commonwealths. These duties she proposes to discharge for the good of the entire country, in no selfish or sectional spirit, and seeking no other advantage to herself, than such as may result from the blessings of a government, just, temperate, equal in its benefactions and in its burdens. She asks no controlling voice in the government for herself or her section, no conspicuous place for her sons, no bounties from the national treasury. She claims only that her children may not be treated as aliens in the land of their birth, and that when commissioned to represent her interests and her aspirations in the common council of the Nation, they may be allowed with modesty and moderation to co-operate in the advancement of the Nation's welfare. If there be those, within or outside her borders, who shall falsely attribute to her other motives, who shall challenge her patriotism, or charge her with an ambition to dominate through partisan agencies and party alliances, and thus to mingle in the fires of sectional hate, she will make no other answer, than refer to her history of the olden time, when in the halls of Congress, on the plains of Chalmette, and on bloody fields in Mexico, she honestly endeavored, as now, to contribute her full share to the good of the common Union.

J. Z. George, Ch’n.
## STATEMENT OF DISBURSEMENT IN 1874, 1875, 1876, BY STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

### FISCAL YEAR

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### SPECIAL ITEMS—1876

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### ISSUES OF THE CANVASS

Pentecostal Inspector... Investigating Committee...

The bond account is paid out of special funds and no money is paid out of these funds unless authorized by law.

(e) Expenses now paid by County. (f) And $5,000 en former appropriation. (g) And $10,000 Pentecostal deficit. (h) And $500 Capitol repairs previous appropriation. (i) Including interest to be caused University on Land fund Scrip. (j) Act of April 10, 1876, provides that the fund arising from liquor licenses, and foreclosures and tax land sales shall be set apart for the support of the Common Schools, and if this fund shall not amount in the fiscal year to $250,000, then the Treasurer shall pay the deficit out of the general fund. (k) And $400 defect Executive Contingent fund. (l) $300 repairs Blind Institute. (m) Including interest to University, on Land scrip fund.

[Compiled from The Clarion.]
When a party governs for the party alone, and not for the people, it has no business to govern at all.

"And this tax-paying is not so much a question of partisan feeling as of pocket-book feeling. Party feeling is altogether too high in Mississippi. Remember, then, that the deeper you go into a man's pocket, the deeper you stir up his feelings. No matter whether it is the usual swindling charges of sextons at a relative's funeral or onerous taxes upon a dilapidated plantation, the victim may pay silently, but not the less angrily."

"What Mississippi needs is not a comparison between parties as to the relative extravagance of this or that party. We want not comparative and relative economy; we want absolute economy. We are pledged to it. Let us have it." 

Extract from Summit Times, A Republican paper, date July 7th, 1875.

The action of the Legislature, in its recent extraordinary session, did not fulfill the wishes of the people, nor did it abolish the evils of the past. While the party leaders of the Republican party are numbered, the party continues to grow and to gain power. The party leaders must rise above the petty tricks of political demagogues, and they must use their energies and their brains to originate and push to successful issue some well matured and definite plan that will positively reduce the public expenses and the rate of taxation. Gov. Ames and those elected on the ticket with him, owe their election to the Conservative element, white and black, of the country, and these men voted for the Ames ticket because they believed that this election and the success of the party would lead to a more progressive policy. The party leaders gave a lead, which more than one would like to see followed, and which the depressed condition of the country demanded.

The people are in a state of exasperation, and in their poverty and desperation they are in arms against the burden of taxes that is levied and collected on the value of their property, which is unproductive. They have made a respectable appeal to the Legislature for relief, and are now waiting in breathless suspense to hear the result of its action. Four years in war, and ten years in peace, and yet there is no peace.
Issues of the Canvass

the State, appointed the Chancellors in vacation, so that if any did not please him in their decrees, etc., he could withhold their names from the Senate; that Annes, in making appointments to Judicial positions did not confine himself to the legal profession, "in two or three instances he appointed men who had had a license in law only a few days previous for the purpose of being appointed, who had never a case in court, and who were totally ignorant of the law or the practice of it; and in one case most notorious, venal and corrupt one."

That in January, 1875, "quite a number of the Legislators, having no interest in connection with or in the State, were out of employment except during the session of the Legislature, and set about to create new offices and did create the office of revenue agent" - "and the Governor appointed to these offices five members of the Legislature in open violation of the Constitution."

REPUBLICAN TESTIMONY.

The following extracts from a long and able letter, written by a Republican and published in the Vicksburg Weekly Times, of October 8th, 1873, contains valuable information, and is reprinted:

STATE FINANCES.

Every Republican may well regret that the financial exhibit produced by three and a half years of Republican administration, is not more favorable to our party, but, good or bad, I believe in lecturing the people know exactly our condition, so that they may consider it and determine the remedy that should be applied.

The following table shows the condition of our State finances, at the inauguration of Republican government in 1870, and successively in each year and fraction of year, till September 1st, 1873:

STATE INDEBTEDNESS.

1870, January 1st ... $ 1,777,629.24
1871 ... 1,701,427.38
1872 ... 1,691,373.75
1873 ... 1,697,187.75
1873, Sept. ... 1,794,009.48

In order that some idea may be obtained as to the disposition of this vast fund, I submit the annexed statements which I clip from the Vicksburg Times of the 27th inst., showing the expenses incurred under the several heads enumerated, before and since the war:

Deducting the indebtedness of 1870, from our present indebtedness, we have an increase of $ 2,957,74.60

EXPIENCE IN TREASURY, 1870. $ 1,063,670.15
1871. 1,038,125.35
1872. 1,019,172.85

Total. 3,120,968.35

The indebtedness reported above, embraces the Chickasaw and Common Schools, and the Insurance deposits in the State Treasury.

These figures are truly startling, and, to say the least of them, are very creditable to those who have controlled our finances.

It will be seen that the increase of indebtedness has been at the rate of $50,000 per month or $600,000 per annum through our entire administration, and this increase has been accompanied each year, save one, with increased rates of taxation, and consequently increased revenues to pay the expenses of the government.

The following table shows the rates of taxation for the years named:

RATES OF STATE TAXATION.

1871 to 1875 inclusive, 12½c, per $100, value. 1858 to 1861, 10c.
1858-59, 12½c. 1860-61, 12½c.
1861, 12½c. 1862, 12½c.
1862-63, 12½c. 1863, 12½c.
1863-64, 12½c. 1864, 12½c.
1864-65, 12½c. 1865, 12½c.
1866, 12½c. 1867, 12½c.
1867-68, 12½c. 1868, 12½c.
1868-69, 12½c. 1869, 12½c.
1869-70, 12½c. 1870, 12½c.
1870-71, 12½c. 1871, 12½c.

SCHOOL TAXES.

The entire expense of the State government, from October 1st, 1863, to January 1st, 1870, including $211,735 State warrants outstanding at the latter date, was $2,248,202, being but $182,928 more than the increased indebtedness alone of the last three and a half years.

The total disbursements from March, 1870, to January 1st, 1873, less than three years, as shown by the Auditor’s reports were $4,387,153.

Making a total of the six years and eight months of $4,816,805.03.

The salary of Probate Judges during each of the years of 1867-68-69, was $64,800, which was paid by the counties, and, therefore, does not appear in the above amounts.

According to the Code of 1857, their salary aggregated $87,700 per annum. By adding these amounts to the expenses above reported, the entire annual expense of the old judiciary system will be obtained.

These figures make an unfortunate showing for our law-makers who are chiefly responsible for the same, and bear unmistakable evidence of gross extravagance in the appropriation of public money and intolerable financial management.

Surely it was reasonable to expect that the enormous taxes paid every year, would meet the current expenses of the State and gradually liquidate its indebtedness, but the fact is, that we are spending every dollar of money that is received, and increasing our indebtedness month after month to alarming proportions. And this process bids fair to go on until our certain and speedy ruin is accomplished, unless steps be taken to check it.

At the present rate of taxation, the annual assessment of taxes, for General State purposes alone, excluding schools, is $1,380,491, or at the rate of $10.20 to each voter in the State. After paying this fearful amount, he finds himself still in debt $3,399—his share of

The Beautiful $600,000,

which is the amount of our increased yearly indebtedness. And who pays this money? Let us examine this subject and see.

The Constitution and laws say that all property shall be taxed according to its value, and, inasmuch as the white man owns the bulk of the taxable property, it is argued that he pays the largest portion of the taxes. Grant that this is true in the abstract, and that he is the party the law looks to for the taxes, where, I ask, does he get his money? Does he not realize it out of land made by the poor man’s hands and watered by the sweat of his brow? How many men, who own plantations, actually make their own crops? How many, on the other hand, rent their lands and have others to work for them and make the cotton which brings the money to pay the taxes?
To carry the enquiry still further, let us suppose that a colored man who does not own a dollar's worth of taxable property, rents a hundred acres of land to cultivate.

The planter says to him that he wants nothing but a fair profit on the value of his land, and will be responsible in his charges. So he calculates what the taxes on the hundred acres for that year will be, and, adding that amount to what he considers a fair profit, he arrives at the amount which the renter has to pay.

If there is a tax of $20 or $30 on the hundred acres, it is counted in the cost per acre and the planter has to foot the bill.

So, it will be seen, that high taxes bring high rents, and the poor laboring men and women are the sufferers. They are at the landlord's mercy and have to pay their prices or go without land, while he is at the mercy of the men who make laws and compel him to pay high taxes.

The goods are comparatively cheap, but when he brings them here and puts them on his shelves, they are subject to be taxed like any other property. So he adds the amount of tax to the cost of the goods and the purchaser has to pay. Every pair of shoes and barrel of pork has this tax added to its cost. The physician adds it to his medicines and visits; the lawyer to his fees, and the office-holders to his salary. All of them say their taxes are high and they must make a living, so they charge high prices for everything they do, and thus make the people serve pay their taxes for them.

And it is more true in the South that the laboring people pay the taxes, than anywhere in the world. We are distinctly an agricultural people, and derive our support from the cultivation of the soil. We have none of those vast depositories of wealth, which, in older States, contribute so largely to the annual revenue. Massachusetts, for example, has her millions invested in manufactures and banks; New York, her large real estate, her vast railroads, canals, insurance companies; Pennsylvania, her inexhaustible coal mines and iron-mines, railroads and manufactories; and so of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and other States. In these States, agricultural labor feels but little of the burden of government, because the vast moneyed interests have named, with many others, constitute their chief taxable wealth.

The products of their factories and manufactories are sold all over the land at prices which their proprietors largely control, and at fair profits. Nearly everything that we use is made at the North and brought here to be sold. We pay the price demanded and our money goes to the man who made the article. He is not of course enabled to carry on his business and to pay his State and County taxes with our money, instead of money made in his own State.

But here in Mississippi we have no such sources of revenue, we have no coal-mines, iron-mines, banks, manufactories or insurance companies to tax; no great cities with their own independent sources of wealth.

By another year, our railroads should have paid at least $200,000 per annum into the State treasury, but in the Legislature, at its last session, exempted all of them from taxes for the space of ten years, so that even they will pay nothing now, and their share of taxes will have to be paid by the people. It therefore follows that our taxes must all be levied on what little personal property the tax-payer has, his horses, mules, household furniture, etc., and on his real estate, which mainly consists of plantations.

**ECONOMY**

**FOOT THE BILL**

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the Federal government to be in great need of immediate reform, and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake with us this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

We do hereby re-affirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union; our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments, universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered the civil war, and do hereby record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican government; in absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military, and the separation between Church and State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment, in the liberty of individual judgment, unimpeded by express or implied coercion; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these blessings to their children and their children's children. We will toil and persevere in the hour of trial; and we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history.

But while upholding the bond of our Union and the great charter of these our rights, it believes it is a false and palpable inconsistency to demand and expect the sacrifices of the people, and of the home industry, for the reduction of the national debt, while the government is exercising its monopoly over the production of wool, asbestos, iron, coal, and many other valuable raw materials, and is monopolizing the financial arrangements of the country, making it an inalienable right of the creditor to receive his money when and in what form he pleases.

Reform is necessary in the sum and mode of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may not be unduly burdened. We denounce the present tariff levied upon American industries as a monopoly of injustice, inequality and false pretense, which yields a windfall, not a yearly revenue, and encourages the importation of foreign goods and the extortions of foreign manufacturers. We are not alone in the demand for a tariff revenue, but we believe that the people of Asia and the world will not overlook this demand for a low protective tariff, and the least of our demands.

We deprecate the waste of public money, and the extravagance of all who appropriate public money for their own advantage, without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We deprecate the financial irregularity and improvidence, which during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward redemption, made no preparation for redemption, but instead has increased the burden by the imposition of a new tax, and by mismanagement of our resources, has made us unable to accumulate a surplus income—indeed, while our people, in order to make payments, are forced to sell the fruits of their labor for specie payments, which annually exacted fresh hindrances thereto.

As such a burden drains the resources of the United States, we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation, by public economies, by official retribution, by the prudential arrangement of our revenues, and by wise financial arrangements of our public securities, to enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system, well advised and and, above all, instructed to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vast machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of our business transactions have been conducted—a system, open and public, and inspiring general confidence, would, from the day of its adoption, put an end to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce and the machinery of arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its sources the prosperity of the country.

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the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered two hundred millions of acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to the tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, re-erasing the Atlantic from the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and, in fact, now by law denied citizenship through naturalization, as being unaccustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization, and unexercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates the revival of the Coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts. We, therefore, demand such modifications of the treaty with the Chinese empire, and such legislation by Congress, within constitutional limitation, as shall prevent the further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the election, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and party in power seek to smother it,—1st. the false issues with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several states, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation and is resolved to maintain without partiality or preference for any class, sex or creed, and without contributions from the treasury to any. 2d. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples, once unnaturally estranged, but now re-united in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that an efficient and economical conduct of the government is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election—if it be a prize fought for at the ballot-box—or if it be an approved reward of party zeal instead of posts of honor, assigned for approved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ. That the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of our public men, nor an instrument of their ambition. Here, again, professions falsified in the performance attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of public service—President, Vice-President, judges, senators, representatives, cabinet officers—these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not private perquisites, they are a public trust. When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President, a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer, three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as lawmakers, five Chairmen of leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery, a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts, a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds, a Secretary of the Navy enriched and enriching his friends by a percentage levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation; the President's Private Secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. The demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or party we get no change of measures, and no real reform.

All these abuses wrongs and crimes, the products of a sixteen years ascendance of the Republican party, create a necessity for reform, confessed by the Republicans themselves, but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet, and the party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the eighty thousand office-holders, its leaders and guides. Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.