

# “THE NEGRO PROBLEM”

AS SEEN AND DISCUSSED BY

SOUTHERN WHITE MEN

IN CONFERENCE, AT MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA;

*WITH CRITICISMS BY  
THE NORTHERN PRESS.*



PREPARED AND COMPILED FOR THE NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN  
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## “THE NEGRO PROBLEM.”

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On the 8th of March, 1900, the Rev. Edgar Gardner Murphy of Montgomery, Ala., by invitation of several civic organizations, delivered a masterful and, from several viewpoints, wonderful oration, at Philadelphia, Pa., taking for his subject: “The White Man and the Negro in the South.”

In his letter of acceptance he gave notice that he would “deal with the approaching Conference on Race Problems, to be held at Montgomery.”

He was obviously the advance agent of the conference and was sent to prepare the Northern mind for the reception of the very extraordinary policy to be advocated by its members. It may be said that he shaped the course of the Conference. The circuitous route, the pleasing generalities, the self-assumed responsibility for declarations made, the multitudinous phases and the inimitable divisions and subdivisions under which he discussed his subject, with distinctions without differences, stamped him as an artist of no mean order, and ought to entitled him to an enviable page in the history of human events.

No general ever maneuvered an army more adroitly or with such consummate skill as he did his subject. He went to beard the lion in his den. He knew every foot of territory; that the ground on which he was to deliver his speech was dedicated to liberty more than a century ago in every sense applicable to the term; that the fire of universal freedom which kindled in the hearts of William Penn and his colony, the force which impelled Adams to face a hostile Congress and bade defiance to its statute of expulsion, was still alive though smouldering.

But his strategic and countermoves against the once unconquerable spirit of freedom and impregnable walls of the Quaker City would have done credit to a Napoleon, Wellington, Washington, or Grant. If he failed to convince and convict it was not his fault, for surely, no human ingenuity could have contrived a more thorough defense of a “lost cause” or a discreditable purpose.

The political changes, revolutions and evolutions within the Republic during the last forty years have been remarkable in many respects. The Government has relieved itself of the curse that impeded its progress and abridged its greatness. A nation has been emancipated, enfranchised and added to the body poli-

tic, and Christianity in all the world rejoices at the happy consummation. It rejoices in the effacement of the "blot on the escutcheon," though dyed in the blood of a million souls and rinsed in the tears of countless widows and orphans. Civilization rejoices because of the removal of the chains of slavery which fettered the feet of its progress. The mind of man has leaped, as it were, heavenward in science with a rapidity unparalleled in the annals of ancient or modern history, and the world has gone forward with a stride unequalled by the first half century of the Christian era.

The new man, the slave of yesterday, is inducted into the political and social system, cast in the arena of manhood where he constitutes a new element and becomes a competitor for all of its emoluments. He is put upon trial to test his ability to be counted worthy of freedom, worthy of the elective franchise; and after thirty-five years of struggling against almost innumerable odds, under conditions but little removed from slavery itself, he asks judgment; not of those whose prejudice has endeavored to forestall, to frustrate his every forward movement, but rather of those who have lent a "helping hand" that he might demonstrate the truth of the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

That the negro of the South has met and even surpassed the most sanguine expectations of his most ardent friends and supporters, all must admit. As evidence of this fact, he points with pride and offers as testimony in the high court of reason the following achievements:

They have reduced the illiteracy of the race 45 per cent.\*

They have written and published nearly 400 books.

They have 250 newspapers, two of which are dailies.

They have now in practice 2,000 lawyers and 1,500 doctors.

They have accumulated more than \$12,000,000 worth of school property and nearly \$40,000,000 worth of church property.

They own 137,000 farms and homes valued at nearly \$750,000,000, and personal property valued at nearly \$170,000,000.\*

The valuation of the real and personal property, in the Southern States, under universal freedom and the elective franchise, was, in 1890, \$13,119,480,368, against \$6,787,428,436 in 1860, and it must be taken into consideration that in 1860 more than four million slaves were rated in the estimate.

\* *New York World.*

They have raised nearly \$11,000,000 for their education.\*

Their property per capita is estimated at about \$75.00.

They are successfully operating several banks and commercial enterprises, among the latter one cotton mill and one silk mill.

They have 32,000 teachers in the schools of the country.

They have built, by the aid of Northern friends, 19,800 churches with a seating capacity of six millions, and support 7 colleges, 17 academies, 50 high schools, 5 law schools, 5 medical schools, and 25 theological seminaries. They own 600,000 acres of land in the South alone.

The cotton product, mainly by their labor, has increased from 4,669,770 bales in 1860 to 11,235,000 in 1899.

Notwithstanding these evidences of progress, it is proclaimed to the world by the pessimist that the emancipation, the enfranchisement and the education of the negro are all failures.

#### THE MONTGOMERY CONFERENCE.

Montgomery occupies a most unique place in the history of the Republic.

It was chosen as the first Capital of the Southern Confederacy.

It was there that the Confederate Congress met and devised plans to maintain the dissolution of the Union and to perpetuate slavery.

And destiny seems to have selected Montgomery in which to assemble the unreconciled, to revive and resuscitate the “lost cause.” Unfortunate Montgomery!

Singularly enough, of the original members of that Congress, only two survive.

Of these two, Dr. J. L. M. Curry has adopted the faith of the new and progressive era. With him the “lost cause” is lost forever, because fate has so decreed.

With the view of obtaining complete control of the much mooted “Negro Problem,” a conference of Southern men was called and held at Montgomery, Ala., on May 8, 9, and 10, 1900, for the purpose of devising ways and means for the solution of the vexed problem. It was beyond question an able body of men, composed principally of ex-Confederate Generals, Colonels and Congressmen. Apprehensive of the final outcome, both Dr. Friswell of Hampton and Prof. Booker T. Washington issued in advance letters appealing to the public to suspend judgment. Judgment with no small degree of suspicion was suspended, but hung by a tiny thread.

It was tacitly understood that Northern negro-sympathizers were to be excluded unless specially invited, and none were invited. It does not seem to have occurred to the conferees that the so-called "Southern or Negro Problem" was and is a misnomer, and that their position in demanding the exclusive right to deal with it was both false and arrogant.

As well concede to them the absolute right of readjusting the issues which caused the rebellion.

It is a national problem! It was brought into being by the nation and can only be solved by a dispassionate and impartial hearing by the whole people. Until thus solved, no conference or sectional effort of whatsoever nature can possibly be of material interest to the two races.

In the proper solution of the great national problem, then, by the whole people, depends the safety of the fundamental laws of the government upon which is based the elective franchise and all else worth possessing by the citizen.

That no real good, either to the South, the negro, or the country at large, can accrue from that or any assemblage of like character hereafter to be held, was clearly demonstrated by a majority of the propositions advanced and by the tenor of the debate.

The prevailing sentiment seems to have been: How best to disfranchise, to deprive the negro of every habiliment of citizenship, and then reduce him to the mere thing, from which he was elevated by the late amendments to the Federal Constitution; and not, as the nation had a right to expect, How best to fit him for the proper discharge of the responsible duties which citizenship involves.

All thoughtful men must know that the course proposed and pursued by the conference cannot be of long duration, and that "the longer oppression and repression last, the more unmitigating and exacting will be the demands of justice."

The men who ever stood by the South and made it what it is; the men who have been and are still most intimately identified with its prosperity, deserve to be encouraged to go forward, and not shoved back, elevated and not degraded, for,

"Like birds, for others they have built the downy nest,  
Like sheep, for others they have worn the fleecy vest,  
Like bees, for others they have gathered honeyed food,  
Like patient oxen, worn the yoke for others' good."

To-day the South would be poor without them. She would not, she dare not exchange them for the striking dynamiters of the North, East and West, composed of the lowest class of foreign countries, many of whom are fugitives from justice.

The negro's greatest crime against the South and himself is that he has served it long and faithfully as a slave.

And he has written his past injuries, as it were, on the sands of the seashore. So far as he is concerned they have long since been effaced. He entertains no malice and has not been resentful.

He has withheld the bludgeon and the torch when these would have been his most powerful weapons of defence against oppression and wrong.

The persistent efforts to eliminate the negro from participation in the government, as voiced by the Montgomery Conference, have ever been the great hindrances to the speedy and proper adjustment of all questions pertaining to the so-called problem.

That such thoughts were suggested, such efforts were made, thirty years after the abolition of slavery, are in themselves sufficient to condemn the object of the Conference, and to make all liberty-loving Americans despair of benefit from its future gatherings.

But the contest against negro suffrage, once thought to have been settled for all time, is on, and is being waged with unceasing and increasing acrimony and bitterness. And thus, the country (and not the South), is again confronted with the question: Shall the negro be recognized as a man and a citizen, or be again forced into vassalage?

Will the civilization of the age halt and await the answer, or with suppressed indignation and gloomy forebodings sweep down the avenue of futurity, chained to the body of this death?

The conditions leading up to and making the question debatable, strongly suggest the possibility of a renewal of the battle in defense of manhood rights, so ably fought to a supposed finish by the great reformers—Beecher, Brown, Smith, Garrison, Lundy, Sumner, Mrs. Stowe, Stevens, Phillips, Wilson, Adams, Tappan, Whittier, Longfellow, Dr. Garrett, Colfax, Hamlin, Seward, Grimke, Mott, Coats, Benj. F. Purvis, Williamson, Davis (E. M.), Chase, Cameron, Bates, Morton, Wheeler, Arthur, Crandall, Theodore Cuyler, Lovejoy, Douglass, Malone, Lincoln,

Dodge and the host of Christian people who devoted their lives to the cause of human freedom.

To change this government from a slave oligarchy to a true democracy cost a million of lives, billions of dollars, and untold suffering.

The South was totally bankrupt. She is regaining her wonted strength and cannot afford to take a single step backward. She cannot, in justice to herself, even attempt to curtail the citizen rights of her best laborers, much less to disfranchise them. The most humble citizen of the Republic is entitled to the benefits of citizenship.

If the country would submit to the disfranchisement of the negro, it must abolish its present system of government. It is a system of equal rights, of universal suffrage, and cannot be maintained under the system of disfranchisement proposed and being forced throughout the South.

Disfranchise and goad the negro to desperation and it may take a standing army of men and bloodhounds to keep him repressed; that will cost more than "white supremacy" will be worth. Strip him of every legal right and there will be nothing for him to live. He will not fear death.

He will know that those who would, will be powerless to guarantee justice in the courts to the man whose word will be worth nothing.

And will he not take refuge in the swamps, where it is possible that he will be both dreaded and feared? Educate him? That is inimical to slavery.

Stamp, if you will, any man with the badge of inferiority, helplessness and ignominy, and you will fail to educate him.

His soul cannot expand, as all well know, under the ban of disfranchisement. "There is nothing between the citizen and slavery but the ballot-box, and the ballot is his proudest legacy," strongest weapon, only shield.

"Southern sentiment," says Dr. Murphy, "will not approve the disfranchisement of the illiterate Confederate soldier. In any civilization, there is a deep and rightful regard for the man who has fought in the armies of the State." A bright and happy thought ingeniously expressed. It discloses the real purpose of the proposed conference. The word "*State*" is used as an evasive term and is not meant to apply to nor include country or republic,



Such a construction would include the remnant of the 186,000 negro soldiers who fought for the Republic, the maintenance of the Union of the States, a majority of whom still live in the South. Here is a distinction with a great difference for the truly patriotic to consider.

No man can be free under this government without the ballot, nor can any patriot deny to the man who has fought for his COUNTRY the right of suffrage. Rob him of that and you take all else. “Take from him the ballot and he possesses no rights that cannot be violated with impunity.”

The lot of the Southern white man has been one of aggravation from several view-points. He was forced to submit to the political equality of his former slave—the inevitable result of the peculiar form of government extant, but whose existence depends on universal suffrage.

This political equality was in the highest degree chafing. The master has neither forgotten nor forgiven the negro’s liberators for thus elevating the slave, and revenge has been wreaked upon the helpless and hapless negro without stint as being the first great cause of trouble.

As a result of this vengeance, more than 50,000 negroes have been, without law or jury, sentenced and executed by “Judge Lynch,” while their natural guardians have looked on with seeming indifference, and declared that they “could not prevent it.”

The negro feels that his friends have led him up to the awful gulf of despair and stepped aside, while he himself has plunged into the dreaded vortex from which it is almost impossible for him to escape.

The South is indeed the garden-spot, the Eldorado of America.

She rightfully boasts of her beautiful flowers, whose aroma fills the air with fragrance; of her birds, whose dazzling plumage and sweet songs light the very atmosphere and thrill the soul with delight; of her chivalrous and brilliant men, whose deeds of daring and wisdom are inseparably connected with the history of the country; and last but not least, of her handsome and chaste women with no superiors on earth.

It appears to the writer that a people with so honorable and proud an ancestry; a people so recently released from the baleful influence of slavery, could not be induced to foster a project so inconsistent, so repulsive, so fatal to every instinct of true great-

ness, especially when it is remembered that any people who refuse freedom and civil liberty or the right of franchise to others, shall not long maintain them for themselves.

But the South is mad! It went mad over the refusal of the Republic to agree to the extension of slavery. It has gone mad over the enfranchisement of the negro.

And yet the United States cannot, if they would, build up a prosperous government on the degradation of ten millions of men and women who have tasted the sweets of freedom. Nor can the South hope to reach that height of prosperity due her as long as she clings to class legislation and race privileges. Finally, if neither emancipation, education nor religion has helped the negro, as stated by some of the Montgomery conferees, then the money so generously contributed for the advancement of Christian civilization by such philanthropists as the Peabodys, Hands, Slaters, Cranes, Whites, Ballards, Dodges, Howlands, Shaws, Cheneys, Reymond Bartons, Popes, Braytons, Sayles, Ferris, Phelps, Stokes, Flowers, Huntingtons, Jessups, Vanderbilts, Browns, Carnegies, Armours, Rockefellers, Hopkins, and others too numerous to mention, might as well be committed to the flames, the foreign and domestic missionaries recalled, the evangelization of the world given up as a fruitless effort, and the mandate of the Bible repudiated.

It seems to me that the clanking of the chains which once fettered the intellect of the white man as well as the person of the negro, must be no longer heard in our Southland; that the mist of ignorance which has befogged and bedimmed the vision of the white man and the black man alike, must, in the interest of humanity, be dissipated; that the dungeons in which they have been incarcerated for several centuries must give place to school-houses before the South can enter upon that road of prosperity and good will so much needed in the development of her endless resources, and of which she has been so many years deprived.

The South is a component part of this great federation. The honest and true citizens of the Republic expect and demand that exact and even justice be jealously guarded and meted to every citizen, regardless of his previous or present condition.

[Condensed from the Boston “Evening Transcript.”]

THE MONTGOMERY CONFERENCE.

WHAT SOUTHERN WHITE MEN THINK THE PROPER AND SAFE WAY TO SOLVE THE RACE QUESTION.

SUFFRAGE DECLARED TO BE A FAILURE AND REPEAL OF THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT DEMANDED.

Education Declared to Be a Disappointment Under Afro-American Teachers, and the Belief Expressed that Better Results Could Be Got if “Good White People” Would Take the Matter in Hand—Our Preachers Hit on the Head in the Same Way—Lynch Law Condemned and Extraordinary Legislation Demanded in Criminal Assault Cases—Opinions of the New York Daily Newspapers.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 9.—The Southern Conference for the Discussion of Race Problems opened here last night in the Auditorium. The attendance was unexpectedly large, but almost entirely local. About 1500 were present. The two hundred seats reserved for negroes were fairly filled. No men at present active in public life were present, excepting Hon. Joseph F. Johnson, Governor of Alabama, and Hon. E. B. Joseph, Mayor of Montgomery, both of whom made short addresses of welcome.

Governor Johnson was loudly applauded for a strong statement condemning injudicious interference by Northern politicians, who regarded it as a demand that the whites must control and that the extension of the franchise was a fatal mistake, which did not outline any policy of solution.

Hon. Hiliary A. Herbert, who is the permanent chairman, and who will to-day be elected first president of the society, made the principal address. He discussed principally the lynching question and the franchise question. He was of the opinion that existing conditions tended to an increasing amount of ignorance, idleness, and crime. He called attention to the statistics showing that in the District of Columbia, where the negro had no vote, crime was much less common. He did not believe that a modification of the Federal Constitution was feasible. The frequency of violence against women was an evidence of a retrogression toward barbarism. This must be remedied, first by education, and second by a prompt application of the law.

Mayor E. B. Joseph, in his address of welcome, said: “In all your deliberations you are confronted with the fact that hu-

man wisdom cannot recast nature, or change race characteristics, or the conditions which an all-wise Creator, for purposes of his own, but dimly seen and understood by human vision, has surrounded the pathway of the two races in 'the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness,' under the protection and in the enjoyment and control of a common government. The gravity of your deliberations makes the civilized world listeners to the thoughts uttered here."

Ex-Secretary Hiliary A. Herbert's address was much as follows: He began by thanking the society for the honor conferred, and said that neither Porto Rico nor the Philippines, nor the open door of China, nor all of them, were of as much import to the South as the problems that present themselves to the Southern people at home. The negro question has always been with the people of the South and would abide with them in one phase or another. No satisfactory and conclusive settlement of the problem had ever yet been reached, and no time for the study of questions arising out of the relations between the two races had ever occurred so opportune as the present.

"Let us use this opportunity," he said, "that all of our fellow-citizens who may follow these proceedings shall see that we are not here to seek any narrow partisan advantages, to gratify any vengeful feelings, the outcome of past struggles, or to give way to racial antipathies, but to see what can be done toward the purification of the ballot-box, the protection of our women, and the adjustment of the relations between the two races in such a spirit of moderation, charity and justice as shall strengthen anew the foundations of government and perpetuate its blessings to our children.

"The two races are here, and must abide together. The deportation of the eight or ten millions of blacks is an impossibility. Professor Cope, the distinguished naturalist of the University of Pennsylvania, a few years ago, after a dispassionate study of the differences between the white man and the negro, recommended that the negro at whatever cost should be deported. His fear was that the outcome in the South was to be amalgamation, and the consequent destruction of a large portion of the finest race on earth. The best friends of the negro now admit that, as a rule, he is inferior in brain power to the white man; and here he pointed out instances to show that the belief formerly was that the differences between the races were only skin deep.

"In reconstruction days, even in Alabama, judges decided that no law of the State could interfere with the right of the whites and negroes to intermarry; but the Supreme Court of the Union and the State courts of the North have decided otherwise. Public opinion has made progress, and now sanctions, I think, these propositions. Negro suffrage has failed. It brought weakness instead of strength to the party that controlled it.

piled up millions high the debt of every State where it was dominant, and did not better the condition of the black man anywhere. He acknowledges with gratitude that conditions have improved. White men have obtained control and must keep it, if they mean to preserve Anglo-Saxon civilization. But this is not all of it. Necessity has compelled us to resort to election methods which we desire to abandon. The result of the expenditure of millions on negro education has been so unsatisfactory that some good people are advocating the abandonment of the system. The cost of trying negroes for crime is out of all proportion to the cost of trying white men, and assaults by negroes upon white women have brought us to lynch-law. These questions we are here to discuss. Idleness among negroes is undoubtedly growing, and crime increasing. Professor Wilcox states facts showing idleness to a degree that is startling, and he gives us census figures to show us that in the South the crimes of negroes, compared according to the population, with whites, were, in 1890, as a little less than 5 to 1, and in the North considerably over 5 to 1. Thus Government statistics show that for ten years, beginning with 1879, of births among the negroes of the District of Columbia, 19.6 per cent. were illegitimate; and that for the next period of eleven years, ending with 1899, the percentage of illegitimate births was 26.9. Crimes, however, in the District of Columbia, by the figures appear to be only a little over two to one, according to population, which is decidedly in favor of the District.

"The situation becomes graver still when we consider that assault by a negro upon a white woman, such an alarming feature of the present situation, was unknown when the negroes were slaves, and remained until a new generation of negroes, born in freedom, had grown into manhood; and this is after all our efforts to elevate the negro by education. What does it mean? Two answers have been suggested: one, that these crimes proceed from a spirit of revenge. Professor Wilcox, who suggested this, says that such crimes frequently resulted during the Middle Ages from hatred of the Church. The other theory is that these crimes indicate a tendency among these people, whose ancestors, some of them, a few generations ago were savages, to relapse into barbarism. Biology tells us that domestic animals, uncared for by man, tend backward to their original types—as the dog to the wolf. And when we look at man, even the proud Caucasian, he must always progress or retrograde."

Here the speaker cited instances from the history of man retrograding and argued that a mob, even a white mob, when it gets excited, as it sometimes does, and goes wild, is acting from the savage instincts that come down to us from our barbarian ancestors. The speaker then suggested that the disposition of our people to take the law into their own hands proceeds largely

from the belief that by reason of delays in trial and of technicalities of the law, courts too often fail to punish crime. And he asked whether there was not reason for this belief. He then pointed out that our courts were usually six months apart, suggested that in case of the commission of a capital crime, especially a crime against woman, the judge should go speedily to the county and bring off the trial. He pointed out several amendments that might be made in the Alabama code of penal procedure and asked the conference to take them into consideration.

He said that it was stated by an eminent gentleman, Mr. Alleyne Ireland, author of "Tropical Colonies," who had spent several years in Jamaica, that the crime of rape by a negro on a white woman was unknown in that island—which the gentleman attributed to the fact that there all crimes were punished by the courts with extraordinary promptness. "In God's name," said the speaker, "let us try in this Southern country of ours a little old-fashioned Magna Charter justice, justice administered by the courts speedily and without delay." He hoped public opinion would settle down on the idea that we cannot stop crimes against women by ceasing to educate the negro. If the crimes come from the instincts of the barbarian, we cannot prevent it by ceasing to educate; if prompted by revenge, we cannot cure the situation by ceasing to educate.

"But while continuing to urge education, I would not have you underestimate the task that is before us. The negro is not the equal of the white man; science and history alike proclaim this truth. His skull is thicker and his brain is smaller than the white man's, and Prof. Cope tells us that the sutures of the skull which promote growth and expansion usually grow up, as they do not in the white man's, at about the age of fourteen years. The negro has never civilized himself. He has always been a savage in Africa. In Hayti and San Domingo during a century of self-government he has retrograded. In the British and Danish West Indies he has made little progress.

"I am not advocating slavery. I rejoice that it is gone. Yet it is the voice of history that there never has been any large body of negroes anywhere in the world so industrious, so moral, so law-abiding, so intelligent and so trustworthy as were the slaves in the Southern States of America at the moment of their emancipation. Their faithful care of the white women and children left in their power while the able-bodied men were in the Confederate army testifies to this unmistakably. The moment of emancipation was a critical period in the history of the Southern negro. He has not been taught to provide for the morrow. Liberty brought responsibilities for which he was utterly unequal, and false teachings just now might do him incalculable injury. Abraham Lincoln knew that the negro, who had never learned to take care of himself, was not competent to aid in taking care of

the State. And so Mr. Lincoln's plan of reconstruction was to bring back the seceded States into the Union with only such voters as were qualified under the laws of the several States. Mr. Lincoln had prepared and read in his Cabinet the proclamation for the rehabilitation of North Carolina, which was the basis of President Johnson's plan. This is testified to by Secretary McCullough and General Grant.

If Lincoln had lived, the speaker thought he would have been able to carry out his plan. “Johnson failed because he had no tact and no influence. From the spring of 1865 till the passage of the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, the issue between President Johnson and Congress was universal suffrage. This issue was fought out in the Congressional elections held in the fall of 1866, and it is melancholy to remember how those elections were influenced by occurrences in the South during the preceding eighteen months. The Ku-Klux outrages were magnified and multiplied many times over, but they were indefensible and lost us many friends. The laws passed in 1865 and 1866 by different Southern Legislatures that had been called together by President Johnson, on the subject of vagrancy and apprenticeship were enacted by men who knew that stringent regulations would be necessary to prevent idleness. They were in the line of the laws on the statute books of Rhode Island and Maine, though perhaps some of them were harsh. However this may have been, they were construed by the Northern people as being without justification, and helped the extremists to win their fatal victory.

“Never was there such a blunder as in the theory that suffrage would help educate the negro. What the negro wanted above all things was to know how to take care of himself so that he might develop. He needed sympathy and tutelage, and this he would have had, especially from his old master, on terms that would have been advantageous to both, but he was taught that he had no friends except among those who wanted his vote. It was the carpet-bagger who drew the color-line. The negro voted as he was told, because, as he thought, the word was sent him from Washington, and many of them believed directly from Abraham Lincoln. Their natural leaders became politicians, and so false ideas of the duty and destiny of the negro were inculcated. When we consider the feelings of the young negro of the present generation towards the white man, let us remember the false teachings and the bitter and unsuccessful struggles for power from which he had his ideas. It is because of this same bitter feeling that the present generation of white men dislike the negro. W. H. Council of Alabama, in an able article in the *Forum*, said: ‘When the veterans who followed Lee to Appomattox shall be gathered in their graves the negro will have lost his best friend.’

“I have thought it my duty to lay before you the most dis-

couraging features of the situation, so that they may be fairly grappled with. Is not the negro clearly and distinctly improving in the countries where the white men predominate? Is not negro criminology largely due to poverty, want of education and home-training? Is not the system of industrial education as taught at Tuskegee by that remarkable man, Booker Washington, a key to the situation? And are there not so many thousands of instances of negroes becoming faithful and orderly citizens as to lead us to the conclusion that much of the evil we now see is the result of miseducation, and that in the establishment of more harmonious relations between the races and better training for the negro, we are to look for the solution of this problem?

"The recent Democratic convention of the State of Alabama has declared in ringing tones there shall be no backward step in education. Another question relates to the purity of the ballot-box. Why is neither life nor liberty safe in the little States of Central America? The answer is because there is no such thing known there as pure elections. Every administration is the creature of revolution or of an election dominated by force. No one has any respect for the title by which any official holds his place, and so revolutions come and go, and there neither is nor can be prosperity. If in the Southern States we have departed from the teachings of our fathers in this instance, it was from the necessity of preserving our civilization. But, as we have found, it is just one step from defrauding the negro to defrauding the white man, and we know that as long as matters remain as they are now we never can have, as we wish to have, two respectable parties in these Southern States.

"You will consider the question of amendments to our Constitution; but it must be borne in mind that no changes made as to suffrage that could be made in State or Federal Constitutions can of themselves meet the demands of the hour. We need better and more harmonious relations between the races. Race friction, race hatred, begets such crimes as malicious mischief, arson, assassination, and probably rape. It is the prolific mother of distrust and perjury. Lynch law adds to race hatred; it begets the feeling that injustice has been done because a trial is denied. We need more education, both of the whites and the blacks. Men must be educated to broader views of the relations they bear to each other."

Ex-Governor William A. McCorkle of West Virginia said, in his address on an intelligence and property franchise for negroes: "How can we remove our political complexities, give the negro his franchise and preserve the Constitution and at the same time not imperil our civilization? I reply that it seems to me by far the best to adopt an honest and inflexible educational and property basis, administered fairly for black and white.

"Let us appeal to the figures. The three States of the South



in which the negro element is in greatest strength are South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana. If the suffrage were restricted to those owning their farms or their homes, the whites of the South would outnumber the colored two to one; of Mississippi nearly four to one, and of Louisiana three and one-half to one. If the suffrage be restricted to the literate, the whites of South Carolina would outnumber the colored two to one; those of Mississippi more than two to one, and those of Louisiana more than three to one.

“How can we proceed on the grand march of industrial progress when our whole attention is absorbed with our inherent political complexities? The tyranny of the solid vote to be maintained on the one question is the most burdensome and exhausting that ever afflicted a people. Let us now cast it off. Delay will not affect the final result.

“Again, there is another reason why you should hurry the settlement of this franchise system and convert the negro vote into an intelligent one as quickly as possible. With the exigencies of national life we of the South will shortly need the negro vote. I look for the South to be as anxious to have the negro vote counted as is the North to-day. The negro vote has heretofore been allied to a political organization the bulk of whose existence is in the North and West. He has been generally opposed to the people among whom he lives. It is to me as plain as the open day that when the negro is impressed with the idea that the white man of the South will treat him fairly in politics as he does in business, that he will gradually and surely incline to the support of the Southern people.

“When a question arises of sectional difference in the war of local policy in this country, as they are sure to arise in the Republic’s life, you will need the negro vote and most surely you will get it. This condition is arising. It is rapidly coming. The South is no longer a great agricultural section, but it is becoming a great competitor with the North in all the commercial affairs of our national life. You will need every vote you can get to sustain your great commercial politics.

“There is another and higher aspect of this question to be considered. By the ancestral clause in many States you will pull the white man down, and with an educational franchise you push the negro to the highest educational exercise. You place a premium upon the ignorance of the white man of the South.

“The franchise system, as it is at present constituted in many of the States of the South, is, to say the least, practically the policy of repression. Repression has been tried at every stage of the world’s history, and always with the same unvarying result: utter and tremendous failure. It leads nowhere. It raises no man. It demands no education. It holds ignorance as dense as ever. It drives away intelligence. It breeds discontent. It

represses any rising inspiration of the heart. It leaves the land at the end of the cycle just as it found it at the beginning. It is the policy of deadly inaction overridden by discontent.

"Is not the fair settlement of this question in the manner I have indicated far wiser than any attempt to repeal or modify the Fifteenth Amendment, which has been so ably pressed by a respected member of this conference? We are striving to close the gulf between the two great sections. This demand would again open wide the bitterness of the olden days.

"With all my soul I plead that with us no narrow spirit of sufficiency or suspicion of untoward interference on the part of the North should prevent the intertwining of our lives and our energies in the unravelling of the complexities of a situation which more vitally affects modern civilization than any question of the present day."

A. M. Waddell, who did as much as anybody to precipitate the bloody murders in Wilmington, N. C., in 1898, said in part:

"Granted the power, and admitting the necessity for some restriction, the question is, What is the fairest, wisest, and most just arrangement that can be made in regard to the franchise under existing circumstances?"

"Unrestricted negro suffrage in the Southern States, if the right be fully and freely exercised, means the most ignorant, corrupt, and evil government ever known in a free country. It means more than this, for there can be no social security where it prevails. Amongst white men, political party ascendencies are never utilized to affect social order. Social disorder invariably follows negro political ascendency. The negro has had nearly forty years of freedom and citizenship, and opportunity for education, and yet, with many honorable exceptions, he is quite as incapable of understanding the meaning of true liberty and of intelligently exercising political rights as he was when first emancipated. The Southern people, amidst all the calamities that have befallen them, have expended about \$100,000,000 for the education of the negroes since the year 1870, and yet, with every succeeding year, they have become, as a race, less fitted for the duties of citizenship and more and more a menace to civilization and good government. These are not wild and exaggerated statements, but facts capable of proof.

"The true remedy for it is to be found in the repeal or modification of the Fifteenth Amendment. I know that this suggestion will be regarded by most persons as one the realization of which is beyond reasonable hope, but there can be little doubt that the mind of the country, North and South, especially since the acquisition of Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines, is in a more favorable condition to consider such a proposition than ever before. The repeal of the amendment would not necessarily mean the total disfranchisement of the negro.

“It is stupid and criminal to force both races to live together with equal rights and privileges to each, because such a condition means, first, strife and disorder and eventually the expulsion or annihilation of the weaker race. What does humanity, what does statesmanship—which is common sense applied to public affairs—dictate as the best and wisest course to be pursued under such conditions? Why cannot the American people display the courage of their convictions on this subject? Do you tell me that education will be the cure-all for this state of things? I yield to no man in my estimate of the supreme importance of popular education, although I know that in the country where it was developed first, even by a compulsory process, there has been and is despotism and military aristocracy; but the experience of nearly forty years in the Southern States has demonstrated that any other than industrial education for the negro simply means, in the homely phrase of Uncle Remus, ‘the spiling of a field hand’ if not the creation of a social misfit or something worse. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that (while I would not apply the test to white men) if it can be done by any constitutional method, it would be much wiser to require a property qualification than an educational one for the negro voter.

“What the negro needs is not political power, but the help and sympathy of the white people among whom he lives, and which they have always stood ready to give, but which he has done his best to nullify. It was not his natural inclination, but the result of false and vicious training since his emancipation. He not only needs this help and sympathy, but all perish without it. He will never, however, receive it as he has done until he abandons the idea of political power. White supremacy is absolutely essential to his welfare, because it means the salvation of those things upon which his very interest depends. It is madness in him, and cruelty in those who so advise him to resist it.”

Mr. John Temple Graves of Georgia did not think that disfranchisement or education or anything else would solve the race problem. Separation, absolute, complete separation of the races, he thought, was the only thing that would solve the problem. Mr. John Temple Graves is not a humorist.

#### SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

MONTGOMERY, May 10.—The morning session was attended by about 800 and was devoted to a discussion of the religious side of the question. Prof. John R. Stratton of Macon, Ga., adduced alleged statistics to prove that in those sections where the black was most illiterate he was least criminal, and further, that the permanence of the criminality was the greatest among those who could read and write. This condition must be remedied by a more thorough general education. Booker Washing-

ton's plan is the best tentative solution, but all efforts at education must be made with recognition of the present tendency toward degeneration, and with a view to better moral development. Rev. D. Clay Lilly of Tuscaloosa, Ala., spoke on the question of cooperation between the whites and negroes in ecclesiastical work. He believed that the advantages of self-reliance and the opportunity to cultivate the faculty of leadership did not repay the tendencies toward hypocrisy and superstition which always attended the separate worship by the negroes. Rev. W. A. Guerry of Sewanee, Tenn., spoke upon the same subject. He showed the better condition of the negroes who have had an opportunity for contact with white instructors, as in slavery days. He believed that religious work should be conducted upon this principle. The negro is naturally a hero-worshipper, and was more confident in white guidance than in the guidance of his own race. The Episcopal Church had found by experiment that white supervision was most successful. The congregations and churches could well be kept separate, but the institutions should be under the ultimate control of white leaders.

After ex-Governor MacCorkle, William H. McKellar of Lowndesboro, Ala., spoke for ten minutes. Mr. McKellar was a graduate of the University of the South, and is now living in the heart of the section most densely populated with negroes. He spoke not as the enemy of the negro, but as his friend. He believed that the ballot was the negro's greatest enemy. The possession of the franchise by the negro was the community's greatest danger. But the methods now necessary to disfranchise him endangered the national character. The national government created the condition; let the national government repeal the Fifteenth Amendment; the negro as a class is unfit to participate in the government. The few instances of ability should not be allowed to conceal the real ignorance of the great mass. The solution must be disenfranchisement. The whites do not propose to allow the negro to vote; let them be frank and declare that disenfranchisement without subterfuge is the only reasonable solution. Mr. McKellar was enthusiastically applauded. He spoke as a man actually familiar with the conditions, not through an authority on the general question. On the whole it is apparent that local sentiment is inclined toward the position taken by Mayor Waddell.

The attendance is still almost entirely local. One hundred more negroes have been given seats. There was a great demand for them yesterday. Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee and W. H. Council of Huntsville were present in the seats reserved for the blacks. The morning attendance was about two hundred.

The annual meeting of the society was held in the afternoon, but only routine business was transacted. Hon. Hilary A. Herbert was elected president.

The subject under discussion last night was the educational question. The attendance was over 1200. This session was important because there is strong sentiment in this locality that the negro is too much educated. Industrial education is little understood here, even by the more representative men. Dr. H. B. Frissell spoke strongly for industrial education for the negroes. Dr. J. D. Dreher dealt entirely with the value of a literary system.

Dr. J. L. M. Curry, custodian of the Slater Fund, Washington, made a tremendously effective address in advocacy of thorough education. He spoke as a Southern man, a Confederate veteran, and one of the two remaining members of the original Montgomery Congress. He believes that the negroes are here to stay. They cannot be compelled to advance solely upon their own resources. No tax can be expended to better advantage than upon the school system. Two separate systems are inevitable, but each must be maintained. The talk of the hopelessness of education or of too much education or of the inappropriateness of academic education is vain. He wants all he can get, and all he gets he profits by. Dr. Curry's speech was a forcible, thorough argument for more extended school facilities. He is intensely popular, his affection and loyalty for the South are unquestioned, and his attitude will have a strong influence upon the educational phase. He emphatically endorsed Dr. Frissell, Mr. Pattison, the Montgomery teacher, and Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee, to whom he referred amid roars of applause as “among the truest and worthiest of Alabamans.” A short address by Professor J. W. Stimson of New York upon the value of industrial education closed the evening session.

Hollis B. Frissell, principal of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, spoke about “The Problem of Popular Education in the South.” He said in part:

“Allow me to call your attention to a few statistics that show better than anything else the work done during the past thirty years in building up the public school system. In 1870-71 the twelve Southern States, including Virginia and Kentucky on the north, had an actual attendance in the public schools of 772,411, while the attendance for 1897-98 was 2,784,277, an increase of over two millions. The same report (1897-98) says the average number of days' schooling given to every child from five to eighteen years of age has advanced from less than twenty to over forty. The expenditure for public schools has gone up from \$6,316,923 in 1870-71 to \$18,686,136 in 1897-98, and the expenditure per capita for white children from \$2.07 to \$4.21, while for colored it has risen from 49 cents to \$2.34.

“These figures speak volumes, but to one who is able to visit the best schools of the South, to see the improved school-houses in the cities, to come in contact with the devoted men and women who are endeavoring to employ the best educational methods, to

watch the crowds of earnest children who appreciate their opportunities, all this means more than figures. I should be glad to mention the names of a hundred Southern men who as heads of institutions, or as State, city and county superintendents, have done a work for which the whole country should be grateful.

"While we rejoice in the auspicious beginning that has been made in the South in providing schools for all the people, we must not fail to realize that much still remains to be done. In spite of all that has been done since 1870, it is still true that but a small proportion of the children of school age in the Southern States are receiving anything like an adequate public school education. Fair provision is made for the city children, but in the great country districts of the South, where 80 per cent. of the Southern people live, there are in every locality miserable school-houses, school terms that do not average more than three months, and school teachers who are but poorly equipped for the work that has been given them to do.

"The problem of illiteracy among both whites and blacks is the great problem of the South to-day, the problem which every intelligent man must face. What does illiteracy mean? It means, in the first place, that so long as it continues to be a factor that must be considered, there can be no real, lasting, financial prosperity in the South. More valuable to the South, I believe, than its mines or its cotton mills is its negro labor, if it can be properly trained. The black masses can be made industrious, self-respecting citizens, of untold value to the South, if they are educated in the right way. We have made many mistakes in our dealings with this race. The emphasis in the education of the negro has often been placed on his knowledge of books when it would much more wisely have been placed on the knowledge of things. He has not always been given the training which would make him love his home and his lands and help to improve him. But the sort of education which produced Booker Washington has almost completely extinguished crime in certain counties of Virginia, has revolutionized certain communities in Alabama, has increased the land-holdings of the country negroes of Virginia one-third in the last six years.

"That education is a safeguard against crime does not need to be argued before this intelligent audience, but that mere book knowledge is not an antidote for crime, that there is great need in our whole public school system of a larger infusion of moral and industrial training is scarcely open to question.

"There can be no permanent financial or social prosperity without improved public schools. It is certainly clear that there can be no political stability without enlightened suffrage. So long as ignorant masses, whether whites or blacks, are allowed to vote, republican government is a mere farce, for the voter becomes of necessity the tool of the designing politician."

Among the practical suggestions offered by Dr. Frissell were the need of creating a stronger public sentiment in behalf of popular education, better school buildings, the lengthening of the school term, the strengthening of those in power to see that there is more supervision of schools, public and private, Northern and Southern, white and black; the giving to each county in the South of at least one good school for each race, perhaps in most cases to be located at the court-house village.

“The problem of Southern education is not a hopeless, but a hopeful one. It is a different one from that given to any other people, but it is most interesting. The native white population of the South bears about the same ratio to the blacks that exists between the native and foreign population of the North. The great problem of this country is as to how the people of the different races can live together in harmony and mutual helpfulness. The North has its own special difficulties, and so has the South. Each needs the other’s help in overcoming them, but if both work together to give to every man, be he native or foreign, white or black, the light which God means he shall have, this will be God’s own country.”

President Julius D. Dreher of Roanoke College made a strong plea for more public libraries in the Southern States.

THIRD DAY’S SESSION.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 11.—The Auditorium was completely filled at the closing session of the Race Conference last evening. Over 4000 people were present. Dr. Paul B. Barringer of the University of Virginia was the first speaker. Dr. Barringer’s subject was “The Sacrifice of a Race.” His address was a recital of statistics purporting to prove that the negro was degenerating morally and physically and would eventually disappear.

Hon. W. Bourke Cockran of New York made the principal address. He directed his attention to the Fifteenth Amendment. The substance of his argument was as follows: The racial antagonism and mutual distrust which evidently exist in the South are due to the fact that the legal status of the negro in theory is not his status in fact. The suppression of this antagonism is the thing needed. The Fifteenth Amendment is, in fact, inoperative. It has been found impractical to enforce a provision of law which is denied public support. The negro cannot be deported. He will not become extinct. He will remain. How can the theory and fact of his status be harmonized? The Federal Constitution attempts to secure him the franchise; public opinion denies it. The Constitution attempts to prevent the imposition of an especial penalty for his crime against white women; but the public creates a penalty outside of law. These are the cause of friction and fraud. They can be removed only by a frank correction of the Federal Constitution, so that while still protecting

the negro in his rights of citizenship it will permit a local treatment of the local question of the franchise, an appropriate penalty for a peculiarly atrocious crime, and a placing of this race question upon an undisguised race basis. Having done this, the negro will be amply protected by the white voter, because his welfare is essential to the welfare of the white man. Unless he prospers, the community from which he will not be detached cannot prosper. Meanwhile he must be developed not as a race, at a bound, but individually, gradually, as all other races have progressed, and will gradually receive such share in the government as he proves himself entitled to. Mr. Cockran was applauded uproariously. His argument in the main represents the popular attitude of this locality.

The concluding speakers at the morning session yesterday were Rev. J. R. Slattery of Baltimore, Bishop Penick of West Virginia, formerly a missionary of the Episcopal Church in Africa, and Professor Wilcox, the chief statistician of the Census Department, Washington. The purport of all the morning speeches was to encourage co-operation by the whites in the religious work of the blacks. Professor Wilcox predicted a final decay and disappearance of the negro in America. Yesterday afternoon's session was upon the question of lynching, particularly with respect to its adoption as a remedy for rape. Hon. Alexander H. King of Atlanta was the first speaker. He traced the recent history of the racial relations, and found in crimes of violence, particularly in rape, evidence of intense racial antipathy. This desire for revenge is the natural consequence of the negro's resentment of subordination. The crime is committed and atoned by a small minority, though the culprit is frequently concealed by more law-abiding negroes. The negro's tendency to compound this and other felonies and the enormity and brutality of the crime make treatment of them a distinct question. Lynching was originally the consequence of a desire for sure, prompt punishment, but it blunts the moral sense, defeats itself by creating a sympathy for the criminal, discredits courts, and often miscarries justice. Sheriffs, juries and drum-head trials were only subterfuges to give lawlessness a color of propriety. The courts must be relied on. But methods can be implied by measures of prompter trials and private hearings of the accusers, so that the defendants' rights may be preserved without exposing the victim to the ordeal of public testimony. Hon. Clifton R. Breckenridge followed. John Temple Graves spoke briefly in conclusion. He said that assemblages in the North frequently passed resolutions condemning lynching, but never the crime of which it was the penalty. He was forbidden by rule to offer a resolution, but he desired his hearers, with their applause, to approve this sentiment that the conference appeal to the Northern people to condemn in their resolutions not only the lynchings, but also the unspeakable



crime, deadlier than murder and more atrocious than assassination. He stopped amid tremendous applause.

Mr. Clifton R. Breckenridge of Arkansas spoke at length on the question of criminal assault on white women. He approached the subject with much diffidence and many misgivings. When such a crime is perpetrated, it presents to the mind so many elements of horror that its calm and judicial contemplation becomes almost a matter of impossibility. The investigator who does not recognize the difference in the Anglo-Saxon mind, at least that portion of it which resides in the South, and which must of necessity administer the remedy, between assaults on white women by men of their own race, and those by men of a race deemed so inferior, that voluntary relations with it, if lawful, would be considered the deepest degradation to which a white woman could descend, will utterly fail to meet or appreciate vital conditions in the problem. He thought the tendency to commit this crime, which was unknown among slave negroes, is on the increase. He would not include a majority of the negro race in what he had to say on the subject. "In my opinion a vast majority of them are entirely free from any such criminal tendency. Nor, in describing lynching, do I mean to be understood that the Southern people as a whole approve it."

On the one hand is felt the incubus of this undeveloped race; a race which must for centuries be behind the whites in all of the manly virtues and independent qualities which distinguish self-governing people. Added is the gulf of social and race separation, or the abhorrent alternative of a distant amalgamation and miscegenation, which means the degradation of the white through the existence in the South of the negro.

On the other hand, the negro feels in different walks of life this growing estrangement and this tension of relations. He resents the fact that the white man insists on his subordination. An emotional race, belonging to that which the German Bluntschli styles the childish races of the world, he resents what he deems a denial of his rights. In the lawless this incites a tendency to strike, to damage in order to show their power for revenge. To criminal tendency is added race animosity, and this in the brute with passions of the lowest order incites to the assault on women of the other race. He will triumph over the other race in the person of a woman of that race.

What has been written has not in any wise been intended as a justification of lynching; but in order to conduce to an understanding of the subject.

That punishment, except after a fair trial by the regular courts, should be repudiated as a proper remedy for any crime will, I think, on reflection, be conceded: First, It utterly discredits the courts and the laws. It implies either that the laws are inadequate or that the courts cannot be relied upon to en-

force them. Second, It distracts attention from the crime, by directing attention to the lawlessness of the punishment. It creates a certain sympathy for the victim of Judge Lynch, even among those who abhor the crime and the criminal. Among the members of his own race there are but few who do not regard the lynched rapist as a victim and not a felon, and who do not forget his offence in the menace to their race. Third, It brutalizes the white community which indulges in it. Fourth, It stirs up race antagonism even with the law-abiding. Fifth, It breaks down every safeguard against confounding the innocent with the guilty, and imperils the luckless victim of circumstances, or of the mistake of a terrified woman and an infuriated mob.

The two great reasons urged for the resort to extrajudicial means are: First, the delay of legal punishment; second, the protection of the victim of the assault from the ordeal of the witness-chair. He would have such laws as would expedite the trial of persons charged with rape.

Provision might be made that on application of the party assailed, or of the State's attorney, the judge might have her testimony taken before him, the prisoner, and his counsel and the prosecuting attorney alone being present and such testimony so taken to be read to the jury.

Rev. William A. Gerry, chaplain of the University of the South, discussed this question: Which is the wisest form of religious work among the negroes—that controlled by white agencies, or that administered by negroes. He said in part:

The best answer is to be found in the condition of the negro during slavery. He thought the most respectable class of negroes in the South to-day, with a few notable exceptions, are those who were once slaves. He had no faith in negro preachers and school teachers; but wherever the Southern people have undertaken this work in earnest the results have been most satisfactory. "I do not think we have begun to measure the possibilities of the negro under the tutelage of the highest type of Anglo-Saxon," was the conclusion upon which Chaplain Gerry concluded his remarkable address.

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[From the *New York World*]

## DISFRANCHISEMENT OUT OF THE QUESTION.

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No Backward Step Possible—What the Race Has Accomplished.

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When Mr. Bourke Cockran spoke for the disfranchisement of the negro yesterday at Montgomery, he followed the lead of his own State. New York rescinded its ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment a few months after its passage. But the

Amendment, ratified by thirty States, has now been in force thirty years. To repeal it on the grounds suggested by Mr. Cockran would be impossible. To repeal it any way would be an act of retrogression, at variance with the progress and civilization of the earth's greatest nation.

There are bad negroes—irredeemable negroes—in the South and in the North. But if that fact is to be used as an argument for destroying citizenship, we need not leave New York City to find a chance for its sweeping application to a horde of “poor whites.” And if it is claimed that the negro has not progressed according to the measure of his freedom, there are a few statistics handy to refute the claim. The black man is able thus to sum up his accomplishments since his emancipation :

He has reduced his illiteracy 45 per cent.

He has written 300 books.

He has 200 newspapers issued regularly each week.

He has accumulated school property to the value of \$12,000,000.

He owns church property worth \$37,000,000.

He owns 137,000 farms and homes, worth \$725,000,000.

He has personal property to the value of \$165,000,000, and has raised \$10,000,000 for his own education.

His per capita possessions amount to \$72.50.

To propose that the nation shall step backward in the face of such a stepping forward is a curious way to argue the superiority of the dominant white man. Mr. Cockran is on the wrong color line.

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[From the New York *Tribune* ]

## THE CONFERENCE PRONOUNCED A DISMAL DIS- APPOINTMENT.

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It was hoped and expected, indeed, that these men of the South would discuss the questions in their own way, and no patriotic observer at the North would wish them to suppress the avowal of their prejudices or the frank statement of the place they are willing to have the negro occupy, whether he thinks their views wise and reasonable or not. Therefore every honest utterance at Montgomery is to be commended. Only as impracticable schemes widely cherished are avowed and met by better developed ones in the South itself can the solution of the problem be found. Nevertheless, making full allowance for this, it is impossible not to feel that much of the talk is far more in the air than was expected from a body of the most enlightened men of the South gathered together to face an actual present situation.

The problem, as every clear-headed man must see, is to adjust

the relations of the two races, living side by side as they do, by means which there is reasonable hope of commanding. When men advocate a wholesale migration of the black millions to Africa they are wasting time. The blacks would not go, and the whites could not afford to let them go. Who would transport five millions of blacks across the ocean, or would perform the manual labor of the South if they did suddenly emigrate? So, too, it is a waste of time to talk of repealing the Fifteenth Amendment. Passed wisely or unwisely, it is a part of the Constitution, and it would be practically impossible to secure its repeal. That is a political fact to be reckoned with, whether it is liked or not. Nobody wonders at the Southern white man's wishing that he could overcome difficulties by some such short cut as these which have been urged at Montgomery. New Yorkers likewise waste time in wishing they had some magic to transform the voters of this town into wise and unselfish citizens who would not allow Tammany to fatten upon it. But such problems have to be faced as they are. The negro is in the South to stay. He has the ballot on equal terms with the white. The ignorant negro, like the ignorant white, can and ought to be excluded from politics, and the best civilization of the South should rule it. But the best civilization will not rule it if, while disfranchising ignorant negroes, it puts a premium on ignorance among white politicians. The white race would simply be preparing for the domination of its own worst elements.

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[From the *New York Journal* (Dem.)]

## THE BRYAN DEMOCRATIC VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE.

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The Montgomery Conference has not settled the race question in the South, but it has made a good beginning of that free and fair discussion of the problem, by Southern men, which is the necessary preliminary to its solution. It has listened patiently to extremely divergent views. It has heard the work of Booker Washington lauded as the panacea for all the ills of race antagonism, and it has heard it branded as a thing certain to intensify them. It has heard recommendations of the disfranchisement of the Negro and advice to give to him his full political rights. It has heard suggestions of deportation and pleas for enlightenment of the Negro where he is.

It was an official of the Census Bureau at Washington who boldly predicted the extinction of the black race, not by bloodshed, but by its own vital deficiencies. Startling as this idea is, it is not entirely new. The *Journal* has referred to its possibility before. It is a fact that the death rate among the Negroes tends to surpass

the birth rate, and has already passed in the cities, toward which the currents of population, white and black, are setting. The coming census will throw more light upon this point.

This conference cannot fail to do good. Initiated and carried on by Southern men, it arouses none of the antagonism that would be excited by interference from without. The first gathering has been occupied necessarily with breaking ground, but the subsequent meetings, which are to be held every year hereafter, may be expected to evolve something definite and practical.

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[From the New York *Sun* (Rep.).]

## BOURKE COCKRAN AND HIS SYMPATHIZERS ROASTED TO A TURN.

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Mr. Bourke Cockran of New York is a man of brilliant abilities, among which, however, is not included the solid gift of sagacity, as was demonstrated very clearly in his advocacy at the Montgomery Conference, on Thursday, of the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which is this:

“1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

“2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.”

Between 1850 and 1860 there arose an American party, or the Know-Nothing party as it was called, because its nucleus was a secret organization which refused to reveal its objects, and for a time it seemed likely to carry everything before it. Its cardinal principle was that “Americans must rule America,” and its motto was a mythical order by Washington during the Revolution; “Put none but Americans on guard to-night!” The great increase in immigration at the time and during a few years previous to the organization of the party, because of the famine in Ireland and revolutionary movements on the European Continent, was the immediate incentive to the feeling which gave it a temporary impetus. Its secret Grand Council at Philadelphia in 1856 demanded that “native born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal and municipal offices,” and that the Naturalization laws should be changed to make a continued residence of twenty-one years necessary to citizenship. Opposition to the Roman Catholic Church was also a distinctive feature of the movement. But in 1860 the Know-Nothing party disappeared from politics, justifying Horace Greeley’s diagnosis, in the days when it seemed likely to sweep everything before it, that it had “about as many of the elements of persistence as an anti-cholera or anti potato-rot party would have.”

If the Know-Nothing party had succeeded in its purpose of re-

stricting the suffrage and shutting out the foreign-born from office, Mr. Bourke Cockran, who came to this country from Ireland in 1871, would be now only in the beginning of his career in American politics. Moreover, the arguments against allowing him to vote were not radically different from those he and his sympathizers are now firing against the Fifteenth Amendment. It was contended that such as he are not sufficiently instructed in American politics and imbued with American sentiment to be trusted to vote, and, besides, that being of an alien religious faith they are dangerous characters. "Put none but Americans on guard!" "Americans must rule America!"

Later, a commission gravely recommended that in municipal elections in New York a property qualification for voters should be required; and there is always a considerable number of people in this city, more particularly, in favor of restricting the suffrage to themselves and such as they. That is really the underlying principle of Mugwumpery, so far as it has any principle at all. It is distrust of universal suffrage, or the fitness of the people for self-government. Accordingly, the Mugwumps, deeming themselves the "better element," want the "rule" to be turned over to them as Divinely illuminated and commissioned for the function. The people, however, have had, and they still have, no such distrust of themselves. Instead of submitting to further restrictions they have gradually wiped away the last remaining vestiges of the distrust of universal suffrage which came down from a past period.

Mr. Cockran and his sympathizers at Montgomery who cry out for the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment will find that the American people are now of a like determination to preserve popular suffrage from every form of attack. The people know that if one body of the electorate, the Negroes, are disfranchised for the simple reason of their race, the way will be opened for further discriminations and restrictions, on race, property or other grounds, and that the principle of popular sovereignty in America will be destroyed.

Moreover, as we have before observed, the strongest opposition to the impossible scheme of Mr. Cockran will come from the South itself. The repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment and the consequent elimination of two-fifths of the Southern electorate would reduce Southern political power so far as to relegate that part of the Union permanently to hopeless political inferiority; for, of course, the withdrawal of that great proportionate vote would assuredly be accompanied by a corresponding reduction of representative power and influence. As Governor McCorkle of West Virginia said at Montgomery, the Southern States will yet be jealous to retain and exhibit the strength they get from all their population, white and Negro, and their present measures of Negro disfranchisement will be wiped away.

[From the New York Evening *Post* (Mug).]

## REPEAL OF THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT OUT OF THE QUESTION.

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The conference on the race problem at Montgomery, Ala., this week has given a number of persons an opportunity of expressing their views. Some of them offered solutions which will never be adopted, like the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This may have been an unfortunate measure, but it will never be repealed. It is based on a theory of equal rights which will never be perfectly realized, but which must always be maintained as an ideal in popular government. To repeal it would be to admit the principle that a human being, because of the accident of birth, is to be deprived of political rights. It would throw away the results of the Civil War, bought with such a great price. It would imply that no Negro, however virtuous and however intelligent, is the equal of any white man.

The position taken by ex-Gov. MacCorkle of West Virginia was a lofty one. He declared that the Constitutional exercise of the suffrage is the underlying principle of our system of republican government, any impairment of which is to be regarded as dangerous in tendency. He did not deny that grave political complications have arisen from giving the suffrage to the black people of the South; but he strongly opposed the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment. The solution of the race problem which he offered is entirely practicable. How can the people of the South remove their political complexities, give the Negro the franchise, and at the same time not imperil their civilization? Let them adopt, he answered, an honest and inflexible educational and property basis, administered fairly for black and white. Such a system would appeal to the elements most needed in good citizenship, the desire for the acquisition of property and of education. Such a franchise would not subject the white people to the political domination of the Negroes. The three States of the South in which the Negro element is strongest are South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Were the suffrage restricted to those owning their own homes, the white voters of South Carolina would outnumber the colored two to one; of Mississippi nearly four to one; of Louisiana three and one-half to one. Nearly the same proportions would exist with an educational qualification. The real problem consists in the attitude of the white people of the South toward the Negroes, and its solution is to be found in persuading them to accept the enlightened policy, so eloquently urged by Gov. MacCorkle.

[From New York *Times* (Ind.)]EX-GOV. MAC CORKLE'S SENSIBLE VIEWS EN-  
DORSED.

The politics invoked by Mr. MacCorkle is, on the other hand, of the most practical character, and it is not the less so because it is both just and far-sighted. Happily, in this country it is not yet admitted that passionate contempt for high motives is necessarily shrewd; it has too often been proved to be folly. Of this folly Mr. MacCorkle is not at all guilty. He argues that the naked repression of the votes of all the blacks is at once undesirable and in the long run, disastrous. He says:

"The franchise system, as it is at present constituted in many of the States of the South, is, to say the least, practically the policy of repression. Repression has been tried at every stage of the world's history, and always with the same unvarying result, utter and tremendous failure. It leads nowhere. It raises no man. It demands no education. It holds ignorance as dense as ever. It drives away intelligence. It breeds discontent. It represses any rising inspiration of the heart. It leaves the land at the end of the cycle just as it found it at the beginning. It is the policy of deadly inaction overridden by discontent."

Two facts are involved in the policy here advocated. One, which must be obvious to all, is that so long as the repression of the Negro vote is the supreme purpose of politics in the South no other matter can get any serious attention. The whites must be united on that, and therefore cannot afford to divide on anything else. In consequence the intelligence of the section is hampered and largely rendered impotent. There cannot be the freedom without which all progress and development are impossible. The second fact involved in the policy of equal restriction is, on the one hand, that the Negroes as a race will no longer have a just grievance against their white fellow-citizens and will tend to become more in harmony with them, and, on the other hand, the Negroes who will possess votes can and will divide among themselves. The race will cease gradually to be "solid," and with this change will gradually cease to be the menace it at present unquestionably is.

So far as we can see, the whites of the South are shut up to two alternative courses. They must either continue to repress the Negro vote by fraud or by devices under the form of law which are contrary to the spirit of justice, or they must resort to equality of qualifications for the suffrage. We have seen no other course suggested, except the manifestly impracticable one of the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. Of these alternatives the latter is by far the more hopeful. It offers the possibility of peace, order and the progress and prosperity to which peace and order are indispensable. One is the policy of relative stagnation, or at best of advance under great and



needless difficulties. The other is the policy of practical harmony with the forces of democracy and civilization, the policy that works, and works steadily and securely, for the future.

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[From the *New York Age* (Colored).]

### THE MONTGOMERY CONFERENCE.

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The past two years have been momentous ones, dating from the election riots in November, 1898, in North and South Carolina, in the development of new phases in the race problem. The period has been marked by an almost complete change of tactics on the part of the white men of the South, who from 1868 to 1898, maintained an organized system of murder and intimidation, of mob law and repressive class legislation, and who pleaded all the time that, if the country would let them alone, they would settle the race question on the principles of “Home Rule and in justice and fair play to all the conflicting elements of the Southern citizenship.” In this work of iconoclastic hypocrisy and subterfuge the Southern white men were aided and encouraged by Northern mugwumps,—backed by such powerful newspapers as the *New York Times*, *Herald*, *Evening Post* and *Harper's Weekly*, the *Philadelphia Times*, the *Boston Herald* and others, and by such Lily White Republicans as James G. Blaine and his school of corrupt money grabbing sympathizers, who have habitually placed the dollar above human rights, and strangest of all by the Federal Supreme Court, which has beat down with a bludgeon, and in defiance of the plainest guaranties of the Federal Constitution, every supplementary act of Congress intended to give force and effect to the three War Amendments.

Henry W. Grady, one of the most brilliant and dangerous men, a veritable Cataline, the South has produced, defined the attitude of the white South and threw down the gauntlet to the North, which refused to take it up, ten years ago, in his Dallas speech, when he said: “The pledge of peace to your children is, that the white race must dominate forever in the South, because it is the white race, and superior to that race with which its supremacy is threatened.” This has been the plea of the robber baron, the kingly and the clerical bandit in all ages of history.

But it has only been in the past two years that Southern white men have actively undertaken to convince the North and West by argument, by direct appeal, that the only way to solve the race problem was to lynch black alleged criminals, to rob black men of their franchise and to degrade them in their civil rights by a system of laws as odious, unjust and infamous as the old Slave Code. Their activity in this argumentative propaganda has been marvellous in its ramifications, in its impudence, in its utter un-

scrupulousness; in which unmitigated lying has always been their trump card.

The formation of a Southern Society was begun some time ago with the avowed purpose of enabling Southern men to meet and discuss the various phases of the race question untrammelled by Northern or Afro-American intrusion or influence. It came to the friends of the race in the North and South, black and white, professing entire friendship. The first meeting of this Society was held at Montgomery, Ala., May 8, 9 and 10. It was an extraordinary gathering. Nothing like it ever before assembled in the United States. With the exception of the addresses of ex-Governor MacCorkle of West Virginia, Dr. Hollis B. Frissell of Hampton Institute and Rev. J. R. Slattery, a Roman Catholic priest of Baltimore, whose head and soul have always been in the right place on the race question, there was no single deviation in truthfulness of statement, sanity of argument or fair play and justice in the promises held out for an honest solution of the race question. The discussion brought out the following as the dominant sentiment of the conference:

1. The Negro race is an inferior race, and under the conditions of freedom is rapidly relapsing into savagery.

2. Negro education has been an utter failure. The negro is incapable of mastering and utilizing the higher education. He was created to hew wood and draw water, and he should be made to do it, under the guidance of good Southern white teachers.

3. Negro suffrage has been a failure. The negro should be disfranchised. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution should be repealed at once, if not sooner.

We have deemed that the best service we could render the race in the present condition of affairs is to publish a full report of the conference, with the editorial opinion on it of the leading daily newspapers of New York, together with the opinion of some of the leading men of the race. In the same connection the brilliant, logical and convincing article by Mr. John E. Milholland will serve to knock the bottom out of most of the radicalism that dominated the thought of the Montgomery Conference.

We now know what the Southern white man wants. He can't have it. He will make a brave fight, as desperadoes always do, to get it, but it is written on the wall that he shall be whipped of his desires.

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[From the New York *Sun*.]

## THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

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An address delivered on Tuesday by Mr. Herbert of Alabama, formerly Secretary of the Navy, at the Montgomery Conference on the Negro Problem at the South, was in good temper and

reasonable. He recognized the obvious impossibility of deporting the negroes, now eight millions and more, for they constitute the labor on which Southern industry and enterprise depend.

They being in the South to stay, and the South being desirous of having them remain, how are they to be treated by the white population to whose prosperity they are so essential? In the first place, Mr. Herbert contended that negro suffrage had proved a "blunder" so far as helping in the education of the negroes is concerned. Now, practically, "white men in every State have obtained control," even in those where the negroes are the majority of the population, and there is a general movement to disfranchise them actually in all of the old secession States except three. When this purpose has been accomplished the voters among seven or eight millions of negroes will be set aside as a class debarred from the privilege of the suffrage granted to them by the Constitution of the United States. In other words, of the voting population of the old secession States, about two-fifths will be disfranchised—a very anomalous state of things under our political system, and destructive of its cardinal principle.

We do not accuse these States of a purpose, in thus depriving the negroes of the suffrage, to gain undue power proportionately in the national government; we do not believe that this is the motive of the movement. But that such is the result is indisputable. As the situation in these States is actually, by disfranchising the negroes they get rid of practically the only political opposition, and, as human nature is, that consequence cannot be dismissed entirely from consideration. Fifty years ago there was a great movement in the Northern States to exclude the foreign citizens, and unquestionably the partisan advantage obtainable from it commended it to its advocates, though they did not confess to themselves such a motive. The heart of man, as Jeremiah tells us, "is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked: who can know it?"

Mr. Herbert said also that "the results of the millions of dollars for which we have taxed ourselves for negro education have been so unsatisfactory that some of our good people are even advocating that negro schools should be sustained only by negro taxation, which means no more education for the negroes." It might be argued with equal pertinence in Northern States that taxation for the support of the public schools should be imposed only on those whose children use them, they being to a great extent people who do not pay taxes directly, though, of course, everybody, black or white, rich or poor, pays them indirectly. Moreover, if the Southern theory that the negro is in danger of reverting to barbarism is, to any extent, sound, efforts to educate him in civilization should be redoubled by the whites. Mr. Herbert recognized the wisdom of this policy by advocating the system of industrial education pursued by Booker Washington at

Tuskegee. He also very fairly made an allowance for the poverty of the negroes as "in large part" a cause of the criminality among them, for generally the criminal population is recruited from such ranks of society, since in them the necessary moral and preventive training may be deficient.

The fact remains, however, that since emancipation the material development of these Southern States has been greater than it was under slavery; and that it should have taken place and should continue would seem to demonstrate that the negroes, on whose labor it depends, are very far from retrograding into barbarism or constituting a body of labor dangerous to civilization. Relatively to the great number of the negro population grave offences charged against the negroes are not numerous, though statistics indicate that, very naturally, they are proportionately more than among the whites. Southern society maintains its organization and law is everywhere established.

The truth is, these Southern States are very much better off in every way than they imagine. They have in their negro labor a cause of sporadic disturbances, but their prosperous development proves that generally it is submissive and efficient. Over against the troubles from it, of which they complain so naturally, must be set off the disturbance that so frequently and so violently affects industry elsewhere. In spite of the disadvantages of negro labor, it has the great advantage for the South that in comparison it is cheap labor; and consequently we do not hear of any effort or desire there to replace it with white labor, but we hear rather of a determination to resist projects for its deportation. The negroes are needed in the South and whatever contributes to their advancement and civilization is of prime importance to the South.

Can they be kept as the sole class of American citizens excluded from the franchise—the plan of dealing with them on which the old Confederate South seems to be agreed? That really is the "negro problem," and it makes that problem of grave and essential political importance to the whole Union, for, as we have intimated, the Southern solution of it affects the equilibrium of our whole political system. The millions of negro citizens in those Southern States cannot be excluded from the franchise without destroying that political equilibrium, with consequences sure to be dangerous, if there is not some corresponding readjustment. It will give the late Confederate States unjust relative power in Congress and in the election of a president. Moreover, as we have before pointed out, the consequence of negro disfranchisement in States which already have decreed it, has been to lessen greatly the interest in elections, so that they go by default, all political opposition having been excluded by excluding the negroes. That is a most mischievous evil.

[Despatch to the *Colored American*, Washington, D. C.]

WHAT HERBERT DIDN'T SAY.

Bruce Grit's Snappy Report of a Speech, Which, if Uttered by the Great Southerner, Would Have Awakened the Dormant Conscience of the Nation.

ALBANY, N. Y.—[Special.]—The Alabama Conference “have come and went,” and I reckon the earth will continue to revolve on its own axis as usual. There was only one speech made before that body of the assembled wisdom of the South that deserves to be noticed or characterized as statesmanlike and able—that speech was made by ex-Governor MacCorkle of West Virginia; ex-Secretary of the Navy Hilary A. Herbert's speech on the opening of the conference, as a literary effort, makes mighty fine reading, but it is woefully lacking in logic and sound reasoning. Bourke Cockran's promised deliverance in opposition to the Fifteenth Amendment won't stand fire. The *New York Sun* has already knocked it all to pieces, editorially, and in the language of diplomacy has characterized this brilliant but misguided Irishman as an ass. “If you see it in the *Sun* it's so.”

There's a humorous side to this conference, and the more I study it the more I smile as I think of the mental gymnastics of the staid and solemn white men there assembled to “do” the negro, whom their fathers made all that he is not, in their virtuous and holy eyes. I smile at the inconsistency and the jackassical persistency of these conscience-stricken white men of the South in measuring the negro by the same standards they would measure men who have always been free and always had opportunities for mental and moral growth and development. I smile when I remember what Tacitus wrote about the ignorance, stupidity and barbarous manners of the ancestors of these white men of the South and North, whom it took centuries to civilize and refine and make respectable, and who now hold up their hands in holy horror because the negro with only thirty-five years of opportunity, isn't a paragon of wisdom, virtue or knowledge. This negro, the product of their civilization and Christianity after 250 years' tutelage in their school of ethics and morals, is now being judged by the sons of the men who ate sour grapes, and put their children's teeth on edge. These orators of the South, in discussing the problem, haven't touched the problem once. They haven't dared to touch it. They have been talking at it, over it, around it, and under it, but none of them have hit the bull's eye (and there are some pretty good marksmen in the South, too). Why didn't Herbert say in so many words: “We of the South are the residuary legatees of a century of dishonor, the work of our fathers in depriving the negro race of an equal chance in life. Our

fathers spoiled their women, and broke the spirit of their men, and our blood is mingled with theirs. They are flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone. We have wronged them and we are still wronging them in refusing to treat them fairly, to give them equal chance in life, and to help them rise and to live down the infamy bequeathed to them by our forbears. We are all aware that some of the best blood of the South courses in the veins of this race, and that even Thomas Jefferson himself had a negro granddaughter. How many of us gentlemen here present who have not only negro granddaughters, but illegitimate sons and daughters whom we dare not recognize or own. Gentlemen, the 'damned spot will not out.' We have inherited from our fathers, and we are bequeathing to our children the same social corruption and impurity which wrought destruction to the social fabric in the old days and polluted the stream and tainted the blood of the aristocracy of the South. Let us now be honest to ourselves, honest with the negro, who is closer to us by ties of blood and consanguinity than any alien race. We have been the aggressors, we are the real criminals, we were the original rapists, and upon our head be all the blood that has been spilled during a century of shame and dishonor and in which we have sought to make this race responsible for the crimes we taught it to commit. The negro has been unjustly accused at the bar of public opinion; we have taken a mean and cowardly advantage of him. We have held and are still holding him up to scorn and ridicule and contempt for crimes which we have been teaching him for 250 years. We are the only and original libertines and polygamists on the Western hemisphere. Our fathers sowed the seed when slavery became a fixture on this continent. They had white wives and negro concubines and mistresses, and through the latter gave our blood to those whose future we are met to discuss. Indignation over the condition which confronts us ill becomes us. Penitence, remorse, shame, humiliation and disgrace should be the feelings which we ought to experience during the sessions of this conference. Let no man here present take to his soul the unction that he is better than other men—better than the negro. For to this patient, plodding, toiling, uncomplaining negro the white men of the South owe more for their advantages in material and moral progress than to any other race on earth. The bulk of our wealth has its foundation in the unrequited toil of the black man, for we have robbed him systematically and by law, both before and since his emancipation from bondage. Our boasted morality, intelligence, virtues and civilization represent two hundred and fifty years of opportunity of which we have denied this people. We have wasted them and built upon the ruins of their misfortunes and disadvantages. Every Southern white boy and girl whom we have educated owe their education to a black boy and girl whom we have deprived of equal chances and opportunities for

acquiring knowledge and of an equal chance when acquired in spite of us of developing the highest and best in them. This, gentlemen, is the kernel in the problem we are met to discuss and to solve with our multiplied wisdom and intelligence.” This kind of a speech would have better become Secretary Herbert than the platitudinous and sophistical jumble which he emitted on the opening of the conference, because it contains more real facts, more truth, more reason, more consistency. But he didn’t make this kind of a speech, and more’s the pity. Before the problem is solved some great white man at the South will make just such a speech and awake the sleeping conscience of the people of that section to its gravity and importance. The Alabama Conference will do neither good nor harm. It was a gathering of Pharisees who continually thanked God that they were not as other men. We all know in what esteem the Almighty held the Pharisees of old and with what consideration he treated the publican who confessed his faults. The South must confess its faults and begin to make restitution to the negro for its hell-black crimes covering a period of two and a half centuries. Every one of the men who spoke against us at Montgomery should put his red hand over his mouth and hang his head in shame. The Almighty will settle this problem, and the Southern white man, try he never so hard, cannot escape his just share of punishment for his failure to settle it as God would have him settle it, because he has the intelligence, the means, and the ability to settle it right. When human justice fails, God’s justice is all-sufficient, and God’s justice never fails. Don’t forget, Mr. Southern White Man. “The fathers have eaten sour grapes and set the children’s teeth on edge.” Let the white children of the South in the future beware of sour grapes.

BRUCE GRIT.

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[From the *Providence Journal*.]

## THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

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There can be no question that the Fourteenth Amendment is being violated in the South. The Amendment says that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges of citizens of the United States. The Fifteenth Amendment is being similarly violated, for it declares that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of color or race. But there is another violation of both the spirit and the letter of these injunctions. The Fourteenth Amendment imposes on the national government the obligation of restricting a state’s representation when it disfranchises its citizens. No action to that end has yet been attempted by Congress, but at the recent session of that

body consideration was briefly given to a plan which should lead to legislation. Mr. Crumpacker of Indiana introduced a resolution inquiring into the operation of the election laws of the various States with reference to the Fourteenth Amendment. The measure was frowned down, but many Republicans admitted that it might be viewed with more favor in the future.

Their attitude toward the resolution will meet with general approval. Thousands of voters in the North would like to see the South give the negro a fair chance to vote. Yet under existing national laws and in present political circumstances they hardly see how the broader-minded people of the country can require the Southern States to do the blacks entire justice. The Republican National Convention, for instance, always seats colored delegates from the South who do not represent votes in anything like the proportion which the whites from the North and West do. At the present time there is talk of action by the Philadelphia Convention which, however much it may improve the representativeness of the Southern delegates, must in effect approve and support the policy of Southern Democrats in disfranchising the negroes. Obviously, Mr. Crumpacker's plan looks to an entirely different state of affairs. He would enforce the Fourteenth Amendment by appropriate legislation. When such laws are passed as the situation requires the South would send to Republican conventions only delegates representing votes. That would be a natural consequence of compelling the whites to let the negro enjoy unabridged civil rights.

Mr. Crumpacker's argument is quite clear. If the South is denied representation in proportion to its disfranchised citizens, it will give the negro the ballot. Its own interests will create a demand for representation equal with that of every other State or section. Mississippi, for example, will recognize that its three hundred thousand "votable" citizens, white and black, are in need of the influence at Washington which its seven congressmen are capable of exerting. Yet at the present time there is nobody in the State who does not believe that the sixty thousand voters who now carry its elections adequately represent all its rights as a participant in the affairs of the nation. Under Mr. Crumpacker's plan the Mississippians should receive an apportionment of not over four congressmen. Simultaneously the presidential electors should be reduced from nine to six. The Indiana Congressman acutely observes that this whole question of negro suffrage has been approached "from the wrong end," and he speaks equally to the point in saying of his plan that it will "put a premium in every State upon a broad basis of suffrage." His ideas are sound and good. The chances are greatly in favor of the view that if the Fourteenth Amendment should be enforced the "terrors" of negro domination would vanish from the minds of Southerners like mists before a warm sun and a fresh breeze.



It is not difficult to infer positively amazing results from the Crumpacker plan. Should the negro vote the South would see that he was educated to vote wisely. There would be a new and profound interest in schools, for which, of course, the appropriations would be forthcoming. A short time would suffice to give birth to an almost new social system. The young negro who now in many districts "goes wild" because he is out of the reach of education and a certain salutary degree of refinement, would soon begin to find his place in a well-organized and complicated society. Every intelligent person knows that the lack of that element and fabric in the South is the basis of the negro troubles throughout that section. It was a primitive social system which prevailed in antebellum days, but there was complete organization and co-ordination. The old order is changed now, and there is nothing systematic and automatic in its place. But railroads, manufactories and schools are slowly restoring the chaotic situation to scientific form. Is there anyone who dares to believe that the introduction of the negro, as he is when at his best, into this new life will impair its power and cause it to decay?

## APPENDIX.

Governor Jones of Alabama makes these pertinent strictures with regard to an attempt to withdraw educational assistance from the negroes :

"A servile and ignorant class, even while held in slavery, as our own recent history emphasizes, is a weakness to any country. Such a class, as freemen, cannot exist in a popular government without finally bringing it to disorder, distress and ruin. In seeking remedies for the dangers threatening us from an ignorant suffrage, much is said of an educational qualification; but can we ever obtain power to enforce it, or justify ourselves in the face of the world in attempting it, unless we first give them (negroes) a reasonable opportunity for education? Some may say that they do not care for the opinion of the world; but public opinion both fights and votes. It dominates the action of our sister States of the Union, by whose aid alone the Constitution of the United States may be so amended, if necessary as a last resort, to save us from the evils now threatening this people. When public opinion is perverted, it threatens us with Force Bills, and is a constant menace to our peace and prosperity. Any reactionary legislation but adds to the power of our enemies. Each year there comes more and more the danger of political disintegration among the whites, and a consequent disposition to call in the negro voter as umpire. Shall we keep him in the condition which best fits him to follow vile leaders, with low appeals and evil passions, to bad government; or shall we guard against that day by educating him enough to make him amenable to the influence of reason and right?

"Is it a fact that any human being with a soul is worse for being able to read his Bible, the laws which he is to obey, and the contracts which he signs?"

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