LOUISIANA.

A Herald Correspondent's Investigations in the Revolutionary City.

Careful Statement of the Situation in the State.

THE WHITE LEAGUERS.

Continuation of the Martial Spirit Against Despotism.

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 12, 1874.

That the residents of the Crescent City sleep upon a volcano that threatens at any moment to burst forth and work irretrievable damage is apparent to all who have taken the trouble to circulate among the people as I have during the past few days. That the revolution of the 14th and 15th September did not eventuate in scenes such as characterized the reign of the Commune in Paris during the late war is due to the foresight and executive ability of the leaders of the excited men who on that day manned the cotton barricades and sent the legions of Kellogg to the right about in such short order, and for five days held the reigns of government, to the terror and chagrin of William Pitt Kellogg and the powerful party which stands behind him and approves his every act. The men who made this revolutionary movement, it must be admitted, had great grievances to redress; but I fail to find any that justified a resort to armed resistance. True, they had loyally appealed to Congress and the Executive for relief, had exhausted all arguments to induce the federal authorities to relieve them of what they conceived to be the yoke of an usurper, had seen their hard earnings fritted away in exorbitant taxes, their industrial and commercial interests paralyzed, their credit abroad destroyed, their late slaves rioting on the money wrung from them in the form of taxes, their houses and lands levied upon by the Sheriff, who collected the rents and appropriated them toward the liquidation of their debts to the profligate State government, but there was still possessed by them the power, by peaceful means, to

CONCILIATE THE BLACKS,

and, by a fusion such as has been effected in the parish of Terrebonne, rid themselves of the government so objectionable to them. Instead of accepting the action of Congress looking to the reconstruction of the State in good faith, and by the pursuit of a policy calculated to win the confidence of their old slaves, neutralize the influence of the carpet-baggers and scalawags, the whites of this State seem to have retained all their old prejudices against the race, and as the blacks achieved position under the State government they looked with scorn and chagrin upon the efforts made by the freedmen to direct the politics of the State. What the old Southerners failed to take advantage of the adventurers who followed the rear guard of Butler's soldiers were shrewd enough to utilize. While the ex-Confederates are indisposed to encourage the blacks in their ambitious desires to become politicians and office-holders, the sutlers and Northern soldiers who were left here at the close of the war shrewdly took them to their bosoms and ever since have controlled the votes of the freedmen. The experiences of the colored people under the administrations of Warmoth and Wells was not calculated to cement the relations between them and the Northern residents, who led and used them, into a lasting friendship. Had the Louisiana whites at that time met the blacks in a spirit of generosity and given them an equal voice in the affairs of state there can be but little doubt but long ere this

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CARPET-BAGGER

over the colored race would have ceased, and today the State would be prospering under the control of the land owners and the more intelligent representatives of the colored race. Here was the Southern whites' opportunity. But owing to their life long prejudices they allowed the favorable moment to pass by then opposition to the reconstruction measures of Congress, alienated the blacks from them and drove them to the embraces of characterless adventurers who have brought ruin and bankruptcy upon the Commonwealth. The whites are themselves in a great measure responsible for the present deplorable state of affairs existing here, and I am pleased to see evidences on their part of a desire to rectify the errors of the past by the exercise of a more conciliatory spirit toward the freedmen.

THE WHITES OF TERREBONNE PARISH

have united with the blacks against the carpet-baggers and set an example that will doubtless be followed in other parishes. If this policy were to be generally pursued by the whites throughout the State the blacks would soon desert the men who have been using them to advance their selfish schemes, and peace would be restored within the borders of the State. Such a policy of conciliation and mutual interest I conceive to be the only hope left for the two races. Every intelligent person who has watched the progress of the colored race must have observed that the tendency of the blacks is to

GRAVITATE TOWARD THE SEACOAST

and the lines of the great water courses of the South. The interior States since the war have emptied their colored population into the States of Louisiana, South Carolina and Alabama, on the coast, and Mississippi on the line of the Father of Waters. As a consequence those interior States, relieved of the blacks, have been reconstructed, and are to-day prospering and rapidly recovering from the effects of the war, while the four States above named—overrun with a surplus black population from other States—are no nearer reconstruction than they were two years ago, and are loaded down with an incubus of debt that will require a decade to wipe out, even with the exercise of the wisest economy and the most careful statesmanship. With a black population large enough to outvote the whites in all these States, and constant acquisitions being made to their ranks from the States now under white rule, I see no hope for Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina except by a

UNION BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN WHITES AND BLACKS.

So long as the whites deny the blacks and decline to extend to them equal political rights the line between the two races will be closely drawn, and the blacks must continue, with the aid of the numerous white scalawags, to control affairs and tax the real owners of the soil, until their last dollar is gone, and their last acre has passed under the hammer of the Sheriff.

Until some such compromise as has been started in Terrebone becomes the general policy of the States still ruled by the carpet-baggers and negroes,

THE WAR OF RACES WILL GO ON,

and the army of the United States, aided by all the laws that Congress can enact, will not suppress lawlessness nor make property and life in those States secure. It is about time that the Southern whites looked at the matter in this light. It is their only hope—the only solution to the vexed question of how to secure peace and renewed prosperity. But there are evidences in this state of a return to reason on the part of the whites. Not only are the negroes of this city treated more kindly by the whites than formerly, but old prejudices are giving way, and many of the conservatives show a disposition to recognize the right of the blacks to a voice in the affairs of the State, and to unite with them against Kellogg and his wing of the republican party. This change of spirit toward the blacks was exhibited in the late resolution, in which special care was taken by the White Leaguers to win the confidence of the negroes; and while the guns of the whites were directed upon the armed forces of Kellogg I have yet to hear of a single assault having been made upon an unarmed negro during the five days that the city was under the rule of the whites. This seems to have given confidence to

A PART OF THE COLORED RADICALS

who are dissatisfied with Kellogg's treatment of them; they have even issued an address, as you know, urging a closer union between the two races. These negroes are the faction led by Pinchback, and, while they are not numerically very powerful, the fact that they are disposed to dissolve partnership with Kellogg and trust to their old masters' generosity for a recognition of their claims to office, is a sign of a healthy awakening on their part to the realization of the truth that their interests are too closely allied with those of their white brethren to permit them to run in counter currents.

This proposition of the colored men for a union with the whites is variously received by the conservatives. The more ultra whites loudly protest against any such union, and declare that the whites can outvote the blacks in a fair election at any time, and that, having in twenty minutes fighting, on the 4th ult., shown

THE SAUCY BLACKS OF NEW ORLEANS

that they can be masters when the federal arm is withdrawn, they propose to ignore them entirely in selecting candidates for office. Others look upon the proposition as one not made in good faith, but rather to induce the whites to reconsider their determination not to employ negroes who vote the radical ticket. There is still another party who believe that the only hope remaining for the whites of this State is in a fusion with the other race and the election to office of the best men from both. Long before the *emeute* against the Kellogg government, when the White Leaguers began a crusade calculated to widen rather than cement the opposing elements, the *Times* of this city openly advocated such a union. For its gallant efforts to avert a war of races it has been denounced as a radical organ, and has suffered by the withdrawal of patronage; but it has never ceased to

OPPOSE THE WHITE LEAGUE MOVEMENT.

In its issue of yesterday it thus puts itself on record in favor of a fusion:—

The idea of obtaining by mutual concessions that consideration which each party is entitled to without a formal compact has been vigorously advocated by the *Times* as one of the necessities forced upon our unfortunate State by misgovernment and disregard of law. The most pronounced practical expression of the idea is commonly known as the "Terrebonne plan," and has received the almost unanimous approval of the press of the country, with the exception of some extremely partisan papers in this state.

The movement is wholly right in principle, and we hope to see it become much more general than it is. All honest efforts in that direction should receive a vigorous and determined support from sensible and conservative people. But the leaders must remember that such a movement must have a higher purpose than to serve as a panacea for soreheads. If it has not it will prove a ridiculous failure. The country at large knows and cares nothing about the persons in Terrebonne Parish engaged in the movement. They are only glad to see such evidences of peace and reconciliation.

The *Picayune*, until a few days ago, was indisposed to listen to any overtures from the blacks for a union with the whites; but, as you have learned by telegraph, even this able organ of the whites has come out squarely in favor of a combination between the blacks and whites against the adventurers who have fastened themselves upon the State. The *Bulletin*, which represents the rabid wing of the Leaguers, is for

WAR TO THE KNIFE

and the knife to the hilt rather than to make any concessions to the colored race, which it believes to be responsible for much of the ruin and bankruptcy that has overtaken the State.

THE WHITE LEAGUERS,

The White Leaguers, who are becoming so powerful in the Southern states, are composed exclusively of white democrats, whose fundamental principle seems to be the overthrow of radical rule and the management of their own affairs without the assistance of "the honorable gentlemen from Massachusetts and New York." Those of this State I find embrace a heterogeneous class. In their ranks are Creoles, Germans, Spaniards, Sicilians, Cubans, Mexicans, Scotch, Irish, English and Americans. The foreign element largely predominates in the city organizations, and as a consequence they are hot-headed and rash when too closely pushed, as they were when the State government invaded stores and seized the arms secured for the protection of themselves from intimidation. Some of the leaders of the whites, I have assurances, discountenanced the movement of September 14, and did all in their power to frustrate it by counsel and appeals, on the ground that such a demonstration might be construed as a defiance to the national government and become capital for the Northern republicans to use in the fall campaign. Colonel Marr, who figured as one of the prominent leaders of the whites, assures me most positively that he and McEnery were both opposed to an appeal to arms, as were other leaders. When the people became so exasperated, however, the day before the outbreak, that the leaders had no hope of restraining them, Mr. Marr asserts that he and others foresaw the necessity for vigorous action. They argued that if the Leaguers were not at once organized after they had become involved in actual hostilities they would in all probability burn the residences of the radical leaders and perhaps assassinate them. It was for the prevention of any excesses of this character, that would disgrace their party, that he and others took part, and he points with pride to the fact that there was not a single indignity offered to a black man during the five days of the Penn *régime*, and that in gracefully surrendering to the United States government they prove to the world that they are not disloyal to the national government that has foisted upon them a usurpation.

In all my intercourse with the whites I find a determination existing, and deep-seated in their hearts, to resist Kellogg by force of arms and drive him from power the moment the federal column flies off the ground. This feeling and determination is general among the Whites. But there are a few who are so rash as to threaten to resist the federal forces in the event of the troops being sent into the rural parishes to effect arrests. You have been already advised by telegraph of the utterances of one of the founders of the Leagues with whom I conversed on Saturday evening. He avows his belief that the whites of the interior will assault and defeat the United States cavalry that it is believed have been despatched to the Red River country to arrest White Leaguers and intimidate the whites in the ensuing election. The leaders of the whites here admit that they cannot restrain their party in the parishes, because they are indisposed to listen to dictation from New Orleans; yet since the signing of the agreement between the two parties to the peace conference now being held, in which the democrats promise to restrain their party and prevent intimidation, I fail to find any evidence that the whites have broken faith. Marshal Packard and other radical leaders, however, insist that in several of the parishes Kellogg's officials are still prevented from resuming the functions of their offices, and that the New Orleans conservatives who signed the peace protocol are unable to carry it out, and, therefore, not entitled to the appointment of two democrats on the Returning Board of Elections.

GRANT, WILLIAMS AND PACKARD.

The conservatives are very bitter in their denunciation of these three men, and assert that to them they are indebted for all their misfortunes, for they are the men whose moral and physical support sustains the corruption and robbery that pervades the administration. I find that all admit that so far as his duties of United States Marshal go Mr. Packard gives general satisfaction. But it is his unwarrantable interference in State policies that they object to. Although a federal office-holder he is Chairman of the Republican State Committee, and uses his influence and patronage to support Kellogg and his party. Indeed it is openly charged that Packard is the real Governor of the State, while Kellogg is merely a dummy, who fits into a little niche for the convenience of the Attorney General and the advancement of the ambitious third-term scheme of his master.

LIES EXPLODED.

The people at the North should accept with caution the stories of outrages and intimidation sent North in the interest of the rival parties and published in party papers to influence the fall elections. The democratic papers that claim that the whole South is overrun with armed negroes who threaten the extermination of the whites, simply lie in the interest of their party, while the radical papers that dish up harrowing tales of the ill treatment and murderous spirit that animates the whites lie on the other extreme. I have recently passed over portions of the States of Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. I carefully observed the whites and blacks, and you will be surprised when I tell you that I did not see one armed negro either traveling upon the trains, loitering about the depots, or roaming about the country. With one exception the colored men, who are now permitted to occupy seats in first class coaches with the whites were as well behaved, and as inoffensive in their manner as those of the other race. The charge of negro offensiveness and outrage may be true in some parishes of this State and Mississippi, but it certainly does not apply to the entire South. I fail to find any disposition among the whites to murder or Ku Klux the blacks, except in cases where they have outraged white females, robbed hog pens or hen roosts, or committed other depredations upon the property of the whites. The general disposition is to treat a well conducted colored man with kindness and civility. This, however, is perhaps not the case in some of the interior parishes of Louisiana and Texas. There are among the whites these semi-barbarians who think it no crime to kill a negro, and do it out of mere bravado; but it is unfair to cast the blame for these isolated outrages upon the entire people. That there is intimidation I will admit, if you call a determination to discharge from employment negroes who vote the radical ticket "intimidation." The whites of this State, as a general thing, have resolved to cease employing negroes who vote in the next election with the party who are responsible for the misfortunes of their employers. One gentleman with whom I conversed on Saturday said to me:—"I have a colored man employed here who voted at every election. I have never inquired how he voted, but I shall take good care to know this time. If he votes the radical ticket I shall discharge him and let him go to the men he supports by his vote for the means of subsistence. I am not going to keep a man in my employ who cuts my throat by helping the scalawags to levy heavy taxes upon me." This is an illustration of the general white sentiment of the State, and if this be intimidation then the Louisiana whites are guilty of it.

THE PROSPECTS IN THE NEXT ELECTION.

Notwithstanding the assertions of the whites that they have a majority of the votes, and in a fair election can elect their ticket, I believe the State will go republican next month by a larger majority than ever. Every obstruction in some parishes, I am assured, is being thrown in the way of whites who attempt to register, and this will prevent the polling of a full white vote. During the past year there has been an immense influx of blacks from Tennessee and Mississippi who will register and vote the radical ticket as a matter of course. It is believed that fully 20,000 negroes foreign to the State will vote, who, two years ago, voted in other States. If this be so I see no hope for a conservative victory, even if Kellogg gives them "a fair election," and the present state of anarchy and depression of business must inevitably continue unless Congress on reassembling promptly gives some measure of relief. If Congress fails to do so, the government must quarter a standing army of 6,000 or 8,000 men in the State to keep the peace, else there will be a resort to the rifle and barricades with every change of the moon and the moods of a people driven to the brink of desperation by the criminal neglect of the general government to guarantee them a republican form of government.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Gradual Recuperation of the Palmetto State.

Planters and Traders Becoming More Hopeful.

TRUTH VS. FALSEHOOD

Rings and Dishonest Jobbers Deserving Censure.

COLUMBIA, Oct. 12, 1874.

A Northern man is agreeably disappointed in this old Palmetto State, whatever his repulsions may be. It is not a ruined nor yet a chaotic State. It is not a retrograding State. It makes more cotton and wheat to the acre, has more busy hands, more ships in its docks, more acres under cultivation and more varieties of products than ever before. It is, to the citizen of the world, a country ahead of its development under slavery. No thanks to the bad politicians of the State for this. The schoolmaster was a necessity. There never was any community, except France at the Revolution of 1789, which underwent so radical and rapid a change. South Carolina was the proselytizing high priest of slavery. The greatest sugar plantations of Louisiana, the greatest rice plantations of Carolina, the most delicate and exacting quality of cotton in the world were owned by these hereditary planters, who are now the republican subjects of a vast negro majority of their former slaves. The colony was modelled for slavery; its constitution, by John Locke, provided for peonage; its colonists first began the deliberate business of selling captive Indians to slavery; they fought for the products of slavery, as such, in the provisional organization for British non-intercourse; when we acquired Louisiana the Hamptons and others were the foremost Anglo-Saxons to proceed to that new territory and herd their slaves upon the sugar lands there. Slaves were brought to South Carolina but a little while before the rebellion, and the present independent republican candidate for Governor told me that his relative owned, and he had talked with, native Africans, forcibly imported upon the soil of the State.

A JUMP FORWARD.

And yet I am of the deliberate opinion that the political conditions of this State are better settled, better ordered, more durable and nearer a large and long prosperity than elsewhere in the Union. I can give native testimony from the wisest and best habituated white men to this state of things, and I shall do it. In my judgment the observations of Mr. James S. Pike, author of a new publication, called "The Prostrate State," were spasmodic and derived from less than cosmopolitan study. The most radical slave-propaganding State in the South is coming out ahead of all the rest in the experiment of free labor and free suffrage. This it will owe to the hopelessness of political ambition among the whites, whereby they are neglecting politics and attending to industry. To the more perfect climate and soil they possess over any of the slave States. To the discovery of vast deposits of natural mineral manures since the war, whereby one acre is equal to five, and the disorganized labor equally available in the ratio of its replacement by chemistry. To the orthodoxy and homogeneity of the blacks, who are without the Creole restlessness. To the chastened intentions of the whites, who, having the most inevitably inevitable black government, are treating their labor with most justice. To a reflex wave of immigration, repelled from Texas and even from Georgia, by the barren realization of exaggerated hopes there. And to the increased versatility of products and enterprise compelled by the situation.

NOT A BARREN SCEPTRE.

Look at these facts. The debt of South Carolina is not $35,000,000, as has been alleged loosely. It is not $20,000,000, as Mr. Pike was led to believe. It is at most $18,000,000. By the decision of the Legislature and courts, themselves partisan republicans, it is only $12,000,000, thus divided, according to Senator Dunn, who is not politically interested to make it less than he can:—Legally authorized funded debt less than $12,000,000; floating debt, $500,000. Total, $12,000,000. Add illegally negotiated conversion bonds, $6,000,000. Total, in the worst emergency, $18,000,000

The debt of Charleston city is in round numbers $5,000,000, all *ante bellum*, except some funded interest. The debt of Columbia city, which has built a new Court House and a new City Hall, is $785,000, funded and floating. Improper and dishonest things have been done in Columbia and in the State Financial Board, but no good purpose is subserved by exaggerating what is bad enough and borrowing that old querulous and ignorant assertion that "nobody can find out what the debt is." He who cannot find out what the debt is has no business to be conspicuous in guessing at it.

TESTIMONY.

General Kershaw said to me:—"I do not think we need be laying up misery for ourselves in a suppositious expectation of debt. I think the State can stand its debt. I regard the discovery of our native phosphates and their cheap and copious employment as an abundant recompense for the loss of our slaves. I am disposed to look out hopefully upon the future of South Carolina."

Mr. Miles, a very accomplished lawyer of Charleston and brother of ex-Congressman W. Parker Miles, said to me as well, "There is one thing I must confess and am agreeably surprised in. An old and long nightmare of social equality has proved to have nothing in it. There is no tendency toward amalgamation. We are ridden by an unscrupulous ring of adventurers, but the blacks, left to themselves, would prove to be a well disposed and moderately progressive race."

Colonel Harrington, who commanded a company of mounted rangers, and is now a planter, said:—"My hands work very well. I find South Carolina the only place where I can make a living. I tried Missouri and failed there and came back here to recover my fortune. Formerly I owned 300 slaves. I think I am no worse off, except for ready money, than before the war."

Mr. R. H. Clarke, of Camden, a Confederate officer, said:—"When I came home from the war I found several hundred bales of cotton which had escaped the vigilance of Sherman's soldiery. It brought forty cents a pound; but the money did me no good. I spent it for immature speculation and came down to hard pan. Now, I look hopefully upon the future, attend to my own business, look after my free negro labor, advance supplies to the laborers and small planters, and I guess I am as well off as a young man ought to be."

These statements could be multiplied. They are all derived from members of the Democratic Conservative Convention. The fact is, that the South Carolinians, by the very nature of their youth and physical vigor, are spared the introspective, querulous philosophy of the Virginians. The latter reason upon idealisms and are full of dismal prognostications. The former are afield, drinking of the healthy air, familiar with manual work and almost indifferent to national politics. They have discovered their value as a part of the Union. Before they were wont, under leaders of diseased and provincial minds, to consider themselves alone, as a State better off without neighbors or national restraints.

PROGRESS.

The northern part of this State has immensely developed, pushing the cotton culture to the foot of the Blue Ridge, where wheat and cotton blossom consonantly and neither is king. That part of the State has advanced in towns and ready markets by the opening of the air line railroad from Atlanta to Charlotte, and the city of Greenville is one of the most progressive in the South. Spartanburg is also growing. The tendency of all freights is through. Herein the Carolinians see the folly and narrowness of their old railroad system. It was twisted to and fro between selfish localities without comprehensiveness. The railroads should have been localized at Charleston, not led to a merely political vicinage, like Columbia. The rice cultivation has fallen off, through the disinclination of the negroes to get the pneumonia by working in the trenches in the cold winter months of January and February, but the naval products of South Carolina, tar, pitch, turpentine and rosin have made up the difference, whereas before they were scarcely accounted staples at all in this State.

I heard ex-Governor Aiken say:—"The children who used to drive the birds off the rice fields are all at school now." Surely, this is nothing to complain of on any broad human ground. A human being driving away birds is at best an extravagant form of scarecrow. But, by all accounts, the cotton yield is greater than before the war. The number of people benefited by the increase is prodigious. The discomforts of the few are chiefly in reminiscence and the loss of luxuries. South Carolina needs only a self-respecting Legislature and Executive and judiciary to be what she should have been but for an exaggerated self-worship, founded on factious selfishness, which no amount of personal chivalry could compensate for. Think of a port only forty-two hours by steam from the anchorage of Havana, closer than New York to Chicago, nearest the vast cotton fields on the Mississippi, and still without a line of rail to Knoxville! The plunder of this State has been by natives, even more than by strangers. Even some native women join the rout. The Pettigrews and Mackeys and Meltons and what not forget their late importance and herd together upon no social standard for the sake of the luxurious husks of which the swine partake. The present standard of values in South Carolina may well be compared with the following figures for 1854, used by Helper in his "Impending Crisis:"—Seventeen and one-third millions of acres of land were then assessed as worth no more than $25,000,000, or about $1 37½ per acre. One-third of this amount of land in New Jersey was assessed at $153,000,000, or nearly $30 an acre. Senator Robertson sells half-acre building lots on the outskirts of Columbia for $300 a half-acre to negroes. By an inexorable law the plantations are being divided. The time is not far distant when every negro in the State will have a piece of ground. In proportion as this time is hastened will good government come to blacks and whites. Honesty, without property, is not to be expected in a legislative body. The schools and freeholds which many of the whites grudge the negroes are to be their own safeguards. When the negro and the white have more dignity they will seek less office.

South Carolina has in the Augusta and Columbia and the Piedmont air line railways a trifle advanced upon her old railroad facilities. At Chester I saw a narrow-gauge railroad and train bound inland. But much remains to be done to give Charleston its true importance; as, for example, a railroad from Millen, Ga., to Tennessee, to carry the cotton of Macon and Montgomery off from Savannah. The area of the State is 29,385 square miles, or less than that of Maine or Indiana. A dozen good navigable rivers drain the rich interior of its products. Some new towns have sprung up as by magic, like Aiken, and I have observed that the three cities which were burned in the war have experienced the most rapid revival—Atlanta, Ricomond and Columbia. This naturally arose from the assemblage of mechanics and laborers, who finally required habitations for themselves.

Any attempt to resuscitate the personal fortunes of the old class of great slaveholding planters will be futile in South Carolina. Their habits, their want of thrift, their dream of increase, are wholly out of the reach of either luck or government.

"They will have to die out," said Governor Scott. It is a hard sentence, but it is true. In the young men there is hope and work. The federal government were it only could do its duty by turning out every office-holder who gives aid and comfort to the corrupt ring at Columbia. There is one who is conspicuously a candidate for this disgrace. If the President obeyed his genuine repulsions he would also overhaul the whole of Senator Patterson's appointees. Strip this man of his following and there will be a beginning.

While I was in Columbia I read in the Northern press, in the HERALD with the rest, accounts of four or five riots and outbreaks. I am well satisfied that if either of these had happened in the city of New York they would not have deserved a police item. One was a quarrel between two negro leaders and their partisans, at Georgetown, one of them, known as "Red Hot Jones," a combative, spiteful negro, now, unfortunately stumping the State for Green, to whom he is no acquisition. The white people should have interfered for their own safety, but they did not, afraid that such participation would get them the score of negro intimidators. A second quarrel was in the Edgefield district, that remarkable place where so many great Carolinians have been born, Calhoun, Pickens, Butler, Brooks, Bonham, Gray, &c. I may say of this place what Governor Scott said to me, "They have got a good many men of genius there, but a quarrelsome Irish and Scotch-Irish set inhabitat the country, who gave me more trouble, when Governor, than all the rest of the State. The negroes have their cussedness. There is no use paying any attention to them any more than in certain rowdy parts of Ireland."

Another row was between negroes in Columbia, which alarmed Moses, and he called for a company of young white natives. They promptly responded, and the father of one of the boys, Mr. Childs, banker, showed me, with some gratification, his son's rifle and accoutrements. No interference was required.

The last quarrel was of no consequence—mere cat-calls at political meetings, to "guy" the speakers, between the Green and Chamberlaine factions.

A HINT.

I venture the assumption that, with rare exceptions, the negroes are the only people both able and willing to give true information about the South. The carpet-baggers are unwilling to tell the truth, the natives unable from prejudice. A Northern correspondent going South must accept certain small courtesies from both these classes, and both will deceive him. The negroes, on the contrary, do not know the business of the inquirer and answer without intention. For example, in Columbia I met a broker. He was industrious to acquaint me with matters, and took me here and there. After he was gone I hunted up the Ku Klux report, knowing that he had given testimony in that case, and read the following as to the killing of Randolph, in 1868:—

Everybody who knows anything about it believes that was a concocted plan on the part of the republican party; we believe it firmly and we have every reason to believe it. They killed him for the purpose of incensing the colored people against the white people, &c., &c.

Now General Kershaw gave me an account of the killing of Randolph like an honest, upright rebel officer. He said that Randolph, in his part of the country, was a moderate, peace-advising fellow, and that he was killed by assassins who resented certain more radical speeches he made in a less liberal part of the State.

I advise this broker when he is under oath to keep his oath and not to take Northern correspondents in these late days for a set of flats. Many of us have been over a good deal of the South and we put down in the same category with thieves and carpet-baggers those mercantile rebels who try to stuff us with stories which really militate against the very property and society they represent.

Mr. Noah, a carpet-bagger, but a frank one, told me that some time ago a lot of the native lawyers, jobbers, &c., of Columbia, envious of the prosperity of the Ring, proceeded to cram the press and street in New York with dismal stories about the bankruptcy of the State, having first sold South Carolina bonds short. The Ring discovered their little game, took measures to advance the credibility of those securities and cleaned them out handsomely. Now, can we have any more sympathy for a man who scandalizes the credit of his State than for the thief who takes its assets? The Northern people must learn to discredit both these classes of rascals, and if they lie downright show them up rightly. I met few mischief-makers in South Carolina. The professional carpet-baggers I did not go to see, expecting nothing from them, but I must express my surprise at the donkeyism of certain traders and note-shavers who traduce the ground they live on and think to pack young reporters' minds with folly to utter against their own people.

THE RECENT ELECTIONS.

A Disaster.

[From the Indianapolis Sentinel—independent.]

The defeat in Ohio and Indiana is certainly the greatest disaster that the republican party has yet encountered.

The Effects Sure To Be Felt.

[From the Springfield Republican—independent.]

It cannot be too thoroughly digested by all concerned that the disturbance in Ohio and Indiana has a good deal more of admonition and warning for the republicans than of encouragement for the "democracy." It means rather that a number of voters are dissatisfied with the party in power, rather than that they are anxious, or even willing, to bring back the party that was shown the door in 1860. At the same time the result in these States is sure to exercise more or less influence upon the elections still to be held; the republican organizations of New York and Massachusetts, for instance, will pretty certainly feel the effects of it on election day, if not before.

Learning "How It Is Themselves."

[From the Indianapolis Journal—republican.]

A political party that cannot survive not only one but many defeats is hardly worthy of the name. In this respect republicans may learn a lesson from the democracy, who have borne up under repeated defeats, preserved their organization, improved their discipline and gone into each recurring contest with undiminished vigor. In sporting phrase "they have always come up smiling." Republicans have far more reason to preserve their equanimity under defeat than democrats have ever had, for their principles are better and their cause far more worthy of persistent effort. Political defeats are hard on the unsuccessful candidates, but they are sometimes full of improving discipline for a party.

What May Be Done.

[From the Chicago Tribune.]

It is not impossible for the republican party to recover its lost ground in 1876. In order to do so, however, it must expunge the Grant dynasty in the next National Convention. It must not only stamp out the third term nonsense, but it must go as far as possible in another direction in search of candidates for President and Vice President. To nominate Washburne, or Boutwell, or Fish, or one of Grant's military subordinates would be construed as an attempt to prolong the Grant administration under an alias, and would bring the odium that has been so heavily felt in the elections of the present year upon the ticket everywhere. It must do more than this. It must put a stop not only to the outrages of whites upon blacks, but to those of blacks upon whites in the South. It must cease fooling with that powder magazine styled the Civil Rights bill. It must make a show at least of stopping the frauds on the public treasury. It must remand the federal office-holders to their legitimate duties. It must cease meddling with the private habits of the people and seeking to impose temperance and religion upon them by coercive legislation. It must abandon all schemes for inflating the currency and paying the bonds in greenbacks. As between the republican party and the democratic party considered as mere shells, the majority of the people are still republican, but they are not sufficiently attached to that shell to take its rotten kernel also.

THE CHATTANOOGA FARCE.

Remarkable Failure of the Republican Convention.

The Committee on Address Unable to Collect Outrage Statistics.

A MILITARY DESPOTISM WANTED.

Clayton's Delegates Practically Desert Him.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Oct. 14, 1874.

In a despatch sent from this place Monday I stated that the Southern Republican Convention would be nothing more than the merest bubble, which would burst at the slightest provocation. It needed no gift of prophecy to foretell that the body of disappointed carpet-baggers, though bent on mischief, would fail in accomplishing their most ardent desires in the way of unveiling the unfavorable into favorable opinions held by the Northern people against them. The Committee on Address met last night, and there was a general discussion as to the matter that would be most politic to be set forth. One plan was suggested and generally agreed upon, though it was thought impolitic for the republicans to advance any such idea. The remedy for the disturbances which had prevailed, they were of opinion, lay in the equal division of the negro vote the same as that of every other class of citizens. But they rejected this plan as entirely inadmissible, because their strength lay in the negro vote thrown into the balance on their side, and to counsel anything that would divide that vote was to inaugurate absolute defeat for themselves. Some other plan must be hit upon that would prevent their waning light from being utterly extinguished. Though the most reasonable mode of bringing about more perfect harmony among all classes and though it was the key to the settlement of the Southern difficulties, yet they were unwilling to sacrifice party for the good that might ensue. They were not ready to let the negro go and thereby rob themselves of that political power which could be achieved by them in no other way. Their only hope of preferment and of maintaining political power was through the negro, and this has been clung to with great tenacity since the emancipation of the colored population. To this fact alone is attributable the ascendency of the carpet-baggers, who have never allowed any opportunity to slip that would have a tendency to perpetuate the influence they might have over the credulous colored brethren.

PARTISAN TRICKERY.

This discussion only tended to very forcibly illustrate the fact that it was not so much the peace, prosperity and happiness of the people they most desired, but the fulfilment of their own selfish, ambitious hopes. Several of the committeemen claimed that their downfall had been attributable to Congressional action in leaning toward and dealing with the South in too generous a manner. It should have maintained a tighter rein over the South, and thereby perpetuated republican rule. It had failed to a very large extent to come to their aid, and had allowed the power gradually to slip out of their hands. They did not think the Northern press had done the right thing by them. It had listened too much to the seductive stories of Southern men, and had yielded to the idea that the latter had been plundered and badly treated. The Northern press had treated the republicans in the South with great severity and had been over-credulous. As long as the Northern press should continue to copy extracts from Southern papers prejudicial to the Southern republicans so long would they inculcate in the Northern mind the idea that it was the Southern man that had been wronged, and not the incomer or those acting with him.

Congress, too, had made their cause more desperate by the introduction of the Civil Rights bill, which had played particular thunder with the republican party in the South. It was the mixed school clause that had been most instrumental in bringing about an astounding change, despite anything that might be said to the contrary. Congress had weakened toward the opposite party, the Northern press had weakened, the Northern people had weakened and given ear to the stories that had been told, and the power of the republican party in the South had been gradually waning under these combined influences. Their lease would wear out within the next two years, and their political ascendancy be at an end. There was a tinge of bitterness connected with the idea expressed, that the Northern journals and people had and were giving them the cold shoulder. Their misfortunes had had a tendency to keep alive the republican party of the North, but if it was to go back on them it were useless to do anything, having its promotion in view, while it depressed the party in the South. But they must have an address. To go away without making one would be to subject themselves to ridicule. They would state certain facts; but what remedy for existing evils would they suggest? There was the rub. They must follow out a certain circumlocution, put in some things, and dodge others

THE ADDRESS.

After much debate the drafting of the paper was postponed until this morning, when by combined effort it was finally wrought out as the expression of the Southern republicans and adopted to-night. There was hardly a man who came to the Convention that had thought of what the address should consist and how his wrongs should be righted. I heard delegates make the singular admission that in order to perpetuate the power of Southern republicans the present form of State government should be changed, remanded to a Territorial system backed up by the bayonet. This would seem a desperate resource, ending in the establishment of a military despotism all over the country. The whole proceedings of this Convention were badly bungled from beginning to end. In the first place the objects of the Convention were of a purely sectional character, and did not express the sentiments of the great mass of the people of the nation. The men engaged in it were adventurers and office seekers, men not identified with the prosperity, but rather the ruin of the reconstructed States. They were, in fact, political vultures, feeding, or attempting to feed, on the body politic. It was certainly more destitute of results than any which has been held in this portion of the country for many a day.

AN UNEVENTFUL SESSION

was held this morning. The shrewdest thing, however, yet presented by any member of the Convention was the motion of H. M. Turner (colored), of Georgia, to the effect that each delegation appoint two more additional members to act upon the "committee to collect outrages." As his manner of delivering himself was somewhat peculiar, the Convention burst out into a roar of laughter, when he suggested the "colection of outrages." But, nothing daunted, he responded, "Well, no matter how much you laugh, I know what I'm driving at." The body had entirely failed, at first, to divine the object he had in view, but subsequently comprehending the situation voted unanimously for the measure. He evidently intended to make capital by suggesting the very lamentable fact that for fear every member on the committee might be suddenly taken off by a concatenation of circumstances, two more, in addition, should be placed upon it to "collect the outrages." A few at least might possibly survive the terrible nightmare to tell the story. It may be admitted that many outrages have been committed in the South, but not altogether by Southern men. There were a good many barbarians in the present Convention whose careers have been written in blood. Two representatives of the "Tar Heel State" came in to-day. But they were regarded as small potatoes. Kennedy was white and Price colored. But Kennedy made himself known to-night by the very startling statement that not an outrage had been committed in North Carolina during the twelve months past. They were astounded to think that he had come all the way from North Carolina to make such an announcement, which no one was prepared to believe. They had not come here to make such idle reports, but to "collect all the outrages" that might be found within the ten reconstructed States. His statement was entirely out of place. A little blood and thunder would have been more palatable to the ravenous appetite which they did not fail to exhibit when occasion required.

PRICE, HOWEVER, CAME TO HIS RESCUE

by remarking that while passing through Georgia on the way to the Convention, Kennedy had prevented a white mob from dragging him from the train, a thing which few republicans would have done for a negro. While a letter on education was being read in the Convention this morning an earnest and solemn voice ejaculated, "Thank God, we're to have education in the South!" Looking toward the spot whence the voice proceeded one perceived seated among the Georgia delegation an old white-haired man, whose long locks fell scatteringly about his shoulder, and with the deep furrows which time had ploughed upon his face he appeared as if he had led a hermit's life, and had come forth from his obscurity to see, like the somnolent Rip Van Winkle, what was now going on in the great world. In the Convention he was an incongruous element, and was rewarded by that delegation, the Georgian, as an intruder. The delegation was irritated at his remarks, as attracting disagreeable attention to themselves, and had him removed by Howard, colored, of Mississippi.

CAPPING THE CLIMAX.

The Convention showed a decided animus to night in the adoption of a resolution denunciatory of the Southern Associated Press agents. A delegate had just gone to the agent here and asked him if he did not intend to send off the entire address, when he informed him that he had only been instructed to telegraph a synopsis. Already chagrined at the virtual failure of the Convention, they were ready to vent their spleen upon the Press agents who happen to make adverse reports to what the delegates may happen to desire. It exhibited the fact that they had come down to a desperate strait, that they were on their last legs, and must very soon give up their chances for future promotion as hopeless. When Pinchback, of New Orleans, telegraphed here the other day for the best quarters to be had in the city, General Wilder, a prominent and highly esteemed citizen, was asked whether he could not entertain the distinguished gentleman. Wilder responded jocularly that there was only one bunk in his barn, and that was occupied by his colored driver. General Wilder was a federal officer and a Northern man by birth.

"The Convention of Thieves."

[From the Memphis Appeal, October 14.]

A plague more dreadful than the grasshoppers which desolated several of the Western States last summer is scourging Tennessee. Chattanooga has been converted into another Jenoshaphat, and James' Hall the Bethesda where a knot of carpet-bag rogues who pursue politics only for the sake of plunder, have gathered for the purpose of making known to a sympathizing world the wrongs they have sustained at the hands of the wicked and remorseless savages of the South. They are reluctant to give up their hold upon the throats of the Southern people, and with the hope of securing a new grip they meet at Chattanooga, where a new batch of falsehoods will be hatched, with a view of electing men to Congress who will restore them to power. The Chattanooga Convention will cry lustily for more troops and represent the Kuklux as ravaging the country. These carpet-baggers meet ostensibly "to consider the disordered condition of the Southern States," when, in fact, they meet to consider their own disordered condition. Congress has been considering the disordered condition of the