

generation. Hence it is our duty to act with them, unless future events and plain duty impel a different course. When brazen imperialists and organized plutocracy, which is imperialism in business, aided by their powerful weapon, the subsidized press, are moving in solid phalanx to capture the Democratic organization, which is now out of their hands, patriots should not fall apart, but stand together like heroes upon line of battle. He who leads a column away from us on such an occasion defeats the very object he claims to have in view. The enemy will laugh at our factions, but he trembles before a united people. Again, in the great race before us, it is idle to expect our horse to win if we cut his hamstring before starting.

Gen. Weaver's record for devotion to principle in preference to party, together with his most distinguished service as a radical leader in American politics, should bespeak for his opinion the interest, respect and consideration of democratic men of all parties, factions and organizations.

Consistently with the whole Philippine policy, the American superintendent of schools at Manila sets up a sort of censorship to keep the American people in ignorance of carpet-bag government in the land of Aguinaldo. This loyal superintendent has addressed a circular letter to the teaching force in the Philippines. His letter should be read with thoughtful care. Here it is in full:

Circular to Division Superintendents and Teachers—Dear Sir: Because of our great distance from the States and the prevailing conditions here being different from conditions there, it is very difficult for home people to correctly understand many things that we may be disposed to say to them in letters. They get a wrong impression, talk matters over very freely, and frequently allow letters to be published, thus multiplying the wrong impression many times. Recently I have had my attention called to two cases of this kind, which have resulted in great embarrassment to the authors of the letters and considerable annoyance to the civil commission and this office. Teachers are requested to exercise such care as the situation demands, both in their statements and by special direction to correspondents, and all private communications shall be treated as such. Any misuse of matter sent to the States will be treated as if authorized by the party sending it.—E. B. Bryan, General Superintendent.

Observe the last sentence. "Any misuse of matter sent to the States will be treated as if authorized by the party sending it." What does that mean? Simply this: If teachers in the Philippines write home the truth about the carpetbag administration there, and the persons who receive these letters publish them, the teachers so writing will be punished. Discreet suppression appears to be one of the characteristics of benevolent assimilation.

The Steel trust is getting its feet more firmly than ever upon the ground. It was reported on the 20th from New York as having purchased the last large single block of ore property on the Messaba range in Minnesota, which is for sale. It is in this way that trusts are fortified. Mere combinations of capital, without land monopoly, are impotent. Capital can be multiplied. But natural resources, including rights of way over land, give to trusts a resistless power.

What trifling explanations the Chicago newspapers and rule-of-thumb business men are making of the burdens under which legitimate business there is struggling! With puerility that ought to disgrace the pupils of a high school they charge it all to the demands of labor unions. Yet at this very moment there are astounding revelations of conspiracies among business men to raise prices arbitrarily. Why should it be supposed that high wages obstruct prosperity and high prices do not? If conspiracies to raise the prices of commodities were not a factor, the demands of labor unions would do but little to cut off "prosperity." If monopoly prices for locations were destroyed, trades unions could do nothing to destroy prosperity.

An interesting exposure of the operations of a detective bureau in Cleveland, calling itself the "Corporations Auxiliary Company," has been made by a disgusted business establishment of

Connecticut—the D. R. Whiton Machine Company, of New London. Mr. Whiton publishes his full correspondence with this detective bureau which masquerades under so nice a name. The correspondence is too long for reproduction here, but it may be summarized as showing that the principal business of this Cleveland bureau, in which it seems to succeed, is putting spies upon labor organizations by introducing detectives into their membership. The details, as disclosed by Mr. Whiton's pamphlet, are somewhat startling and very interesting.

#### A NEGRO'S VIEW OF THE RACE PROBLEM.\*

The more one studies the present relations between the two great races of people in the South the more prominently does the fact loom up that "carpet bag" politics is chiefly responsible for the unreasonable estrangement of these people. "That might have accomplished much for the benefit of both races 20 years ago," said Rev. E. G. Coley, a leading Negro clergyman of Montgomery, Ala., in reply to the suggestion that Negroes lend political support to their white neighbors, "but I regard it as too late now." There is a general feeling, however, that if the Negro voter declares his po-

\*To appreciate fully the significance of this signed editorial (to which we have no hesitation, with reference both to the personal character and standing of its writer, and of the general nature of the editorial itself, in giving the endorsement of editorial position), it should be understood that it comes from the pen of a Negro business man and lawyer, who is in economics a disciple of Henry George, and in politics a democratic Democrat. Mr. Warren has for many years been well and favorably known at Mackinac Island. He resides in Detroit, but carries on a large business as barber at Mackinac during the summer months. Among his friends there is Edward Osgood Brown, the prominent Chicago lawyer and democratic Democrat, who was recently elected to the circuit court of Cook county, Ill. It was through his intimacy with Brown that he became a convert to the teachings of Henry George. Mr. Warren is also a lawyer, having graduated from the Detroit College of Law with the degree of L. L. B., and become a member of the bar of Michigan. With special reference to the interests of his race in the United States he is active in the movement for the migration of American Negroes to Africa, of which Bishop Henry M. Turner is the best known leader. Mr. Warren is vice president of the Colored National Emigration and Commercial Association, one of the projects of which is the establishment of a steam navigation line for cheap and direct travel between the United States and Africa.

litical independence by word and deed, the time will come when the white people will split on local questions and both sides of the split will seek Negro votes to help them win.

There are some Negro Democrats in the South, it is said. But the general expression of those blacks whom I have approached upon the subject is that it would be a very bitter pill to vote with the people and the party that have so ruthlessly pursued the work of their undoing. To them the word "democracy" is synonymous with oppression and disfranchisement. They do not readily understand that democratic principles must eventually be the guiding star of all parties and sections governed in the name of "democracy."

When we leave politics and glance at business and industry we find the Negro of the South employed in almost every vocation and the utmost confidence is placed in him by his employers. They work, however, for small pay, common laborers and teamsters getting from 75 cents to a dollar a day; and it is well-nigh impossible to subsist upon this pay, much less to save a competence or buy a home. Mechanics get from \$1.50 to \$2 a day, and many of them own their own homes and are leading the lives of excellent citizens in apparently well-to-do circumstances.

Business Negroes are numerous in Montgomery, and of these between 15 and 20 are said to be worth above \$10,000. It is astonishing how many highly intellectual and educated Negroes one meets in a day in that pretty Southern city, and it seems impossible that any dominant race could ever stigmatize them as incapable of self-government. The debates during the business sessions, last June, of the annual meeting of the Colored National Emigration and Commercial Association would have done credit to the halls of Congress. In point of logic, forensic power, and breadth of thought, a more earnest and capable body of men of any

race never met in convention. I believe that out of American bondage will come the civilization and salvation of the entire African race in Africa and elsewhere.

The population of Montgomery is about evenly divided between the races, and fully two-thirds of the Negroes have a strain of white blood. More than half of them range from mulattos to octoroons, it being impossible to distinguish many of the latter from white people, though there they are all classed as Negroes.

The whites of Alabama are now showing hostility to Negro business enterprises. At the last session of the legislature, legislation tending to embarrass Negro insurance companies is said to have been enacted. That the Negroes are smarting under their proscription is plainly apparent. The Negro countenance that formerly was smiling and happy has given way to an expression sad and serious in a marked degree. But they are not deficient in intelligence. I never talked an hour and a half on so dry a subject as that of taxation to an audience that was more attentive and appreciative than the Negro audience I recently addressed in Montgomery. On the day following many Negroes used expressions to me that left no doubt that they had not only understood my explanation of the single tax, but that they realized the boon it would be to the Negro race.

One cannot travel through the South and observe the wretched one-room huts that shelter large families, both white and black, in the outlying districts, without gaining a new appreciation of the great work being done by Booker Washington. With plenty of idle land round about, these people are either too lazy or too ignorant to provide for themselves a home fit to inhabit; and such institutions as Tuskegee not only teach men how to build homes, but they instill in the students thrifty habits that cling to them throughout their careers, and these in turn exercise a good influence upon all

with whom they come in contact after leaving their alma mater. Every Southern State is sorely in need of its Booker Washington to accomplish this work.

But the chasm separating the two races is being continually widened both by legislative enactment and by enforced custom. South of the Ohio river the "jim crow" car idea has been carried into the street cars. If a Negro complains to the officers of the law when the victim of the aggressions of white men he is laughed at. If he dares to exercise the right of self defense or attempts to defend his wife, daughter or sister he is promptly "lynched for assaulting a white man." When an employer refuses to pay a Negro employe for his work, the latter dare not question the word of the employer on pain of being mobbed. In short, the Negro in the South exists only by the sufferance of the ruling class. So long as he will tamely submit to the conditions imposed by law or custom, but mostly by custom, he must do the work of the ruling class, accept the pay offered, and ask no questions. To this latter condition there is an apparent exception. Where unions are formed they manage to exact union wages, though the number of Negroes belonging to unions is relatively very small.

The constant bombardment of Negro character through the press of the country has had its effect north of the Ohio river also. This is plainly apparent to one visiting those sections at intervals of a decade. Twelve years ago, to the personal knowledge of the writer, no objection was made in various restaurants, saloons and places of amusement in Cincinnati to Negro patrons. To-day this is all changed. Negroes are not permitted even to buy a glass of soda water in a drug store, nor are they accommodated in any of the businesses above mentioned when conducted by whites. As far as their civil rights are concerned they are here in little better position than their brethren on the southern side of the Ohio river.

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.

FRANK H. WARREN.

#### 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-