

Dixon's riot-provoking "Clansman" (vol. viii, p. 453; vol. ix, p. 610). It appears to have been part of the policy of the managers of this play to excite indignation among Negroes by inducing Negro preachers to denounce the play. The preachers doubtless acted in good faith, for the play is well calculated to excite indignation. But the object of the press agent has been to create excitement for advertising purposes, and in Philadelphia he succeeded so well that a dangerous riot broke out. Is it any wonder that some people think the white race inferior in moral quality to the black?

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A New Negro Organization.

According to a dispatch from New York an organization of Negroes has been effected in Brooklyn for the purpose of freeing the race from exploitation by white Republicans and a few office seekers and office holders of their own race. If this organization is made in good faith, it deserves encouragement. It is natural enough for Negroes, in gratitude for its having released them from slavery, to vote for the Republican party long after it has ceased to represent the least anti-slavery spirit. Foreigners are befooled in a similar way when they vote for this party, believing it to represent the idea of republicanism as opposed to monarchism. Even white Americans to the manner born voted for Jackson until along in Lincoln's time, and white men as well as black men still think they are voting for Lincoln, when they are voting only for his time-stained picture. The persistency of the Negroes in herding together in politics, not for their race but for conscienceless exploiters of both races, has been their greatest weakness in politics.

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Prison Mismanagement and Torture.

The man who attempted the life of H. C. Frick during the Homestead strike of 1892 and served a long term of imprisonment as the penalty, is reported as having recently attacked in a public speech the management of the Pennsylvania prison in which he was confined. He describes the food as poor and the discipline as cruel. Under the latter head he said he had known cases where prisoners died after being chained by the wrists for days in a dungeon. It is not at all probable that this description is overdrawn. Most of the prisons of the country are barbarously managed. A prisoner with rich friends may not fare badly, but one without friends is in a hell upon earth. An instance in point is the recent torture of a

prisoner at Joliet, Ill. He was a man of 80, a cripple, inoffensive and docile; yet he was set at work upon the stone pile—work which is fit only for able-bodied men. When Abraham Lincoln said that no man is good enough to govern other men, he was not thinking of prison management; but the principle holds good there as well as elsewhere. A genuine prison investigation would reveal horrors undreamed of, from both torture and vice.

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THE RACE QUESTION AT THE SOUTH.

In a recent editorial on the Negro massacre at Atlanta (p. 650) we took occasion incidentally to say that Georgia has public men of the white race who stand for genuine democracy and human justice regardless of race. This is true not only of Georgia but of the whole South.

But Gov. Vardaman of Mississippi, though nominally a Democrat, is not one of these men. He expressed himself on the race question in a newspaper interview at Chicago on the 19th, and in that interview he distinctly placed himself on the side of Negro subjugation. To this end he demands the repeal of the fifteenth amendment. And, what is of much more importance than this demand on Gov. Vardaman's part, was his assertion that the South is solidly with him in demanding that repeal.

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We do not believe that Southern sentiment is solidly behind the "nigger haters"—whether mobs or politicians. We do believe that there is a strong sentiment in the South in favor of justice toward the Negro, which is becoming vocal, and that the time is not far off when it will overwhelm the narrow race prejudices and autocratic performances of the Vardaman class of Southern statesmen. One of many indications justifying this belief is the address, admirable alike in thought, matter and tone, of William H. Fleming before the Alumni Society of the Georgia University at Athens last Summer.

Mr. Fleming is a man of that Southern courage and Southern chivalry which makes no vulgar boast of oppressing the weak, but modestly answers roll call when Justice assembles her followers. He has been a respected Georgia lawyer for a quarter of a century; for four successive terms he was a member of the Georgia legislature, where he served as chairman of the finance committee and also as speaker; and in the Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh Congresses he was a member of the

lower house, elected as a Democrat. He may be regarded, therefore, as a representative in some measure at least of Southern opinion.

In his university address Mr. Fleming took for his subject, "Slavery and the Race Problem in the South."* What he said on this subject not only honors the man and his State, but it commends itself to the honest thought of truly democratic people whether at the South or at the North.

One of Mr. Fleming's opening reminders had a peculiarly democratic significance. "Let us not forget," he said, "that when Congress passed the joint resolution submitting the fifteenth amendment to the States for adoption, the Negroes had already been made citizens of the United States by the fourteenth amendment, and it was impossible to conjoin that status of citizenship with a total exclusion of the Negro race from the ballot without undermining some of the foundation principles of our representative Republic." This is a consideration for which men who only call themselves Democrats will care little; but it is one that appeals strongly to men who are democrats in fact.

Another suggestion comes in warning tones: "If the Constitution shall be amended on the subject of the suffrage, that amendment will not restore lost power to the States, but will confer more power on the national government."

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But Mr. Fleming does not confine himself to constitutional technicalities and political possibilities. He deals with the Negroes as men. While regarding amalgamation as unthinkable, he proclaims nevertheless that "the Negro is a human being, under the Fatherhood of God and consequently within the Brotherhood of Man." He insists moreover that "the Negro is an American citizen and is protected as such by guaranties of the Constitution that are as unrepealable almost as the Bill of Rights itself." But if they could be repealed, "would it be wise for the South?" he asks. Suppose it to be true that the two races cannot "live together on terms of equality; yet it is equally true that without some access to the ballot, present or prospective, some participation in the government, no inferior race in an elective republic could long protect itself against reduction to slavery in many of its substantial forms."

In saying this, Mr. Fleming touches the core of the whole question. The object of demanding the repeal of the fifteenth amendment is to open the way for reducing the blacks of the South to a

species of slavery. Not necessarily nor probably the old chattel slavery, but to forms which the "black codes" aimed at and which the recently disclosed cases of peonage suggest. Ostensibly the object is as stated by Gov. Vardaman, to suppress Negro crime; in reality it is, as more candid "nigger haters" declare, to make the Negroes hewers of wood and drawers of water for the whites.

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Mr. Fleming's remedy for the race question is the only one that any genuine democrat would offer or any really chivalrous gentleman would tolerate—"the simple plan of justice." He would "draw a proper discrimination between a laudable pride in our race and an unworthy prejudice against the Negro race." And he is bold enough to give force to the disagreeable but incontrovertible truth that it was slavery and not freedom, subjection and not equality, that mixed the blood of the races. "Let us of the South realize the hard fact," he admonished his audience, "that the greatest obstacle to the preservation of the purity of the blood of our race, about which we hear so much in this day, was removed when slavery was abolished."

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The moral tone of Mr. Fleming's address is excellent; and by moral tone we do not allude to artificial ethics, but to that deep-seated morality of which conventional ethics is but a base imitation. While he acknowledges that race differences may necessitate social distinctions, he declares that "race differences can not repeal the moral law"; and holding that "the foundation of the moral law is justice," he proposes to the South to "solve the Negro problem by giving the Negro justice and applying to him the recognized principles of the moral law." Following out this line of thought Mr. Fleming says:

This does not require social equality. It does not require that we should surrender into his inexperienced and incompetent hands the reins of political government. But it does require that we recognize his fundamental rights as a man, and that we judge each individual according to his own qualifications, and not according to the lower average characteristics of his race. Political rights cannot justly be withheld from these American citizens of an inferior or backward race who raise themselves up to the standard of citizenship which the superior race applies to its own members. . . . We can not afford to sacrifice our ideals of justice, of law and of religion for the purpose of preventing the Negro from elevating himself. If we wish to preserve the wide gap between our race and his in the onward progress of civilization, let us do it by lifting ourselves up, not by holding him down. If, as some predict, the

*Pamphlet copies may be had of the Augusta Chronicle-Press, Augusta, Ga.

Negro in the distant future must fall and fall by the wayside in the strenuous march of the nations, let him fall by his own inferiority and not by our tyranny. Give him a fair chance to work out what is in him.

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That a wholesome sentiment on the race question is rising in the South against the "nigger hating" mob spirit is evident from this splendid democratic deliverance by a typical Southerner of the best class at the highest seat of learning in the empire State of the South. Whether in the conflict sure to come at the South between those whose sentiments Mr. Fleming expresses and those who are truly represented by Gov. Vardaman, the true democratic spirit will triumph, no one can tell. But there need be no difficulty in deciding which ought to triumph. Vardaman is a type of the worst, Fleming of the best, that the white South has to offer to-day to civilization.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

ON THE ROAD WITH BRYAN.

Effingham, Ill., Oct. 17.—For the past month W. J. Bryan has almost eclipsed his famous speechmaking tours of 1896 and 1900, visiting nearly twenty States, and speaking from three to 10 or 12 times a day to large and enthusiastic audiences. Notwithstanding he stipulated with the various State committees, when accepting their invitations to assist in the campaign that he should not be billed for more than three speeches in a day, yet in many cases he was compelled to speak at eight, ten and twelve places, frequently travelling all night, in addition to receiving committees between the various towns where stops were made.

The final talk of one day was begun after midnight to an audience of several thousands which had waited for his belated train several hours. This was at Muscogee, Indian Territory, during the last week of September. At 7:30 a. m. the following day he began an hour's address at Vinita. During the same day he made nine other addresses in Indian Territory and Oklahoma, accompanied by Chiefs Rogers and Porter of the Cherokee and Creek Indian tribes. At Tulsa, the same day, he was introduced to an audience of eight thousand by a former Osage Indian chief. The day's work was finished by an hour's address in the evening at Guthrie, Oklahoma. On the 13th inst. he completed a four days' tour of Missouri by making ten speeches. His opening address of an hour and fifteen minutes was begun at 8:30 a. m., at Macon in the Court House grounds to an audience of 5,000 people. He next made a fifty minute address at Brookfield from a carriage in the business center of the town to an audience of four thousand. At Bucklin he spoke for ten minutes from the rear platform of the train to an audience of several hundreds. An audience of

nearly a thousand was awaiting his arrival at Marceline, and the train was held for ten minutes while he addressed it. At Carrollton he addressed an audience of 7,000 for an hour in the Court House grounds. Short addresses were made at Richmond, Lawson and Lathrop. From 4:30 to 5:30 he addressed an audience of 5,000 in the public parks at Cameron. The day's work was closed by an address of an hour at Maryville to the largest audience of the day, in the Court House grounds.

Before beginning the day's work at Macon, Mr. Bryan purchased a carriage horse and made arrangements for shipping it to Lincoln. Immediately after his speech at Maryville he took a train on the Wabash, arriving at Moberly at 3 a. m., where he was the guest of W. A. Rothwell, the Democratic National Committeeman from Missouri. Leaving Macon in the evening he arrived at Hannibal a little before midnight. Here he was met by a delegation from Illinois headed by Congressman Henry T. Rainey.

At five o'clock in the morning, (on Monday the 15th) he was called, and after eating breakfast in the depot restaurant left Hannibal at 6 a. m. for Illinois, where he made three addresses in the 20th Congressional district, beginning at Pittsfield, the county seat of Pike county, at 10 a. m., in Jacksonville in the afternoon, and at Carrollton at night.

The vast throngs at these meetings and the great enthusiasm displayed had a tendency to recall the meetings of the Presidential campaign of 1896. Mrs. Bryan is a native of Pike county, and lived here until she was married. She takes great delight in the fact that her native county gave the heaviest gain for Mr. Bryan of any county in the State, his vote being over 70 per cent. greater than McKinley's. In 1904 Parker received but one vote more than McKinley received in 1896; Roosevelt received 104 less than McKinley, while Parker received 2,203 less than Bryan. Another unique feature of Mrs. Bryan's native county is the fact that it owns a railroad, built by bonding the county. Two townships in the county receiving more benefit by this railroad, contributed a sum equivalent to the additional benefit derived. The road is six miles in length, and connects Pittsfield with the Wabash system, the latter leasing it from the county at an annual rental with a certain stipulated service.

Mr. Bryan's visit to Illinois was merely to help the candidates for Congress in the 20th and 23d districts. It was his intention to refrain from discussing State issues or referring to State candidates. However, he made an exception of the Democratic candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Miss Caroline Grote.

Miss Grote had a primary nomination which the State convention thought best to ratify, although the delegates from her home county were antagonistic to the dominant faction in the convention. Mrs. Bryan and Miss Grote were schoolmates in childhood and friends in young womanhood. After they had left school Miss Grote was teaching in their home town, Perry. She and Mrs. Bryan studied German together under the direction of Miss Grote's father, who was a fine German scholar, and who belonged to the strong middle class of German immigrants who have done so much to develop the mid-