

Gov. Tillman's Inaugural.

A KEY TO THE POLICY OF THE NEW PARTY IN THE STATE.

Public Officers to be Held to Strict Accountability—Taxes to be More Equitably Imposed and More Rigidly Collected—The Phosphate Royalty to be Doubled—The School System to be Revolutionized—Clemson College to be Larvishly Supported—The South Carolina College to be Allowed at \$30,000 a Year—The Citadel to be Suffered to Exist—A Girls Industrial School Suggested—Constitutional Convention to be Called—Other Recommendations.

COLUMBIA, December 4.—Special: The following is the full text of the inaugural address of Governor Tillman delivered to-day:

Gentlemen of the General Assembly: It is seldom in the history of politics that a man is so honored as I am. It is customary to perform the ceremony of inauguration in public, but only once before that I am aware has it been necessary in South Carolina to hold it in the open air in order to let the people see. To the large number of my fellow-citizens who have done me the honor to come as witnesses of this impressive ceremonial I can only say in simple words, I thank you. To the people I owe my election after a most memorable canvass. To the people I owe allegiance, and to the people I pledge loyal service. This is no mere holiday occasion. The citizens of this great Commonwealth have, for the first time in its history, demanded and obtained for themselves the right to choose their Governor, and I, as the exponent and leader of the revolution which brought about the change, am here to take the solemn oath of office and enter upon the discharge of its onerous duties. Before doing this it is proper, and usage makes it obligatory on me, to make known my views and opinions on the important questions agitating the public mind, and to show where and how the reforms are needed and can be wrought.

With such an audience as this, sympathetic and enthusiastic, I might if I were an orator, attempt to play upon your feelings and win applause by flights of what some call eloquence, but which sensible people as "glittering generalities," the tinsel and brass buttons of a dress parade, meaning nothing and worth nothing. The responsibilities of my position, the reliance of the people upon my leadership, the shortness of our legislative session (one-fourth of which is already gone) alike demand the display of

PRACTICAL STATESMANSHIP AND BUSINESS METHODS.

We are met to do the business of the people; not to evolve bountiful theories or discuss ideal government. We come as reformers, claiming that many things in the government are wrong and that there is room for re- trenchment and reduction of taxes. Our task is to give the people better government and more efficient govern- ment as cheaply as is possible. We must, however, never lose sight of the fact that niggardliness is not always economy. The people will pay even more taxes than at present if they know those taxes are wisely expended and for their benefit.

A POLITICAL PHENOMENON.

Before I proceed to discuss in plain, straightforward fashion the legislation I shall ask you to consider, I desire to congratulate you upon the signal victory achieved by the people at the recent election. Democracy, the rule of the people, has won a victory unparalleled in its magnitude and importance, and those whose hearts were troubled as they watched the trend of national legislation in its unblinking usurpation of authority, its centralizing grasp upon the throats of the State, its abject surrender to the power of corporate money and class interests—all such must lift up joyful hearts of praise to the All-Ruler and feel their faith in the stability of our republican institutions strengthened. In our own State the triumph of Democracy and white supremacy over mongrelism and anarchy, or civilization over barbarism, has been most complete, and it is gratifying to note the fact that this was attended by a political phenomenon which was a surprise to all of us. Our colored fellow-citizens absolutely refused to be led to the polls by their bosses. The opportunity of having their votes freely cast and honestly counted, which, it has been claimed, is denied the negroes, caused scarcely a ripple of excitement among them. They quietly pursued their avocations, and left the conduct of the election to the whites. Many who voted cast their ballots for the regular Democratic ticket, and the consequence is that to-day there is less race prejudice and race feeling between the white men and black men of South Carolina than has existed at any time since 1868.

THE DISMAL EXPERIMENT OF UNIVERSAL NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

Inspired by hate and a cowardly desire for revenge, the rotten Govern- ment built upon it and propped with bayonets—the race antagonism which blazed up and is still alive, the robbery under the form of taxa- tion—the riot and debauchery in our legislative halls and in our Capital, the prostitution and impotence of our Courts of justice while rape, arson and murder stalked abroad in open daylight, the paralysis of trade, the stagnation of agriculture, the demoralization of society, the igno- rance, the apathy, the despair which followed and brooded over the land—all these things have we endured and survived. Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since the two peoples who occupy our territory were taught to hate each other. The carpet-bag vampires and base native traitors who brought it about and have kept it alive for their own sinister purposes are nearly all gone. There never was an unjust reason why

the white men and black men of Carolina should not live together in peace and harmony. Our interests are the same, and our future, whether for weal or woe, cannot be divorced. The negro was a staunch friend and faithful servant during the war, when there was every opportunity to glut upon our wives and children any hatred or desire for revenge. He had none. There is not a single instance on record of any disloyalty to his master's family during that trying and bloody period. The recollection of this fact should make us charitable towards him for the excesses to which he was excited by the opportunity, example and instigation of his white leaders during the dark days I have just depicted. His conduct in the recent political campaign shows that he has begun to think for himself and realizes, at last, that his best friends and safest advisers are the white men who own the land and give him employment. When it is clearly shown that a majority of our colored voters are no longer imbued with Republican ideas the vexed negro problem will be solved, and the nightmare of a return of negro domination will haunt us no more. Cannot I appeal to the magnanimity of the dominant race? Cannot I pledge in your behalf that we white men of South Carolina stand ready and willing to listen kindly to all reasonable complaints? To grant all just rights and safe privileges to these colored people? That they shall have equal protection under the law and a guarantee of fair treatment at our hands?

That the colored people have grievances it is idle to deny. That the memory of the wrongs and insults heaped upon the whites by the blacks during their eight years' rule has provoked retaliation, and often injustice, is true. It was natural and inevitable. But we owe it to ourselves as a Christian people; we owe it to the good name of our State, which has been blackened thereby and its prosperity retarded, that these things should be stopped. The whites have absolute control of the State Govern- ment, and we intend, at any and all hazards, to retain it. The intelligent exercise of the right of suffrage, at once the highest privilege and most sacred duty of the citizen, is as yet beyond the capacity of the vast majority of colored men. We deny without regard to color that "all men are created equal"; it is not true now, and was not true when Jefferson wrote it, but we cannot deny and it is our duty as the governing power in South Carolina to ensure to every individual, black and white, the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

With all the machinery of the law in our hands, with every department of the Government—executive, legisla- tive and judicial—held by white men, with white juries, white solicitors, white sheriffs, it is simply infamous that resort should be had to lynch law and that prisoners should be murdered because the people have grown weary of the law's delay and of its inefficient administration. Negroes have nearly always been the victims; and the confessions is

A BLOT ON OUR CIVILIZATION.

Let us see to it that the finger of scorn no longer be pointed at our State because of this deplorable condition of affairs. Let us hunt out the defects in our laws, let us make plain and simple the rules of Court which have outraged justice by granting continuance and new trials upon technicalities. Let us insist that only intelligent, sober, virtuous citizens sit on our juries. Let punish- ment for crime by whoever committed be prompt and sure, and, with the removal of the cause, the effect will disappear. And as a last desperate remedy to use only when others fail, grant the Executive the power of absolute removal of any sheriff who fails to prevent any such act of violence in his county after the law has taken control of the prisoner.

HAVING THEM TO SPEAK IN EMPHATIC TERMS ON THIS SUBJECT.

I have thought it wise to speak in emphatic terms on this subject because every Carolinian worthy of the name must long to see the time when law shall reassert its sway, and when our people will not be divided into hostile political camps, and all classes and colors shall vie with each other in friendly rivalry to make the State prosperous and happy.

HAVING NEVER ASPIRED TO OR HELD ANY POLITICAL OFFICE BEFORE, MY PLACE IN SOUTH CAROLINA HAS SIMPLY BEEN THAT OF A VOTER AND TAXPAYER.

Hence I am not as conversant with the details of the different departments of the State Government as I could wish. With such knowledge as I possess I will now as briefly as possible direct your attention to such matters of public interest as seem of most importance:

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The improvement of the free school system and the wise adjust- ment of means to ends in the man- agement of our institutions of higher education so as to obtain the best results demand your best care and prompt action. The patriotism, intel- ligence and virtue of the individual citizens is the foundation upon which rests free representative government. The education and proper training of the voters, who must choose the public officers to carry on the State's affairs, is there- fore a sacred duty, which cannot be neglected without injury to the State and to society. No one will dispute this. But how much is South Carolina doing in this behalf? Is our present system a good one? Are we doing all we can to train our youth and fit them for the duties of life? I answer unhesitatingly: No! In our towns and villages by reason of supplementary taxes or voluntary contributions the schools are fairly good. Among the farmers in the country the good school is the excep- tion; while inferior schools, which run three or four months, are the rule. There is just enough effort by the State to paralyze private schools, and there is absolute retrogression in education with corresponding increase of illiteracy. We spend in round numbers for free common schools per annum about five hundred thousand dollars, and for high-

er education about one hundred thousand. This is fifty-two cents per capita of population, which is less than many of you spent here to- day for whiskey, and allows less than two dollars to each child of school age. It must not be forgotten that the whites pay nearly all of this, except what is obtained from the poll tax. Without giving reasons which will readily occur to every thinking mind, I suggest the follow- ing scheme to improve the free school system:

SQUARING THE SCHOOL DISTRICT.

As a basis of permanent and last- ing schools, the respective counties should be divided by a reliable sur- vey into school districts as nearly square as their contour and the larger streams and swamps will permit. These should be of an area not greater than thirty-six nor less than sixteen square miles, in propor- tion as population is dense, and with one white and one colored school in each, all the public school funds should be concentrated to run these alone. The trustees should be elected by the residents of said dis- tricts, only freeholders being eligi- ble to that office. The poll tax should be three dollars instead of one dollar as now, and this will re- quire a constitutional amendment. Empower the trustees to erect suit- able buildings as near the centre of districts as practicable, with money borrowed for that purpose, and set apart for each year so much of the school fund as may be necessary to liquidate the debt in ten years, prin- cipal and interest. Then allow the voters of each district to levy at their option and without further legisla- tive action a supplementary tax for its sole use and benefit up to 5 mills if they so desire, with the privilege to each taxpayer of designating the school to which this additional tax shall be applied. Finally let the State arrange alone if need be, in company with other Southern States if possible, to have suitable school books compiled, or published on royalty, or bought at wholesale, as may be cheapest, and furnish the same to scholars at cost, allowing no others to be used in public schools.

THE SCHOOL-BOOK TRUST.

robs our people of an enormous amount of money every year. It is possible to buy an edition of the Waverly novels, twenty volumes, for one dollar, while a child's primer costs twenty-five cents, and all other books in proportion. Then we find in our school histories Confederate soldiers designated as "rebels" and Southern statesmen called "traitors." The State alone can remedy these evils, and the State should do it. It need not cost anything except to enact the law and put its execution in competent and loyal hands. And in regard to the proposed changes in the management of our free schools there is a popular demand that the State shall do more. Make the system effective, or do nothing, and abolish the two mill tax, leaving edu- cation altogether to the people themselves.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

The condition of our higher insti- tutions of learning is equally unsat- isfactory and the State has been making some costly experiments. For five years there has been active and persistent agitation on the sub- ject of what the State can afford to do in this line and what is best for it to do. One side contended for liter- ary and scientific training and the university system, which necessarily cost the student more and the State more per student educated. The other demanded cheap, practical edu- cation, in which the application of knowledge and science to the busi- ness of bread-winning and the up- building of our agriculture and the mechanic arts should be the main objects. Both sides were right from their standpoints, but no argument or compromise has been possible heretofore. The State has lost three valuable years, has wasted some eighty or ninety thousand dollars, and now the whole system must be overhauled and readjusted in accordance with the will of the people as shown at the recent election. Let us now exert our energies in trying to start right at last, and endeavor to harmonize conflicting interests and opinions. The people have decided that there is no use for a grand uni- versity at Columbia, but they are equally determined that the South Carolina College, as a school of lib- eral education in the classics, in the theoretical sciences and in literature "shall be liberally supported."

ABOLISHING THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM.

After consultation with the pres- ident and some of the professors and trustees, I recommend that the uni- versity system be abolished, the supplemental farm at Columbia sold and the proceeds covered into the treasury, the mechanical department, with all its belongings, transferred to Clemson College, and that a complete reorganization be ordered. A "lib- eral" appropriation, and one which will suffice to give the institution stability and character, ought to be made. Thirty thousand dollars for all purposes and tuition fees can be profitably used, in my opinion, and I hope it will receive that amount by perpetual annual grant, so as to re- move the College altogether from political influences and antagonisms.

THE CLEMSON COLLEGE.

You work on Clemson College, as you have been informed by the re- port of the board of trustees—of which I am one—has been delayed by the failure until recently to make suitable brick on the ground. The founding of a grand agricultural and mechanical industrial school, with all that goes to make up a suitable plant, is a costly job at any time or place. When it is remembered that the trustees had to go in the woods, and must build everything from the ground—college, mechanical depart- ment, laboratory, mess hall, dormito- ries, professors' houses, etc.—it can be readily seen that a large amount of money will be needed. After close calculation, based upon our experi- ence thus far, we find it will require not less than one hundred and fifty

thousand dollars to complete and equip all the necessary buildings in a plain, substantial manner. The last Legislature appropriated forty-three thousand dollars for this purpose, and it will require at least one hun- dred thousand dollars more to com- plete all the departments and start the College. We can build the school without any additional approp- riation, but it will be two years be- fore it can be started, and I will show how this can be done.

HOW TO COMPLETE THE COLLEGE.

The experimental station is in re- ceipt of fifteen thousand dollars per year from the United States Govern- ment. A part of the legitimate work of the station will be the analytical work for the State—fertilizers, per- mits, ores, etc. The thorough inspection and control of the sale of fertilizers and the other necessary duties of the department of agricul- ture, which the people have decried should be abolished, need not cost more than ten thousand dollars, if that much. The transfer of the agri- cultural bureau's work to Clemson College would naturally carry with it the fertilizer fees, amounting this year to \$42,500. After deducting the \$10,000 as above there will be left for use next year an estimated amount equal to \$32,500 from this source.

The department building at Col- umbia should be sold and the pro- ceeds can be applied to building purposes. This building has cost up- wards of \$25,000, and should be worth at least \$20,000. If more, so much the better. The experimental farm at Columbia, I am told, is worth probably \$5,000. So to tabulate, we find:

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Gross privilege tax... \$32,500; Department building... 20,000; Farm at Columbia... 5,000; Available for building purposes... \$57,500.

There is, besides, an annual in- come from the land scrip fund of \$5,750, and about \$4,000 from the Clemson bequest.

AS SOON AS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHALL TAKE PROPER ACTION THERE WILL BE \$15,000 MORE UNDER A RECENT ACT OF CONGRESS, WHICH IS TO BE DIVIDED BETWEEN CLEMSON AND CLIFFLIN, ON AN ANNUAL APPROPRIATION WHICH INCREASES BY \$1,000 PER ANNUM TILL IT REACHES \$25,000.

But this money must be used exclusively for teaching. With this last appropriation from the National Government, half of which must go to Clifflin, there will be no need of the whole of the permanent appropriation of \$5,000 from the State treasury for that school, but the State must appropriate something from the treasury to Clifflin, in order to get this last fund.

ON THE BASIS OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE INCOME FROM THE CLEMSON BEQUEST WE CAN SEE \$95,000 AT LEAST IN SIGHT AS A BUILDING FUND FOR NEXT YEAR, AND \$45,000 IN 1892, ENOUGH TO COMPLETE THE CLEMSON COLLEGE IN TWO YEARS, AND IT IS FOR YOU TO DECIDE WHETHER YOU WILL PUT OFF OPENING THE COLLEGE TILL OCTOBER, 1892, OR GIVE MONEY OUT OF THE TREASURY TO ENABLE IT TO BE COMPLETED AND PUT IN FULL OPERATION NEXT OCTOBER.

BORROWING MONEY ON CLEMSON BEQUEST.

There is another way by which the necessary funds can be raised with- out appropriations. I have consulted the Attorney General in regard to the will of Mr. Clemson and he is of opinion that none of the principal of the Clemson bequest can be used, only the interest being available. But by Act of the Legislature it might be borrowed or used as col- lateral, and there is enough money in sight to run the College after it is completed without calling on the State for a dollar.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Annual income of the institution... \$15,000; Bank fund, United States... 5,000; Land scrip fund, United States... 5,750; One-half Morrill, 1890, fund United States... 2,500; State... 40,000; Privilege tax, say... 40,000; A total of... \$88,250 00.

Some of this can only be used for teaching and reverts to the United States Government if not so em- ployed, and \$25,000 will go to the experiment station and the work of the agricultural department. If the Clemson bequest is borrowed provi- sion should be made for its restora- tion in ten annual instalments, and this is the course I advise. The people are very impatient for the Clem- son College to open, and I hope you will see your way clear to following one or the other of these plans, so as to enable the trustees to complete the buildings and start the College next October.

THE CITADEL ACADEMY.

Of the Citadel Academy I shall have little to say. It is unfortunate, in my opinion, that it was ever re- opened as a beneficiary military school. The money, \$60,000, which has been recently spent in rebuild- ing the burned wing and in repair- ing and equipping the whole build- ing, could in my judgment, have been far more profitably used in erecting an industrial and normal school for girls, and the \$20,000 an- nual appropriation which it takes to run the Citadel would have gone far toward supporting such a valuable and necessary addition to our educa- tional system.

But the money has been spent. The buildings are in splendid order; the school is in a flourishing con- dition, and it holds a warm place in the hearts of many of our people as a landmark of the old regime. A con- servative regard for the rights and wishes of even a small majority ought to have weight with those who have themselves so long been denied what they wish. There are too few lights in South Carolina for us to wantonly put out any of them, and, for the present, I recommend that the usual appropriation be granted. Under the terms of the Land Grant Act, mili- tary science and tactics must be taught at the Clemson College. At that College a boy can learn every- thing now imparted at the Military Academy and much besides. Its in- dustrial feature will help poor boys to educate themselves without dis- crimination, while the Citadel fur- nishes free education, board, clothing, etc., to a limited number under con- ditions which savor often of favorit-

ism. Whether after the Clemson College is started and there will be duplication of teaching force and identity of curriculum with the Citadel the State can afford to maintain three schools for her sons and not one for her daughters will be for the people to decide. At present the Citadel is doing better work in prop- ortion to cost than the University. When, however, the latter shall be reorganized as proposed, and when the Clemson College shall furnish the military training and practical scientific education which can now be obtained only at the Military Academy, that school will have to show cause for its existence as a charity school for military training.

AN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

But, whatever is done in that re- gard, there is imperative need for an industrial school for girls in the State. Our system of education for women looks to training their minds and giving them accomplishments for the adornment of society. But re- verses of fortune or death often bring the necessity of bread-winning, and the tender mother, left a widow, or daughter, left an orphan, finds how little worth, in dollars and cents, is the music, drawing and painting, etc., upon which money and time had been lavished in her so-called educa- tion. The State has never done any- thing for its women except appropri- ating a small amount to the Win- throp Training School for Teachers. It would be wrong to enter in com- petition with our private female col- leges by establishing an ordinary school; but one in which the industrial arts and sciences, telegraphy, designing, stenography, bookkeeping, the chemistry and practice of cook- ery, housekeeping, etc., are taught will, I am sure, supply a long felt and pressing want.

The State may not be prepared to undertake this work right at this time, but justice and enlightened statesmanship will not long allow it to be delayed. As a step in this direction I recommend that the Gov- ernor be authorized to appoint three commissioners to ascertain and re- port on:

First, What are the proper require- ments for such an institution and what will be the probable annual cost of its maintenance.

Second, What inducement in the way of grounds, buildings, moneys or other securities may be offered by persons or towns in the State to secure its location, and to make recommendations thereon after visit- ing the same if necessary.

The expense incurred in getting this information should not exceed three hundred dollars, to be paid out of the Governor's contingent fund.

THE WINTHROP TRAINING SCHOOL.

After a thorough examination of the methods and work of the Win- throp Training School I am positive in saying no money spent by the State for education promises a richer return than that given this institu- tion. The cry comes from all over this State for better teachers and trained teachers. There are in our white public schools 1,102 male and 1,586 female teachers, showing that women are most in demand. What effort is made to supply it? The State gives \$150 per annum to one woman beneficiary from each county who attends the Winthrop School, and none are admitted except those who are avowedly preparing them- selves as teachers. The course is one year. Now mark the contrast. Three hundred dollars are spent an- nually on each beneficiary at the Citadel; two are allowed from each county; the course is four years, and the graduates are virtually released from the obligation to teach in the public schools while many of them have left the State as soon as they graduated. Truly it would appear that

"MAN TO MAN SO UNJUST, IS ALWAYS SO WOMAN."

And here we have not only injus- tice, but a woful lack of common sense and no regard for that ad- justment of means to ends which alone can justify taxation for education. I will close these extended remarks on education by repeating the words of a deep thinker: "If we educate our men their children may be educated; but when we educate our women we know their children will be educated." Carolina's lovers are her bright- est jewels. Love, patriotism, justice, all demand that they be no longer neglected or treated like poor rela- tions.

THE LUNATIC ASYLUM.

I have made one brief visit to the Lunatic Asylum and have made such inquiry and investigation as I could in regard to its system of man- agement. The institution is very full and the appropriation for this year has been \$110,000, with an income in addition of about \$10,000 from pay patients. The outlay on this charity after deducting the interest on the State debt is about one-fifth of our entire State expenditure. The report of the superintendent shows 145 white and 333 colored patients in the institution and a per capita ex- penditure of 37 cents a day.

But the comparison with institu- tions whose patients are all white is unfair and misleading. A glance at the accommodations, clothing, etc., of the colored patients shows that they do not cost anything like this amount, and, therefore, the white patients are costing much more per capita than is shown in the report. I am not prepared to say whether there is room for retrenchment or not in the management, but I am very positive on two points: First, there are people in the Asylum who ought not to be there, because they can be more economically supported elsewhere; and second, a change should be made in the law so as to require each county to support its own insane. There are many rea- sons for this change; which I will enumerate.

THE ASYLUM REGENTS AND THE OTHER BOARDS.

In connection with this matter of boards I find that all the regents of the Asylum hold office for six years, and that their terms all begin the same year; that the six State trustees of Clemson College all have the same tenure and go out together, while the

board of commissioners of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind asylum and the board of visitors of the Citadel have a life tenure. This appears to me to be all wrong. There is no chance of injecting new blood into these impor- tant administrative positions if such is needed, and then there is always the danger of an abrupt change in the management of these important institutions, which a change of all old men for new might bring about. They should be continuing bodies with new men when needed coming in, but preserving these institutions from harm by retaining a part of the old appointees. Long tenure of office has invariably produced careless- ness and the growth of abuses, and new brooms sometimes sweep too clean. I advise that the General Assembly take steps to remedy these defects in existing laws.

THE PENITENTIARY PROBLEM.

Next in magnitude and importance to the Asylum of our public institu- tions is the Penitentiary. The number of convicts in the latter is nearly the same as the patients in the former, and I am of opinion that the Penitentiary ought at least to sup- port the Asylum. The results ob- tained at the institution have not been satisfactory to the people, and the bane of its management is politi- cians. The General Assembly, when called on to fill positions of honor or profit, finds itself besieged by a class of men who are hunting a "soft place" and who have or make claims on individual members for votes as a reward for political support in the past, or promise of such support in the future. Officers requiring a high order of business talent are given to men who can speak well or who have rendered political services, while they are wholly lacking in ad- ministrative ability.

This being the case, it is small wonder that we so often find mis- management in government business and incompetent men in high offices. This is a vice that is inherent in re- publican government, and in propor- tion as its influence is great or small in legislative bodies is that govern- ment good or bad. The antidote is an opposition party to watch those in office and show to the people any shortcomings. We have been denied this blessing in South Carolina by reason of the necessity of the whites re- maining united. But the present Ad- ministration and the present General Assembly will be watched by the people as no other in our history has been watched and we must bear al- ways in mind that reform cannot come from any such line of action. Having given this caution, I will rely upon your sense of duty to vote intel- ligently and for the best interest of the State in fulfilling all offices in your gift. In making these observa- tions I in no wise mean to cast any reflections upon the gentlemen in charge of the Penitentiary.

FARMING OUT THE CONVICTS.

I have only a few observations to make in reference to the manage- ment of the institution. Its failure to yield anything like an adequate income from so much labor is at- tributed to the losses by freshets in the river. Year after year in spite of these losses the attempt to farm has been persisted in, and I see the board has presumed to make con- tracts on these same places for next year, thus tying the hands of the next Administration. If the State is going to farm, it ought to work its own land so as to derive the benefit of all improvements. It ought to farm or it ought not, and in my judgment, the best results to make the institution yield an income com- mensurate with its worth can be se- cured by removing all restrictions on leasing or hiring the convicts and allowing them to be employed in any work, public or private, that pays best. Agricultural labor is, as always has been, the least remunera- tive of any in the world, and I think the best results will follow when the directors of the Penitentiary are al- lowed to contract for labor at so much for so many days' labor of ten hours, the contractor having nothing to do with finding, clothing or guard- ing the convicts. The State should retain control of the convicts to pre- vent abuse.

RETAINING THE SWAMP LANDS.

The recent purchase of a farm which is subject to overflow is con- trary to law, and therefore, to be condemned; but I think the law which forbade it was unwise, because when the State shall by leases keep out the water the object lesson may induce capitalists to invest in these swamp lands and reclaim them. With the large amount of labor at command it is certainly cheap to keep out water than to buy up lands as rich. One such farm the State ought to have, both to show the value of these lands and to employ its surplus labor at certain times; but pressing the convicts on the plan I promise will, I am sure, yield better results. But I must hurry on, for there are so many important ques- tions with which we have to deal that I shall tire your patience and still leave much unsaid.

WANTED—A NEW CONSTITUTION.

It is twenty years since the Con- stitution under which we live was forced upon an unwilling people by aliens. While many of its provisions are wise and cannot be improved, there is much in it unsuited to our condition and wants. All attempts to remedy its most glaring defects have failed. Some provisions in it cannot be obeyed, others we have never tried to obey, while others still have been trampled under foot to the great injury of certain counties and sections. I cannot consume time in pointing out all these things, but I am unalterably fixed in the belief that a convention of the people should be called to make the change if needed and incorporate such addi- tional features as will adapt it to our people and their surroundings. The cost of such a convention should not weigh in the least against such ac- tion, for the benefits to be expected will so far exceed the cost that money cannot enter as a factor. The people, I am sure, will give a new or-

THE GEORGIA LAW.

but if it fails to obtain the right men there will be no relief to the people. We must get men like the Georgia commissioners, able, honest and fear- less, or we had better abolish the commission and make no attempts at controlling the railroads at all. In this connection it may be well to say that in seeking to control railroads and other corporations strict regard should be had for their rights and interests. Corporations are not pub- lic enemies, although they are, if un- bridled, apt to be oppressive. Much of the material development and progress of the age is the fruit of cor- porate effort, and many men, acting under one head and guided by one will, have done for our country what no individual could have possibly accomplished. Therefore, we should carefully watch to see that nothing is done to injure our railroad or manufacturing companies. Let us protect the people against their greed, but let us be just and fair in our dealings with them.

EQUALIZING THE TAXES.

The question of equalizing taxes is one of the most important and perplexing with which we have to deal, and while the laws are defective their administration is equally at fault. I will touch on the latter trouble first. Under the law auditors and treas-

ganic law and are willing to pay it. If they do not they can be forced by their votes and the servants of the people should not refuse to do them the opportunity. But, we are demanding a new Constitution. Events have shown, in no other way, that our people are equal- ized to allow no want of a prudent disregard by the Govern- ment of the present insti- tution. The wrong perpetuated by failure to reapportion represents will be righted beyond doubt by the Legislature, but I feel in duty bound to call your attention to another outrageous and uncalculated fringing of its clear and takable behests which has gone unchallenged for ten years. I allude to the DIVISION OF CHARLESTON COUNTY.

THE DIVISION OF CHARLESTON COUNTY.

There is no doubt in the mind of Charleston County, as it is present, is unconstitutional. It is the required area, and therefore, the Act creating Berkeley County is no law. It can only remain of force by failure on your part to discharge your duty as required by your own office. Without pretending to advise what shall be done I point out the defects and leave to you the remedy. There is one aspect of the case to which I direct your attention. The Constitution of 1868 gives Charleston County two Senators, and it was clearly by reason of its large area and population. Now if that county is divided and a new county created, the question arises shall the same area and population have three Senators by reason of such division, and if so, what part of the country shall retain the name of Charleston and thus hold its two Senators? It is just as easy, just as lawful and just as right for that part not containing the city to claim and be given the name as the other, and I am, there- fore, clearly of opinion that the di- vision of that county carries with it the loss of a Senator to that part which retains the name, else injustice is done to the rest of the State. Here is most pressing reason for a consti- tutional convention, for I do not see how else the middle is to be settled without ordering a new election in that county.

REGULATING THE RAILROADS.

Thus far matters which require outlay and increased expenditure of from which no income is derived have been discussed. I will next touch on the means of saving the people money, reducing and equaliz- ing taxes and increasing the State's income from the phosphate royalty. There is nothing which will save the people more money than a good railroad law, administered by an honest, impartial, fearless commis- sion. The people have demanded relief from the imposition and injus- tice of these powerful corporations. Hitherto all efforts to legislate in their behalf have failed because the railroads have wielded an undue influence with our General Assembly.

WITH THE PRESENT BODY I AM SURE THE ONLY QUESTION IS AS TO WHAT IS BEST TO BE DONE, AND, AFTER SUCH INVESTIGATION AS I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO GIVE THE SUBJECT, I UNHESITATINGLY ADVISE THAT A LAW SIMILAR TO THAT OF GEORGIA BE ENACTED.

The people of that State are perfectly satisfied with it and the railroads must be, because our sister State leads in the miles of new road constructed. Whether the choice of commissioners shall devolve upon the people, the General Assem- bly or the Executive, is for you to determine. Our platform demands that it be given to the people, but an immediate reorganization of the com- mission is desirable, while our next election is two years off, and if pro- fer men are selected I am sure that the State will receive instant and great benefit.

OF ONE THING I AM CERTAIN, THE DIVISION OF THE STATE INTO SECTIONS FROM WHICH THE COMMISSIONERS MUST BE DRAWN IS WRONG IN PRINCIPLE AND IN POLICY.

We need the best men for the place, let them come from where they may, and let us hope that as there was absolute obliteration of the line between "low-country" and "up-country" in the last political cam- paign, and the reform wave swept from the mountains to the sea, so may the Democrats who won and those who lost bear and forbear with each other, and locking shields again, as becomes brethren and Carolinians, forget and forgive the bit- terness which has been engendered. Let us, in future, know no sectional line in the State, and in selecting men for positions of honor or trust ask not whether a candidate is a "Reformer" or not, but whether he is the best man for the place. De- mocracy and fitness alone should de- termine the matter. A law may be ever so good and wise, but if it is not properly administered it will fail to give satisfaction. The General As- sembly may enact

THE GEORGIA LAW.

but if it fails to obtain the right men there will be no relief to the people. We must get men like the Georgia commissioners, able, honest and fear- less, or we had better abolish the commission and make no attempts at controlling the railroads at all. In this connection it may be well to say that in seeking to control railroads and other corporations strict regard should be had for their rights and interests. Corporations are not pub- lic enemies, although they are, if un- bridled, apt to be oppressive. Much of the material development and progress of the age is the fruit of cor- porate effort, and many men, acting under one head and guided by one will, have done for our country what no individual could have possibly accomplished. Therefore, we should carefully watch to see that nothing is done to injure our railroad or manufacturing companies. Let us protect the people against their greed, but let us be just and fair in our dealings with them.

EQUALIZING THE TAXES.

The question of equalizing taxes is one of the most important and perplexing with which we have to deal, and while the laws are defective their administration is equally at fault. I will touch on the latter trouble first. Under the law auditors and treas-

UNDER THE LAW AUDITORS AND TREAS-

urers are willing to pay it. If they do not they can be forced by their votes and the servants of the people should not refuse to do them the opportunity. But, we are demanding a new Constitution. Events have shown, in no other way, that our people are equal- ized to allow