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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE NEGRO.

Now that the Republican Party has again come into possession, not only of the presidency but of both branches of Congress, the feeling that it is incumbent on it to do something to secure the Negro at the South a more complete enjoyment of the right of suffrage, has once more begun to find expression. For this is what is always meant when the duty of the party toward the Negro is spoken of. The party is not considered bound to do or say anything, as a party, for the protection of the Negro's political or social rights at the North, even when they are occasionally violated, as in the matter of equality in the public schools, or in public vehicles, or in hotels, or in theatres. With the advancement of the Negro at the North, in fact, the Republican Party does not specially, as an organization, concern itself. It lets him work his own way and fight his own battles. It is the southern Negro whom it considers its special care; and the reason of this is obvious. The southern Negroes owe to it their existence as freemen and citizens. But for the Republican Party they would enjoy neither political rights nor the common rights of humanity. But emancipation, effected by force of arms, in part as a measure of punishment for the slaveholders, would have been a worthless gift if the power which effected it had not, for a time at least, stood ready to maintain it. The Republican Party did stand ready to maintain it. For ten years after the war was over, it kept garrisons at the South to protect the Negroes in the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and emoluments which their votes gave them, and in some States their votes gave them the entire control of the local government. When it was found that public opinion would no longer tolerate the continuance of this protection, federal interference at the South ceased, and the troops were withdrawn by President Hayes. The reason public opinion would no longer tolerate it was very simple, namely, that the spectacle of State governments kept in order or pro-

ate the representative system and to impede honest administration. It is as difficult to govern as to judge wisely. When once a state is possessed of a good administrator, it is only wisdom to keep him. Would not a landowner be considered mad if he changed his agent every four years? The remedy is clear. As in Germany, all government functionaries should be guaranteed against arbitrary removal from their posts.

It is equally indispensable that the elections should no longer be subjected to bribery and undue influences. The best way to obtain this would be to adopt a system of completely secret voting, similar to that practiced in Belgium, so that it would be to nobody's interest to purchase suffrages by money or promises, on account of the impossibility of knowing how an elector votes.

To conclude, the danger threatening modern democracy is in the contrast between the equality of rights proclaimed and the inequality in fact existing. Ancient democracies perished in the struggle between the rich and the poor. It is therefore imperative that this conflict should not recommence. If you give the right of suffrage to all, let all have a chance of becoming owners of property. Modern democracies will not perish in civil wars, like those of Greece, if they manage to realize the ideal revealed by Christ, true Christian brotherhood. But if the antagonism between capitalists and laborers continues and becomes fiercer, it is much to be dreaded that, in Europe at least, democracy will end in Cæsarism. Nations, tired of endless and issueless struggles, would sacrifice their liberty and seek rest under the shelter of despotism. This is the danger which is already threatening France.

ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE.

ted for an indefinite period by federal military force, was calculated to bring popular government into contempt, or at all events diminish popular respect for constitutional forms, all over the Union. It was felt that the experiment of making citizens of the Negroes could not be tried by halves without serious injury to the whole country; that although the United States might hold large communities in subjection and administer them as conquered territory, there was no place under our system for communities partly free and partly subject, partly fit to manage their own affairs and partly fit for military supervision. The results of Negro government, too, in some States, as for instance, South Carolina and Mississippi, showed clearly the mischief of giving the freedmen power without responsibility, that is, of enabling the Negro legislatures to waste the property of the State through taxation and jobbery, and then of protecting them by troops against the just indignation of the owners.

Some good results followed from this. "Outrages," that is, acts of violence against Negroes, and against whites who associated with Negroes, or lived in political fellowship with them, ceased, or became very rare. The defiance of or contempt for the law which is sure to show itself whenever the legislative power and the physical force of the community are not lodged in the same hands, gradually died out. Trade and industry began to revive rapidly from 1876 onward. Capital began to flow into the South, and manufactures to spring up. It was generally admitted, too, that the condition of the Negro began to improve. Better legal protection for his person and property was afforded him. Contracts with him were more faithfully executed. Better provision was made for his education. The industrial progress of the southern States, since their deliverance from carpet-bag rule, in truth, proves conclusively that in them life and property and individual rights generally, are, on the whole, well protected; that the laborer is sure of his hire, and the capitalist of his profits. The following table, for which I am indebted to Mr. Norman Walker, editor of the New Orleans "Times-Democrat," who has for some years carefully collected the statistics of the various southern States illustrating their material growth, tells a tale which may, without exaggeration, be called unprece-

dented. Prior to 1880, I may remark, there was not in most of the States any proper or reliable provision for this sort of record.

	1888.	1879-80. (Census year.)	Per cent. of Increase.
Population	18,942,858	14,639,714	29.4
Gross wealth	\$3,240,774,722	\$2,164,792,795	49.8
Wealth per capita	\$171.11	\$148.42	15.6
Railroad mileage	35,679	17,808	100.0
Manufactures :			
Number of establishments	59,185	34,563	71.4
Capital	\$426,597,000	\$179,366,230	143.5
Number of hands	440,253	215,245	112.8
Value of products	\$585,088,103	\$315,924,794	85.4
Cotton mills	294	179	76.0
Spindles	1,518,145	713,989	112.8
Looms	34,006	15,222	123.4
Value of products of cotton mills	\$43,000,000	\$21,000,000	104.8
Minerals :			
Pig-iron produced, tons	845,920	212,722	397.8
Phosphate mined, tons	432,757	190,162	288.2
Value of minerals produced	\$25,482,600	\$3,347,445	760.6
Agriculture :			
Grain, bushels	626,305,600	431,074,630	45.3
Cotton, bales	6,800,000	5,755,359	18.4
Farm animals	44,830,927	28,754,243	55.8
Live stock, value	\$573,695,550	\$391,312,254	46.4
Fruit, value	\$19,421,380	\$9,103,113	113.4
Total value of farm products	\$793,898,293	\$611,697,048	29.7
Education :			
Schools	62,038	45,031	37.8
Children in attendance	2,402,117	1,832,620	36.7
Expenditures for public schools.	\$11,742,702	\$6,415,706	83.2

But there has all along remained one reason why the Republicans, as a party, could not take comfort in these things, namely, the belief that in all States in which the Negroes are in a majority, or indeed form a large element in the voting population, their votes have, ever since the State governments passed into the power of the whites, been nullified by some sort of fraud. In the beginning the work was done by "stuffing" the ballot-boxes with fraudulent ballots. Recently this has been abandoned for a contrivance under which the ballot-boxes are lettered or numbered in such a way that a man needs an amount of intelligence and education to make the legal deposit of his vote in them, which a large proportion of the Negroes do not possess. It is true, a certain proportion of the whites do not possess it either, but the ignorant whites are "steered" by their fellow Caucasians when

they approach the boxes, while the blacks are left to blunder as they may. It is really this favoritism to the whites which makes the system objectionable. It is an educational test, and one much more appropriate and effective than the one used in some northern States, of asking the voter to read a bit of the federal Constitution, which he has probably already learned by heart. But the effect is to exclude from the polls a large proportion of the Negro voters, and give the whites almost undisputed supremacy in all the States which revolted in 1861.

Now there are in this state of things, for northern Republicans, two serious grievances; one is that the vote which they gave the Negro for his protection and elevation should be filched from him by a device which the most bigoted partisan would hardly call honest. The other is that the votes, which they have always maintained the Negroes would, if free to choose, invariably cast for the Republican candidate for the presidency, should every year, either through intimidation or influence or fraud, be transferred to the Democratic candidate, and that the States lately in rebellion should thus supply the force which gave him the victory in 1884, and which, at best, puts Republican supremacy in peril every four years. It is well-nigh impossible to persuade an ardent Republican that there exist at the South such things as Democratic colored voters. The tie which bound the Negroes to the Republican Party when the war ended, he holds to be indissoluble. That the whites have made any sensible progress in winning the blacks over to the Democratic Party, he resolutely refuses to believe. To him the true Republican vote of every southern State contains every colored voter, and the list of Negroes who have voted the Democratic ticket is simply a list of the victims of deception or terror.

As this is a matter in which it is impossible to get at the truth, it does not seem to me that there is much use in discussing it. It is reasonable to suppose that the Democrats at the South have made *some* progress in winning the Negro over. The inevitable influence of the employer on the laborer, of the creditor on the debtor, of the rich on the poor, of the humane and charitable on the friendless or afflicted, is an agency more or less powerful in politics in all countries. It is very powerful,

and recognized as powerful by both parties, in every State at the North; why should it not be powerful at the South? That it has *some* influence on the Negro may be asserted with confidence; but to debate how much influence it had on any particular occasion, or what proportion of the Democratic majority should be ascribed to it at any particular election, is simply to waste time. This is one of the points which cannot be settled, and, therefore, might better be let alone.

Now, what can the Republican Party, which suffers or believes it suffers, from this state of things, do by way of remedy? Every political party which complains of or denounces an evil is bound to ask itself this question. All parties are formed with a view to legislative action of some kind. A political party which disclaimed any desire or expectation of being able some time or other to embody its ideas in administration or in legislation, would confess itself to be of no more importance than a debating club. In a free country, to form a party is to proclaim to the world that its members hope eventually to have control of the legislature, and that they pledge themselves, when they have such control, to pass certain acts settling certain questions in a certain way. We are bound to assume, therefore, that those Republicans who assign the suppression of the Negro vote at the South as a reason why the Republican Party should be restored to power, or should be kept in power, have in view either the passage of some bill for the better protection of the Negro voter; or the enforcement for the same purpose of some statute already in existence, which has been allowed to remain a dead letter; or the exercise by the President of some power conferred on him by the Constitution which has been allowed to lie dormant.

Before examining these expedients, it is but fair to say that many Republicans rely on a fourth one, which does not come under the head of legislation, properly so called, and consists simply in the exclusion of the Democratic Party from federal power as a punishment for committing or permitting or condoning the electoral frauds of which a portion of the party is guilty at the South. This, however, must owe all its effectiveness to the assumption that the southerners care more for the possession of the federal offices at Washington than they do for the control of

their own State governments, and will run the risk of being ruled by Negro majorities at home, in order to secure the presidency and a majority in both houses of Congress for the Democratic Party. It is hardly necessary to say that they have never shown any signs of any such state of mind. No authority has ever been produced for the belief that the South was willing to make any sacrifice whatever in the matter of white home rule, in order to put the national Democratic Party in power at Washington. Nothing in the opinions of southerners is better known than that their State governments are, for reasons partly social, partly political, partly historical, by far their greatest concern, and that no denunciations by the northern newspapers or orators on this point make any impression on them. Consequently we may fairly take for granted that the Republicans are restricted for the remedy to the three expedients we have mentioned—new legislation, the enforcement of dormant acts, or the exercise by the President of neglected constitutional authority.

As regards new legislation, or dormant acts, it is to be observed that Congress has been cut off from any attempt to exercise general police power of any sort within the States for the protection of the Negro in the enjoyment either of his civil or political rights, unless they are assailed by State legislation. The whole question of the effect of the Constitutional Amendments on the power of the federal government with regard to him, was reviewed in the Cruikshank case * in a judgment delivered by Chief-Justice Waite, and it was there decided that no attacks on him of any description, by individuals or combinations of individuals, which are not authorized or directed by State statutes, afford any ground for federal interference, or are punishable anywhere but in the State courts. In other words, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments simply protect the Negro from hostile State legislation. For protection against attacks on his person or property or liberty by individuals, he has to rely wholly on the State courts and police. But another decision, in the Yarborough case, † allows that Congress has the power to protect Negroes, as all other citizens, in the exercise of the suffrage at all elections of federal officers, and that a conspiracy to threaten,

* 92 U. S. Rep., 542 *et seq.*

† 110 U. S. Rep., 651.

intimidate, or hinder a Negro or any citizen on such occasions, would be indictable and punishable in the federal courts. The court held that at all such elections "Congress has the power to protect the act of voting, the place where it is done, and the man who votes from personal violence and intimidation, and the election itself from corruption and fraud." Judge Hare, in his "American Constitutional Law,"* says:

"It may be inferred from this decision that Congress may regulate the election of the electoral colleges and State legislatures, because the former choose the president and the latter the senators of the United States, and the duty which every voter performs in casting his ballot in either case concerns the general government as well as the State."

But he intimates that "though this conclusion may be logical, it was seemingly not anticipated by the framers of the Constitution or the convention which ratified it."

We may take it as settled, therefore, beyond question, that what the Republican Party can do for the Negro at the South, and all it can do, is to take charge by legislation of the election of members of Congress and of the presidential electors, and of the State legislatures as the electors of Senators. But such legislation would of course have to be uniform. It would have to apply to northern as well as to southern States. The president would have to execute the law in every part of the country. He could not, as some have suggested, single out particular States for a "special policy," that is, supervise the election of State legislators in South Carolina or Mississippi, and leave it to the local authorities in Massachusetts or Maine. What Republicans who contemplate the passage of such a law have to ask themselves, therefore, is whether it is in the least likely they could get a Republican majority to enact what would be justly considered a very serious step toward complete centralization; and whether, if it were enacted, they could reasonably expect to be able to enforce and maintain it in the northern States without great disaster to the party. There is no reason to suppose that any State at the North would be willing, for the sake of the southern Negro, to commit the election of its State legislature to the charge of federal officers. Any party which seriously pro-

* P. 528.

posed such a thing would probably be driven from power. But, for the reasons I have already given, it is only at the election of State officers that there is any strong and steady disposition at the South to practice intimidation or fraud on the Negro. It is in the State offices only that the southern whites fear Negro supremacy, and consequently it is at State elections only that federal protection would really do the Negro any good.

With regard to the general mental attitude of the Republican Party toward the southern white men touching this Negro question, there are some considerations on which it is difficult to say anything without seeming to say too much, that is, without being more or less misunderstood. These are considerations, nevertheless, which must be produced in any adequate discussion of the subject. In all countries which live under universal suffrage, the amount of attention given to the machinery by which the expression of the popular will has to be ascertained is necessarily very great. The class engaged in working this machinery and keeping it in order is unavoidably very large, and naturally very much disposed to magnify its office, and to exalt electioneering above legislation. The various expedients by which the citizen is, in civilized states under free institutions, induced to express his preferences about public affairs—such as the caucus, the convention, the campaign, and finally the casting and counting of the ballots on election day—are of course extremely important. They need constant study and supervision and amendment in order to maintain their efficiency.

But these are, after all, means to an end, and the end of all civilized government is to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and promote the general welfare. In all our political discussions these ends ought, of course, to be kept in view as the main object of political action. In other words, we ought at every election to be thinking, in casting our ballots, of the effect of our vote on legislation about property, about morals, about education, about justice, and trade, and commerce. But, naturally enough, a very large proportion of us in a democracy get so much absorbed in the struggle for victory at the polls, that the possible consequences of the victory to the community at large often occupy but a subordinate place in our attention. A very

large proportion of the voters at every election are, in fact, in the state of mind of Flanagan of Texas, who so innocently asked what the convention had met for if it was not to get hold of the offices. They have come to think of elections simply as means of settling to which side in the party arena certain places and salaries shall go. Consequently cheating at the polls affects them very much as cheating at a game of cards does, rather than as the corruption of judges or legislators. They look on it as a device for depriving the winner of his stakes, rather than a device for keeping the fittest men out of power.

That this way of looking at politics in general has largely affected the Republican attitude toward the South touching Negro suffrage, I think there can be little doubt. Very few of us, when discussing the suppression of the Negro vote, ask ourselves what would be the effect on southern society of *not* suppressing the Negro vote, and yet this question, to every rational mind, forms at least one-half—and not the least important half—of the whole subject. Southern society does not exist for the purpose of enabling ignorant Negroes to cast ballots; civilized society does not exist anywhere in order to afford ignorant men an opportunity of going through the forms of government. It exists in order that “peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established among us to all generations.” Ordinarily those who object to this, as it may possibly be called, Carlylean view of the ignorant man’s place in politics, are able to say that in those communities which are advanced enough to set up popular institutions at all, the very ignorant form so small a proportion of the whole that no serious evil, and much seeming educational good, result from allowing them to take their fair share in the conduct of public affairs. But not only does the ignorance with which the South has to contend surpass the ignorance with which any other popular government has had to contend, but it is ignorance which has already tried its hand at governing a civilized community; so that we have unprecedented knowledge about the consequences of its complete predominance. No such experiment as was tried in South Carolina and Mississippi under the Reconstruction Acts, was ever tried before, within historic times at least. The machinery of no highly-civilized society was ever before put

into the hands of a body of persons such as the Negro voters of the South were between 1868 and 1872. So that in resisting a repetition of the experiment the southerners are resisting with full knowledge of the probable consequences of failure. They are not resisting simply under the influence of that vague fear of "mob rule" which plays so large a part in the conservative gospel of other countries. They are resisting the restoration of a *régime* which they intelligently believe would not only prevent industrial progress, but put their civilization itself in some peril.

But what are the southern whites to do? What should we urge them to do? Is the cheating of colored voters to remain a permanent feature in their polity? Is the immense humiliation which lies in saving the state by fraud at every election to continue indefinitely? In answering these questions we at the North have great need to remember that perfect community of interest is the true basis of all profitable political discussion. The successful conduct of democratic government requires that those who carry it on in any particular case should bear the same burdens and be exposed to the same perils, as well as be animated by the same hopes and aspirations. It is on this fact that the great excellence of our federal system rests. As the management of our affairs is now divided between the State and national governments, no man is called on to legislate about woes which he does not feel, or strive for profits which he is not to share. When we in New York are voting or talking on State matters, we are voting and talking on what concerns all New Yorkers about equally. When we are voting and talking about federal matters, we are voting and talking on what concerns all citizens of the United States about equally. But when a New Yorker is discussing Massachusetts or South Carolina affairs, he is discussing things which concern him only slightly, and about which therefore his opinion is of comparatively small value. For in politics, even more than in private life, it is true that "every man knows his own business," and that to make an opinion really weighty, a man should be prepared to back it by some sort of risk or sacrifice. Advice which entails no responsibility has been, from the beginning of the world, considered a cheap article, and therefore it is that the greatest misfortune

which can befall a community is to be governed by the opinion of another which does not share its trials or necessities. In its grosser form this sort of rule is called the will of the conqueror, but there are many lesser degrees of it. We see one form of it in the long-protracted attempt made by Englishmen to force Irishmen to settle their land question in the way Englishmen settle it at home, without regard to difference of circumstances. We should see another form of it if we could by any sort of penalty compel the South to settle its Negro question in the way in which we, who have no Negro question, think we would settle it if it came in our way. But no man at the North who has no Negro question to face, really knows how he would settle it if he had to face it. It is not possible for any community in which the ignorant are and always have been in a small minority, to say with any degree of positiveness how it would behave if it suddenly found all its great interests, both moral and material, placed at the mercy of a majority composed of half-barbarous laborers acting through the forms of law. No New Yorker or New Englander can tell beforehand what course he would take if a danger of this kind were constantly hanging over him or his children. But the whole history of the Anglo-Saxon race warrants us in believing that he would not sacrifice either himself or his property or the social organization in which he was born and lived, to his reverence either for the ballot or for the acts of the legislature. He would see first to the security of those things for which government is instituted, and postpone the care of the Constitution to a more convenient season.

The recovery of the South from two hundred years of Negro slavery cannot be accomplished in twenty years, or perhaps in fifty. Providence does not allow diseases of such malignity to be cured in a day by acts of Congress. Complete restoration of the South to the American political system cannot be effected by any legislation. If we had soldiers at all the polls in the South at every election, to see that the intelligent portion of the community did not defraud the ignorant of their political rights, it would create an un-American government. It is not in that way that American government is carried on, or meant, or supposed to be carried on. It would not be the kind of government Senator

Hoar had in mind when, fifteen years ago, in objecting to the admission of New Mexico as a State, on the ground that a large proportion of the people could not read, he said:

“When Congress is considering the question whether the people of a Territory shall be formed into a State of the union, the fact that they cannot perform the duties of American citizenship by voting intelligently on public questions, the fact that the great body of them cannot understand the laws of the country, cannot read the discussions of political questions, cannot obtain information about their interests from newspapers or magazines, constitutes a strong reason why we should require such a community to wait for admission until they are better prepared.”

Laws evolved by ignorance under the protection of bayonets, would not be American laws. American laws are laws evolved from persuasion exerted by intelligence on intelligence. There is no democratic country in which the ignorant voter is not cheated at the polls, that is, in which he is not in some manner made to cast his vote in some other person's way instead of in his own. The priest cheats him, or the landlord, or the corner grocer, or the saloon-keeper, or his employer, or his political boss; and from this all the laws in the world cannot save him. Nothing can save a voter's independence except his own character and understanding. Nothing but education will make the southern Negro a free voter in the American sense of the term. The one question, therefore, we have to ask ourselves about his political prospects, is whether the whites who control the State governments are making reasonable provision for raising him in point of intelligence to the white man's level. The answer to this question is, I think, to be found in the figures I have cited above, showing what the southern States have done and are doing for the establishment of free schools. Taking everything into account, it may be said that they are doing more in this field than the northern States, to make the corruption and intimidation of voters difficult or impossible.

E. L. GODKIN.

May 1887

WOMAN'S PLACE IN NATURE.

IN a recent number of the FORUM, Professor Lester F. Ward had an interesting article on "Our Better Halves"—an article which I have read with great attention, and about which I should like to say a few friendly words, as a biologist who has long and carefully reflected from the same point of view upon the self-same question. Like all that Professor Ward writes, this paper was very able, very well-informed, very incisive, and very original; but like too much of that subtle thinker's work, from "Dynamic Sociology" onward, its originality was, in my opinion, marred and spoiled by that curious habit of running after paradox which is always the Will-o-the-wisp to its many-sided author's bold philosophizing.

It seems to me, in fact, that a sober review of the biological data involved leads us to the exactly opposite conclusion to that embodied in the FORUM article. Instead of its being true, as Professor Ward emphatically puts it, that "woman is the race," I believe it to be true that she is very much less the race than man; that she is, indeed, not even half the race at present, but rather a part of it told specially off for the continuance of the species, just as truly as drones or male spiders are parts of their species told off for the performance of male functions, or as "rotund" honey-ants are individual insects told off to act as living honey-jars on behalf of the community. She is the sex sacrificed to reproductive necessities.

Let us look the question, as a biological problem, frankly in the face, if briefly, yet comprehensively. There are species in which the race as a whole consists in about equal degrees, and to an equal value, of males and females. There are species in which, from a wide point of view, the race consists mainly of females, supplemented by relatively unimportant males told off to perform mere reproductive functions. There are species in which the race consists mainly of "neuters" or imperfect

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