

VOLUME XI.—NUMBER 1643.

SHALL WE PAY THE TAXES?

A PEACEFUL MODE OF RELIEF FROM NEGRO MISGOVERNMENT.

The Only Infallible Remedy.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEWS.

The measure to which I referred at the close of an article two mornings since, and which I now definitely propose, is to *refuse to pay taxes*.

This, if carried, will stop the negro government; it exists but upon the funds it can exact; and that measure we can carry if we will it. In a contest between property and power, except the government be purely despotic, the party possessing the funds of a country can dictate the terms upon which they shall be taken. Nor is despotic power itself necessarily triumphant. The Stuarts, in theory at least, had arbitrary power, and were scarcely under constitutional limitations in the means to its enforcement. But at every great crisis in the contest between that house and those who held the purse in England, the Crown was compelled to acknowledge the sources of its support, and the constitution was formed under its concessions. The power of this negro government is not so arbitrary or extensive; they have not the same agencies to enforce it. The property of this country is under more intelligent direction; we are able to make a more efficient use of it against this power than the Commons of England could, and it is scarcely questionable, therefore, upon principle and experience, that, if we draw the purse-strings upon this people, we can dictate the terms upon which our property shall be made tributary to the uses of the State.

Nor is it necessary to refer to principle for this conclusion. It is plain that if we refuse to pay the taxes and be free from interference by the general government, they cannot collect them. They can but offer the property for sale, but can get no money if there be no bidders for it. The white people will not bid. The measure implies that they are not to speculate upon the necessities of each other. Capital from abroad will not bid. That will not come now to investment in titles that are unquestioned. These tax titles would be questioned. The movement implies that the purchaser shall take that enjoyment of them only which there may be the legal agencies to exact. The negroes of property in this State will not bid. I doubt if there are white men in this State more profoundly impressed with the evils of the present condition than are the colored people who have anything at stake upon the issue. They will be with us, and the negroes, therefore, who are without property, who have taken up the trade of politics, and who run the government as a means of living upon the property of others, are the only ones to bid, and there is not enough among them, taking the cost value of every article of property or plunder they possess, to pay one-tenth of the taxes for a single year. It would remain, therefore, for the negro government to take to itself the titles to the property it could not sell, and tax titles would be as unproductive of money, the thing which they want, and without which their government would be an expensive farce, which they even would take no interest in exacting, as would the tax sale.

Permitted to run the machine of taxation to its results, upon the one condition that the white people of the State will not voluntarily respond to its exactions, it comes to nothing, and in perfect peace, therefore, we can ignore them, let their ship of State run aground, and without force or the violation of any law come to the point at which we can stipulate the terms upon which we will put it afloat again, and start upon a better voyage.

But to this it may be said that the general government will not so let this negro government be circumvented. There is misapprehension, I think, both as to the attitude and power of the general government. It has not said that the negroes of this State shall govern the white people. It has said that they shall have the elective franchise, with the rights and powers that may confer upon them, but they have not in terms been declared to be the instruments of the general government in administering subjugation upon the white people of this State. Nor can it make that declaration. The general government is the representative of a Democracy, and it cannot declare that any race shall govern another, the representative of a white Democracy, and cannot declare that negroes shall govern white people. A Democracy may be arbitrary and despotic—may be arbitrary and despotic in the enforcement of a "prescript" of its constitution that a single despot will dare to be. And it cannot announce a principle at variance with its constitution; and while, therefore, the general government may practice on this State the principle of despotism, in enforcement of the principles of Democracy that all are equal, the Republicans of this State would perish, upon the proposition that the negroes and the whites in this State are not equal, and that the negroes shall have a power that their franchise cannot give them.

But if the government should intervene, and enforce the negro government, it could not. It could not make hiders at tax sales; it could not make the people pay the negro tax. Its only ground for intervention would be the preservation of the public peace, and that unbroken, its office would be ended. But if it shall go further—if it shall undertake to administer a government that government would be its own. If it should compel the State to sustain the State, it would, of necessity, through its own officers, expend it, and, as this adversary negro government is the one absolute and intolerable evil, that at least would be abated by the simple refusal to respond to its exactions, and that refusal, in my judgment, should be made at once.

Men doubt if there would be the necessary consent. But of this there can hardly be a question. We must act. No one can be so mad as to believe it possible to live here under a negro government. Scarcely any one can entertain the hope that of itself or of Congress there can be a change. This measure's promise is relief. It is without violence. It affords a remedy to the invocation of superior military force. It proposes to do that which every one with interests in this State desires, to be done. It proposes that adjustment of relations between the people of this State which will relieve the general government itself from a most embarrassing issue. It meets the question of the very point of contact. It must place the assailant; and it is a measure, therefore, which we are all pledged by every consideration of interest and of duty to adopt. And there is the assurance of the adoption, the further consideration that it addresses the political supremacy of the negro, it has been considered by comparatively few persons. Nearly all the negroes consume at home. The shipment of lumber was also a valuable increment of Savannah trade. But the negro, it has been considered, has been monopolized by the railroads. Besides, the back country is very poor and sterile, and I am assured, that for fully sixty miles on the Central Railway the negroes' political business do not exceed \$500 per annum.

WRETCHED FRANCE.

The Revolutionary Government in France—The Extent of the Communist Victory in Paris—The Algerian Insurrection Spreading.

PARIS, March 27.

The official Journal of the Central Committee says editorially that the first task of the newly elected municipality will be the compilation of a charter that will secure the rights of the people and prevent the representation of large towns being swamped by the country. An article in the same paper demands that all matters essentially Parisian must be left within the domain of the commune.

La Nouvelle Republic advises the commune to dissolve the rotten Assembly and impeach the members. La Verite says the Paris deputies to the Assembly have determined to resign.

The candidates of the central Republican committee carried all but the first, second and seventh arrondissements. The Journal De Paris estimates that a quarter of a million of voters abstained from voting.

The official Journal of the committee announces eighteen battalions of National Guard out of twenty-four organized in Lyons, in support of the commune. The new government has been proclaimed there without bloodshed.

The spread of the Algerian insurrection is confirmed.

VERSAILLES, March 27.

The minister of war has notified the prefect to raise a battalion of mobilized volunteers in each of the departments, in pursuance of the law just passed by the National Assembly. These will be forwarded to Versailles immediately, and will receive daily one and a half francs. Their officers will be appointed by the minister of war.

BRUSSELS, March 27.

Negotiations for the final treaty of peace between France and Germany will soon commence. DeClercq and Goulard, plenipotentiaries of France, arrived to-day. It is expected that the first sitting of the representatives of both governments will be held this week. The French Embassy is the place agreed upon for the meetings.

BERLIN, March 27.

The Prussian Cross Gazette says Gerolt is recalled from Washington at his own request. General Voigt Riez commands the German army of occupation in France in the name of Frederick Charles.

A bill will be introduced in the Federal Parliament for the incorporation of Alsace and Lorraine under the government of the Emperor. It provides that the German constitution will be enforced as the law of the land from the 1st of January. No mention is made of the ceding a portion of the acquired territory to Bavaria.

PARIS, March 27.

La Verite says a new ministry will soon be formed which will include Broglie as minister of foreign affairs, and McMahon, minister of war. The rich generally abstained from visiting the polls, and the merchants voted the Conservative ticket. The individuals elected are obscure, with the exception of Florens, Blanqui, Pigot and Gambon. Barricading is continued, and the utmost vigilance is manifested by the Insurgent Nationals. The Place Vendome has the aspect of a camp. It is said the French Government is negotiating with the Prussians to allow an increase in the number of French troops on this side of the Loire. Rumor says that General Cremer is suspected by the committee, and has gone to Versailles.

VERSAILLES, March 27.

Thiers made a brief address in the National Assembly. He defended the wisdom of his policy, and took a solemn oath that he would not betray the Republic.

LONDON, March 28.

The Times special dispatch says that Paris has nearly resumed her usual appearance. Of five hundred thousand electors in Paris only twenty thousand voted at the election on Sunday. Twenty of the members of the committee were elected. It is expected that Blaque will be president of the new government, and its power-centres in Florens, Pigot, Deleschasse, Lefranc and Vermeil. Four generals are occupied at Versailles with the question of the military organization of the country. The Times special also states that the Prussians daily ask the Versailles government to agree to the German occupation of Paris, and are as frequently refused.

THE STATE OF THE WEATHER.

WASHINGTON, March 28.

The low barometer over Massachusetts on Monday evening has passed to the northeast beyond our coast. The area of high pressure on Monday night in Tennessee now covers Ohio and Lake Michigan; the pressure appears to have decidedly fallen with a large increase of temperature. In the extreme northwest the barometer is stationary. On the Rocky Mountains and on the Pacific coast clear weather, with occasional cloudiness, has prevailed to-day. East of the Rocky Mountains and north of the Gulf on the immediate Gulf coast the barometer has fallen slightly, with threatening weather. Probabilities: Fresh southeast and northeast winds, with falling barometer, are probable for Wednesday on the upper lakes, and the same with cloudy or rainy weather on the Gulf. Partially cloudy and clear weather will probably prevail on the Atlantic coast and lower lakes.

THE TRADE OF SAVANNAH.

The Facts of the Case Leaking Out.

A correspondent of the Augusta Chronicle, writing from Savannah, tells the following home-truths about the trade of the latter city:

The up-country folks are inclined to think that Savannah has been a miracle of prosperity amid the general stagnation of the past year, occasioned by the overcropping of the planters and the loss of the profits of the cotton crop. According to an old and eminent merchant there, this so-called prosperity of Savannah is all a mistake. He argues that "it is true, that nearly 700,000 bales of the King have been received at Savannah. But of this number, fully 400,000 have passed through to New York without being handled by middle men. In older times the storage business was conducted by comparatively few persons. Now their names legion, and when 300,000 bales are manipulated by a great number of factors, the gains of any particular firm must be necessarily small. Again, the through freights on the railroads have not only diverted much trade from this port, but the manufacturers of the East have discovered that it is really cheaper to buy cotton at Griffin or Augusta, to be shipped direct, than it is to buy at Savannah. They avail themselves of this discovery through the chagrin of Savannah. Before the war, the rice crop was an item of some considerable importance to this place; but since the political supremacy of the negro, it has been considered to be of much consideration. Nearly all the rice-made its consume at home. The shipment of lumber was also a valuable increment of Savannah trade. But the negro, it has been considered, has been monopolized by the railroads. Besides, the back country is very poor and sterile, and I am assured, that for fully sixty miles on the Central Railway the negroes' political business do not exceed \$500 per annum."

THE NEW FORCE BILL.

CONGRESS AND THE KU-KLUX.

The Latest Measure of Reconstruction.

WASHINGTON, March 28.

The Senate spent the whole day in the discussion of Sumner's anti-Grant resolutions. In the House, Shellabarger, from the special committee on the President's Ku-Klux message, reported a bill for the enforcement of the Fourteenth amendment. It provides that any person who, under color of law, statute, regulation, custom or usage of any State, shall subject or cause to be subjected any person within the jurisdiction of the United States to the deprivation of any rights, privileges or immunities secured by the first section of the fourteenth article of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, shall, any such law, statute, regulation, ordinance, custom or usage of State to the contrary notwithstanding, be liable to the party injured in an action of law, suit in equity, or other proceedings for redress, such proceedings to be prosecuted in the several district or circuit courts of the United States, with and subject to the same rights of appeal, review upon error, and other remedies provided in like cases in such courts under provisions of the act of April 9, 1868, and other remedial laws of the United States which are, in their nature, applicable in such cases.

The second section provides that if two or more persons shall band, conspire or combine together to do any act in violation of the rights, privileges and immunities of any person to which he is entitled under the constitution and laws of the United States, which, if committed in a place under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, would, under any law of the United States there in force, constitute the crime of either murder, manslaughter, mayhem, robbery, assault and battery, perjury, subornation of perjury, criminal obstruction of legal process, or resistance of officers in discharge of official duty, arson or larceny, and if one or more of the parties to such conspiracy or combination shall do any act to effect the object thereof, all the parties to or engaged in said conspiracy or combination, whether principals or accessories, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, punishable by fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, or imprisonment not to exceed ten years, or both, at the discretion of the court; provided, that if any party or parties to such conspiracy shall in furtherance of such common design commit the crime of willful murder, such party or parties so guilty shall upon conviction thereof suffer death; and provided, also, that any offense punishable under this act, begun in one judicial district of the United States and completed in another, may be dealt with, inquired of, tried, determined and punished in either district.

The third section authorizes the President to employ the militia, land and naval forces of the United States, to suppress insurrection, domestic violence, or unlawful combinations, conspiracies, or in any State, if the constituted authorities of such State shall be unable to, or shall from any cause fail or refuse to protect the people in their rights and privileges.

The fourth section authorizes the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, and to declare martial law in any State where unlawful combinations exist, and be so powerful as to overthrow or set at defiance the constituted authorities of the State, or in any State where the constituted authorities shall connive at, or be in complicity with, such unlawful combinations; provided, that the President shall have first made proclamation, as now provided by law, commanding such insurgents to disperse; and provided, also, that the provisions of this section shall not be in force after the first day of June, 1872.

The dominant party will allow until Monday next for the discussion of the measure.

The Dominican report is not yet made. A difference of opinion exists. A majority of the commission favor reporting in a manner which gives categorical answers to questions without any recommendation for or against annexation.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

The Last Car in the Radical Hand—More Use for the Party Lash—Sumner's Speech—Radical Views About the Nomination of a Soldier in '72—Connecticut Election, &c., &c.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

WASHINGTON, March 28.

If the Radical party should by any possibility succeed in passing a Ku-Klux bill—which may at least be considered doubtful—the President will sign it and have operations under it commenced immediately. Such has been his intention ever since the meeting of Congress; and without the authority of a law to enable him to establish new military governments in the South, movements will be inaugurated for securing calls from the Radical Governors of the States so organized, and in response to them, sending the military again in that section.

This will be the last card the administration party can play, and if it fails, the leaders admit the contest will be hopeless, as far as they are concerned.

The Democrats in the House—at present numbering ninety-nine—will be of apprehension—concerning the speech of Mr. Sumner to be delivered to-morrow. His friends who did not desire the breach between the Massachusetts senator and the Executive to be widened, strove hard to dissuade him from the perilous journey which leads to his delivery, and have been successful only in persuading him to modify certain portions of it. The speech is very lengthy, and will occupy nine columns of the Congressional Record. It is not a speech in the ordinary sense of the word. In Radical circles here, excepting in official quarters, the admission is almost universal that Grant will not be re-nominated, and the fact that the matter has received serious consideration thus early is accepted by some of the President's friends as evidence that his chances for a second term are fast fading from the political horizon. There are others who assert that it will be proposed to re-nominate Grant as it was to bring him out through under the party lash, and that it will be used freely and with wide range, admits of no doubt whatever.

Politicians and others are on the tip-toe of expectation, and to their sense of apprehension—concerning the speech of Mr. Sumner to be delivered to-morrow. His friends who did not desire the breach between the Massachusetts senator and the Executive to be widened, strove hard to dissuade him from the perilous journey which leads to his delivery, and have been successful only in persuading him to modify certain portions of it. The speech is very lengthy, and will occupy nine columns of the Congressional Record. It is not a speech in the ordinary sense of the word. In Radical circles here, excepting in official quarters, the admission is almost universal that Grant will not be re-nominated, and the fact that the matter has received serious consideration thus early is accepted by some of the President's friends as evidence that his chances for a second term are fast fading from the political horizon. There are others who assert that it will be proposed to re-nominate Grant as it was to bring him out through under the party lash, and that it will be used freely and with wide range, admits of no doubt whatever.

There is increasing interest over the election to occur in Connecticut one week from Tuesday next. The Radicals are straining every nerve to prevent a conservative victory. The public departments will send every man home who has a vote in that State, and a careful report will be made if the employee should vote other than in the interests of the administration.

None of the general amnesty bills now before Congress will be taken up during the present session. The intention is to proceed no further in the work of securing the people of the Southern States their just dues, no matter how long the season may last. Proscription is the most taking theme with the Radical element, and not justice. It is one, however, which furnishes the Democratic party with a daily and a weekly weapon, and the more reckless the feeling becomes the more certain is it that the result will be favorable to the conservative element in the North and West. The great object of the administration is to secure the South for the next election, feeling assured that there is no danger North. Private letters from Pennsylvania and Ohio disclose these Radical opinions. They are not shared by the daily press, neither progression or mastery inactivity can save it.

PARSON CAIN ON THE MAYORALTY QUESTION.

"Who is the Coming Man?"

[From the Missionary Record, March 25.]

The General Assembly, which has just closed its eventful career, passed a bill changing the time of holding the elections in this city, and fixing the time for August instead of October. This change will bring on an election for Mayor and Aldermen. Already the thinking people begin to look around for a proper man to occupy that responsible position; also there will be eighteen persons selected as Aldermen, who will have the duties of the people in their hands. Grave and important interests now present themselves to every citizen. The vast amounts of property which need a representation in the Council are not to be overlooked. The commercial prosperity of the metropolis of the State, the vast taxations to carry on the government—all challenge the greatest wisdom and ability to cope with the demands of the times and circumstances. We must secure financial ability in the city government; we need honest and upright men in our city who will stand for the demands of every interest requires. Let the people pay aside all their foolish ideas about Democrat or Republican, and choose the best men—men of integrity, of honesty of heart, and of the highest moral character. This is a strict party question. You need a party to occupy that responsible position; also there will be eighteen persons selected as Aldermen, who will have the duties of the people in their hands. Grave and important interests now present themselves to every citizen. The vast amounts of property which need a representation in the Council are not to be overlooked. The commercial prosperity of the metropolis of the State, the vast taxations to carry on the government—all challenge the greatest wisdom and ability to cope with the demands of the times and circumstances. We must secure financial ability in the city government; we need honest and upright men in our city who will stand for the demands of every interest requires. 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