

The Tillman Plan.

A Logical Analysis of its Operation--It Won't Do.

Let us suppose both factions ratify and accept this proposition, and see how it will work.

We will have a primary election in Greenville county, let us say. A caucus of Conservatives will put up three men. A caucus of Reformers will put up three men. Their nomination in the primary will be a mere form. The people—the organized Democrats—will have no choice as to who will represent them in a convention in which their rights as citizens and their interests and the interests of their children will be finally settled. Everything will be out and dried and settled. The delegates will be chosen and pledged. The primary will be a form and farce.

Suppose, however, there are no caucuses. Suppose Conservatives and Reformers are candidates before the people on their merits? Who is to guarantee that the county will not elect six Reformers for six Conservatives? What does an agreement between Tillman and Evans on one side and Barnwell, Hemphill, McGowan and Sloan on the other amount to in a popular election? Who can give a bond on one side or the other for the faithful fulfillment of these agreements, and guarantee that there will be no "fudging"?

But suppose all the agreements can be carried out exactly? Suppose all the Reformers obey Tillman and all the Conservatives obey Barnwell? Then we will have peace, will we?

We will have a Constitutional convention pledged to perpetuate fraud in our elections and make perjury a patriotic duty.

We are to have an educational qualification which will disfranchise no white man. Everybody knows that is impossible without fraud and perjury, and even worse things.

It is to be the Mississippi plan. Under that three men in each county will determine the qualifications of each voter, will say whether he does or does not read and explain intelligently a clause of the State Constitution. If these election commissioners do their duty honestly, as they will take an oath to do, they will disqualify thousands of white men and qualify thousands of negroes. If they are appointed not to disfranchise a white man and to disfranchise all the negroes they will perjure themselves a hundred times a day. And that thing will be in the Constitution, remember. We are to leave for our children's children a system which will require at least three respectable men in every county to perjure themselves frequently every year, which will make false swearing—the violation of an oath—a regular, permanent, recognized, necessary and respected department of politics.

We will do even worse. We will fix and have a system under which any party or faction or man in power may stifle the people forever. Under that system the election commissioners—appointed, mark you, by the man in power—will say who shall or who shall not vote—will make the poll lists as long or as short as they please.

If that system had been here in 1890 John Peter Richardson, then Governor could have appointed commissioners who could have elected A. C. Haskell Governor over B. R. Tillman in the face of a majority of 40,000.

It is all very well to argue that only negroes are to be disfranchised by the practical working of the system of perjury, but we know how that is. From swindling negroes we soon learn to swindle each other. We have seen Democrats swindle each other in Democratic primaries, Reformers swindle each other in Reform primaries.

We cannot establish a system of fraud and perjury and say "it must stop here." We cannot teach men that if it is right for them to swear falsely to cheat negroes it is wrong to swear falsely to cheat white men. We have seen that in the operations of the election law we have. It was used successfully to disfranchise thousands of white men who wanted to vote "no" against this very convention.

The total of the agreement is that the Conservatives are to have not quite half the convention if they will agree to obey Tillman's will, to give the State the Mississippi election law, which he has been scheming for all the time and which will enable Evans to name his own successor and Tillman to carry the State in his breeches pocket and use it to trade with in Federal politics.

What do Conservatives want with representation in a convention, the action of which is determined beforehand, that action being the will of Tillman, Gary and Evans? What good will come from sending a lot of figure-heads to draw \$2 a day apiece and vote according to agreement?

Peace? We could have made peace on these terms two years or four years ago. No very great wisdom is required to secure peace by unconditional surrender to the enemy.

The whole conference and results look to us like the work of two sets of men both sacred out of their wits.

Tillman was afraid the "Forty" element of the Reformers would make peace with the Conservatives and clean him up. The Conservatives were afraid they were going to be devoured and were willing to make peace on any terms.

We do not believe the agreement will amount to anything, except to strengthen the "Forty" element. That element and Tillman both offer peace. Tillman offers peace on the Mississippi plan of an election system. We hope the "Forty" will offer peace on the basis of trying to make a fair, safe Constitution and submitting it to the people for ratification.

Between the two plans the Conservatives and free Reformers would not hesitate long.

It is a question between peace by abject surrender and peace by honorable alliance.

We do not believe the Conservatives of the Piedmont country will be bound or even influenced by any agreement made by Mr. Hemphill, Mr. Barnwell and their few conferees. We do not believe they will go into any primary election on any terms. If the worst comes to the worst they will stand aside and wait until election day and vote as they like, regardless of nominations, factions and caucuses.

They will have the satisfaction of knowing that they could not possibly get anything worse than Mr. Hemphill and Mr. Barnwell have agreed in their behalf to accept and the fun and consolation of making some kind of an honest fight for their principles and for the rights of the people and the safety of the State.—*Greenville News.*

Tillman in Washington.

His Recent Interview Causes a Sensation in the South Carolina Colony.

WASHINGTON, February 22.—Senator-elect Tillman's interview, published in *The News and Courier* yesterday, together with an editorial commending the reconciliation of the Tillman and Anti-Tillman factions in South Carolina, has created considerable excitement in the Palmetto colony here. At the Capitol to-day the subject was freely discussed and by the members of the South Carolina delegation, and there is a disposition on the part of Representatives Izlar and Shell to discredit the sincerity of the compromise, while Representatives Latimer and Talbert accept the published reports and the verbal statements of Messrs. Tillman, Evans and Senator Irby as a guarantee of its accuracy. It appears that Senator-elect Tillman informed Messrs. Latimer, Talbert and Strait of the recent conference held in Columbia, so that they were prepared for the published accounts of the reconciliation that did not reach here until this morning.

Senator-elect Tillman and Governor Evans spent several hours to-day in the House of Representatives with Messrs. Latimer, Strait, and Talbert and it is said that the Senator-elect derived considerable amusement from watching the expressions upon the faces of Representatives Izlar and Shell while they read *The News and Courier* of the 22d. It gave them the first intimation they received on the subject.

When your correspondent met Representative Shell, in the House lobby, with Representative Izlar and Ex-Representative John J. Hemphill, the Captain was so highly incensed that he could hardly discuss the subject with his usual prudence. He denounced the whole transaction as a deep laid plot on the part of Tillman and his followers to control the coming Constitutional Convention. He even denounced some of the leading Conservatives, who are said to have been parties to the "Peace conference." He declared that Tillman had pulled the wool over their eyes and vowed he would never submit to the terms of the compact made between Tillman and those who have heretofore been his open enemies. Judge Izlar was equally emphatic in announcing that he would never submit to the dictation of a conference that seemed to him to be insincere and unauthorized. It was evident that neither Capt. Shell nor Judge Izlar were consulted before the conference was held, and they have so little faith in anything that Senator-elect Tillman may do or say, that it is difficult for them to realize that the Conservatives would enter into negotiations with him.

Senator Butler declined to discuss the subject until he has had time to read the details of the conference, but said he would have something to say about it later on. The Senator's old friend, "Bunch" McBee, who is here in the interest of the pooling bill, expressed great surprise at the unexpected combination of the contending factions in South Carolina, and remarked that he would have to study out the causes which suggested the harmonizing of the factions before expressing an opinion as to the effect it will have on the political situation in the State.

Senator-elect Tillman said he had nothing to add to the interview published in *The News and Courier*. He said he endeavored to make his position perfectly clear, and he thought he had succeeded. He added that he was about to run over to Philadelphia with Governor Evans to make a personal inspection of some of the charitable institutions in that city, with a view to suggesting certain improvements in similar institutions in South Carolina. Before returning to Washington he will visit New York.

Representative Latimer heartily endorsed the "Peace conference" and declared that it was the best thing that could happen for the Democratic party in the State. He derived considerable satisfaction from the statements of Capt.

Shell and Judge Izlar to the effect that Tillman had pulled the "wool over the eyes of the Conservatives." He commended the action of Tillman and said the majority of the people in the State would approve his course in this matter.

Second Auditor J. Stob Farrow, who was a visitor at the Capitol to-day, admitted that he knew nothing of the conference until he saw the newspaper report, but he doubted the sincerity of the Tillman end of the compromise.—*News and Courier.*

Repudiated By Irby.

He Kicks Vigorously Against The Tillman Deal.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 25. To the Editor of *The State*: I am receiving letters from all over the State protesting against the consummation of a scheme or agreement between Senator-elect Tillman and Governor Evans on one side and John Calvin Hemphill and Joe Barwell, of Charleston, on the other.

My friends of the Reform movement seem to be anxious to know whether I am acting in collusion with Governor Evans against what they conceive to be a sacrifice and surrender of principle and their rights in the election of delegates to the State convention. I wish you would favor me with the publication of this letter which must necessarily be brief, to say: That I was not consulted by either side to this agreement, and without my subsequent acquiescence cannot be bound in any respect by what has been done.

In 1885 when Tillman commenced his most remarkable career I was among the first who echoed for him in Laurens County. Laurens and two or three others endorsed his position in the election of members of the Legislature and we went to the Legislature to be sneered at and almost spit upon by the ring or clan in the State that was controlled absolutely by the Cal. Hemphill and Joe Barwell class of politicians. When we had reached the climax, the crisis, Tillman backed down and wrote a letter withdrawing from politics or having anything to do with it. Men who were as much in sympathy with his ideas and opinions as he was, even in apparently ignominious minority, were unwilling to follow him and forsake the people whom we had dared to lead, and they continued the fight in the Legislature. He was tied hands and foot. He could not have gone before the people of South Carolina for any office after his letter of retirement for the death of Mr. Clemson, bequeathing that property to the State for the benefit of the farmers' boys. This gave him a new opportunity and at my suggestion he came back into the political arena. We met at Dan Tompkins' house on the line of Edgefield and Abbeville counties, in the spring of 1889 and agreed upon a fight that would give the people of the State control and dethrone the party led by Cal. Hemphill and Joe Barwell. The condition and understanding was that Tillman was to lead and be the nominee of the farmers for Governor. This is where the March convention scheme was agreed upon and the work carried on by the preparation of a manifesto which was published in January following, that calling the March convention, which nominated Tillman for Governor.

So far as I am concerned, results were all that I wanted. I did not expect any position and my promotion to the speakership and to the United States Senate was as great a surprise to me as it was to my many friends. Since my election to the Senate I have tried in every respect to be true to the people who elected me both in Washington and at home. One of the main principles that was advocated at the March convention and intended to be carried to success, was the calling of a Constitutional convention, and I may say here that it was the hardest fight that we ever had since 1890. We had Cal. Hemphill, Joe Barwell, the editor of *The State* and of the *Greenville News* opposed to that call. I say it with proper respect and friendship to our present Governor, that when the crisis came and it looked as if defeat would follow the action of the State convention, he fled the State and could not be found by telegram or letter. Senator Tillman stood true to me, as chairman of the party, and did all he could. We did our best to make this call and are now being abused and vilified all over the United States on the charge of corruption and fraud. I had at least expected him to stand by the people whom he had led since 1890 and not go into any alliance or compromise (for compromise means a surrender of principle) with such men as Barnwell and Hemphill. I know what it means after the most faithful loyalty to Tillman since 1885 up to this time. I also know what it means after my throwing myself into the breach just one year ago to save Evans from disgraceful defeat, to dare to oppose any scheme that they may agree upon. If the terms of agreement between this crowd has been fair and honorable to the people and to the Reform movement, I would not say a word, but it means the defeat of the object of the Constitutional Convention and the sooner the people of the State know it, the better for them.

I speak as an individual Reformer and not as State chairman, because as State chairman I have already acted and had hoped that the primary scheme would have saved the party from a wreck. I want it understood now and for all time that I will not and do not agree to any equal division of the delegates to the

convention. As for Laurens, we propose to stand upon principles and to elect our delegates from among men who can be trusted to take care of the rights of the poor men and genuine Democrats of the country. And agreement by Tillman or Evans is gratuitous and cannot bind us. An equal division with a lot of sworn Conservatives and half of the Tillmanites who will prove treacherous when the crisis comes, means an utter failure of the convention to take care of the rights and the property of the people of the State and white supremacy. Before the election in November I intimated in an interview that a division of delegates according to numerical strength would possibly be fair, but knowing that we controlled three-fifths at least, I would not have imposed the idea of an equal division upon any sane man. When I was contending before Cleveland, after having sustained him with a majority of 50,000, Hemphill and Barwell refused any proposition looking to an equitable distribution of the patronage and I got no support from the newspapers opposed to our faction, but on the contrary, they said that Reformers were not Democrats and were not entitled to any showing. Yet these men, Barnwell and Hemphill, a prominent cuckoo for Cleveland, invites Tillman, the leader of the opposition to Cleveland, and who has his pitchfork ready to stab into the bowels of the President, into a conference to settle the question as to what the different counties should do. And Tillman walks into the parlor of the spider.

My election to the Senate has not in any way changed my feelings to the people of the State. If we, the Reformers, stand firm we can win, but we had better be defeated by allowing Cal. Hemphill and Gonzales to go with the negro than to humbly surrender in a way like this. I humbly suggest that Tillman, the agitator, now the pacifist, has been completely dethroned, and Evans, if he is sincere, has been bamboozled. As for myself I think any sane man will see that I have been betrayed; but honorable defeat is much better and preferable to me in the selection of delegates to this convention than a dishonorable compromise. It is well enough for the Forty, the leaders of the Conservatives and the pacifists, to bring up and get ready for the fight, for I am satisfied that the true men who were in this movement from its incipency from principle will not submit to any such agreement. The combination will not do. A combination between a 'possum and coon can't win as every Reformer knows they cannot sleep in the same log long.

I am very busy here, but after the 4th of March I will return home and take a hand in this fight, sink or swim, live or die, politically. I am ready to stand by the principles of the first March convention as against all comers and all of its enemies. The main principle of that convention was a Constitutional Convention to be controlled by men who were its friends and not its enemies.

The poor white men of the State are not safe with any such possum and coon combination. Their rights under the homestead exemption and qualification clause are imperiled. They cannot afford to trust men like Colonel Hemphill, Joe Barwell, Gonzales and A. B. Williams. It would have been far better had the convention failed in November last than that the Reform movement should be defeated and the rights and liberties of the poor white men of the State imperiled by men like these. I believe that Tillman and Evans were sincere, but they were simply gulled into a compromise that means the destruction of the Reform movement and protection for the poor white men of the State, but for whom Tillman in the Senate and Evans as Governor would have been impossibilities. I do not mean to denounce Tillman or Evans. I weep for them in being monkeyed with by any such crew. Cal. Hemphill and Barwell were original members of the Forty. When the primary scheme was promulgated by the Democratic committee they were whipped and could not destroy the Reform movement. Then they proposed to muzzle me as chairman of the party and the whole Democratic organization by going into an agreement with Tillman and Evans, which I respectfully submit will not only ruin the Democratic party, but the Reform movement of this State. Respectfully,

J. L. M. Irby.

The tailor bird takes its name from its habit of sewing together two leaves in order to make a pocket, in which it places its nest. Its thread is a vegetable fiber, though it will, in preference use a string, thread or cord, if such can be found.

They are so alarmed in Germany for fear the next child soon to be born to the emperor and empress will be a boy that prayers have been offered in some of the churches by the superstitious, not to say unscientific, subjects of the empire to avert the calamity, says the *Boston Herald*. According to an old prophecy, the Hohenzollern dynasty will surely fall when an emperor has seven sons. As William is already the father of six, and but one daughter, it will be understood that a mate for the little girl is more desirable than the unlucky number seven. But it does not need another boy in the family to open the eyes of the German empire to the rude pace its "God-appointed" ruler is going at the present time, for surely the sex of an infant can have little to do with the discomfort and the alarm that are now animating all classes.

The Compromise Plan.

An Address to the Conservative Voters of the State.

Columbia State, February 26.

The Conservative pacification committee met in Columbia last night in room 10 at Wright's hotel and after a discussion continuing till after midnight, prepared an address to the people of the State. In view of the "manifesto" of State Chairman Irby, published this morning, repudiating the compromise scheme in toto, it might truly be said that the plot deepens and the Constitutional convention fight will likely take a course never dreamed of, so far as the alignment of factions and sub-factions is concerned.

Among those present at last night's meeting were: Col. L. W. Youmans, Senator Barnwell, Major J. C. Hemphill, Richard I. Manning, Col. George Johnstone, H. Haynsworth, Altamont Moses, Samuel Dibble, Butler Hagood, W. L. Roddey, T. M. Raysor, J. P. McNeill, Leroy Springs, Henry T. Thompson, W. C. McGowan and others.

To the Conservative Democracy of South Carolina:

The commercial, industrial and political welfare of South Carolina should constrain the people of the State to work together. They speak the same tongue, they cherish the same traditions, they are governed by the same laws and institutions, they owe allegiance to the same State.

During the last four years we have been sorely divided on public questions. We do not deem it necessary or proper to attempt any review of the causes which have resulted in the division of our people into hostile factions. This is not the time nor the occasion for crimination or re-primand. The crisis confronting us is far too serious to admit of partisan treatment. We desire to bring about reconciliation. We would promote harmony. We would counsel a spirit of self-sacrifice as the surest means of self-preservation, and would urge upon all our people the patriotic duty of uniting now for the good of the State. Let us have a truce between the political factions in the State. We can secure peace without the sacrifice of principle or self-respect—peace on fair conditions, peace with honor.

At the last session of the General Assembly, in pursuance of a vote of the people, an act was passed providing for the holding of a Constitutional Convention. This convention will reconstruct the fundamental law of the State. Its powers are unlimited. The result of its deliberations will affect for good or ill every department of our political, social and industrial life. It should not represent any political faction. It should be composed of the wisest, safest and best men in the State, without regard to factional affiliations. This great work should be undertaken in the spirit of patriotic devotion to the State, and not with a view to party success or partisan advantage. The interests committed to its care are too important to incur the perils of a bitter and angry campaign. The convention should be controlled in its work by a spirit of calm and judicial fairness, so that when its labors have been finished it will meet with the approval of all good citizens of the State.

For the purpose of securing this end, patriotic citizens in different groups throughout the State and of varying political opinion for months past have been counseling and conferring with each other and as the result of this earnest thought, we are prepared to advise and urge upon you the acceptance of the following as the basis of action for the election of delegates to the convention, which it is believed will meet the acquiescence of all who desire a cessation of political strife amongst white Democrats.

First. That each county, acting for itself as to the question of election, by primary or otherwise, as deemed best by the county executive committee shall give each faction equal representation in the convention.

Second. That in those counties where primary elections are held all persons participating in the same shall take a pledge to abide the result and support the nominees at the general election. In counties where the nominations are made otherwise than by primary both factions in such county shall be pledged in like manner to support such nominees.

Third. In all counties where the delegates shall be nominated by primary election at every voting precinct or in every club shall be equally divided between the factions.

Fourth. That the delegates from both factions shall be selected with the understanding that they shall be pledged to the following principles:

(a) Such qualifications of the suffrage as will guarantee white supremacy, and that no white man shall be disfranchised except for crime.

(b) A constitution of principles, and not dealing in legislation, but leaving the Legislature full control of the free schools and requiring the Legislature to liberally support them. The constitution shall not provide a system of police regulation, but this and all kindred questions shall be regarded as within the scope of legislative authority.

(c) The constitution when adopted shall not be submitted to the people, such a course being unnecessary if

the convention be representative of the whole white people of the State.

(d) The convention shall provide for the preservation of the homestead. Upon this basis and these principles the Conservatives and Reformers will secure equal representation in the convention, and the delegates will be chosen under absolutely fair conditions, the Conservatives and Reformers being guaranteed equal voice in the selection of delegates.

We desire to impress upon the Conservatives and Reform voters of the State the value of this basis of representation and these principles which will bury discord and confusion and bring peace to our people.

We urge upon all patriotic citizens without regard to factional lines that it is their highest duty to accept this solution of the differences between our people. We are satisfied that it will secure peace to the State and a Constitutional Convention representing no faction and committed to no policy but the preservation of good government in South Carolina and honest and fair elections. In this movement we are friends of all whose aim is the cessation of strife and who will unite with us upon these principles.

By order of the conference.
T. M. RAYSOR, Chairman.

The Fifteen Days Allowed

Before Executions Will Issue After March 1st.

It has been a question for some time as to whether the extension of the time for paying taxes till March 1, carried with it the customary fifteen days' time after that date, allowed ordinarily before executions would issue. Saturday the Comptroller General took action in the matter, and issued a circular giving his decision. He also explains the important change in the law relating to the non-payment of polls. Here is the important circular:

COLUMBIA, S. C., Feb. 19, 1895.

Mr. —, Treasurer — County: Sir: After the first day of March, 1895, you will collect taxes with the 15 per cent penalty added until the 15th day of March, 1895. The Treasurer will immediately thereafter issue executions against all delinquent property and place in the hands of the sheriff for the collection of the taxes.

I wish to begin the annual settlements in the State the first of May, 1895, or as soon thereafter as possible for taxes of 1893-94, and county treasurers are urged to be prepared for such settlement at any time after that day.

It is not necessary that treasurers should issue executions against delinquent poll taxpayers where there is neither real or personal property. Our law makes the non-payment of poll a misdemeanor and punishable accordingly. In such cases the treasurers will make the proper affidavits (blanks having been furnished or are on hand in this office) that such poll taxpayer is liable and has not paid his poll, and place affidavits in the hands of trial justices. The trial justice, upon this affidavit, will proceed as in ordinary cases of misdemeanor, and is entitled to costs in the same manner. Trial justices cannot collect poll taxes, but all moneys collected in such cases except costs are paid over to the county treasurers as other fines are paid, for the benefit of the county. Respectfully,

JAMES NORTON,
Comptroller General.

SHERIFFS MUST ACT QUICK.
The following circular letter to sheriffs needs no explanation:
To the Sheriff of — County:

Dear sir: Sheriffs are urged upon receipt of tax execution from county treasurers to act promptly and within the ninety days allowed by law for the settlement of these executions and be prepared to settle with the treasurer. Our attention has been directed to cases where sheriffs have returned executions against real estate as null and void, and subsequently the agents of the sinking fund commission find such property and collect the taxes. This should not be. When executions against delinquent property have been placed in the hands of the sheriffs, there is no authority for staying them except that vested by law in the Comptroller General. At the annual settlements sheriffs will be expected to have all executions left in their hands from preceding years settled entirely, except in special cases where otherwise directed. Treasurers have been instructed not to issue executions against delinquent poll taxpayers who return neither real nor personal property, and, where treasurers do issue such executions by mistake or otherwise, sheriffs are not expected or required to receive them. Respectfully,

JAMES NORTON,
Comptroller General.

Guaranteed Cure.

We authorize our advertised druggist to sell Dr. King's New Discovery for Consumption, Coughs and Colds, upon this condition. If you are afflicted with a Cough, Cold or any Lung-Throat or Chest trouble, and will use this remedy as directed, giving it a fair trial, and experience no benefit, you may return the bottle and have your money refunded. We could not make this offer did we not know that Dr. King's New Discovery could be relied on. It never disappoints. Trials bottles free at J. F. W. DeLorme's Drug Store, Large bottles 50c. and \$1.00.

JAMES NORTON,
Comptroller General.

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