

A distinguished lawyer sometime afterwards said to the writer that he "had concluded to be a Republican for the reason that under the iniquities practiced to suppress the Republican vote the State had become demoralized and even his own sons reasoned with him 'that if it was not a felony in the eyes of the people to disregard the law and steal ballot boxes or ballots or to run a Negro into the swamp or kill him to prevent his voting or to change an election, it could not be an offense to disregard any other statute,' and all protection to society had been undermined."

The influence of this persistent and wholesale disregard of crime, together with the influence of Southern lynchings upon society, has permeated the whole nation until it has become affected therewith. How this terrible school is taught! The writer one morning about a year ago in a certain city saw a Negro hanging to an electric light pole within a stone's throw of a church, into which worshipers were passing for early mass, and a convent, and within 100 yards of a courthouse. The corpse was left thus hanging, on the most public street, exposed to the gaze of the priests and students and to the public school children and to the general public, until about nine o'clock a. m. before it was cut down. He was said to be a "bad Nigger" and had cut an officer dangerously in the throat; but the mob did not wait for the wounded man to die. He is alive and well at this time, yet no one has been arrested or prosecuted for participating therein.

In this way the population is demoralized. Having during a quarter of a century permitted the sowing to the wind the nation is now reaping the whirlwind.

Under such influences, is it astonishing that some of the Negroes have become vicious, reckless and revengeful? But accord to the race the same measure of protection, the same educational advantages, and the same rights of citizenship accorded to other races, and it will soon be found to compare favorably in civilization with the average of the white race. How will this be done? "Aye, there's the rub."

The Southern States have a policy which is peculiarly their own. By their constitutions they provide for the education of all, according to their ability. They have prescribed therein also an educational qualification as a condition precedent to suffrage. Those provisions delude your readers into believing that the ignorance of the Negro is therefore the result of his own incapacity. Not so. The leaders do not propose to let

any large number of Negroes become educated. They will cry: "The danger is Negro rule, Negro domination," and it sufficeth.

Mississippi again leads the van with a scheme for continued relief. She has determined it in the recent white Democratic primary for State officers, when the policy was discussed in every county. Maj. Vardaman, the present candidate for governor, was its especial champion, and won the nomination on that issue, viz: "That only the proceeds of the levy for schools raised from the property belonging and assessed to the Negroes should be appropriated for the support of Negro schools;" and liberal exemptions and low assessments of the Negro property by the white assessors will do the rest. It is the showman's trick of "Now you see it and now you don't." It is the lack of education which shuts the Negro out from the ballot. In Louisiana the Democratic party were about 32 years in reaching the point where, except through crime, they could exclude the Negro from the ballot, and they do not now propose to undo or reverse their policy. The jury commissioners and jurors who are in harmony with the sentiment are a sure refuge should any courageous Negro or Negro's friend appeal to the law. Therefore the burning question of to-day is: How will the nation reverse this settled policy of the Southern States?

The only Constitutional answer seems to be to enact the necessary statutes to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment. Let each State understand by such an enactment that if it chooses to hold part of its population in ignorance, powerless to protect its personal and individual rights, uneducated and unfranchised, it shall not count that portion to balance the educated, intelligent enfranchised citizens of other States; and by such enactments show them that the nation does not any longer propose by nonaction and timidity to bribe them to keep the blacks in serfdom. Remember, the old bribe of three-fifths lost its force to maintain the peace!

The writer, as a patriotic American citizen, appeals to the Republicans of the North to hesitate no longer in the performance of their duty. Vitalize every Amendment to the national Constitution and thereby save the nation from great tribulation in the future.

"Do you mean to tell me that you would deliberately buy votes?"

"Of course," answered Senator Sorghum. "That's the only way to buy them. The man who buys votes impulsively is almost sure to get the worst of the bargain."—Washington Star.

## BOOKS

### RESIST NOT EVIL.

Since the publication of Tolstoy's "My Religion" the world has been brought almost anew face to face with the saying of Jesus: "I say unto you that ye resist not evil." The words seem very simple, and yet like all words, whenever, wherever and by whomsoever uttered, they need to be taken in their context in order that their true spirit be comprehended.

When Jesus uttered these words, He was giving His counsel of perfection, and in this counsel there must of course be a great injunction against the spirit of vengeance. Although there had been seers, as in the Book of Proverbs, who wrote "Say not thou I will recompense evil," the sentiment prevailed in Jesus' day, as it still prevails in ours, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." The very contrary of this, a contrast which Jesus expressed in His "Resist not evil," may be said to be almost the heart of His teaching; and His disciples caught His meaning. St. Paul says: "Recompense to no man evil for evil," "See that none render evil for evil unto any man," and St. Peter, "Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing." Even the profane poet, Juvenal, writing two generations after the time of Christ, says in his thirteenth satire: "Surely it is always a dwarfed, weak and narrow mind that finds satisfaction in vengeance."

It seems clear that Jesus in the Great Sermon was enunciating the principles for the development of personal character, and emphasized the point that a perfected character is not to be attained by the spirit of resisting a personal injury. The idea aimed against is that of personal vengeance, of "paying back," of "getting even."

Nay, more. The idea is not only that we must not resist one who is injuring us, or making demands upon us, but that, looking away from ourselves toward him, we are to turn the tables on him, and show a readiness to suffer or do even more than he seeks or demands. There seems no doubt that this was the ideal and the practice of Jesus on the personal side. His words and His life both say so.

Now when we turn from the purely personal aspect to the social side, is there the same ground or reason for the injunction? Here the evil act is taken out of the personal relation, and the mode of dealing with it has not the same effect upon personal character. The evil is done not to the individual but to society, and in resisting it there cannot be the same selfish spirit of vengeance. It seems therefore clear, both from the context and from the public acts and denunciations of Jesus, that his counsel for non-resistance applies to personal evil and not to social evil.

If this be true, it would seem that Mr. Darrow has warped the great text

in taking it as the title of his stirring little book (*Resist Not Evil*, by Clarence S. Darrow, Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 75 cents). And yet one may admit the above distinction and accept the above interpretation of the saying, and still agree with most that Mr. Darrow says. His arraignment of government, of the courts, and of society, as manufacturers of criminals, is powerful and convincing; and this book will be rightly rated as one of the beneficent instruments of the present day in forcing the public conscience to confess its own criminality and to assume a less vindictive and more rational spirit in dealing with criminals. This, however, is far from going with the author to the extent of abolishing all attempts at the administration of justice, and all efforts toward the amendment of criminality by the institutions of government.

When Mr. Darrow writes such a sentence as the following, he seems to me to strike a right line: "More and more," he says, "the best judgment and best conscience of men are turned toward the improvement of prisons, the introduction of sanitary appliances, the bettering of jail conditions, the modification of punishment, the treatment of convicts as men." Furthermore the best thought agrees with him in drawing the conclusion that "all of this directly disproves the theory that the terrible example of punishment tends to prevent crime." But does he not go too far in claiming that society can yet do nothing for the prevention of crime except the passing of laws that shall remove the unjust economic inequality among men? This ought it to do, but can it at once leave something else undone?

It is true that our poor governments, by their injustice and cruelty, are making criminals by the thousands; but the injustice of laws and the cruelty of their administration are not responsible for all criminality. The human heart, with its animal passions still dominant and with its unchecked avacious desires, must be taken into account. Even granted that governments are pitiful makeshifts too often dominated by arch-criminals, yet they seem to represent the best that man can do up to date, and on the whole they seem, to the student of history, to be making progress. It is conceivable that we some day may develop out of the need of them; but in the process and at the present stage of the game they seem a necessary instrument for the development of society, and as such they must somehow deal with the criminal. The practical issue therefore is to improve the government both as to its method of dealing with the criminal and also with reference to preventing it from making criminals.

Many who share Mr. Darrow's radical views as to the injustice of society will regret that his arraignment is

sometimes weakened by over-statement. The fact is, no over-statement is needed; the thing is bad enough, told as it is. When, for example, he asserts that "all judgments are meted out in anger and hatred," we know that this is not true. When again he says that "uncertain and reprehensible as mob law has ever been it is still much more excusable and more certain than the organized force of society operating through the criminal courts," we know that the facts do not bear him out. Mob law is the very acme of the spirit of vindictiveness toward the criminal which it should be our constant effort to eliminate from the act of punishment. The gist of the matter is that society, government, while necessarily resisting the evil done to it, must be brought to do so not in a vindictive spirit toward the criminal, but with a view toward protecting itself and if possible toward helping the criminal himself. This is indeed the significance of the effort to substitute reformatories for prisons, a movement which, in spite of difficulties and failures, has made substantial progress.

The strongest chapter in Mr. Darrow's book—a chapter which ought to be read especially by the earnest men who are sincerely desirous of better conditions and yet are working only superficially to the desired end—is that on *Natural Law and Conduct*. In this chapter he shows the heinousness of society's sin in condemning the vast majority of men to poverty and dependence. "In the penal institutions of the world," he says, "are confined a motley throng charged with committing assaults upon property, and yet this whole mass of despised and out-cast humanity have ever been the propertyless class." And where, he asks, is the property—all the wealth created by the labor of man and the bounty of nature? It is in the hands of those who have committed no crime against property! Well does he exclaim that

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"the statement of the fact is sufficient to show the inequality of the whole system under which the fruits of the earth are kept in the possession of the few." This chapter alone is enough to justify a book, which, however extreme and perhaps mistaken it may be in certain conclusions, is one that deserves to be read until we reach a better day.

J. H. DILLARD.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

—*Symbol-Psychology; a New Interpretation of Race Traditions.* By Adolph Roeder. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. To be reviewed.

—*Illustrated Catalogue of Books, Standard and Holiday, 1903-1904*, comprising illustrated Gift Books, Standard, Miscellaneous, Religious and Juvenile books, Standard Works in sets and in fine bindings, books in Series, Birthday and Year Books, and Calendars. Chicago: A. G. McClurg & Co.

### PERIODICALS.

Pearson's for December begins a series of articles on "Modern Methods of Finance," by Henry George, Jr. The first of the series is the first of two parts on the copper trust.

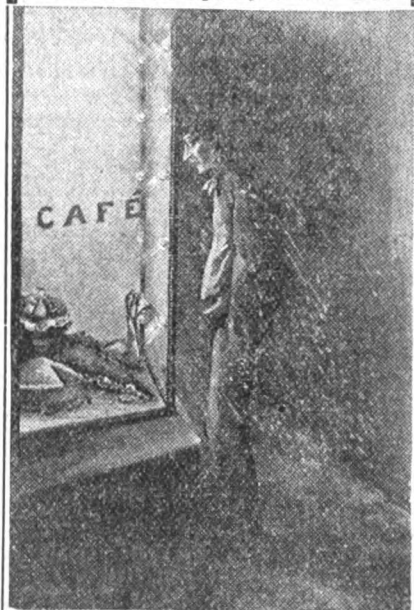
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