

Two causes seem to be chiefly responsible for this state of affairs between the races, namely, the attitude of politicians and that of the press. It is always to the interest of politicians having control of affairs to narrow and limit the sources from which to draw public officials, for the smaller the number of office seekers the easier they may be controlled within certain lines. Now Southern politicians, when they set about the task of rendering the work of Congress, in granting the suffrage to ex-slaves, a nullity, had an existing prejudice between the races at the start to work upon; and, having many examples, no doubt, of misgovernment by "carpet baggers," they found it quite easy to drive the Republicans (i. e., blacks) from the field of politics by intimidation and force of mob law. But later, desiring to legally perpetuate what they had accomplished lawlessly, they set about discrediting the Southern blacks at the North by a systematic use of the press to advertise the crimes of Negroes, real or supposed, thus rendering neutral any Northern opposition to the constitutional amendments of various Southern States disfranchising the Negro vote under the plea that Negroes were unfit to exercise the suffrage.

What the future has in store for the black man in the United States is perhaps largely problematical. It would seem that the race question, so called, can never be settled in this country of democratic constitutional law until all men are fully accorded all the rights and privileges that any class of men enjoy by reason of said law. The opposition to such a programme is very powerful and apparently growing. But there are, I think, two suggestions that may be successfully employed which would at least in a measure obviate the horrors of the race war towards which we seem to be drifting.

First, the word "Negro" or "colored" should be eliminated from all press dispatches in connection with crimes, and the perpetrators of crimes be reported by name only, the same as is done when persons of other races commit crimes. By so doing the Negro would not be constantly

held up before the public as a race of wrong-doers, and the public would soon cease to look upon them as such and would come to judge all men by their individual character, as is now the case with all other races except the Negro.

During the last week in June of the present year there was printed in one of the great journals of the country, published in the State of Kentucky, a column editorial entitled "Remove the Cause," in which it was declared that the reason more Negroes are lynched than white men is because more Negroes commit the crimes which call forth the wrath of the mob. That editorial drew a vivid picture of the sufferings of the victim of the "criminal assaulter" and of the family concerned, by way of excusing the mob for taking the law into its own hands. But it did not explain how the Bellville, Ill., mob came to lynch and burn a Negro for murder, nor upon what grounds of justification the masked Arkansas mob lynched a Negro for assault and battery upon a white man.

In the same issue of that paper was a reporter's account of the capture of a white man caught in the act of assaulting a six-year-old white girl in the neighborhood where the journal is published. I have watched the dispatches in vain for an account of his "burning at the stake" by "an outraged people." It appears he is still in jail awaiting a trial by the tribunal established for the purpose of disposing of such cases according to law. The report of his crime also disclosed the fact that he had already served a year, from May, 1896, to May, 1897, for the crime of rape, committed upon a white child. Had this white criminal been a Negro, he would not only have paid the penalty with his life at the stake, but his crime would have been held up to the world as one peculiar to the Negro.

The other measure that I think would tend to mitigate the difficulty between the races would be the establishment of a steamship line between some Southern port and Africa, whereby all ambitious and dissatisfied Negroes might secure cheap transporta-

tion to a country where American Negroes are leaders of their kind and where they preserve life, cherish liberty and pursue happiness without let or hindrance.

If the idea once takes root in the South that the Negro is going to emigrate, and that there is a way provided for him to go, it is certain that measures will there be adopted to prevent the Negro from leaving—even unto granting him the simple justice of equal civil and political rights with other men.

The South needs its Negro labor, and that it will adopt measures to retain this element of its population is shown by the fact that many of the Southern States have adopted laws prohibiting agents from inducing laborers to emigrate to other States. African emigration, then, would provide a prolific opportunity for those Negroes who choose to leave the conditions that surround them here; and at the same time it would render a lasting service to those who remained in the United States.

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EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Cleveland, O., Aug. 24.—The Democratic State convention and Mayor Tom L. Johnson's prospective nomination for governor of Ohio is the engrossing subject of interest here. Until three o'clock on the 22d, there was not the slightest indication of any opposition from Mayor Johnson's own county, to the anti-corporation, home rule, and just taxation policy which he and his supporters are advancing into State politics.

The Democratic primaries had been held, and no opposition had developed here. The county convention, composed of delegates chosen at these primaries, had come together on the 22d, and, without a hitch, had done its work, naming a local ticket composed of men of conceded ability. At the head of the senatorial ticket was Frederick C. Howe, who, as a Republican member of the city council two years ago, joined Mayor Johnson in his fight against corporate monopoly and unjust taxation. Besides choosing a local ticket, the county convention named the delegates of Cuyahoga county to the State convention.

Not until after the adjournment of the county convention were there any signs of opposition or dissatisfaction. But three hours later, an opposition meeting was held which gravely resolved itself into a nominating conven-

tion. Its members, except seven, had not been elected at any primaries. These seven had been elected to the regular convention, but had made no protest there or anywhere else against its election, organization or proceedings. The meeting had gathered secretly, without public announcement. It was managed by an attorney of the gas company. Its members were few, and these were mostly old-time office holders, corporation leeches, and men discharged from the public works for incapacity or worse. Nothing was known of its existence until it had adjourned and announced the selection of a full contesting delegation to the State convention. This delegation is made up of as fine an assortment of corporation lawyers, saloon politicians, and assistant Republicans generally as could be found in a week's journey.

The motive is plain. So is the source of the organization. It is one of Senator Hanna's side-shows. Mr. Hanna is moving heaven and earth to prevent Johnson's nomination for governor. On the surface he pretends to want it badly. His candidate for governor, Mr. Herrick, takes pains to publicly profess to welcome Johnson's nomination by the Democrats as the weakest possible, and the Hanna papers over the State take up the echo. But, all the same, they are fighting his nomination "tooth and toenail." This is the meaning of the fights for Zimmerman at the Democratic primaries in other parts of the State. Hanna and McLean have joined hands to get Johnson out of the way. Their efforts have not succeeded well. The delegates to the State convention are overwhelmingly for Johnson. It is to balk this pronounced demand of the rank and file of the Democratic party, that the "fake" contest from Cuyahoga county and similar contests from other counties are being organized with Senator Hanna's campaign funds.

In the midst of the turmoil which this excites, Mayor Johnson was advised that Mr. Bookwalter, upon whom he had relied as the party nominee for United States senator, had decided to decline a nomination. A hurried interview between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bookwalter revealed the unalterableness of the latter's decision.

Then came renewals of the urgent demands that the declarations of the convention of last year be ignored and no candidate for senator be nominated. Mayor Johnson refuses to lend himself to this proposal. He objects, for one thing, to leaving the senatorship open to a scandalous and demoralizing scramble in the legislature, certain to result in auctioning off the office. Furthermore he positively declines to be the candidate for governor unless the convention nominates a candidate for senator, explaining that he will not be put into the position of appearing to be a senatorial possibility himself.

The first day of the convention is

the 25th, but only preliminary committee work will be done on that day. Early in the morning a special train leaves Cleveland for Columbus carrying the Cuyahoga delegates and their friends.

Columbus, O., Aug. 26.—When the regular delegation from Cuyahoga county arrived at Columbus yesterday morning the air was full of predictions that Johnson was losing ground. The campaign against "Johnsonism," which had for weeks been carried on through Republican and reactionary Democratic papers, and spoils-hunting wire pullers, all at the expense of Mr. Hanna's campaign fund, had culminated at this central point on the eve of the State convention. It was an ear-splitting tin-can campaign of opposition. But in a few hours the uproar subsided. Mr. Hanna's Republican campaign within the Democratic party had completely and ignominiously collapsed.

The State committee assembled in the afternoon of the 25th. A test vote soon showed that it stood 18 to 3 for Johnson's policy. One of the first duties it performed was to dispose of the contests. That from Cleveland required but little time and caused no trouble. Upon the written statement of the chairman of the meeting which had named the contesting delegation it appeared that the meeting had been organized to make a "fake" contest. The committee decided upon the facts as presented by the contestants themselves that a delegation appointed by a secret meeting, secretly called, and without even a pretense of having so much as sought support at primaries, was not a contesting delegation. Accordingly it refused to send this "contest" to the committee on contested seats, but ruled it out as manifestly fraudulent.

The contest from Cincinnati, led by Herbert S. Bigelow on one side and Lewis G. Barnard on the other (p. 312) was sent by the State committee to the credentials committee of the convention. So also were all other contests, seven or eight in number.

Meanwhile the various delegations had made their selections for the credentials committee, and that committee had assembled and organized. Before midnight it had decided them all. The decision in the Cincinnati case was in favor of Bigelow by 16 to 3. The importance of this action consisted in its taking Barnard (McLean's manager and the Democratic lieutenant of the Republican boss of Hamilton county) off the State committee and out of Democratic leadership in Cincinnati. Other bosses, such as the "Bernard" of Toledo and Congressman Norton (against whose reelection Johnson successfully campaigned last Fall) were similarly disposed of. These spoils hunting "reorganizers" were lifted out of the political swim.

At this time the committee on reso-

lutions also was in session. It did not finish its work until after midnight. Long before that, however, the collapse of the reactionary anti-Johnson movement was conceded. Zimmerman had really retired from the field, and the loud boasting of the Republican papers through their flaring headlines began to look extremely silly. The chorus had been, "Johnson Beaten," or words to that effect. On the 26th the chorus was like this: "Tom L. Johnson Dictator."

A little before noon on the 26th the convention assembled. In order to pursue their opposition, the anti-Johnson forces united upon opposition to the nomination of any candidate for United States senator, a policy to which some of Johnson's own supporters were opposed. They were of the old type of politicians who believe in the old machine methods, and who argued that it would be good politics to leave the nomination for senator open to a scramble in the legislature, so as to make every aspirant believe that he might have a chance. But even with this advantage the anti-Johnsonites polled only 211 votes to 446—less than a third.

Some further factious opposition was made upon the basis of a "reorganizers" platform offered as a minority report, but it was voted down overwhelmingly and the Johnson platform adopted.

So fast did the opposition now recede, that when nominations were made Johnson's was the only name proposed. He was nominated by John H. Clarke, in a brilliant speech of the democratic-Democrat order. Not so much as a roll call was demanded and Johnson was nominated for governor by acclamation. The enthusiasm was wild as Johnson, responding to repeated calls, left his seat in the Cuyahoga delegation and went to the platform. He made a short business-like speech, which was interesting throughout and in places thrilling. It was prophetic of a campaign which for vigor and democratic spirit has never before been experienced in Ohio.

Next in order was the nomination of a candidate for United States senator. Mr. Johnson's original choice was Mr. Bookwalter, a free silver Democrat who had announced his candidacy but had at the last moment withdrawn it. Therefore Johnson threw his influence to John H. Clarke, of Cuyahoga. Objections were raised to Mr. Clarke because he had opposed Bryan in 1896 and gone off with Palmer and Buckner. Notwithstanding the fact that in 1900 he cordially supported Bryan, that he has been one of Johnson's most efficient supporters in all his campaigns for two years and more, and that he approved the radically democratic platform just adopted, there was opposition to him from several quarters. This opposition was reinforced by the remnant of the opposition which had so bitterly fought Johnson himself. Two ballots were

taken, with three candidates at each ballot—John H. Clarke, John J. Lentz and Gaylord M. Saltzgeber, who had been temporary chairman of the convention. The second ballot resulted in the selection of Mr. Clarke, the vote being 95 for Saltzgeber, 205 for Lentz and 395 for Clarke.

The next important nomination was that of Frank M. Monett, the former attorney general of the State whom Mr. Hanna shut off from renomination because of his vigorous legal proceedings against the Standard Oil trust.

L. F. P.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Aug. 27.

The leading news event of the week in the United States is the action of the Democratic convention of Ohio, which met at Columbus on the 25th, and concluded its work on the 26th.

At this convention Tom L. Johnson was nominated for governor by acclamation. Frank H. Monett received the nomination for attorney general, and John H. Clarke was named as the party candidate for United States senator. The nomination of Johnson and Clarke, both of Cleveland, makes a peculiar situation; for the Republican candidates, Herrick for governor and Hanna for senator, also live in Cleveland. The campaign will probably be an extension of the Cleveland contest to the whole State.

The platform adopted, omitting matters of only local significance or interest, is as follows:

The Democrats of Ohio, in convention assembled, reaffirming the declarations on national issues of our platform adopted at Sandusky, hereby renew our allegiance to the Democratic party of the nation, and again avow our devotion to the principles of its last national platform. We accordingly condemn colonialism and imperialism, denounce trust and trust-fostering tariffs, repudiate government by injunction, and oppose financial monopoly, together with every other legalized monopoly and special privilege. Adhering to these principles of the Kansas City platform, we repeat our condemnation of all efforts to renounce or ignore them.

We nevertheless urge the people of Ohio, regardless of party, to consider the transcendent importance of State over national issues at the coming election. National policies are not at

stake. Although one seat in the United States Senate depends upon the political complexion of our next legislature, no other national consideration does; and the Republican party is so largely in the majority in the United States Senate as to deprive that consideration of all practical importance. The vital question, therefore, which now confronts the voters of our State, Republicans as well as Democrats, is a local question. They are to determine whether the personal ambitions of one man for reelection to the Federal Senate, shall be gratified at the expense of placing the vast local interests of all the people of Ohio at the mercy of a State government nominated by and in alliance with the privileged corporations. Let the people of Ohio consider what is really involved in this election. Great corporations, possessing valuable and oppressive franchises and reaching out for more, have effected a union with the leaders of the Republican party in Ohio. So intimate has this union grown, that it can no longer be determined where the legitimate politics of the Republican party leaves off and the corrupt politics of the privileged corporations begins. In consequence of that coalition of corporation magnates with Republican managers, in some instances identical in person, the people of all political parties have been systematically plundered and oppressed.

Having then enumerated the leading items of misgovernment of the Republican party in Ohio under the manipulation of this ring, the platform proceeds to summarize the Republican record in the State on the subject of taxation:

In consequence of the alliance of privileged corporations and Republican managers in Ohio, the recent history of the Republican party of this State in connection with taxation is a glaring and unvarying record of double dealing with the people, of favoritism toward railroad, street car, and other public service corporations, of arbitrary interference with such local officials as have tried to remedy these fiscal abuses, and of free pass bribery—open, bold and habitual—together with indications of kinds of bribery more profitable and potent, though less audacious. With such a record it is natural that the Republican leaders and their corporate allies and beneficiaries should endeavor to avoid a campaign on State issues. Their bad record in state and municipal government is explanation enough of their challenge to a controversy upon national issues, at a time when and in a State where no national principle or policy is at stake, either directly or indirectly.

There is no effort at concealing the part in this alliance with cor-

porations which corrupt Democrats play. On the contrary, an open confession is made. The platform on this point reads:

That the alliance of Republican leaders in Ohio with the privileged corporations has the aid of some Ohio Democrats, we freely concede. But these Democrats are not in control of the Democratic party of the State; and that party as now organized is rebuking and disowning them as fast as it finds them out. An object lesson on this point was furnished at the special session of the legislature. Eight Democratic legislators supported the corporation alliance by voting for the Cincinnati "curative act." For this treachery to their party, and violation of their pledges to the people, every one of them has been relegated to private life by the Democratic party. While conceding that some Ohio Democrats are corruptly allied with the privileged corporations, we ask the people of the State to observe an important fact in that connection. In the Democratic party as now organized, Democrats who serve such alliances are punished; whereas, in the Republican party as now controlled, Republicans who make such alliances are rewarded.

The conclusion of the main part of the platform is as follows:

We confidently believe that the awakened voters of the Republican party in Ohio will no longer tolerate the betrayal of the public interests and their own confidence, by their party managers and the privileged corporations to whose service those party managers are primarily devoted. Republicans by thousands have refused to do so in the city of Cleveland, where the Democratic party is now successfully leading the fight of the people against the privileged corporations and their confederates in both parties. But this is a State fight, and must be waged in every part of the State. The legislature must be recovered from the corporations and restored to its proper place as an agent of popular government. The fight for that object must be unflinching and unremitting. It must be not for one campaign only, but for all campaigns until the corporations are driven out of politics. The present campaign is especially opportune for this purpose. The absence from it of every reasonable ground for solicitude respecting national issues, enables the people to express themselves without hesitation or reservation in favor of home rule and just taxation, and against the continued reign of privileged corporations in the State of Ohio.

The remainder of the platform consists of a series of specific pledges and promises. Those of general interest may be summarized as follows:

Appraisements of the property of pub-