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MAHONE, THE BOSS

Celia Levinson
1922.

"This man would stand
Above all others; he aspires to be
The master, over all to domineer
And to direct in all things."

Iliad - I, 361-364.

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I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

It is no accident or chance smile of fortune when a man works doggedly and whole-heartedly with all the force of a dynamic spirit and sheer indomitable will toward one end, that he may wield the sceptre of power and bend the wills of other men to his. Whether or not the results of such control of power will amount to greatness depends upon the uses to which the weapon is put and upon the soul of the man. Power can be acquired, but true greatness never. True greatness emanates from within the spirit and cannot be spread over the exterior as a veneer. Power can be. Therein lies the difference between a Lee and a William Mahone.

II

EARLY CAREER OF MAHONE

William Mahone was born near Monroe, in Southampton County, Virginia, on the first of December, 1826. His father was a poor but respected merchant. Poverty's cruel lesson taught him to overcome its hardships. Therein lies the cause of his rise to power. He would never succumb to the unfavorable circumstances of his environment. In 1847 by dint of hard work, he entered Virginia Military Academy as a state student. Hence came his militaristic desire to rule and the technical training which directed his thoughts and energies to civil engineering. But before taking up his life work, he had to teach for several years to pay the state for his education. As soon as this duty was accomplished, he became an engineer. He helped in the survey and construction of the Orange and Alexandria Road, and he constructed the Road between Norfolk and Petersburg, becoming its president. This training stood him in good stead when he later became the great railroad and party organizer.

This peaceable progressive pursuit of railroad construction was intercepted by the War between the States as by a thunderbolt. He heeded Virginia's call and entered the Confederate army as a Colonel in the sixth Virginia Regiment of Infantry. War as well as peace gave him opportunities for advancement. The power to command now became second nature to him. Before the end of the War, he was made Brigadier General and then Major-General, it is said, at the recommendation of Lee himself. He was the commander of the famous Mahone Brigade which fought so bravely and successfully in the cam-

paigns of Gettysburg, Wilderness, Spotsylvania Courthouse, Cold Harbor, and the Petersburg Siege. It was in the last named battle that he received the appellation of the "Hero of the Crater". The National, an Atlanta newspaper, of August 28, 1889, characterized Mahone's fight in the Petersburg Siege thus:

"Hat in hand and with uplifted sword, brave Billy Mahone led his troops to the big gap in Lee's centre and drove back Burnside and restored the line on that eventful day."

Captain James Barron Hope, a Virginia poet, has given expression to Mahone's fame:¹

"In Jackson's Stirrup, through the war cloud din
Here comes Mahone! Thank God! The Crater fight is won!"

But not only the art of the poet but the chisel of the sculptor² as well has taken up the task of immortalizing him in marble.

Although Mahone did not by any means consider his military career the zenith of his power, personally I think, that here when he had the wholehearted love and support of those whom he ruled, he made his closest approach to true greatness. The corrupt politician, Billy Mahone, could command attention; the General, admiration as well.

After Appomattox, Mahone, with his love of power increased by military glory, immediately returned to his work of railroad construction and organization. It was a period when the people throughout the whole country appeared to be "rail-road crazy". He reorganized not only his own road -- the Norfolk and Petersburg --, but also two others -- the Southside and the Virginia and Tennessee --, which

¹ Mahone and Virginia: An Open Letter to Hon. John Paul from Col. W. C. Elam. Virginia Political Pamphlets, Vol.4.; Report of Norfolk Landmark on the Second Re-Union of Mahone's Brigade, held on the Anniversary of the Battle of the Crater in the Opera House, Norfolk, July 31, 1876.

² This bust was in the State Capitol during the period of Mahone power-- verbal statement of Dr. Garnet Ryland.

he consolidated into the Atlantic, Mississippi, and Ohio (so named to give expression to his hope for the future extent of the road), then extending from Norfolk to Bristol. Mahone realized the power and extensive possibilities of consolidation. He was ever seeking power, a desire created by his early environment (love of power is an inherent quality of the self-made man). Consolidation signified power. Therefore Mahone sought consolidation.

The Railroad Act of June 17, 1870 authorizing the consolidation of the three roads aforesaid, also, provided that the debt of the Railroad to the State might be exchanged by the consolidated road for \$4,000,000 in state bonds, to be paid back in installments beginning January 1, 1885. The security for the purchase was a second mortgage on the consolidated. (The road already had a first mortgage of \$15,000,000.) This was granted on the condition that the Cumberland Gap Railroad, a road of about a hundred miles, would be finished to its junction point with the A. M. & O. in six years. The \$4,000,000 was to be used for the Gap project.¹ Governor Walker aided Mahone in the passage of this act because of his aid in the election of 1869.² To achieve his railroad designs, Mahone influenced public opinion through The Whig, through the lobby, and through his followers. He was immediately appointed president of the consolidated road for five years at the remunerative salary of \$25,000 per annum. It is said he elected himself.

1 Characteristic Facts in the Business and Political Career of General William Mahone. Va. Pol. Pam., Vol. 4.; Mahone and Va. by Elam; Va. Pol. Pam., Vol. No. 4.; An Appeal to 31,527 Readjuster Democrats of Va. by Frank G. Ruffin., V. P. P. 4.

2 Pearson, The Readjuster Movement in Va., p. 27.

After the passage of the Consolidation Act, the stockholders in the original companies exchanged their old stock for new stock in the consolidated company. The Cumberland Gap project fell through. Mahone had put the clause relating to it in the Act of 1870 merely as bait for the original stockholders. At first he put off its construction, and later he claimed that lack of funds and the Panic of 1873 prevented its building. To justify himself he succeeded in having a resolution passed by a Joint Committee ordering the Company not to build the Gap Railroad. The four thousand thousand-dollar bonds had been deposited in the Bank of England to prevent their misappropriation. But later, when the District Court of the U. S. for Richmond cancelled the bonds, the Company, failing to realize on the bonds, was thrown into bankruptcy.¹ Mahoneites claim the failure of the Company was brought about by a combination of the enemies of Mahone, the English bondholders and the Bourbons.²

The A., M., & O. was purchased and became the Norfolk and Western. In 1881 Mahone urged the State to exchange her outstanding debt against the A., M., & O. of \$4,000,000 for \$500,000.³ However, Mahone did not lose by the transaction. Perhaps, this is the mark of an efficient organizer. He received

\$ 67,500	for his connection with the sale of the A. M. & O.
\$150,000	as salary as president (part of this was paid for when he was not acting , was even forbidden to

¹ Characteristic Facts in the Business and Political Career of Gen. Wm. Mahone. Va. Pol. Pam. No. 4.; A Reply to Sundry Charges By Gen. Wm. Mahone against the Democratic Party of Va. V.P.P. 4.

² The Vital Va. Issues by Mahone. V. P. P. 4.; Mahone and Va. by Elam. V.P.P. 4

³ See ¹

so act. ¹)

73,000

as the Richmond Whig.

\$270,500

total the new company, the N. & W. paid him.

The receivership had lost Mahone his railroad. He first went into politics merely to regain his road, but later the deadly fascination of the game and the unparalleled opportunities it offered for aggrandizement and self-assertion changed the railroad president into the politician. Mahone was only one individual example of the new movement in industry, entering and influencing and ruling politics. It was the beginning of the era of Wall Street control. Money had begun to talk in politics.

General Mahone campaigned for the Democratic Gubernatorial nomination in 1877 for the purpose, it has been said, of using even that high office to retrieve his road. ² Col. F. W. M. Holliday and Maj. John W. Daniel were his most dangerous opponents for the Democratic nomination. All three were war veterans; the "bloody shirt" was waved constantly by the supporters of each of the three nominees. The hatred of Mahone and Daniel for each other was mutual. Mahone ³ was determined that Daniel should not be elected at any cost.

At first all three nominees for governor were being supported equally. But later Mahone did not get the necessary support from the large cities of Richmond and Petersburg, because his rail-

¹ Characteristic Facts in the Business and Political Career of Gen. Wm. Mahone., V. P.P. 4.

² Pearson, The Readjuster Movement in Va., p. 71; Massey, Autobiography, p. 131.

³ O'Ferrall, Forty Years of Active Service, pp. 209-211.

road policy gave preference to other districts; and because of his Cumberland Gap policy, that section was not supporting him. Something novel, different, appealing to the masses at large was necessary to turn the tide to Mahone. Thereupon he attempted to "put over" this "stunt" by a letter to the Whig (of which he was owner¹), bringing up the debt question. He did not declare outright for Re-adjustment of the debt of Virginia, but he revealed the destructive-²ness and ruin that would result from the present debt-paying policy. Furthermore he added that the people under current conditions could not bear an increase in taxation and that the diversion of the school fund for debt-payment was unjust and unconstitutional.³ This marked the beginning of Mahone's policy. But in spite of his innovation, he did not carry the nomination. When he saw that by the process of elimination Holliday would soon be out of the race and that most of the Holliday votes would go to Daniel, he made another spectacular move. He sent one of his most brilliant political lieutenants, John S. Wise, to renounce before the convention his nomination as a prospective candidate, urging the Mahone men to vote for Holliday.⁴ Holliday was elected. Would he not be grateful to Mahone for his election?

¹ Massey, Autobiography, p. 150.

² The President's Relation with Senator Mahone and Repudiation, by William Lawrence Royall., V. P. P. 4.; Pearson, Readjuster Movement, p. 72.

³ O'Ferrall, Forty Years of Active Service, p. 211.

⁴ O'Ferrall, Forty Years of Active Service, p. 213.

III

MAHONE IN POLITICS

Mahone was no quitter. Having given up the Governorship to Holliday, he proceeded to plan the best means for again taking up the fight.

Immediately he set to work to organize a new party, the Readjuster Party. Therein lay the beginnings of his machine. Through this party he began the organization and construction of his ring. This party was formed upon local issues, the main issue being the debt question. Their platform of 1877 was:

- "1. Such a reduction of the rate of interest, as would bring the annual demand on that account within the limit of the revenues derivable from the existing rate of taxation.
- 2. The abolition of the Coupon feature of the debt.
- 3. The maintenance of the public school system as demanded by the Constitution.
- 4. The restoration of equality of treatment of all classes of the public creditors."¹

The Readjuster Party was really organized at the Mozart Hall Convention in 1879. Here it was decided to effect the repeal of the "irreparable" contract, the Funding Bill of 1871, and to oppose the Brokers' Bill.²

Readjustment was on the surface merely a local issue within the State. At first the Readjusters claimed to be the Democratic Party; they claimed Readjustment as the policy of the party. When it was put to a vote the Readjusters were read out of the Democratic Party. They then formed a new party, appointing

¹ Richmond Whig, Jan. 1, 1879.

² Attitude of the Readjuster of Va., by Mahone, p. 6.

Mahone as the President of the Executive Committee of the ex-communicated Readjuster Party.¹ This party needed quantity as well as quality. It opened its arms to all-- Democrats and Republicans, whites and blacks. With this in view the new platform was made. There was the clause for the readjustment of the debt, which appealed to the tax-payers, the people at large, and especially to the small struggling farmers; there was the clause for free schools, for the non-diversion of the school funds to pay the debt, which appealed to the people at large, and especially to the ex-Confederate soldiers, who could not afford to educate their children; the plank for the free ballot and fair count, which appealed to the negroes and "poor whites", who could not afford to pay the poll tax; the plank for the regulation of railroads, which appealed to the Granges, organizations of farmers to cope with the monopolistic growth of the railroads.

When it was discovered that the new party opened its arms to Republicans and negroes and that it meant a break with the Democratic Party, the Republicans thought it signified a break in the "solid south" -- the first break, which they hoped Virginia's more southern sisters would follow. It was because of this that Mahone obtained Federal patronage. Ex-Senator Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania came South with the special purpose in mind of effecting, perhaps, an alliance to defeat the Democratic majority,² They did not realize that Readjustment in Virginia was merely a local issue. Only for

¹ Reply to Sundry Charges brought by Mahone against the Democratic Party of Va., by State Central Committee, V. P. P. 4.

² Char. Facts in the Bus. and Pol. Career of Mahone., V. P. P. 4.

four years was the "solid south" broken by the control of the Readjuster-Republicans in Virginia. Even then it was not against the "solid south", but it was for Readjustment that the people voted when they elected W. E. Cameron, the Readjuster candidate, Governor of Virginia.¹

What is this "solid south", which Mahone was urged by the Republicans to break? Speaking generally, it means that a Republican is "non est" so far as having chances for election in Virginia or any other Southern State is concerned. But that is not all. There are two "solid souths" -- one, a white Democratic "solid south"; and another, a black, usually Republican, "solid south". As long as there is a black "solid south", there will necessarily be a white one.² Why the black "solid south"? Since the negroes were ignorant and credulous, they were even more like sheep than white men. They followed a leader en masse, usually a Republican one, for the Democrats thought it a disgrace to seek the negro vote. Mahone, as the leader, attempted to utilize the negro "solid south" to overcome the white "solid south".

Readjustment, although primarily and specifically a local issue, was influenced or at least suggested by the national issue of the payment of the Civil War Debt in Greenbacks. The capitalistic banking and industrial concerns, who were the bondholders, wished the debt paid in gold. Gold was at a premium. For this the overburdened tax-payers were to be still further burdened. But though it was at-

¹ Pres.'s Rel. with Gen. Mahone., V. P. P. 4. See table p. 25.

² Pres.'s Rel. with Gen. Mahone., V. P. P. 4.

tempted to identify Readjustment with the Greenback Movement, but the endeavor did not succeed. Many Conservatives, Debt-payers, were for Greenbackism. But both movements were alike in that they were popular protests against the payment of an unreasonable debt -- each wanted fair payment. Both may be said to have progressed in this evolution:

Greenback	—	Granger	—	Populist
Readjustment	—	Granger	—	Populist

Readjustment in a broad sense may be called a minature Greenback Movement. It was Governor William E. Cameron who said that Readjustment was not a scheme of how to pay the debt, but of how not to pay it. Truth will out.

But after all Readjustment was a national issue. The whole country had to be readjusted to the new condition of things after the War, especially the South. We were fast becoming an industrial democracy, perhaps, an industrial autocracy. Big business, as I have said before, was going into politics to defend its interests. Even the boards of College Trustees, instead of being good old-timed preachers, were now business men, good organizers. Business sagacity counted everywhere. Shall I say readjustment was a protest against capitalism? It claimed to be a peoples democracy.

In Virginia the Readjuster Party immediately took wing and soared far. Barely suggested as an election issue in 1877, in

¹
Pearson, The Readjuster Movement, p.91.

1879 it was organized at the Mozart Hall Convention¹. Mahone, as the chairman of the executive committee of this new party, immediately began to organize thoroughly his party, to consolidate it as he had done the railroads and to win adherents. There were local organizations all over the state. Mass meetings were held. The rallying battle cries of the Readjusters were:--"No increase of Taxes!",² "Down with the tax-receivable -Coupon!", "Free schools forever!"

Make Mahone, though a wonderful organizer and a splendid writer, was not, as is very often the case, a very prepossessing speaker. His diminutive wiry figure of ninety-nine pounds was not very impressive, But he had the desirable faculty of making friends, of winning to himself the younger generation of brilliant men, splendid speakers, such as John E. Massey, James Barbour, Colonel A. Fulkerson, William E. Cameron. These young men did his "stump" speaking. Through them Mahone fought a winning fight. Colonel Abram Fulkerson, of good family, a graduate of V.M.I., one of the incorporators of the A. M. & O. and intimate with General Mahone there, was in the legislature in 1871 and there opposed the Funding Act. He ceaselessly fought for readjustment and was one of Mahone's oldest lieutenants stumping the state in 1879 for Readjustment. Mahone called him³ "the finest politician in the State," John E. Massey, called the Father of Readjustment, was also a leader in stump-speaking. Parson Massey was an attractive, fascinating speaker. James Barbour, too, preached against the Funding Act. The aristocratic William E. Cameron, afterwards Governor, a brilliant editorial writer and

¹ Whig, January 24, 1879; Reply to Sundry charges; an appeal to 31,527 Readjuster Democrats, p. 6.

² Reply to Sundry Charges.

³ Whig, January 30, 1879.

politician and John S. Wise, also promising, canvassed the State for Mahone's cause.¹ As a result of Mahone's organizing and planning and the canvassing of the State by his able lieutenants, the Readjusters in 1879 sent a majority to the State Legislature.² Out of the 140 representatives, the Readjusters sent 56 Delegates and 24 Senators.³ It was a brilliant victory over the old order, the Funders, a triumph of the new order. The negro vote in this election must not be minimized.

In 1880 the Readjuster Legislature sent Mahone to the U. S. Senate. Fearing the "solid south" and the repetition of the Hayes-Tilden affair, Senators Conkling and Cameron influenced the Republicans in Virginia Senate to vote for Mahone for U. S. Senate.⁴ He was elected and that was the first wedge driven in the "solid south."⁵ Mahone was elected as a coalition candidate. He was sent to the Senate bound by no party ties, but as just Billy Mahone to work for the good of Virginia---to make Virginia count. Mahone's opportunities for accomplishing this/^{end}were many and unique. The Senate had an equal number of Democrats and Republicans.⁶ He held the trump card. His was the casting vote. Mahone cast that vote with the Republicans. At first Mahone declared he was a Democrat against the Funders,"a better Democrat than Hill".⁷

¹ Pearson, the Readjuster Movement; the verbal statement of Dr. Garnet Ryland.

² President's relations with Sen. Mahone; O'Ferrall, p.211

³ Pearson, p.127.

⁴ Pearson, p.135; Cooper, Am. Politics I, p.263.

⁵ Attitude of Va. Readjusters by Mahone, p.36.

⁶ Remarks of Hon. Ben. H. Hill in U. S. Senate.

⁷ See ⁶.

Later he was known to have said, "Grant is a good enough Democrat for me". Though nominally a Democrat, President Garfield sent him flowers as he did to the other Republican Senators.¹ In return for this favor of giving them the majority in the special session of Congress in March 1881, the Republicans gave him the chairmanship of one committee and a place on three others.² It was through that Republican party measures were carried through Congress.³

In the election of 1880 Mahone wished the fusion of the Republican electors with the Readjuster electors for Grant.⁴ But the Republicans defeated this plan. Mahone then supported Gen. Hancock on a separate ticket. Since Mahone ruled his party and through his party ruled the electors of the party, if his candidate were victorious,⁵ he could vote for Hancock or not, as circumstances might permit.

It was in State politics that Mahone's genius shone most brilliantly. Neglecting his Senatorial duties and the duty of bringing Virginia out of her degenerating rut, Mahone stayed in Richmond and played local politics, wielded the power of a true Boss. Here he was in his element. Why should a man of such talents voluntarily give up and neglect a national job for a state job? Why? because he would rather be "first in a little Iberian village than second in

¹ Pearson, The Readjuster Movement.

² Pearson, The Readjuster Movement, p. 132.

³ Faxon, The New Nation, p. 109.

⁴ Cooper, American Politics I, pp. 263-264.

Rome."

The Readjuster Nominating Convention met in Richmond on June 2, 1883. Their nominees for governor were Col. William E. Cameron and John E. Massey. For some reason or other Mahone was opposed to both. He wanted to nominate H. H. Riddelberger for governor and Greener for lieutenant-governor; then he wished to have Riddleberger elected U.S. Senator and Greener promoted to the governorship.¹ Perhaps, these men were more under his influence. Massey says in his Autobiography that he himself was offered the governorship upon the condition that he follow Mahone in everything.² When Mahone could not elect his candidate, he lent his aid for the election of Cameron. Cameron was elected.

How did Mahone control elections? Wield such power? Gain his title of Boss? The essentials in such control were of funds and control of numbers. To get control of funds he assessed the various recipients of Federal Patronage, not only through the Readjuster Party, but also through the Republican Party, with which he was being associated.³ To control numbers he attempted to carry out the provisions

¹ Ruffin, Mahoneism Unveiled., V.P.P. 1.

² Massey, Autobiography, pp. 193-194.

³ "James D. Brady, the collector of Internal Revenue at Petersburg, Va., and Chairman of the Republican State Committee, issued the following circular:

REPUBLICAN STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman -- James D. Brady, Petersburg, Va.

Secretary -- M. W. Hazelwood, Richmond, Va.

Petersburg, Va., Sept. 6, 1881

William H. Lyons, Esq.,
Superintendent of Machinery
Navy Yard, Norfolk, Va.

Dear Sir: You have been appointed by the State Executive Committee to

of his platform and by means told of in the Mahone machine. The platform of the party, as I have said before, called for the settlement of the debt, free schools, free ballot and fair count, and control and reform of the railroads--all ultra-modern planks for that time, and time before William Jennings Bryan.

solicit from Republican office holders, clerks and other officials, including the Postmaster and his employees at Portsmouth. The Committee resolved to ask a contribution of two (2) per cent on the salary of the Federal office holders. Dr. G. K. Gilmer of Richmond; is our Treasurer. It is unnecessary for us to explain to you the object of our campaign. Our Committee will labor for the defeat of the Bourbon Democratic party, and in this good cause, we feel justified in appealing to every Republican in the State for aid. Please acknowledge receipt of this, and oblige,

Yours, very truly,
James D. Brady,
Chairman

M. W. Hazelwood,
Secretary. "

"In pursuance of the directions of this circular order, Mr. Wm. H. Lyons, Master of Machinery at the Navy Yard at Norfolk, issued the following to all government employees:

Berkley, Norfolk County, Va.
Sept. 12, 1881.

Dear Sir: The inclosed copy of a letter from Col. James D. Brady, chairman of the State Republican Executive Committee, to me, explains itself; and as soliciting and receiving money for political purposes in the navy yard is prohibited by the Navy Department, I have decided to appeal to you through the mail. I can be found at my residence in Berkley every evening, Sunday excepted, from 6:30 o'clock p.m. until 10 p.m., or outside of the navy yard gate from 12 m. until 1 p.m., from this date until Nov. 1, 1881. A receipt to each one contributing will be furnished, and an early reply is respectfully solicited.

Very respectfully,
W. H. Lyons."

See Pres.'s rel. with Mahone and repud., V.P.P.4.

IV

MAHONE AND THE DEBT

The Readjuster Party was formed on the debt question, principally. The years around 1820 were ones of great economic development. It was an era of intra state expansion. This meant the growth of transportation facilities--railroad construction, canal building. The growth of railroads meant the increase of industry--raw products could be brought to the manufacturing cities. Virginia was not behind in this industrial development, she had no lack of undeveloped resources. Internal improvements--railroad, canal and turnpike construction--was the new policy of Virginia. To induce the investment of capital in these enterprises, Virginia became a shareholder. To pay for her shares the State borrowed money on six per cent bonds. By 1860 Virginia's debt was \$38,710,857,¹₂₂, of which \$34,323,147.72 was invested on public works in Virginia, the rest on what is now West Virginia. The War came, it interrupted Virginia's progressive steps. The War went and with it went Virginia's progress. Dr. [?] in The South in the Building of the Nation, in summing up Virginia's post-war condition, says that the state was diminished by the loss of one-third of her land, impoverished by the loss of one-third of her taxable values, depopulated of 440,000 of her people, almost pauperized by the loss of the slave property worth \$100,000,000; deprived of banking capital of \$11,000,000; that was left of the State was devastated, her transportation, insur-

¹ These figures are taken from the Pres.'s Rel. with Mahone. V.P.P..4. Other accounts give conflicting estimates.

ries crippled; her financial system ruined.¹ Moreover not one cent interest was paid on the debt for the period of the War and Reconstruction.

Now that the War was over, the debt question confronted Virginia, almost without resources. Oppressed by poverty, though the people were, the murmur of repudiation was hushed. Virginia's honor must not be smirched, although she be defeated and poor. What would Washington, Jefferson, and Lee think! Virginia's chivalry, though struggling in the grip of industrialism, gathered its strength and protested. The people bore their unbearable burdens. In 1865 the Virginia Legislature voted to pay the debt with accrued interest. Since West Virginia had been a party to the borrowing and had shared in the benefits of the progressive projects, her share was in all fairness one-third of the debt, for she constituted one-third of the territory and population of Virginia. In 1886 the Virginia Legislature made the provision that Virginia pay four percent and West Virginia two percent on the whole debt.²

Since West Virginia made no attempt to cooperate or do her part, the Virginia Legislature enacted the Walker-Funding Bill of 1871. This bill provided for the funding of two-thirds of the whole debt together with all the interest on the two-thirds as Virginia's part of the debt, and issuing for the remaining one-third, certificates of indebtedness against West Virginia. To urge the people to exchange their

¹ The South in the Building of the Nation, pp. 133-134.

² ¹
See , p. 134

old bonds for new ones, this provision was added to the Bill -- that there should be six percent interest as formerly, but in the form of detachable coupons, which were to be receivable for taxes.¹ This Bill was accepted with very little discussion at the time. Later fraud was the cry. It has been said that Governor Walker was a bondholder, or, at least, that he was in alliance with the bondholders and therefore misrepresented the assets of the State.² This Act did not lighten the burdens of the people, it increased them instead. The lands were still in the devastated War condition, for there was no capital with which to recuperate. Agricultural products fell off from \$50,000,000 in 1867 to \$30,000,000 in 1876. Massey, the father of Readjustment, said of the Funding Bill that it "impaired Virginia's credit", caused "general dissatisfaction", and "embarrassed and stagnated every interest".³

The Funding Bill was the cause of or impetus to the Readjuster Movement. When the legislature met and repealed this bill, it also one saying that coupons would not be received for taxes. The bondholders went to court about it. The courts supported the bondholders, declaring that the Funding Act was a contract between the State and the bondholders and therefore could not according to the Constitution be impaired. This decision was handed down in the famous Antoni v. Wright Case.⁴

Previously Massey tried to pass his famous Coupon Bill to

¹ Magruder, Recent Administration in Va.; McClure, The South -- Fin., and Pol. Conditions., p. 24.; Pearson, Readjuster Movement, pp. 29-30.; The South in the Making of the Nation I, p. 134.; The Pres.'s Rel. with Mahone, V.P.P.4.

² Reynolds, Va. Defended (letter to the British bondholders). V.P.P.1.

³ Massey, Speech on the Bill to Prevent Counterfeit Coupons, etc., V.P.P.1.

⁴

prevent counterfeit or improperly obtained coupons from being received in payment of taxes, debts, and other demands due the State.¹

Pearson in his Readjuster Movement in Va. says that Massey tried to pass this bill to impair the reception of these coupons by the State. It did not pass. This was just one of the many attempts to prevent the entire State income from being in coupons.

Mahone now broke into prominence on his debt issue. He was opposed to the decision in the case of Antoni v. Wright. Furthermore he endeavored to get through the Readjuster Legislature of 1879 the Barbour Bill. It stated that "first of all it is necessary to preserve the State government, then the obligation to the Constitution to support a system of public free schools, and third to pay the interest on the debt". Increase of taxation was impossible under the existing conditions. It further provided that out of every fifty cents collected from the general tax, twenty-five should go for the support of the government, ten for schools, fifteen for the interest on the debt. The portions of the government and the schools were to be paid in money.² The Governor vetoed this act as he claimed it was against a judicial decision.

When Mahone's measure, the Barbour Bill, was defeated by the Governor's veto, he sent circular letters to the legislators, suggesting the Funding Act and the veto of the Barbour Bill, which pointed to increased taxation, as against the wil of the people. It, also ask-

¹ Massey, On the Bill, etc., V.P.F. 1.

¹ Grattan's Reports, v. 22, p. 833; Pres.'s Rel. with Mahone, V.P.F.4; Senate Document, No, 4, for 1877-1878.

² Pearson, Readjuster Mov., pp. 78-79.

ed their aid in crystalizing public opinion and requested a cash contribution for the party.¹

Governor Holliday to settle the debt. He tried to compromise with the New York and British bondholders, who held most of the State bonds. This culminated in the McCulloch Bill of 1879, which provided for the exchange of old bonds for new ones a dollar for dollar, with the following rate of interest:

- 3% for 10 years
- 4% for 20 years
- 5% for 10 years.

Overdue and unpaid interest was to be junded into new bonds at fifty cents on the dollar. Coupons were still to be receivable for taxes.² This bill improved on the old Funding Bill only by the decrease of interest from six percent to an average of four percent. It did not remove the most objectional feature of the Funding Bill, the tax-receivable-coupon. It was the McCulloch or Brokers' Bill that was the immediate cause of the Readjuster Movement. The Mozart Hall Convention, where the new party was organized, was a protest against the McCulloch Bill, against the increased taxation which it signified.

Mahone wanted a settlement of three per cent for forty-five years on the basis of \$32,977,099.02. As soon as his party came into power in the legislature of 1879, they attempted to settle the debt on this basis. The Riddleberger plan was desired; but it was vetoed by Governor Holliday. In 1881 the Readjusters were

¹ Pearson, Readjuster Mov., pp. 80; Dispatch, July 5, 1878; Whig, July 10, 1878.

² Magruder, Recent Admin., pp. 188-190.

successful in electing Mahone to the United States Senate, and Riddleberger to the State Legislature. Under Mahone's direction, the debt question was at last brought up for settlement. The Readjusters claimed that in fairness the debt should be readjusted. Why should the people who had their money in land and slaves, lose half or all of their property, and then help pay bondholders. Bondholders loaned on risk, they should suffer proportionately. They should share equally with the Virginians who fought and lost all. Why should they gain from War, when everybody else was losing? Why should the ^{Northern} bondholders be paid in toto? They destroyed the resources on which the security of the bonds were based. And why should the English bondholders be paid all? They should have helped the South to victory and thus insured the payment of their bonds. So thought the Readjusters. Virginia honor demanded only an equitable settlement. Who was to decide that? The People? The Party Boss? A real leader of the people, carries out his own designs and plans and makes the people want to support them. Mahone adopted the Riddleberger Bill and made the people think they wanted it. (That is only one qualification of a real leader).

The Riddleberger Bill provided:

1. Repudiation of the interest accumulated during the War and Reconstruction period -- one-third of the debt.
2. Assumption of the debt of \$21,000,000 -- the debt funded with tax-receivable-coupons -- at 3% interest.
3. Non-acceptance of coupons for taxes.
4. Radification by the people.

1
Reynolds, Va. Defended, V.P.P. 1.

2
Magruder, Rec. Admin. ; Session Acts, 1881-2 p.88; Lybrook, Mahoneism V.P.P.4. unveiled.

22

Through the power of Mahone, in 1882, this bill passed the Legislature in a remodelled form and was signed by the Mahone-Readjuster Governor Cameron. In the Bill that passed the whole war interest was not eliminated. Neither was it referred to the people. Mahone did not think the last two provisions wise.

Mahone, the candidate of the people, by the people, and for the people, as he has been called, made the people wish this debt settlement. In the elections of 1883, and 1887 the Democrats accepted the Riddleberger settlement. Even Fitzhugh Lee, a man for Virginia honor first and a Funder, stood for this, for it was the peoples' wish without which nothing could be done. There was another meeting of the bondholders, but it, too, accomplished nothing. The debt question was finally settled in 1892².

Ostensibly the Readjuster party was organized and ruled by Mahone to settle the debt, but the real truth of the matter was that Readjustment was a means to an end. Mahone wanted to rule, be all powerful by controlling offices, etc. in the State.³ Shall I say this was done to win votes? Mahone boldly, undauntedly, and through the help of Federal Patronage of President Arthur himself, did what was equivalent to nullification of a ~~judicial~~ decision of the highest court in the land.

1
U.S. Reports, 17 p. 769.-

2
For State debt see -- Reply to Sundry Charges; Pres. Rel.; Pearson, Readj. Mov.; Magruder Rec. Admin., pp. 188-9.

3
McClure, p. 27.

V

MAHONE AND FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Before the Civil War, education was classed with a broad cloth coat and rich brocades as a luxury. The rich educated their sons at home, sent them to academies to prepare them for college, and then sent them to some large university. For the poor education was considered a dangerous weapon, a tool of revolt, as it was until recently in Russia. Nevertheless, Virginia did have some public schools before 1860, providing not more than a grammar school education. These were called "Pauper Schools." To go to a public school was to mark one not a gentleman, a pauper. The State annually appropriated \$45,000 for educating the poor white children and gave the county the power to establish public schools. The capitation tax was used for the support of the schools. The most important readjustment in Virginia after the War, was the establishment of real public schools, the popularization of public schools -- an educational revolution. The new Constitution adopted by Virginia after the war provided for a system of free schools. The negro, too, had to be educated, if for nothing else, for self-defense of the State, to prevent a mob of ignorant negroes from wrecking the State. They had to be prepared for citizenship. To impose education on a people naturally opposed to public schools was no easy task. Not only did they have the difficulty of establishing schools with very little funds; but the prejudice against them had to be removed. For many were opposed to anything imposed by the northern conquerors. Carpet-bagger regene taught them to think no good could come of Northern ideas, or of putting negroes and whites on a par. But Governor Walker and Governor Lee were for trying it. Lee himself aided education as President of Washington College; later Washington

and Lee. People were swayed by opinions of Lee.

The act of 1870 provided for a good system of public schools, equally advantageous to whites and blacks. A distinct advance for free schools was the appointment of Dr. Wm. Henry Ruffner as State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Ruffner was a conscientious and aggressive worker for public schools. Many an ex-Confederate soldier and impoverished genteel lady raised the school standards. In 1874, the Civil Rights Bill provided for mixed schools. The great protest against the Bill killed its enforcement.

There was still protest against the schools, especially against the school-tax. In 1873 through the influence of the Superintendent an act was passed authorizing the auditor to pay the school quota in cash from the taxes collected.

The burdens of Virginia's debt were oppressive. It was a sacred obligation that had to be paid. The education of the masses was a luxury. The people of that time did not realize that education was the underlying principle of a democratic government; they did not realize/^{the} more practical advantage of educating them and thus increasing their ability to pay the debt -- the earning power of the people could be increased by education, an investment bringing gilt-edged returns. Thereupon the school funds were being diverted to the payment of the "sacred" debt. Even, the college people regarded the debt first.

On this issue, too, Mahone formed the Readjuster party. In 1878 the Henkle Bill had been passed by the Democrats, requiring the county and city tax collectors to reserve out of the taxes paid in cash three-fourths of the quota of the State appropriation for

1
schools. This was to give funds immediately to the schools that were rapidly closing. This was the triumph of at least moderate re-adjustment.

It was during the Readjuster Regene -- between 1879-84, that the public schools entered politics. At first the Readjusters turned their energies to the up-building of the school system. By the Riddleberger Bill the Literary fund was put in the most choice class of creditors. The interest on the arrears was to be paid, a no mean amount of \$378,000, which was formerly diverted. The Grandstaff act was passed increasing the amount of cash to be retained to 90% of the State appropriations. The \$400,000 of State money saved from the A. M. & O. claims was paid to the schools. \$100,000, also from it, was given for the building of a negro Normal and Collegiate Institute.

The good works if they did not altogether cease, at least were reduced to a minimum. Mahone was prostituting the public schools for his own ends. He displaced Superintendent Ruffner by R. R. Farr². His appointment was a contradiction to the education³ plank in the Readjuster platform. The State says of him:

"The Spelling of the Future Supt. of Public Inst.

Some of the reporters, in copying the bills presented in the House Saturday, by Mr. Farr, of Fairfax County, and written in Mr. Farr's handwriting discovered that the gentleman had, in the bill in relation to the clerk for the Governor, etc., spelled the word aggregate 'agrigate', and in the bill for taxing licenses for county purposes, he spells levied 'leveyed' all through the bill, and gives amended as 'amendid'. Mr. Farr is to be nominated by Readjuster caucus for Superintendent of Public Instruction of Virginia".

1
Dead Calumnies. V.P.P.4.

2
Massey, Autobiography, p.204.

3
Richmond State, Jan. 10, 1882.

Royallin his President's Relations, quoting the above, adds:

"Mr. Farr was elected on the 13th of January, inst., Superintendent of Public Education for the State, for the purpose, it is supposed, of being himself educated."

Why was he elected? He was a Mahone man. Enough Said.

Mahone still further increased his control of State patronage and votes by putting Mahone on College Boards and Asylum Boards, claiming that the Bourbons lacked efficiency.¹ The Mahone were less efficient and were known for their extravagance and misappropriation of funds for personal use. The administration of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute under Republican (that meant Mahone) control was filled with so much abuse that Mahone's own Board of Education removed the Board of Visitors of that Institute.² The management of the finances was reckless, the money used injudiciously, and unheard of salaries paid.

To reenforce his position and to still further strengthen his machine, Mahone appointed his men as county and city superintendents; these in turn controlled the local boards of trustees, who controlled the teachers.³ It was a veritable house that Jack built. The vicious influence was now, in reality, felt in the schools. Through this Mahone was to have the vote of all the school teachers, the children who were to grow up, the parents influenced by the children -- a truly diabolical scheme.

Mahone must have his due. He did reorganiz the schools before he began to use them for his own ends. He established a Normal

¹ Pearson, Readjuster Movement, p. 148.

² Sen. Doc., No. 25, pp. 1-38 --Report of the Committee on Public Education.

³ Sundry Charges, V:P.P. 4.

School for whites, and another for colored.

The Democrats as they took up the Readjuster debt program demanded by the people, took up Readjuster reform in education. There is an excellent table in A Reply to Sundry Charges¹ comparing Republican and Democratic schoolsystems.

This was another means by which Mahone obtained votes.

¹
Sundry Charges, V.P.P.4.

VI

MAHONE AND THE FREE BALLOT AND
THE FAIR COUNT

Mahone and the Readjusters also stood for the free ballot, the abolition of the poll tax. When Mahone had been Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of the Fourth Congressional District, he supported the capitation tax amendment, even lobbying for it. He now stood for the negro. He needed his vote. With the Readjusters in power this amendment has virtually not been enforced. It has been abused instead. During elections poll tax receipts were issued to the negroes, so that they might vote. After the election the tax receipts were returned to the office of the Treasurer. Because of this¹ the Funders helped the Readjusters repeal the poll tax amendment.

And the fair count? This was a plank against tissue ballots. It was Mahone who had used these formerly to defeat the negro majority in his district. Now the Democrats were using his own weapon against him. Mahone did not like the change. Hence came his cry of the reformer of a "free ballot and a fair count".² Two wrongs do not make a right. May Mahone gain his lofty object.

¹ Royall, Pres.'s Rel. with Sen. Mahone.

² ¹
See

VII

MAHONE AND RAILROADS

The Readjuster platform promised the control of the railroads, as a public utility. The rapid growth of the country meant the growth of railroads, and vice versa. The railroads were fast becoming a monopoly. The Granger had even extended to Virginia. This was a protest against the monopolistic control of rates by the roads. Mahone feared to exercise too much control over the roads, because they were such a power in elections and as he wanted their support.

When the A. M. & O. paid Mahone such a magnificent salary as I have said before, he could not press the claim of the State against the road very strongly. But when the N. & W., formerly the A. M. & O., refused to remove Mr. Finks and other railroad officers whom Mahone opposed, then the famous Railroad Commissioner Bill was passed, providing for the control by three commissioners, appointed by the Governor with the confirmation of the Senate, of all roads in Virginia -- repairs, improvements, change of freight and passenger rates -- at the expense of the railroads.¹ This was railroad regulation with a vengeance.

¹ Dispatch, Sept. 19, 1885.; Sundry Charges; Ruffin, Mahoneism Unveiled; Lybrook, Mahoneism Unveiled.

VIII

MAHONE MACHINE

A democracy is the highest form of governmental development up to the present time. Democracy is not a static thing. It is a growing thing that will develop and develop and develop. It is not like a package tied up in blue ribbon to be handed on to somebody else. Oh, no, It is like a tree which grows from a tiny acorn to an oak and then its acorns grow into more oaks, and so on. But there are storms that break and bend the mighty oak. So are there, also, in democracy. Bossism is the most dangerous menace. It is the usurpation by one man of all the power of the people, that one man becoming a veritable Kaiser, through the highly organized mechanism of party machinery. It is misdirected democracy.

It was thus that Billy Mahone tried to obtain control of the State. Massey characterized him as "brainy, magnetic and plausible; and he was a fine organizer"¹. Mahone like Charles II of England tried to inflict personal rule on the people of Virginia. But he surpassed Charles II; he was more clever. Mahone ruled, not without the Legislature, but by controlling it.

The difference between a government organized for the good of the people and a Mahone government can be thus illustrated diagrammatically.

¹ Massey, Autobiography, p.150.

But how did Mahone build up his Machine and use it?

As I have said before the Readjusters came into power in 1879, elected Mahone to Senate in 1880, elected Cameron Governor in 1881. As auditor of Public Accounts they put in Massey, the peoples' candidate. He ably readjusted the hedge-podge in the finances.

To get money Mahone sent letters to recipients of Federal and Readjuster patronage, from the highest of the lowest of the capitol employees, asking them for contributions. Nor was this made secret. He attempted to levy a tax of ten per cent on the officers of the State for campaign use, through Mr. Asa Rogers.

Mahone as chairman of the Readjuster Committee held the opportune place for ruling. He issued the famous Mahone pledge to all Readjuster nominees for the Legislature.

" THE PLEDGE Patrick County, Va.

"I hereby pledge myself to stand by the Readjuster party and platform, and to go into caucus with the Readjuster members of the Legislature, and vote for all measures, and candidates to be elected by the Legislature, that meets in Richmond, as the caucus may agree upon.

"Given under my hand and seal this --- day of Sept. A.D.1881."

This signified that the officials were bound to a Boss and could not justly represent their constituences. This pledge further intimated that, since the Readjusters had a majority in the State Legislature, a simple majority of Readjuster members could pass any measure or act, even if a majority of the members in the Legislature opposed. In other words, if there were 70 members in the Legislature, and

1 Massey, Autobiography, pp.177-84.
2 Pres.'s Rel. with Mahone .V.P.P.4.
3 Lybrook, Char. Facts in Bus. and Pol. Career V.P.P.4.

GOOD GOVERNMENT MACHINE

organization for popular benefit

infinity

RULE OF POLITICAL BOSS

absolutism

organization (personal)

fall of Boss, triumph of Democracy

40 of them were Readjusters, then 21, being a simple majority of Readjuster members, could pass any measure, although the other 49 members of the Legislature opposed. (For the other 19 Readjuster members were bound by the pledge to vote with the 21.)

To further control the members of the Legislature, Mahone summoned a few select ones to his lodgings to arrange for a caucus, on Nov. 28, 1881. There the famous "Committee on Distribution of Patronage, later renamed aptly "the Spoils Committee" was appointed to distribute the offices of the executive and administrative departments of the State Government, among the Readjuster members, according to the Legislative Districts of the State. ¹ When the Legislature met, it formally appointed the "Spoils Committee", chosen at the caucus.

When the time for the election of U. S. Senators from Virginia came, Mahone neglected the interests of the people of Virginia in Washington and played politics at home, -- he organized committees, influenced the campaign, and dictated to his colleague in the Senate. Through his influence and the Federal patronage of President Arthur, his nominee, Riddleberger was elected to the Senate. ² Even after the election of his candidate, Mahone still stayed in Richmond, utilizing his utmost energy to obtain control of the Legislature. He worked with only a small body of faithful and active followers, the majority being ignorant of his plans, except when he chose to thrust one on them, but bound to support him because of the pledge.

¹ Char. Facts in the Bus. and Pol. Career of Mahone. V.F.P.4; Ruffin, Mahoneism Unveiled. V.P.P.1.

² Ruffin, Mahoneism Unveiled,; Lybrook, Mahoneism Unveiled, V.P.P.1.

1

Some of his plans were:

1. To get rid of Massey -- he was the most popular man in the Readjuster party and was opposed to the corrupt plans of Mahone.
2. To reward Mahone men by appointments to office.
3. To compel heads of departments to give appointments under them to a few members from the different districts of the State. (Candidates for the heads of the departments had to pledge themselves to support the caucus appointments)
4. To control the judicial and administrative machinery of the State.

The Spoils Committee immediately went to work to distribute patronage -- to increase the Mahone following. By a ruling of this committee removing the power to appoint sub-clerks from the Bureau-heads, the responsibility of each officer for the proper conduct of his department was destroyed. Since the delegates of their districts appointed clerks, the clerks could not be removed. Again, office could be sold. This meant ignorant, untrained men in office; bribery and corruption; inefficient executive departments. Some of the defects of this system were revealed in the appointments of this committee. Mr. D. R. Reverley was chosen for the office of Treasurerer of Commonwealth by the five members from the Rockbridge District, although not even Mahone could trust him to make a simple printing contract. ² A nephew of one of the nominators was appointed clerk in the place of an able Readjuster, Major Taylor. And when it was discovered that he was too incompetent to hold this office, a sinecure place was made for him. ³ This committee also accomplished

¹ Appeal to Readj. Dem. of Va. p.17 V.P.P.1; Characteristic Facts in Bus. and Pol. Career of Mahone. V.P.P.4.

² Ruffin, Mahoneism Unveiled V.P.P.1.

³ ²
See

one of the most important planks of Mahone's plan -- to be rid of Massey. Massey was dangerous to Mahone. He was too popular with the people. When Massey refused to sell his prerogative by signing the pledge, and when he refused to permit the appointment of his under-clerks by an irresponsible caucus committee, since he was himself responsible, Mahone attempted to get rid of him by an accusation of bribery. This failed. But later Brown Allen was elected as auditor of public accounts, although the people wanted Massey. To Massey's credit, it may be said that Allen retained three Massey men in office.¹ It was by this committee also that the aforesaid ignorant, uneducated Farr was made Superintendent of Public Instruction. General Mahone needed them both. He removed and appointed men in the Treasury without the consent, or even the knowledge of Brown Allen. It was also, by order of the Boss, that Allen repudiated or handed over the contract promised to Kendall Bank Note Company to the American Bank Note Company because the latter contributed \$5,000 to the Readjuster Campaign Fund.² But these are by no means all the appointments.³ A Republican or negro, if a Mahone man, was not kept out of office. The Boss even objected to an appointment of Proctor of University of Virginia.

But Mahone did not stop there. He had tasted the sweetness of power and he liked the taste. What was there further to do, when even Mahone claimed that every plank in the platform had been carried

² Char. Facts in Bus., and Pol. Career. Ruffin Mah. Univ. Massey-Auto. Dead Calumnies.

³ Sundry Charges; Char. Facts in Bus. and Pol. Career, Ruffin Mah. Univ.; Lybrook, Mah. Univ.; Appeal to Readj. Dem.; Sen. Jour. 1883-84. pp. 501-7 Va. Reports. 59, p. 563.

¹ Ruffin, Mah. Univ.

cut -- debt, railroads, schools, free ballot. Mahone had the dangerous weapon, the pledge, in his hands. He was not one of the truly great who could resist its call, the call of power. If members of the party protested, the Whig, his paper, anathematized them.¹ But that is not all, Mahone distrusted his own men, so much that by means of the Public Printers Room he eavesdropped.²

In attempting to be the absolute ruler of the State it was necessary to control the judiciary. Supreme Court Judges, favoring the Readjuster debt settlement were elected, when the old judges' terms expired. Furthermore, to reward partisans, to crush resistance, to increase his power, the circuit and county judges had to be controlled. This Scheme to subvert the judiciary under his control was a diabolical one. It was as follows -- to reduce the judicial districts from seventeen to twelve by redistricting them and gerrymandering the State so that two of the existing judges be included in one new district or circuit. As the Constitution provided that each district could have only one judge who was to reside in that district, if there were two, neither could hold court in the new district and a new judge would have to be appointed. Thus the old judges were legislated out of office and Mahone men put in. Judge Fauntleroy, a friend of Mahone's, hearing of this plan said "he had more sense than all the leading Democrats of the State boiled down to an essence", a veritable "Admirable Crichton."⁴

¹ Ruffin, Mahone, Univ.; Char. Facts in Bus. and Pol. Career.
² Mahone's Bus. and Pol. Career.
³ Ruffin, Mah. Univ.
⁴ Appeal to Readj. Dem.

In this way many dishonest men would be put in office, and the Judiciary, the office too aloof too be tainted with corruption, would be smirched. But the measure was defeated in the Senate,¹ after passing the House of Delegates.

Another plan of Mahone for increasing his power was to Redistrict the Congressional Districts. This Bill was especially desired by the machine boss to prevent the candidacy of Massey for Congress as Candidate at large and togerrymander the State in order to elect as many Republicans or Mahone men to congress as possible. Their greatest regret was that only eight out of ten representatives were to be Mahoneites. They claimed to be Gerrymandering the State by right of the Constitution. But the figures disproved that

6th District	30 miles wide	130 miles long
10th District	35 miles wide	190 miles long

To claim these as equal districts was absurd. This bill too, was² defeated.

The General Commissioners-of-Sales Bill was then introduced. The lawyers all over the State had been acting as commissioners-of-sales under the decrees of the courts. This new ~~was~~ suggested as a remedy. It provided for the appointment by the Governor of a commissioner-of-sales for every county and city of Virginia. What power for one man to wield! What a monopoly for one man to own! Mahone was the power behind the throne. It gave complete control of land sales to the new officers. The monopoly which this bill gave the Governor was

¹ Dispatch, Sept. 22, 1885.

² Lybrook, Mah. Univ.; Jour. of House of Del., 1881-2, p. 188; Sundry Charges.

to be counterbalanced by the low and uniform rate charged for the services of these new commissioners. The Governor was to have control of these officers. The court might remove a corrupt commissioner, but the Governor could reinstate him. This Bill was known as Bill No. 259. When the Bill was brought up in the House, it was had been changed for the worse. Now called House Bill No. 2, this "Spurious Bill" added the provision to Bill No, 259 for a newspaper in every county for the publication of notices of sales, court orders, etc. Any such order published was to be null and void. The later provision was for the ostentatious purpose of controlling a Mahone partisan paper in every county in the State. When the Spurious Bill was discovered, it was immediately stricken out. Bill No. 259 passed the House; but in the Senate Newberry proposed the amendment that the people elect the commissioners-of-sales instead of the Governor, thus to remove these useful officers from the monopolistic control of one man. The bill had been originally introduced for the up-building of the Mahone machine, not for the popular good. Therefore the Mahone men killed it with the amendment which would have destroyed Mahone control.

Mahone was ceaseless in his attempts to rule the State absolutely. He attempted to pass bills altering the tobacco inspection laws for his benefit, for putting the police force in his hands, bribing the newspapers by public advertisements,

Lybrook, Mah, Univ.; Ruffin, Mah, Univ.; Sundry Charges.

2
Char. Facts in Bus. and Pol. Career of Mahone.

The control of the railroads given Mahone by the aforementioned Railroad Commissioner Bill was no mean one. These trade arteries were one of the chief resources of the State. The control of these meant power, indeed.

Mahone's next attempt was to rule the notaries public.¹ This bill provided for the removal of all the notaries public, who had already bought their commissions, and to replace them by Mahone men. There were 490 notaries in the State in 1881 with an average salary of \$200², a goodly sum to be taxed for campaign purposes. But this ended in defeat. This man seemed to have an unlimited supply of ideas for gaining power. Where would his grasping nature stop?

But his most severe and scurrilous attempt to increase his power, was his attempt to make the public schools responsible to him. It was to be accomplished thus: all the offices of the district school trustees were to be vacated; the county school electoral board was to be abolished; the appointment of these officers was to be by a Board composed of the Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the Attorney-General.³ The Superintendent was then Furr. But, fortunately, this was defeated.

These were Mahone's devices for climbing to the crowning place of glory, the lofty position of Boss. By these he was to have the final say in every administrative, executive, and judicial appointment in the State. Below is quoted a table of the votes he would have

¹ Lybrook; Ruffin; House Jour., 1881-2, p185; Sundry Charges.

² Report of W.C. Elam, House Doc. No. 12.

³ Jour. of House of Del., 1881-2, p. 212; Lybrook; Sundry Charges.

controlled and polled if he had been successful.¹

Officers	No. of Office Holders	Am't of Salary
Governor	1	\$ 5,000
U.S. Senators	2	10,000
Commissioners-of-Sales	120	120,000
Railroad employees	33,696	16,848,000
Railroad commissioners and 1 clerk	3	6,800
Agricultural Commissioners and 1 clerk	2	3,000
Judges	115	150,000
Commissioners of Courts,	300	90,000
School Teachers	7,282	1,186,000
School Teachers , 1/3 clerks	1,500	16,000
Notaries public	490	98,000
Legislators	141	51,000
	<u>43,653</u>	<u>\$18,549, 000.</u>

That Mahone did not succeed in his atrocious scheme is the fault or rather the virtue of the "Big Four", so called because of their controlling vote in the Senate. They were Readjusters who had who had not taken the Mahone pledge and could thus vote against every measure hostile to the interests of the people. They were S.H. Newberry, of Bland; P.G. Hale, of Grayson; A.M. Lybrock, of Patrick; B. F. Williams, of Nottoway. Due to their supreme efforts to resist the bribes and temptations of Mahone, the Mahone Regime failed.²

Mahone made one more effort to rule the State from within. This was by obtaining the negro vote. He aroused the animosity of the negro. He promised a free vote, free schools. Before the poll tax was repealed, Mahone, to get negro votes, issued tax receipts to the negroes. After the election they were supposed to be returned to

¹ Dundry Charges, p. 63.

² Char. Facts in Bus. and Pol, Career of Mahone; Ruffin, Mah. Univ.; Lybrock, Mah. Univ.; Massey, Auto.; Pearson, Readj. Mov., p. 153.

the Treasurer's office. Mahone made the negroes think that the Democrats were going to "disfranchise, degrade, and enslave the colored race."¹ The negroes being credulous believed. In Danville they were so enraged that on November, 3, 1888 a race-riot resulted. But it was put down with little harm done.² But Mahone made a party issue of it and exaggerated the affair, saying:

"How many were killed no one knows, and no one will probably learn the truth, for the condition of things still in Danville is such that the truth cannot be learned. That they were shot in the back like dogs while running away; that no pistol shot was fired by black man; that no white man was injured save by his own friends; that for days the poor victims were found in the alleys, in warehouses, and under houses like poisoned rats that had crawled away to die; that the negroes fled to the woods, to the State of North Carolina, to the four winds of heaven. These are a few of the facts of this bloody wholesale murder, which was telegraphed far and near by as an insolent uprising of the blacks against the whites,"³

But this only made the whites more firmly solid. Solid South was the keyword hereafter.

The Readjuster party was organized to do away with the old Bourbon order, its cliques and rings. This new party signified democracy -- popular democracy, a protest against the old order. It succeeded in some of its purposes, perhaps, in all; but it resulted in an autocracy. Does democracy seem to succeed best when under an autocratic leader? It seems so. Look at "King Andrew", "Kaiser Wilson", and, perhaps, "Czar Mahone".

¹ Waig, Nov. 30, 1888; Sundry Charges.

² Sundry Charges; Pearson, Readj. Mov., p. 163.

³ Sundry Charges.

The Readjuster Movement did accomplish the final ,
ultimate result of democratizing the Democratic Party which had
been fast becoming autocratic. This movement corresponded to a
former democratic movement from the West.

IX

MAHONE AND FEDERAL PATRONAGE

But what did Mahone do? He still hunted the game of power. He had sought it in the Democratic party, in the Readjuster Party, and now he hoped to find it in the Republican Party. One's Virginia grandmother is shocked and does not think it lady-like to mention the name of Mahone, although she may be a little curious about him.

When Mahone could not rule Virginia from within, attempted to rule her from without. He tried to lead Virginia into the Republican haven, breaking the Solid South and giving Virginia's support to Republicanism, in return for Federal Patronage. Mahone when first elected to the Senate, as I have mentioned before, had the enviable position of holding the casting vote, the trump card. There opportunities were offered him to do much for Virginia. But he did naught. His State needed much after the effects of the ravaging war. But still he did naught.

Virginia wanted her tax on tobacco, her chief resource repealed. She wanted her internal revenue tax reduced. Mahone, did nothing, although he knew that for lack of transportation facilities the poor mountaineers had to manufacture their grain into whiskey. He could have been the saviour of Virginia, directing manufacturing, industry, commerce to his native State. But as far as Virginia was concerned, Mahone was nil.

By the River and Harbor Bill Virginia was given \$300,000 to promote her commerce by deepening her rivers. The James needed

\$862,468.05 for a deepening of 23 ft. or \$1,360,413.39 for 25 ft. When a bill to that effect was introduced, Arthur vetoed it, it is said, because he feared a Southern and Western alliance again.

When an attempt was made to pass the bill over his veto, Mahone did not vote for it. Virginia's interests were far from Mahone's.¹

All that Mahone did for Virginia was to get a courthouse at Abingdon and another at Harrisonburg; \$5,000 for an enclosure and keeper's house for the Yorktown Monument; \$250,000 for the Mary Washington Monument at Frederickisburg; 347 post offices; a bridge² over the Potomac; etc.

When Mahone was supporting the Republican Party, he claimed to be a better Democrat³ than Hill. He claimed this when he was trying to get the Federal patronage by casting the deciding vote for Republicans! The Republicans needed Mahone. Why could he not do something tangible for Virginia?

Virginia would not follow Mahone into the Republican ranks. What has Mahone and Republicanism done for her? Virginia naturally took her stand on the other side of the protective tariff, high taxes, and the Federal Pension Bill.

Even Federal patronage availed Mahone not. His day was done. In 1865 the Democratic candidate for governor, Fitzhugh Lee, won the election over a Mahone man. The Democrats had accepted the progressive measures of the Readjusters and the majority of the Readjuster Party in its personal makeup rejoined the Democratic ranks. Mahone

¹ Ruffin, Mah. Univ.; Lybrook, Mah. Univ.; Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 147, p. 18.

² Lybrook, Mah. Univ.; Elam, Mah. and Va.

³ Lybrook, Mah. Univ.; Sen. Doc.,

and his few followers remained out of it. He led them to Republicanism. In 1889 Mahone himself tried for the office of Governor on the Republican ticket. He¹lost. Thus ended the political career of William Mahone, ex-Confederate General and ex-Senator. Shall I say it ended ingloriously? No, sadly.

¹National, (Atlanta, Ga.), Aug. 29, 1889, "The Hero of the Crater".

X

C O N C L U S I O N

On October 8, 1895 Mahone died in Washington, where much of his political life had been spent. He sprang from the people and could have made himself what he willed, He willed wrong. Though he was powerful for a time, as all demagogues are, that very fact pre-supposed his fall. If Mahone had directed his energies unselfishly for the good of the people, his talents, cleverness, quickness would have placed him the throne with the truly great. But what is the use of "ifs" in history?

I hate to leave the story of William Mahone, for even to the end I had hoped for the good outcome of "my hero", a redemption of Mahone; but, alas, history loves the truth.

A P P E N D I X

Your arms are stacked, your splendid colors furied,
 Your drums are still, aside your trumpets laid,
 But your dumb muskets once spoke to the world-
 And the world listened to Mahone's Brigade.

Like waving plume upon Bellona's crest
 Or comet in red majesty arrayed,
 Or Persia's flame transported to the West,
 Shall shine the glory of Mahone's Brigade!

Not once in all those years so dark and grim,
 Your columns from the path of duty strayed,
 No craven act made your escutcheon dim-
 'Twas burnished with your blood. Mahone's Brigade!

Not once on post, or march, in camp. or field,
 Was your brave Leader's trust in you betrayed,
 And never yet has Old Virginia's shield
 Suffered dishonor through Mahone's Brigade!

Who has forgotten at the deadly Mine
 How our great Captian of great Captians bade
 Your General to retake the captured line?
 How it was done you know, Mahone's Brigade!

Who has forgotten how th' undying dead,
 And you, yourselves, won that for which Lee prayed?
 Who has forgotten how th' Immortal said:
 That "heroes" swept that field, Mahone's Brigade!

From the far right, beneath the "stars and bars,"
 You marched amain to Bushrod Johnson's aid,
 And when you charged- an arrow shot, by Mars
 Went forward in your rash, Mahone's Brigade!

In front stood Death. Such task as yours before
 By mortal man has rarely been essayed!
 There you defeated Burnside's boasted corps,
 And did an Army's work, Mahone's Brigade!

And those who led you, field, or line, or staff,
 Showed they were fit for more than mere parade,
 Their motto: "Victory or an epitaph,"
 And well they did their part, Mahone's Brigade!

Were mine the gift to coin my heart of hearts
 In living words fit tribute should be paid
 To all the heroes whose enacted parts
 Gave fame immortal to Mahone's Brigade!

But he who bore the musket is the man
 Whose figure should for future time be made-
 Cleft from a rock by some new Thorwaldsen-
 The Private Soldier of Mahone's Brigade!

His was that sense of duty only felt
By souls heroic. In the modest shade
He lived, or felt; but his Fame's Starry Belt-
His Fame's own Galaxy, Mahone's Brigade!

And in that Belt- all luminous with stars,
Unnamed and woven in a wondrous braid-
A blaze of glory in the sky of Mars-
Your orbs are thickly set, Mahone's Brigade!

The Private Soldier is the man who comes
From mart, or plain, or grange, or sylvan glade
To answer calls of trumpets and of drums-
So came the Soldier of Mahone's Brigade!

His messmate hunger; comrades heat and cold;
His decorations death, or wounds, conveyed
To the brave patriot in ways manifold,
But yet he flinched not in Mahone's Brigade!

When needing bread Fate gave him but a stone;
Ragged, he answered when the trumpets berayed,
Barefoot he marched, or died without a groan,
True to his battle-flag, Mahone's Brigade!

Could some supreme Intelligence proclaim,
Aside from all the pomp of rank and grade,
War's truest heroes, oft we'd hear some name
Unmentioned by the world, Mahone's Brigade!

And, yet, they have a name, enriched with thanks
And tears and homage- which shall never fade-
Their name is simply this:- Men of the Ranks-
The Knights without their spurs, Mahone's Brigade!

And though unbelted and without their spurs,
To them is due Fame's splendid accolade;
And theirs the story which today still stirs
The pulses of your hearts, Mahone's Brigade!

Men of the Ranks, step proudly to the front!
'Twas yours unknown through sheeted flame to wade
In the red battle's fierce, and deadly brunt,
Yours be full laurels in Mahone's Brigade!

3

For those who fell be yours the sacred trust
To see forgetfulness shall not invade
The spots made holy by their noble dust,
Green keep them in your hearts, Mahone's Brigade!

O keep them green with patriotic tears!
Forget not now war's fever is allayed;
Those valiant men, who, in the vanished years,
Kept step with you in ranks, Mahone's Brigade!

Each circling year, in the sweet month of May,
 Your countrywomen- matron and fair maid-
 Still pay their tribute to the Soldier's clay
 And strew his grave with flow'rs, Mahone's Brigade!

Join in the task with retrospective eve;
 Men's mem'ries should not perish 'neath the spade;
 Pay homage to the dead, whose dying cry
 Was for the Commonwealth, Mahone's Brigade!

Raise up, O State! a shaft to pierce the sky,
 To him, the Private, who was but afraid
 To fall in his duty- not to die-
 And on its base engrave, "Mahone's Brigade!"

4

Now that the work of blood and tears is done,
 Whether of stern assault, or sudden raid,
 Yours is a record second yet to none-
 None take your right in line, Mahone's Brigade!

Now that we've lost, as was foredoomed, the day-
 Now that the good by ill hath been outweighed,
 Let us plant olives on the rugged way,
 Once proudly trodden by Mahone's Brigade.

And when some far-stretched future folds the past,
 To us so recent in its purple shade,
 High up as if some "Tall Admiral's mast,"
 Shall fly your battle-flags, Mahone's Brigade!

Each battle flag shall float abroad and fling
 A radiance round, as from a new-lit star;
 Or light the air about, as when a King
 Flashes in armor in his royal car;
 And Fame's own vestibule I see inlaid
 With their proud images, Mahone's Brigade.

Your battle-flags shall fly throughout all time,
 By History's self exultingly unfurled,
 And stately prose, and loud-resounding rhyme,
 Nobler than mine, shall tell to all the world
 How dauntless moved, and how all undismayed,
 Through good and ill stood Mahone's Brigade.

O Glorious flags! No victory could stain
 Your tattered folds with oneunworthy deed!
 O glorious flags! No country shall again
 Fly nobler symbols in its hour of need!
 Success stained not, not could defeat degrade;
 Spotless they float today, Mahone's Brigade!

Immortal flags, upon Time's breezes flung!
 Seen by the mind in forests, or in marts,
 Cherished in visions, praised from tongue to tongue,
 Wrapped with the very fibres of your hearts!
 And gazing on them none may dare upbraid
 Your Leader, or your men, Mahone's Brigade.

6

That splendid Leader's name is yours, and he
 Flesh of your flesh, himself bone of your bone,
 His simple name maketh a history!-
 Which stands itself grand, glorious and alone-
 Or. 'tis a trophy, splendidly arrayed
 With all your battle-flags, Mahone's Brigade.

His name itself a history? Yes! and none
 May halt me here. In war and peace
 It challenges the full rays of the sun;
 And when the passions of our day shall cease;
 'Twill stand undying, for all time displayed;
 Itself a battle-flag, Mahone's Brigade!

He rose successor of that mighty man
 Who was the "right arm" of the immortal Lee,
 Whose genius put defeat beneath a ban--
 Who swept the field as tempest sweeps the sea--
 Who fought full hard, and yet full harder prayed.
 You knew that man full well, Mahone's Brigade !

And here that great man's shadow claims a place:
 Within my mind I see his image rise,
 With Cromwell's will and Havelock's Christian grace,
 As daring as the Swede, as Frederick wise,
 Swift as Napoleon ere his hopes decayed--
 You knew the hero well, Mahone's Brigade!

And when he fell his fall shook all the earth:
 As falling oak shakes mountain side and glen;
 But soon men saw his good sword in the hand
 Of one himself born leader among men--
 Of him who led you through the fusilade,
 The storm of shot and shell-- Mahone's Brigade!

Immortal Lee, who triumphed o'er despair,
 Greater than all the heroes I have named,
 Whose life has made a Westminster where'er
 His name is spoken; he is so wise and famed,
 Gave Jackson's duties unto him whose blade
 Was lightning to your storms, Mahone's Brigade!

Ere Jackson fell Mahone shone day by day,
 A burnished lance amid a crop of spears--
 None rose above him in that grand array;
 And Lee, who stood last of the Cavaliers,
 Knew he had found of War's stupendous trade
 A Master at your head, Mahone's Brigade!

O Countrymen! I see the coming days
When he above all hind'rances and lets
Shall stand an Epic form, lit by the rays
Of Fame's eternal sun that never sets--
The first great Chapter of his life is made,
And spoken in two words--Mahone's Brigade!

O Countrymen! I see historic brass
Leap from the furnace in a blazing tide--
I see it through strange transformations pass
Into a form of energy and pride--
Beneath our Capitol's majestic shade
In bronze I see Mahone-- Mahone's Brigade! 2

O Countrymen! When dust has gone to dust,
Still shall he live in story and in rhyme;
Then History's self shall multiply his bust,
And he defy the Silent Conqueror, Time.
My Song is sung: My prophecy is made--
The State will make it good, Mahone's Brigade!

By Captain James Barron Hope

(Recited on the Anniversary of the Battle of the Crater,
Before the Surviving Officers and Men of Mahone's Brigade).

THE VITAL VIRGINIA ISSUES .

A SPEECH BY GENERAL MABONE,

Republican Nominee for Governor of Virginia,

Delivered at Abingdon, Va., Sept. 23rd, 1889.

I cannot be a stranger to this people, if so personally, as I have a public record which bears an unpretentious relation to the affairs of our Commonwealth.

Proud of the nativity which makes me a Virginian, I am none the less an American citizen. I love my country, and no part of it so intensely as my own State. It has been for her welfare that whatever part I have taken in public matters was inspired and directed, and now, as in all the past, I have no higher ambition than to help widen the way to her advancement and pave the paths of her people prosperity and content.

Political parties are essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, and the more evenly balanced they are the greater the safety to the public interest. They operate to restrain excesses of unbridled power and conserve respect and consideration for the concerns of the constituent body.

It is no cause of any prejudice with me if another honestly entertains a different view from mine upon any public question; it is no cause of estrangement with me because my neighbor chooses to be a Democrat. It is in the right of free thought and honest political action that our government is founded, and in the unobstructed exercise of that right rests its security.

It was the right of self-government -- the right to select our law-makers, by a majority of the people, high and low, that inspired the revolt of the colonies which led to our independence and gave to the world the most powerful and progressive nation on earth.

It is for that right -- the right of the people by a free and unhindered exercise of their best judgment -- the right by a fair count and an honest return of their ballots to select their representatives in the Legislative and Executive Departments of their own State gov't., that we contend, and by the maintenance of that right only can our liberties and our civilization be preserved.

No man however humble his station or poor his fortune, no man, however exalted his position or burdensome his wealth, is without interest in and responsibility for the character of the gov't. which makes the laws and shapes the policies for the orderly conduct of the administration of the affairs of organized society. So it is under our constitutional form of gov't., the citizen is vested with an equal political power which carries with it a responsibility not to himself confined. He is, in a sense, a trustee for the common weal.

A F R E E B A L L O T

The highest duty of that trust is, so to exercise the suffrage as to select such capable agents for the functions of gov't. as will, in his honest judgment, best subserve the general welfare.

In this respect, fellow citizens, you are, on the 5th of November next, to form anew the Legislative and Executive Departments of your State government.

In the discharge of that high duty, all that I would ask is that no self-respecting freeman be governed by any other than those lofty considerations of public policy which, in his own manly judgment, will best respond to the peace, happiness and prosperity of the people, preserve their liberties and promote the independence, power and growth of our Commonwealth.

If we would preserve our civilization, let us return to honest methods at the polls -- let us teach the young men and young women of our country, that anything is not right that may be done to beat this or that candidate for public office. Let us teach them that it is no less a crime to stuff a ballot-box or to falsify a return than to pick the pocket of the voter, or to despoil our neighbor of his property. Let us teach them it is to take from another that which is his property, when by such means the choice of the people is defrauded.

Our civilization has never been exposed to so great a peril as by the political policy which teaches that anything is right that may conduce and contribute to the defeat of a candidate for any office. If the lawless doctrine that the means are justified by the end is to govern, where is its application to stop? What security will be left to any class of the population not slaves to the caprice of the power thus enthroned?

THE COLOR-LINE

Never was our civilization more severely menaced than when my competitor, in his speech at Marion last year, threatened it with an invasion of ku-klux societies, as the means of controlling the administration of our public affairs, out of a pretended fear of the impossible supremacy of the colored man.

In 1879 when our distinguished fellow-citizen, now Senator Daniel, came to the front of the stage before a Lynchburg audience, holding Derrick with one hand and Roane by the other, both colored, declaring as he advanced "when the best men of both races unite in a cause, it must win", it would not appear that our Democratic statesmen apprehended any danger to our civilization by the presence of the colored man -- nor would it seem the colored man was held to endanger our civilization, when in the House of Delegates for the session 1879-1880, the Hon. Mr. Rowe, a leading member of the Democratic party, said to the colored members of that body -- "if you had gone with us and given us the control of the Legislature, we would have given each of you for your counties a colored for County Judge".

This pretended concern for the Safety of our civilization is merely to mislead and turn away the more thoughtful and gullible of our population from the exercise of their political rights in the direction of their own convictions and interests.

It is employed as a mere scare-crow to excite prejudice and fear, in the hope of diverting the white working man from casting his ballot for the candidate he honestly prefers.

In twenty-two Legislative Districts of the State, where the colored people compose a majority of the voting population, seven (7) of these districts were in the last legislature represented by white Democrats (and how did that happen?), ten (10) by white Republicans

and five (5) by colored Republicans.

The County offices in all these twenty-two black Counties are held by white men---and in Halifax, Charlotte, Brunswick, Southhampton, King and Queen and Luenburg, they are held by white Democrats. How did that happen?

Whence, then, comes the menace to our civilization by the presence of the colored, to whose care and keeping the lives of our wives and children were largely and safely intrusted during the sectional war? and what ex-Confederate soldier who did not shelter himself under some detail for duty far in the rear, on the first appearance of danger, will forget that service at the hands of the black man, whom my competitor would threaten with extermination by the hand of Ku-Klux Societies?

But, fellow citizens, it is not the ghost of the colored man, by which the Democratic managers would frighten and compel to the support of their candidates the timid and credulous of our population, that I am here to speak to you. No self-thinking manly man can be afraid of negro domination in our public affairs, or that his participation in the agents of government can in any wise endanger our civilization. The colored man is here to stay. He is an essential in and to our labor system.

His place cannot be supplied. He is in great measure the life-giving power to all our industry, pursuits. His labor contributes to the wealth of the State, and the more we enlarge his capabilities and stimulate his efforts the greater will be his contributions.

We want here no condition of serfdom, if we would advance our civilization and promote the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all.

The colored man is by instinct a Republican, and naturally a protectionist, as, in my judgment, every man who is dependant upon the sweat of his own brow ought to be.

The interest of this State all over and of a majority of her white are for protection. You need the aid of the colored vote to protect you against the Democratic dogma of free trade.

You need his vote to maintain that Republican policy which says that the productions of the pauper and low-paid labor of other countries shall not be sold here in free competition with the productions of our own people.

But, fellow-citizens, let me address your intelligence upon the subjects which should govern your political action in the campaign pending and direct your ballots on the 5th day of November next.

THE PURPOSE OF ELECTION

On that day you are to chose certain State officers and elect representatives in the General Assembly. I would hope that neither prejudice, sentiment, nor personal considerations will govern you in the discharge of that high duty. It is for your best interests and that of your State, that I would have you make selection between opposing candidates.

How shall we consider and compare the virtue and beneficence of opposing parties----by theories, or by results? How shall we measure the integrity of party professions----by deeds, or by promises? I prefer for my guidance results to theories, and deeds to promises.

If you are in favor of protection, vote for the candidates who have attested their devotion to that policy by deed done, and not for the candidates who, while gliding in their protestations of friendship, never fail, when you have conferred upon them the power, to give their support to the policy of free trade.

If you are in favor of the repeal of the onerous and hateful system of Internal Revenue, vote for the candidates who have made honest efforts to secure its abolishment, and not for the men who, while protesting their opposition to it when asking your support, have nevertheless silently submitted to its continuance.

If you are in favor of the Blair bill and the help it would give to our admirable System of free schools, vote for the candidates of that party which presented it to Congress and three times passed it in the Senate of the U. S., not for the candidate of that party which has so far and so long stated the passage of that beneficent measure into a law.

T H E D E M O C R A T I C R E C O R D

What man of the Democratic candidates, no matter what his protestations to the contrary, can be held to be friendly to these important measures which so largely concerned the interests of the people of the State?

If there is one among them all who did not support Mr. Cleveland and the St. Louis platform, let him stand in his place and declare it. Let him repudiate, even now, his presidential candidate and his party platform.

Mr. Cleveland had the courage to declare for free trade, for the continuance of the tax on tobacco and fruit distillations, and to the Blair bill was well known to be opposed.

Will you vote for the man, fellow-citizens, deserving as he may be otherwise of your respect, whose record tells you that he can not be trusted if elected, to exercise the influence of the high office he seeks to promote these measures of immediate concern to you?

Will you vote for the candidate whose party stands pledged by its every act against protection, against the Repeal of the Internal Revenue System, and against the Blair bill?

Will you vote for candidates who are in sympathy, by their every act, with measures that you favor, or will be frightened and dragooned into support of gentlemen who are hostile to them, by the faults and unmanly outcry of "negro?"

P R O T E C T I O N

.....

Our opponents will tell you that these questions are not in-

volved in a State election. They will protest their friendship for all and everything-- their hostility to the negro in white counties and their tender solicitude for him in black counties of the State-- anything to get votes -- for it is declared that at all hazards and at any cost, whatever may be the popular will, their grip upon the control of your public affairs must be held.

.....

DEMOCRATS FOR FREE TRADE

Republicans for protective tariff -- no competition of cheaply paid European labor with honest workers.

SLAVERY AND FREE TRADE

Slavery, no matter where or in what form it existed, has been and is the consort of free trade.

.....

OUR MANUFACTURES

.....

He who would send this amount of money that now, under our Republican policy of protection, gives employment and support to our own people, out of the country; he who would take away this field of livelihood from our own working classes to build up the wealth of other countries and succor their poorly paid labor, ought to vote the Democratic ticket.

E

He who would have a diversified industry and create home markets for the products of the farm, the animal, the forest, the garden, the orchard and the dairy; open our mines, utilize our water power, advance the welfare of the working classes, improve our civilization and promote the happiness of the people---our own people---should vote the Republican ticket and for protection.

HOME MARKETS NEEDED IN VIRGINIA

.....

It was the growth of our manufacturing and mining industries under the care of the Republican administration and the policy of protection that widened the fields of agriculture, stimulated the expansion of our railroad system, and enlarged the employment of labor.

.....

JEFFERSON AND CALHOUN

.....

.....And yet my competitor---Bourbon-like---refuses to learn, either by precept or experience, and thinks "we have no more use for the Tariff than we have for heavy battalions."

.....

THE TOBACCO TAX

.....No complaint against it.

F R E E E D U C A T I O N

Fellow-citizens, there is another question of great concern to the people of this Commonwealth. It is the free education of their children at the public schools. It is the education of the growing generation that we should take every concern, as the surest means of protecting and improving our civilization and advancing the general welfare:

In this direction our General Lee, after laying his sword at Appomatox, devoted himself to the higher education of our young men.

And so also the other great leader in that memorable struggle--- General Grant--- fully realising the importance of free education used this beautiful language, which his party has preserved by incorporating it into its national platform:

"In a republic like ours where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant; where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign---the people--- should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence, which is to preserve us as a free nation; therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education."

My competitor, in opening his campaign at Charlottesville, is ominously silent on this great quest; he seems solicitous about our University, Milit. Inst. and Agricultural and Mechanical College, in which we all feel a just pride, by pointing out a danger which he knows, or ought to know, can never arise; but he has not a word to say in behalf of our Common Schools; which he quotes approvingly from a pamphlet of one high in the esteem of his party and whom he characterizes as "one of the most sagacious men in the state" when, at the very time, this same man in a pamphlet then issued advocated the setting apart of the school taxes paid by each race to the education of their children respectively; in other words, that every man should pay for the education of his own children; a blow aimed direct at the district of our free school system. Such a policy may challenge the admiration of our Democratic leaders, but the thought has no response in my heart nor does it belong to the spirit of this enlightened age. Once before has our party rescued the free schools from ruin. As we restored they remained except as they have since been misdirected to partizan ends, for in all the five years of their power at the Capitol, the Democratic party has done nothing to nurture the system. In our hands they are in the hands of their friends, and every man can toil on with the cheering hope that the education of his child will be provided for.

T H E B L A I R S C H O O L B I L L

My competitor makes no mention of the Blair Bill, so often defeated in the House of Representatives by his party, and may be because the \$5,000,000 of money it would place in Va. would go to education of our children. And just here it is a pertinent inquiry (as it is now likely with a Republican President and both

branches of Congress Republican, that the Blair Bill will become a law), if it is safe for you to continue in power a State government, Executive and Legislative, which is inimical to the measure, to control the disposition of the \$5,000,000 coming to Va.?

On dismissing this subject, I read you side by side, the declarations contained in the National platform of the two parties since this question has been an issue.

R E P U B L I C A N

1884- We favor a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the National revenue wherever the same is needed.

1888-In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant; where no power is exercised except by the will of the people; it is important that the sovereign--the people--should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence, which is to preserve us as a free Nation; therefore the state or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

D E M O C R A T I C

1884-We favor the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship. We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the general government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the states, or citizens thereof.

1888-Reaffirmed

T H E S T A T E D E B T

And now, fellow citizens, what of the public debt--the unsettled condition of which discredits the honor of the State, and excites an unjust distrust of the obligations of the people, everywhere beyond the borders of the Commonwealth.

It repels that immigration and that investment of capital, which, otherwise, our idle hands, mineral wealth, and other resources for the profitable employment of capital would surely bring. Neither man nor money seek homes where there is an overhanging mortgage upon the reality and labor of the citizen-- and no man seeks a home where he is deprived of the right to a fair participation in the formation of the government that is to represent him. control his party and his labor.

We need both, and he who would come among us, whether he be Democrat or Republican, whether he was with or against us in the late unhappy war, shall receive at my hands that friendly consideration which I would hope to enjoy at the hands of the people in any state in the Union. We cannot hope for that prosperity which belongs to Va. by any continuance of sectional prejudices and policies. We are all Americans now.

The law of the land has given to the tax-receivable coupon

the tenure of a lie^u upon the property of this Commonwealth.

The proposition of settlement formulated and submitted by the Readjuster-Republican party, which the Democratic managers promised to carry, has been by their blundering proceedings emasculated and destroyed.

Its vital energies are gone and you are confronted by new conditions in the treatment of that vital question.

The representatives of the foreign bondholders were invited to a conference on this question by the managers of the Democratic party--and you were put to the unnecessary expense of an extra session of the General Assembly to meet them. If there was to be no departure from the terms of settlement which had been formulated, what the purpose of the invitation and what the sense of the conference?

As the representatives of the creditors approached the limits of the settlement we had proposed--the Democratic managers receded--and there was no agreement. On the part of the Democratic managers, it was manifest that an agreement was not the object of the conference.

DEMOCRATIC INCAPACITY AND ITS RESULT

Meantime the Democratic managers have been content to worry the creditor and our own tax-payers who have chose, as they had a right to do, to tender payment of their dues to the Commonwealth in its own paper, which vexations, but fruitless litigation at the expense of the people, which the mortgage debt of the state goes on to accumulate at the appalling rate of a million annually.

The debt is now larger by \$5,000,000 than when the Democratic party took possession of our affairs at the capitol 5 years ago.

Its managers have had all this time absolute power to deal definitely with the question and now formally declare their purpose if continued in power, to pursue that policy in respect to it which has characterized their treatment of the subject for the 5 dreary years of their control at our capitol and that I have briefly discribed.

THE DEBT CAN BE HONORABLY SETTLED.

I never have believed that the people of this state desired a settlement with our creditors upon any other basis than that which reconized every dollar of her equitable share of the debt of the undivided state, and that it should be refunded at a rate of interest that would enable them to meet its annual demand and keep house.

On this basis, one that shall not increase the yearly burden of the people, I venture to say with every responsibility for the declaration, a satisfactory disposition of this question can be effected. But how--by what lawful process? No man who honestly desires a final settlement of it, would expect, much less desire that I should state, for straightway our Democratic managers would say, "ME-TOO."

Let the people give us the opportunity--the power to dispose

of the matter, and it shall be done, or we will quickly return to them the trust conferred.

My competitor seems anxious that I should enlighten him upon this great question, but past experience has demonstrated such a lamentable incapacity on the part of his associates to deal with this and other questions affecting the interests of the people, that I forbear to indulge his solicitude.

Fellow citizens, and managers of the Democratic party have had control of your affairs for five years, what good has come to you of their supremacy at the capitol?

DEMOCRATIC MAL-ADMINISTRATION

Are you content with the Democratic management of your asylums, when at Williamsburg and Staunton the very chastity of unfortunate females has been brutally assaulted. Are the insane accomodated at your asylums, or are many of these unfortunate people still confined in your jails, as in other days of Bourbor required? Are your teachers paid in money, or warrants unmarketable except at a discount? Are your public schools in any respect serving the people as weell as when we were in power? Are your taxes any lighter or have they been increased by the Democratic device of fresh assessments on your property?

We turned over to the managers of the Democratic party on their return to power one and a half millions cash in the treasury; meanwhile you have added to that sum thirteen and one half millions taxes paid. Do you know what has become of these fifteen millions of your money, when, during the same period, the five millions have been added to your public debt?

What information has been given you, the tax-payers of the Commonwealth, as to these matters, and are you content that your servants shall disdain to render you an intelligent account of their performances?

Are you aware that \$50,000 and more of your money have been expended in the payment of lawyers and in other ways--mainly in the prosecution of vexations suits against your own citizens for exercising their lawful right to pay taxes in coupons.

Are you aware that it has cost you, in the five years of Democratic control at the capitol, an average yearly sum of \$279,861.45 more to run your State government than when the Republican party administered it, and for last year the excess runs over \$400,000, and in the five years of Democratic control you were put to an unnecessary cost for the administration of your State government of full \$1,500,000.

Are you prepared, fellow citizens, to continue such an administration--of your affairs as I have but briefly described, or will you, like freemen, rise in your majesty, and dethrone the oligarchy which for the past five years has trifled with your patiences, abused your confidence and damaged your every interest? It cannot be but that you will.

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