A HAND BOOK

OF

Republican Misrule and Negro Domination Which Led Up to the Passage of the Amendment by the Legislature of 1899, and the Reasons for Its Adoption.

1900

PREPARED AND ISSUED BY
THE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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ROOMS OF THE
DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
RALEIGH, N. C., June 1, 1900.

The flagrant Republican misrule of '68 and '69, and the negro domination incident to the Fusion misrule of '97 and '98, and the terrible ordeals through which the white people passed in the campaigns of 1870 and 1898 to rid themselves of these horrible conditions, led to a demand that the Legislature of 1899 take some action to make a recurrence of these things impossible. In obedience to this demand, the Legislature passed the proposed suffrage amendment. In the opinion of this Committee the ratification of this amendment will greatly promote the peace, progress and prosperity of the State, and it will be beneficial to all classes of its people.

In the following pages will be found a discussion of the events which led up to its adoption and reasons for its ratification.

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Chairman.

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DEMOCRATIC HAND BOOK

1900.

HOW THE AMENDMENT CAME TO BE PASSED.

The Republican and Populist Bosses Can't Understand How the Rank and File of a Party can Determine and Shape its Policy—The Amendment is the Work of the People—They Demanded it and the Legislature Passed it—The People Were Determined That the Scenes of 1868 and 1898 Should Never Occur Again, and They Demanded the Amendment as a Sure Way of Preventing it.

The Republican and Populist bosses seem to be greatly disturbed over what they call the bad faith and broken promises of some of the Democratic Party managers in the great campaign of 1898. We call them bosses because they do not lead; they drive. Boss is the proper word. Butler came from Washington to the Populist Convention at Raleigh with a cut and dried program, and he compelled a Convention, composed largely of men opposed to Bryan, to instruct its delegates to vote for his nomination.

Boss Rule.

It is a well known fact that there were on the committee that reported those resolutions of instruction more than one man whose daily support comes from the income of Federal offices held by themselves or some member of their family under the McKinley administration, and that these men, while reporting those resolutions instructing for Bryan, openly declared their purpose to vote for McKinley. But it was necessary for Boss Butler's continued success in trading and trafficking in office that his Convention should do his bidding, and it was done.

Senator Pritchard came from Washington to Raleigh with a prepared platform and program for his Republican Convention, and the work was done according to his command, without dissent or deviation.

It is a matter of common knowledge, of which no man need be ignorant, that both the Republican and Populist parties are governed and controlled by a committee of bosses, and that those bosses dictate their policies and command their forces. These committees name and withdraw candidates, substitute and change them at will, separate or fuse them, as occasion may require, and woe be unto the Republican or Populist who dares to have a will of his own. These political bosses have practiced these methods so long they can not understand that a party can be run otherwise than by a few political bosses. They do not take the people into the account at all, and hence they do not and can not understand Democratic methods. They do not and can not understand that in the Democratic Party the people make their own platforms and declare their own party policy.

Democrats Have no Bosses.

The Democratic people will neither obey self-constituted bosses nor stand upon cut and dried platforms. They think for themselves, and they will accept what they believe to be right and reject what they believe to be wrong. Their demands must be heeded by those who have been chosen to lead, or they will soon find new leaders who will listen to them. No man has ever yet been so much their idol that they would not cast him aside when he ceased to study their environments, to strive to improve their condition and to properly understand and interpret their aspirations.

But Pritchard, Holton, Butler, Thompson and their associates can not understand how it is that the people, composing the Democratic Party, have a will of their own, and that they act for themselves when they get ready, and often contrary to the purposes and plans of those who inaugurate and direct political campaigns. Not being able to take it in that

Republican Bosses Can not Understand.

the Democratic Party is not like their own boss-ridden parties—governed and controlled by a committee of bosses—they can not comprehend the fact that the people elected and sent to the Legislature men who pursued a different course from that suggested by some speakers, newspapers and workers at the beginning and during the progress of the campaign of 1898. The Convention of 1898 declared for white supremacy, but it did not specifically declare for a change in the qualifications for suffrage by eliminating the ignorant negro vote as the best means of securing it. Therefore some of the

party workers gave it as their opinion that no change would be made in the qualifications for suffrage in the event the Democratic Party got control of the Legislature. This was simply the opinions of those who expressed them, based upon existing conditions, and could not bind or control the people at the ballot box or their representatives in the Legislature. The proposed amendment is not the work of the State Executive Committee, or of the Chairman, or any committee of individuals. It originated with the people and was the

THE AMENDMENT DEMANDED BY THE PEOPLE.

direct outgrowth of conditions existing at and just prior to the election, as we will demonstrate later on in this article. It was prepared and passed by the chosen representatives of the people, and not by self-appointed bosses. So Pritchard and Butler and Holton must charge the white men of the State and their chosen representatives with bad faith and double dealing if they wish to strike at the real authors of this amendment. It is idle to make such a charge against the State Committee or its Chairman, and these bosses shall not be allowed to raise this false issue. The Senators and Representatives of the people who prepared and passed this amendment understood the environments, conditions and demands of their constituents, and those who make these charges must face them.

In the Senate the following named persons voted for the proposed amendment: Brown, Bryan, Butler, Cheek, Cocke, Collie, Cowper, Daniels, Davis, Eaves, Fields, Glenn, Hairston, HARRIS, Hicks, Hill, Jackson, James, Jerome, Jones of Harnett, Jones of Johnston, Justice, Lambert, Lindsay, Lowe, Mason, Miller, McIntyre, Murray, Osborne, Robinson, Satterfield, Skinner, Smith, Speight, Stanback, Thomas, Travis, Ward, Whitaker, Williams and Wilson—42.

In the House the following Representatives voted for it: Connor, Abbott, Alexander, Allen of Columbus, Allen of Wayne, Beasley, Boggs, Boushall, Brown of Johnston, Brown of Stanley, Bryan of Granville, Bunch, Carr, Carraway, Carroll, Clarkson, Cochran, Council, Craig, CRUMPLER, Currie of Bladen, Davis of Franklin, Davis of Haywood, Dees, Ellen, Foushee, Gambill, Garrett, Gattis, Gilliam, Harrison, Hartsell, Hauser, Hoey, Hoffman, Holman, James, JOHNSON of Sampson, Johnson of Johnston, Julian, Justice of McDowell, Kennett, Lane, Leak, Leatherwood, Leigh, Lyon, McIntosh, Maitland, Mauney, McLean of Harnett, McLean of Richmond, Moore, Nichols, Nicholson of Beau-

fort, Noble, Overman, Patterson of Caldwell, Patterson of Robeson, Powell, Ransom, Ray of Cumberland, Reeves, Robinson, Rountree, Stevens, Stubbs, Sugg, TARKINGTON, Thompson of Davidson, Thompson of Onslow, Trotman, Wall, Welch, White of Halifax, Whitfield, Willard, Williams of Iredell, Wilson and Winston—81.

So we have 42 Senators and 81 Representatives, making 123 in all, voting to give the people an opportunity to pass upon this question, for, be it remembered, the people could only get this opportunity by and through the action of their

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

Senators and Representatives. In thus giving the people the opportunity to consider and determine this vital question, did they act in accordance with the wishes and demands of the men who elected them? If they did, then they acted RIGHT, no matter what may have been the opinions or predictions of certain papers, speakers or committeemen. That they listened to the voice and obeyed the demands of four-fifths of the white men of the State is beyond all question. This being true, it may be pertinent and profitable just here to briefly review the circumstances and conditions which led to this demand on the part of the people that something be done to eliminate the ignorant, vicious negro vote from the politics of the State, to the end that good government and peace and safety might be made certain and perpetual in every section of North Carolina.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DOMINATED BY NEGROES.

The Republican Party, composed as it is and ever has been in this State, of four negroes for every white man found in its ranks, is necessarily under the domination of the negro. It makes no difference if a white Republican does hold the office and draw the salary, the negro gave him the office, and HE is the power behind the office-holder, and he must be placated and pleased, or else, in the sections where the negro is in the majority, the white man must step down and out and give place to the negro. It is, therefore, idle to say that there was no danger of negro domination. No intelligent, truthful man will deny that the Republican Party has been dominated by the negro in all the eastern counties from 1868 till now, and will so continue to be, if the proposed suffrage amendment is defeated. It is an insult to the intelligence of the people of the East to tell them there is no danger of negro domination when the Republican Party is

in power. They have twice tried it, and they know by a bitter experience what it means. It is equally absurd to say that the Republican Party, dominated as it is by the negro, can give to the people of the East good government. It has

Its Record in 1869.

been twice tried and with results that have twice aroused and united the white people to drive it from power. In 1868 this negro-dominated Republican Party took complete control of the government of North Carolina. It found the people poor and struggling for food and raiment amid the ruins of a devastating war. They cried out for peace and rest. That party gave them disorder and violence. They needed good laws; that party gave them bad. In their poverty they needed low taxes; taxes were increased until they became intolerable. They needed rigid economy in public expenditures; the party revelled in a reign of wild extravagance. They needed scrupulous honesty in government affairs; the party inaugurated an era of corruption. They needed school houses and teachers for their children; the party closed the schools in existence and misused the school fund. They needed patriots and honest men for legislators; the party gave them knaves and freebooters and the Legislature became a curse to the State and a stench in the nostrils of all honest men. The county and town government in the East passed into the hands of the negroes or bad white men who were dependent upon the negro, and these local governments, intended to serve the interests of the people, became terrible instruments of oppression.

The Terrible Consequences.

The people, in their helplessness and changed conditions, needed protection, but the party in power gave them a reign of lawlessness and terror. Property was insecure and life was unsafe. The heavens were made lurid by the flames of burning barns and dwellings. Men were assassinated by the roadside by day and scourged in their homes by night. Women, insulted and outraged, lived in terror and appealed to armed men for protection. The Loyal League applied the torch and the Ku Klux the lash. Lawlessness marked its victims and terror executed vengeance. Gloom settled over the State. Two counties were declared in a state of insurrection, an army of cut-throats was organized, scores of innocent men were arrested and lodged in jail without warrant or process of law and a military court was organized to

try and execute them without judge or jury. Such is a faint description of the conditions existing in North Carolina under Republican rule. It was in the very midst of these

The People Correct the Evils by the Ballot.

things, on the first Wednesday of August, 1870, when the white men of the State, speaking through the ballot box, decreed a change. And it seems that these same white men and their descendants are determined to speak through the ballot box on the first Thursday of August, 1900—thirty years thereafter, and make a recurrence of these things impossible.

But, said Pritchard and Butler and Holton and Thompson, in 1896, that the Republican Party had become purer and better than it was in 1868, 1869 and 1870, and that if again intrusted with power it could and would give the people good government. The fact is, as we think we have shown

The Republican Party Worse in 1896 than in 1869.

elsewhere, that this party was in 1896 and 1897 not so good as formerly, and that it was more under the dominion of the negro than ever. In 1868, 1869 and 1870 the Republican Party had in it, in nearly all the eastern counties, many good and capable men. These men have passed away or quit the party, and the negro has become so intolerant that but few white men of character have taken their vacant places. One may go into and through the counties east of Raleigh and it is rare that he will find a white man of character who will say he is a Republican and that he takes part in the Republican Conventions in his county. It is worse than folly for Senator Pritchard to say that there is no danger of negro domination when, in that part of the State where the bulk of his party lies, his own party is absolutely under negro domination. The people of the East know this, if he does not, and they further know that it will continue to be so if this amendment is not ratified, for but few self-respecting white men are going to unite with the Republican Party as long as it is dominated by the negro. But be this as it may, the facts demonstrated that the Republican Party was no more fit to govern in the East in 1896 than it was in 1869. From 1870 to 1894 the white people of the State had stood together and had kept the Legislature in the hands of the Democratic Party, and good order and good government prevailed everywhere. Hard times came in 1893 and 1894. A difference of opinion arose among men honestly seeking

after the truth as to the causes which produced these hard times, and as to the best remedies to overcome them. These honest differences of opinion led the white men to divide.

Some Whites Misled.

They were cautioned on the one hand that division was dangerous, and assured on the other that the Republican Party would do the right thing. The scenes of 1868, 1869 and 1870 were placed before them, but the Populist and Republican speakers insisted that was only done to frighten the people, and that there was no danger. The people listened to these Populist and Republican leaders, and by division let the Fusionists take control of the Legislature in 1894, and of both the Legislature and Executive department of the State government in 1896. Nearly all the county and town governments in the East passed into the hands of the Fusionists also. As in 1868 and 1869, the negro vote was the main factor in placing these white men in office. The white men drew the salary but the negro was the power that stood behind him, and the negro must be placated and pleased or the white man must give up his salary, step down and out. It did not take the white man who had given up principle for fusion long to make the choice. As one point was yielded

The Negro Aggressive.

another was demanded, and the negro again found himself in the saddle. He became more and more insatiate in his demands, and, in the State Republican Convention of 1898, we hear Congressman White—probably the foremost negro of the State—declaring, amid the applause of his colleagues:

"I AM NOT THE ONLY NEGRO WHO HOLDS OFFICE THERE ARE OTHERS. THERE ARE PLENTY MORE BEING MADE TO ORDER TO HOLD OFFICES. WE DON'T HOLD AS MANY AS WE WILL. THE DEMOCRATS TALK ABOUT THE COLOR LINE AND THE NEGRO HOLDING OFFICE. I INVITE THE ISSUE!" He, no doubt, well understood that he had 125,000 negro voters behind him and that they could compel their white associates to submit to their demands and domination. As

How it was in 1896.

a result of all this the second coming of the Republican Party in the East was like unto its first. It placed ONE THOUSAND NEGROES in various offices in Eastern North Carolina. They were postmasters, and justices of the peace, and registers of deeds, and county commissioners, and town commissioners,

and policemen and the like, and thousands of white men held similar and other offices by their grace and favor. As in 1868—when this same party was in power—so in 1898, bad government got in its work. The negro, finding himself in the saddle again, became not only intolerant, but arrogant. He foolishly believed the boastful language of White in the Republican Convention was to find its complete fulfillment, and that white men would submit to it Unfit and unused to govern; he had no proper conception of his position or his duties. The more vicious of his race, supposing that the execution of the law was in the hands of those dependent upon them and that they were in but little danger, sought out the defenseless and the weak for their victims. The less vicious but more arrogant thought they could jostle and insult white men and women with impunity. A spirit of aggressiveness, if not of frenzy, seemed to seize upon the whole race. Whole communities felt that they were stand-

The Horrible Situation.

ing, as it were, upon a smoldering volcano that might break forth at any time. White women were afraid to travel the road unprotected or to be left at home alone. Men went armed by day and by night, not knowing what an hour might bring forth. The forbearance and self-restraint practiced by the whites in many cases were taken by the blacks as evidence of timidity and fear, and they became more insolent and aggressive. As the day of election drew nearer the tension became stronger and the excitement more intense. The blood of the white man was at fever heat, and he determined to put an end to the intolerable conditions at any cost. The sanctity of his home and the security of his loved ones were at stake. Driven forward by the determination to rid himself and his community of these appalling conditions, he did not stop to reason—he acted. The unfortunate and bloody outbreak at Wilmington, after the election, was but the culmination of these horrible conditions.

The People Demanded Action.

At once the white men of the State who had passed through this terrible ordeal, with a wonderful unanimity, demanded of the men they had elected to the Legislature that something be done to make a recurrence of the conditions and scenes of 1870 and 1898 impossible. Hardly had the result of the election been flashed over the State before the alert, live press, voicing the demand of the people, commenced the

discussion of some plan to eliminate this ignorant and vicious negro vote and to prevent a recurrence of these evils. When the Legislature met the Senators and Representatives understood the demands and wishes of the men who elected them as well as if there had been a direct vote on this question. White supremacy was the only issue discussed or

White Supremacy the Issue in the Campaign.

thought of for weeks prior to the election, and the men who voted for this amendment well knew they were elected to make white supremacy enduring and perpetual. Hence the Senators and Representatives had hardly taken their seats before they commenced the work of preparing the amendment. Day after day the ablest and best men of that body, filled with a love of their State, labored over it. They had the fixed purpose to make it conform to the requirements of the Constitution of the United States, because they had sworn to support that instrument and to pass no law in con-

What the Amendment Means.

flict with it. They were also determined to so draft it that it would secure white supremacy and disfranchise no white man. The white man, though illiterate, has the intelligence to fit him to vote. They were equally determined to eliminate the ignorant negro vote, because it was better for him as well as the white man that he should be taken out of politics. So well were the conditions known in the State and so well did these patriotic members of the Legislature do their work, that when it came to a vote one Populist Senator—Mr. Harris of Northampton—and three Populist Representatives—Messrs Tarkington of Washington, Crumpler and Johnston of Sampson—voted for it. Many Populists and Republicans outside of the Legislature gave it their approval at the time of its passage and expressed their determination to support it. Indeed, there was hardly a voice heard against it until it began to dawn upon the Republican-Populist Fusion office holders, who held their positions by the negro vote or who were seeking office through this vote, that if the amendment was ratified their occupation was gone.

Republican Opposition.

Then, suddenly, they began to attack it, to misrepresent it, and to hold it up to the poor and illiterate white man as his enemy. No measure ever submitted to the people has been so much perverted and misrepresented as has this simple

proposition to eliminate the ignorant negro vote; and yet we believe it will grow in popularity and strength as it is better understood. It does not and will not disfranchise a single white man; and this, we think, we have made plain in another article of this series. It does and will disfranchise seventy-five to eighty thousand ignorant negroes; but who does that hurt? Only the white office seeker, who may be deprived of an office by the loss of that vote. Hence we see the men who are seeking office through that vote placing the illiterate white man by the side of the ignorant negro and appealing to him to stand by the negro. The amendment

ILLITERATE WHITES NOT THE SAME AS IGNORANT NEGROES.

does not place him there, and these office hunters must not be allowed to do it. The amendment places the white man who can not read and write in the same company and place as the most learned. The poor and illiterate white man, living out in the mountain cave or in his humble home anywhere, in any section, can stand by the Governor or Chief Justice of the State and register and vote under this amendment. This is the change the people demanded, and this demand has been complied with by the Legislature, and their work is now regularly submitted to all the voters of all parties in the confident belief that it will be ratified by a large majority and thus make it impossible for 1868 and 1898 to be repeated in our dear old State.

THE AMENDMENT CONSTRUCTED ALONG RIGHT LINES.

The basic principle in the amendment is the requirement of intelligence in the individual voter.

It proceeds upon the idea that one who votes participates in government, and that he exercises this right, not only for his own good, but for the benefit of society and the State.

It says that this intelligence may be demonstrated by the capacity to read and write, but that this is not the only way.

It recognizes that there is a difference between a race of men who have governed for centuries, and a race who, a few years ago, were slaves.

It knows that white men who could not read and write have founded great States, and have laid deep their foundations in the principles of liberty, while the negro has been permitted to vote only a short time, and then has exercised

his right not as an individual voter, forming his own judgment, but at the dictation of some leader of his race and as a race.

With this knowledge it is not strange that the framers of the amendment should have thought that there was an intelligence born of experience and reflection, acquired by participation in government or association with fathers and mothers who had participated in government, and that those who possessed it were entitled to vote, although they might not be able to read and write. And this is the class of voters who can vote under the proposed amendment—the intelligent class, who can read and write, or if they can not do this have themselves or through their ancestors been participating in government. But some will say the negro has participated in government.

True, in a limited sense, but only for the short period of thirty years, while the white man has centuries behind him, and the negro merged from slavery to become a voter.

In one sense, and that one strictly true, he has never participated in government, for the reason that he has never exercised his individual judgment as a voter, but has voted as a race.

With intelligence as the basis of the amendment, it holds out to the people of the State the hope of moral, intellectual and material advancement and progress.

The charge has been freely made by Republicans and Populists that the Democrats have suppressed the negro vote, and, whether true or false, it can not be otherwise than helpful to withdraw the temptation of doing wrong. It is known that in many parts of the East the negro is either in the majority, or by uniting with a few renegade whites he can obtain control, if the whites will permit him to do so. But the whites, while fewer in numbers, remembering the traditions of their race and that they are white men, and recalling that the government of 1895–'97 was as bad, or worse, than the orgies of 1868–'69, are determined that these men shall not take charge of public affairs. This determination is born of the principle of self-preservation, or rather of that which is worth far more to every white man, worthy of the name, the preservation of his home and of the honor of his wife and children.

The Democratic Party proposes to give their protection to home and wife and children by legal methods, through the amendment, and it not only withdraws the temptation for violence and wrong-doing, but encourages the voter to become better prepared to vote intelligently. But the amend-

ment means much more than this. It means great intellectual growth and development, and a new impetus to education.

At the formation of the Union, the Southern States were ahead of the Northern in wealth, population, education, political influence and great men. According to the census of 1820 Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia contained more manufacturing establishments than the whole of New England. Up to 1820 Virginia was the foremost State in the Union, and up to 1860 she was fifth. In 1790 North Carolina was the third State in the Union, in 1820 the fourth, and in 1840 she was ahead of Massachusetts. The leading men and statesmen of the country were from the South. She furnished presidents, judges, orators, financiers and statesmen. The first railroad in America was built in the South; the first telegraph line was laid in the South, and the first steamship line ran from a Southern port.

There was no trouble then about the negro. He was the servant of the white man, obedient, industrious and happy. But all this has changed. For thirty years the intellect of the South has been suffocated in the atmosphere of negro suffrage equality, and it has been almost impossible to produce great men. Civilization has fought even to maintain itself, and in 1890 the Southern States were far behind New England in wealth, population and prosperity.

This changed condition may not all be due to the negro vote, but that it has been an important factor can not be denied. When great public questions have arisen, we have feared discussion, because discussion might mean division, and division meant ruin and shame.

In front of all stood the negro, obscuring and overshadowing great questions of finance and government. If we remove him, these questions can be considered without fear, and with but one purpose, and that the good of the State.

Men may then differ upon matters of principle and lines of policy without danger to the State, and free from the charge that they are joining hands with negroes to degrade the State. Intellectual growth and freedom of thought and action will follow, and with these, joined to the fact that capital seeks investment where it can feel secure, will cause material prosperity.

THE AMENDMENT DOES NOT DISFRANCHISE ANY WHITE MAN.

SECTIONS 4 AND 5 DISCUSSED AND EXPLAINED—THEY MUST STAND OR FALL TOGETHER—SECTION 5 DOES NOT DISFRANCHISE ANYONE, AND NO ONE CAN COMPLAIN OF IT—IT IS ONLY WHEN SECTIONS 4 AND 5 ARE TIED TOGETHER THAT A DIFFERENCE IS MADE—HENCE THE TWO MUST AND WILL STAND TOGETHER — OBJECTION FULLY ANSWERED.

The amendment does not disfranchise any white man.

Section 1 of the proposed amendment provides:

SECTION 1. Every male person born in the United States, and every male person who has been naturalized, twenty-one years of age, and possessing the qualifications set out in this article, shall be entitled to vote at any election by the people in the State, except as herein otherwise provided.

And sections 4 and 5 determine the qualifications referred to in section 1 in the following language:

SEC. 4. Every person presenting himself for registration shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution in the English language; and, before he shall be entitled to vote, have paid, on or before the 1st day of March of the year in which he proposes to vote, his poll tax as prescribed by law, for the previous year. Poll taxes shall be a lien only on assessed property, and no process shall issue to enforce the collection of the same except against assessed property.

SEC. 5. No male person who was, on January 1, 1867, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under the laws of any State in the United States, wherein he then resided, and no lineal descendant of any such person, shall be denied the right to register and vote at any election in this State by reason of his failure to possess the educational qualifications prescribed in section 4 of this article: *Provided*, he shall have registered in accordance with the terms of this section prior to December 1, 1908. The General Assembly shall provide for a permanent record of all persons who register under this section on or before November 1, 1908, and all such persons shall be entitled to register and vote at all elections by the people in this State, unless disqualified under section 2 of this article: *Provided*, such persons shall have paid their poll tax as required by law.

A reference to chapter 218, Public Laws of 1899, published upon the certificate of Cyrus Thompson, Secretary of State, will show that these quotations are in the exact language of the amendment, and that they are the only provision relating to the right to vote.

Let us then examine these provisions with care, and see by a close and accurate analysis, if the Democratic Party has kept its faith and pledge by giving to every white man, whether he can read and write or not, the right to vote.

Section 4 requires that the voter shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution, and that he shall pay his poll tax as prescribed by law for the previous year by the 1st of March.

Note that it is the poll tax for the previous year that is to be paid by the 1st of March; that is, the poll tax due the 1st day of September is to be paid by the 1st day of the following March, thus giving six months within which to pay the poll tax after it is due.

Note also that this section does not require that the voter shall pay a poll tax before he offers to vote, but his poll tax as prescribed by law.

The distinction is clear and full of force.

Article 5, section 1, of the present Constitution, which is in no way affected or changed by the proposed amendment, provides that only those between twenty-one and fifty years of age shall be liable for the poll tax, and that if any of these are infirm or too poor to pay, the County Commissioners may exempt them from the payment of the tax.

It therefore appears that a man over fifty years of age has no poll tax, nor is the payment of a poll tax "prescribed by law" as to him, and if he can read and write he can vote under section 4 of the proposed amendment without the payment of any poll tax.

If the voter is under fifty years of age, but is infirm or too poor to pay his poll tax, the Commissioners of his county can excuse him, and he will have no poll tax, nor will the payment of any poll tax be "prescribed by law" as to him, and he can vote under this section without the payment of any poll tax.

It therefore appears that the only person affected by the poll tax provision is the man under fifty years of age, who can pay his poll tax, and will not do so.

This provision does no injury or injustice to any one.

It demands nothing of the man over fifty years of age because he is not liable to a poll tax.

It demands nothing of the man under fifty years of age

too poor or infirm to pay, because the law says he may be exempted.

It simply says that a man under fifty years of age, who is able to pay, must pay. This will commend itself to the people of the State as just.

It would be a great injustice to have it otherwise. Those who know anything of the conditions in the East know that the negroes as a rule do not have permanent homes, and that they frequently move from place to place. This makes the collection of their taxes extremely difficult, and almost impossible. The greater part of the poll tax goes to the schools, and the negroes get their proportion of it, although they do not pay. Is it not just to them to say that when they are liable to this tax they must pay before they can vote?

What white men, then, can vote under section 4 of the proposed amendment?

We answer:

1. All white men, who are citizens, over fifty years of age, who can read and write, without the payment of any tax.

2. All white men, who are citizens, liable to a poll tax, who can read and write, and are infirm, without the payment of any tax.

3. All white men who are citizens, liable to a poll tax, who can read and write and are too poor to pay tax, without the payment of any tax.

4. All white men who are citizens, who can read and write and who have paid their poll tax.

But it will be asked what becomes of the white man who can not read and write?

The Democratic Party has not forgotten his services and has been careful to provide for him, and to see that he is protected in all his rights.

It was the Democratic Party that first withdrew all restrictions from the ballot, so far as the white man is concerned, and declared that he was entitled to vote although he might not own property and might not be able to read and write.

It recognized the fact that the white man might not be learned in books, and still be experienced in government, and knowing that these men had in season and out of season been the constant friends and supporters of the party, it was to be expected that they would be provided for.

Indeed, the amendment would never have been submitted to the people if it could not have been so framed that it would let every native white man vote.

It was so framed, and section 5, commonly known as the grandfather clause, is broad and liberal enough to enable every native white man to vote without requiring him to be able to read and write.

It provides that a man may vote, although he can not read and write, if he could vote in any State in the Union on the 1st day of January, 1867, or at any time before the 1st day of January, 1867. If he could not vote at that time provision is still made for him, and he is entitled to vote, although he can not read and write, if his father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc., could vote in any State in the Union on the 1st day of January, 1867, or at any time before the 1st day of January, 1867.

It becomes material, then, to inquire who could vote on the 1st day of January, 1867, and the answer is, all native white men.

At that time the property qualification had been abolished by the Democratic Party, there was no educational test, and absolutely no restriction upon the right to vote.

What white men, then, can vote under section 5 of the proposed amendment?

The answer is:

1. All white men who could vote on the 1st day of January, 1867, without being able to read and write.

2. All white men, whose father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc., could vote on the 1st day of January, 1867, without being able to write.

But the question may be asked, how can he prove that he or his father, or his grandfather, or his great-grandfather could vote on the 1st day of January, 1867, or before that time?

All he will have to show is that he is a native white man. If a white man he is lineally descended from a white man and all white men could vote on the 1st day of January, 1867.

Some claim that illegitimate white children will be excluded under this section; but this is not true, as he is descended from his mother, and if her father, grandfather, etc., could vote he will be entitled to vote.

This embraces the entire white population of the State, except a few foreigners, who have come here or have been naturalized since January 1, 1867. The foreign population in our State is small, and most if not all of them can read and write, so that very few of these will be affected.

The only requirement made of the white man who can not read and write, is that he shall register one time before

the 1st day of December, 1908, and the amendment provides that if he does this "a permanent record" of his registration shall be made, and that thereafter he shall be entitled to vote in all elections, unless he becomes disqualified by reason of being convicted of some infamous crime.

In other words, he is given six years within which to register one time, and after that no new registration can affect him, and he will be forever afterwards entitled to vote.

This will be much better than it is to-day.

As it is now, when a new registration is ordered in any part of the State, each voter must see that his name is on the registration books, but after the adoption of the amendment, if he will register one time before the 1st day of December, 1908, he is over this trouble for the future.

Is it not clear, then, that no white man will be prevented from voting by the adoption of this amendment, and that the white man who can not read and write will be entitled to vote?

We confidently assert that this is true, and we go further and say that the amendment will not only not prevent the white man who can not read and write from voting, but that it will add new power and dignity to his vote.

As it is to-day when an unlearned white man places his ballot in the box an ignorant negro comes behind him and casts his ballot. The two destroy each other, and the white man is left practically without power; but if you adopt the amendment the vote of the ignorant negro will not go into the box and the power of the white man's vote is increased an hundred fold. He can then use his vote not merely to offset the vote of a negro, but for the protection of his wife and his children and his home.

There is only one class of white men in North Carolina who have good reason to be afraid of the amendment, and it strikes them with terror. It is the class of men who think more of office than they do of their homes and their State, and who expect to get office by the vote of the negro, and these men are afraid of the vote of the white man. They are now professing great sympathy for the unlearned white man that they may play upon his fears and thereby save the negro vote, while if they believed white men would be disfranchised they would be silent.

The activity that such men are manifesting to-day shows that they fully appreciate the situation.

A favorite method of these men is to charge that the fifth section is unconstitutional, and that the courts will strike out this section, and leave the remainder of the amendment

standing, thereby disfranchising white men who can not read and write.

Why do they say it is unconstitutional? Because they say it is in conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in that it discriminates against the negro, by permitting the white man, who can not read and write, to vote, when the negro can not do so.

These same men will tell you that the amendment as it stands to-day will disfranchise the unlearned white man. There can be no sincerity in this statement that it is unconstitutional because it discriminates against the negro, if they believe it will disfranchise any white man, because if it will do that there can be no discrimination against the negro.

Is the fifth section unconstitutional because it discriminates against the negro?

The amendment, in determining who shall vote, makes but one requirement of the voter, and that is intelligence.

It proceeds upon the idea that a voter participates in government, and that to do this, without injury to himself and the State, he must know something of public affairs; but it recognizes the fact that this knowledge can be acquired not only by the study of books, but also by actual experience and observation.

It therefore provides for those who have this knowledge, gained from books in section 4, and for those who have the knowledge from experience and observation, in section 5, the aim in each being to secure an intelligent exercise of the right of voting.

If the negro can not vote under either he is excluded, not because of "race color or previous condition of servitude," which is the prohibition in the Fifteenth Amendment, but because he has not acquired the necessary intelligence by study or experience.

It must be kept in mind that the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States does not confer upon the negro the right to vote. This right he gets from the State, but it prohibits the State from denying or abridging the right to vote on account of "race, color or previous condition of servitude."

An act or amendment can not, therefore, be declared unconstitutional because a negro can not vote under it; but you must go further and show that this has been denied him on account of his race, or color, or previous condition of servitude.

If it is denied him because he has not the necessary intelligence he can not complain.

In the case of Williams v. Mississippi, 170 U. S., 213, a question like the present one was before the Supreme Court of the United States, and it quoted from a decision of the Supreme Court of Mississippi as follows:

"Within the field of permissible action under the limitations imposed by the Federal Constitution, the Convention has swept the field of expedients to obstruct the exercise of suffrage by the negro race. By reason of its previous condition of servitude and dependencies, this race has acquired and accentuated certain peculiarities of habit, of temperament and of character, which clearly distinguishes it as a race from the whites. A patient, docile people; but careless, landless, migratory within narrow limits, without forethought; and its criminal members given to furtive offenses rather than the robust crimes of the whites. Restrained by the Federal Constitution from discriminating against the negro race, the Convention discriminates against its characteristics and the offenses to which its criminal members are prone."

And the Supreme Court of the United States, commenting on this language of the Supreme Court of Mississippi, says: "But nothing tangible can be deduced from this. If weakness were to be taken advantage of, it was to be done within the field of permissible action under the limitations imposed by the Federal Constitution, and the means of it were the alleged characteristics of the negro race, not the administration of the law by the officers of the State. Besides, the operation of the Constitution and laws is not limited by their language to one race. They reach weak and vicious white men as well as the weak and vicious black men, and whatever is sinister in their intention, if anything, can be prevented by both races by the exertion of that duty which voluntarily pays taxes and refrains from crime."

The whole constitutional argument may be embraced in a few words:

No one will deny that the State can require intelligence in the voter.

No one will deny her right to lay down the test of this intelligence, provided it is reasonable.

No one will say the test violates the Fifteenth Amendment simply because negroes can not comply with the test.

In the proposed amendment the requirement is intelligence, and this is to be determined in two ways: knowledge of books and experience.

It is admitted that the first test is good, and those who deny the constitutionality of the fifth section must sustain

the position that white men who have been governing for hundreds of years have gained nothing by experience, and have not enough intelligence to participate in government.

The observation of all of us shows that this is not true, as in every community strong, intelligent, sensible men can be found, who have much wisdom, but who can not read and write.

Are these men upon the same plane with a negro, who can not read and write? The Democratic Party and common sense say, No! and the law, which is said to be the perfection of reason and common sense, will sustain us.

But if the fifth section, contrary to all expectations, should be declared unconstitutional, what harm would follow, and what injury would be done?

Some say it will leave the other sections in force, and that this will have the effect of disfranchising the illiterate white man.

If the courts have this power they can put in force an amendment, which the Legislature would not have passed and which the people would not have ratified, and we assert that no court will do this.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Spraggus v. Thompson, 118 U. S., 91, said: "If a clause in a statute, which violates the Constitution, can not be rejected without causing the act to provide what the Legislature never intended, the whole statute must fall." The rule is stronger in reference to a constitutional amendment, because the process of correcting the error of the Court is slower, and there can be no doubt that the courts will declare the whole amendment void, if they declare the fifth section unconstitutional. This would leave us as we are to-day, with the consciousness that we have tried to get rid of the negro vote in a legal, constitutional way.

The fifth section considered alone can not be declared void, and it is only when considered with the fourth section that any question can be raised as to its legality. The fifth section does not prevent the negro from voting. The fourth section does that, if either does.

It does not prevent anyone from voting.

It simply permits some to vote who could not vote under the fourth section.

Can the negro complain of the fifth section, when it does not keep him from voting, because a white man can vote under it? We think not. It does him no harm, and in any event, all he can say is that the two sections considered together discriminates against him.

If they have to be thus considered, and are so intimately associated and dependent upon each other, how can the courts say one shall stand and the other fall?

We conclude that the amendment is constitutional as a whole, but that if any part of it is unconstitutional that the whole will fall.

We say further, that under it all native white men can vote, although they may not be able to read and write.

WHAT LAWYERS SAY.

THE PROPOSED FRANCHISE AMENDMENT NOT IN CONFLICT WITH THE STATE OR FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—FOURTH AND FIFTH SECTIONS MUST STAND OR FALL TOGETHER—NO WHITE MAN WILL BE DISFRANCHISED.

The undersigned lawyers, members of the North Carolina Bar, after having examined and considered the provisions of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, submitted by the Legislature of 1899 to the people for ratification, give it as our opinion that the said amendment is not in conflict either with the State or the Federal Constitution.

We furthermore give it as our opinion that the fourth and fifth sections of said amendment are so connected in subject matter, each so clearly dependent and conditioned upon the other, that both must stand or fall together, and that it is too clear to admit of a doubt that the fourth section can not stand if the fifth section should be declared unconstitutional.

It is clear that this amendment, if ratified, will not disfranchise, either now or hereafter, any person who was himself entitled to vote at any time prior to 1867, or whose ancestors were entitled to vote at any time prior to 1867, either in this State or any State in the United States in which he then resided, provided he registers once before 1908 and does not thereafter become disqualified by crime.

H. C. Jones, Armistead Burwell, Heriot Clarkson, James C. MacRae, James E. Shepherd, R. A. Doughton, Thomas J. Jarvis, Robert L. Ryburn, Samuel E. Gidney, Harold Hall, J. A. Anthony, Clyde R. Hoey, James L. Webb, E. Y. Webb, R. H. Hayes, H. A. London, W. B. Shaw, J. H. Bridgers, Walter E. Daniel, Walter W. King, King & Kimball, James T. Morehead, Charles M. Stedman, John A. Barringer, L. M. Scott, Z. V. Taylor, A. M. Scales, D. H.

McLean, J. C. Clifford, W. F. Carter, S. P. Graves, M. V. Lanier, W. W. Barber, H. L. Greene, George W. Bower, Todd & Pell, G. L. Park, J. B. Councill, P. H. Williams, E. F. Aydlett, J. Haywood Sawyer, R. W. Turner, J. B. Leigh, J. M. Brown, R. L. Smith, R. E. Austin, Walter E. Fiemster, George McCorkle, W. B. Gaither, M. E. Lawrence, T. E. Gilman, E. M. Koonce, Frank Thompson, James A. Lockart, Edward W. Pou, John A. Narron, W. S. Stevens, James A. Wellons, Marsden Bellamy, Iredell Meares, E. S. Martin, Rountree & Carr, Herbert McClammy, Junius Davis, McNeill & Bryan, Bellamy & Peschau, Lee S. Overman, John S. Henderson, T. C. Linn, R. Lee Wright, Walter Murphy, Theo. F. Kluttz, Edwin C. Gregory, H. A. Boyd, John H. Kerr, C. C. Lyon, C. M. McLean, M. D. W. Stevenson, D. L. Ward, L. J. Moore, A. D. Ward, W. D. McIver, H. C. Whitehurst, A. M. Waddell, R. B. Peebles, B. S. Gay, F. R. Harris, C. G. Peebles, S. J. Calvert, Garland Midgette, H. L. Cook, J. G. Shaw, H. McD. Robinson, D. T. Oates, E. R. McKethan, John D. Kerr, E. W. Kerr, R. W. Cooper, William H. Ruffin, Thomas B. Wilder, C. M. Cooke, B. B. Massenburg, W. H. Yarborough, Jr., F. S. Spruill, T. W. Bickett, Thomas D. Warren, Charles L. Abernethy, W. A. Dunn, S. V. Pickens, Charles French Toms, McD. Ray, A. E. Posey, Walter E. Moore, Coleman C. Cowan, Henry G. Robertson, J. A. Spence, Blair & Luther, Oscar F. Mason, Francis D. Winston, St. Leon Scull, Benj. F. Long, I. F. Dortch, F. A. Daniels, W. C. Munroe, W. R. Allen, Maxcy L. John, Walter H. Neal, John H. Cook, John D. Shaw, Jr., M. H. Justice, Swift Galloway, W. C. Fields, T. G. Skinner, Charles Whedbee, W. D. Pruden, C. S. Vann, W. M. Bond, W. W. Zachary, W. L. Thorpe, Jacob Battle, T. T. Thorne, A. W. Graham, A. A. Hicks, John W. Hays, H. M. Shaw, W. A. Devin, B. S. Royster, F. P. Hobgood, Jr., Sinclair & Eaves, D. E. Hudgins, Justice & Pless, G. W. Ward, C. M. Busbee, T. M. Argo, Robert T. Gray, S. G. Ryan, Armistead Jones, Hugh W. Harris, E. T. Cansler, Charles W. Tillett, W. M. Smith, F. M. Shannonhouse, J. D. McCall, T. C. Guthrie, B. B. Nicholson, W. B. Rodman, Stephen C. Bragaw, Small & MacLean, W. S. Pendleton, James H. Pou, S. Gallert, F. A. Woodard, C. C. Daniels, J. R. Uzzell, John E. Woodard, W. A. Finch, G. T. Mewborn, D. Worthington, John F. Bruton, J. S. Woodard, Sr., H. E. Connor, Stephen McIntyre, E. K. Proctor, Jr., A. W. McLean, J. C. McNeill, R. B. Morrison, N. A. McLean, W. S. Norment.

HOW THE AMENDMENT WILL WORK.

Why should anyone vote for the Constitutional Amendment?

Every voter should cast his ballot in favor of the amendment, because its adoption will be a great benefit to the people of the State, individually and collectively.

Its effect will be, in particular, a great local blessing to the white people of the Eastern counties; but while it will be of especial benefit to them, it will operate to the advantage of every part of the State, and even to the advantage of the negroes themselves, whose right to vote it is intended to restrict.

Negro Rule Hurtful to the East.

There are some fifteen large and populous counties in the East that are now subjected to the domination of large masses of ignorant negroes. Necessarily the effect of such a domination is hurtful to the population; it is hurtful to the prosperity of those localities; it is hurtful to the peace and good government of those communities. It stifles public spirit, it restrains progress, it maintains a condition of restlessness and nourishes discontent and inquietude. It prevents prosperity. Remove that burden, relieve those people of the incubus that weighs them down, and let them have an equal chance with other white people, and they will be a new people. Their energies, their activities, their industries will be doubled, and those fertile counties, so rich in resources, will blossom like the rose, and prosperity and progress will make their home among the people who will rejoice in a new life and a new hope.

The West Benefitted by the Amendment.

And the Western counties will be benefitted pecuniarily by this increased prosperity of the East; for as the East shall pay a larger proportion of the public burdens, the West will to that extent be relieved of taxation. This is an argument which affects the pocket nerve, and although our people do not generally lay much stress on such appeals to pecuniary interests, yet such considerations are not to be entirely ignored.

The thing itself being right to be done, it certainly is an additional reason for doing it—that it will result in a pecu-

niary benefit to us. Aside, however, from the pecuniary benefits that would be derived from the working of this Constitutional Amendment, there is the moral duty of purging the poll lists of the State of persons totally unfit for suffrage. These ignorant negroes ought never to have been given the right to vote among us. There was no occasion for it. It was done in an evil hour by men actuated by hatred of the Southern white men and inflamed by passion. The time has come when we can temperately apply a corrective.

Purge the Poll Lists.

It is proposed to purge the poll lists of ignorant negroes, and to restrict suffrage to the white men of the State, and to those negroes who have enough intelligence to be capable of reading and writing. A moral duty rests on us to raise the standard of the voters of the State to this extent.

The effect will be a decided improvement in many counties, not merely where the majority of the people are negroes, but where they are in the minority, and yet have held the balance of power. There are tens of thousands of ignorant negroes in the white counties of the interior of the State whose votes largely control the elections in those counties, and who are not fit for suffrage.

Politics will be Purified.

The elimination of these ignorant voters as a political power would be a great improvement and benefit to those communities. Politics will be purified. Men of low character will not be sustained by the ballots of ignorant negroes. Corruption and improper means will not be resorted to in order to secure nominations and elections. A higher standard of excellence will be required of those who seek public favor. Good government will be more particularly the end aimed at, and the political parties will be forced to keep their skirts out of the mire and to set their seal of condemnation on all practices of doubtful character. In the progress of time, it may be, the white people may choose to divide on questions of political principle or expediency, and they will not be restrained from doing so because of an apprehension that the negro party may dominate in their county. Considering the subject theoretically, it is certainly desirable that

Greater Freedom of Action.

the white people should not be under any necessity to ignore natural differences of sentiment and opinion, and vote solidly

together, because of fears that if they divide the ignorant negro would influence or control public matters. A healthy public condition requires that all measures should be brought to the touchstone of free and untrammelled public opinion. When the ignorant negro is removed from the political situation, the white people will feel freer to divide on public questions. But as beneficial as that may be, a still greater benefit will accrue from eliminating the votes of this large mass of African ignorance.

African Ignorance.

It does not matter how it happened that these people are here with us. Under the providence of God, African savages were brought to this country centuries ago, and they have multiplied and have been uplifted far beyond their condition in their native homes. Indeed in no other country on the face of the earth are there any large masses of negroes whose condition is so good as the negroes in North Carolina. But the civilization of the ignorant negro in this State is still far lower than the Anglo-Saxon civilization of the white people. In saying this we only recognize a fact. We are not led to say it because of any prejudice or animosity or political bias. It is simply a plain, self-evident truth.

A Conflict of Civilizations.

And the question arises, shall the white civilization of the Eastern counties be supplanted by the lower civilization of the ignorant negro? We say, No. Let the white civilization be maintained, fostered, nourished, strengthened. Let the negro share in it. Let him have the benefit of it. Instead of pulling the white man down, let the white man's

Let Both Have Good Government.

government be established and the negroes receive the benefit and advantage that it will be to him. Good government, good order, peaceful conditions, wise public measures, progress and prosperity will be as beneficial to the negro as it will be to the whites. These desirable things will result from the adoption of the amendment. They will replace the unfavorable and unhappy conditions that now exist in those communities that are borne down now by irresponsible masses of black ignorance. The negro will profit by the change just as the whites will. The adoption of the amendment will therefore not be a disadvantage to the negro, but a decided benefit.

Some one may say that it can be no advantage to a man to deprive him of his right to vote. That depends on how he uses his right to vote. If he uses his right to vote to his

The Negro will be Benefitted.

own disadvantage and to the detriment of the entire community, it would be a distinct benefit to him to deprive him of the power to do himself and to do others a material injury, and to limit suffrage to those who are fitted by intelligence to give direction to the public matters which concern the welfare of the entire community. Under the amendment, as they become fit and qualified, they can register and vote; but until they are fit for an intelligent exercise of the ballot, they ought not to have it.

No Sense of Responsibility.

These people now feel none of the responsibility that should accompany the right to vote. The ballot to them signifies only the right to antagonize the measures which their white neighbors think will be to the advantage of their communities. It means the right to combat and overthrow Anglo-Saxon ideas and Anglo-Saxon sentiments. It carries with it no feeling of responsibility to use the power for public good.

The Local Strife Engendered.

Their exercise of their power against good government has necessarily led to strife and bitterness and to strenuous efforts on the part of the whites to secure order and stable government, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the negroes. This has been demanded by the instinct of self-preservation that is planted in the hearts of the white men by their nature.

These contests are undesirable and lead to very injurious results.

After the adoption of the amendment all these trials and complications will become things of the past. The circum-

The Amendment will bring a New Era.

stances that begat them will cease to exist. A new era will be ushered in: an era of peaceful and pleasant relations between the races and a satisfied condition, in which all will enjoy the beneficent results of peace and contentment and revived industry and progress. Both races will be benefitted. A new leaf will be turned over in the life of the people.

Education will be Nourished.

In particular will there be given an additional impetus to education. The qualification for voting among the negroes will be sufficient education, and they will strive as never before to acquire an education, and in years to come the large masses of ignorance they now present will gradually disappear. And after the year 1908, no white boy can be registered unless he can read and write. And so after that year there will be a greater interest among the white boys to obtain an education than at present exists. The white men who can not read and write can now be registered, and that registration will stand as long as they live; but when a young man comes of age after eight years from now, he must be capable of reading and writing or he will have no right to register.

Very great and good results will flow from this change in the Constitution.

The people, black and white, will feel the need of education. They will have their children to attend the schools. Schools will be multiplied, and the curse of illiteracy which has been such a drawback to the prosperity of our people will gradually be removed, and the people and the State will be greatly benefitted.

But if the Amendment is Defeated.

And so there are many considerations of vital import that should lead every man in North Carolina to vote for the adoption of the amendment. On the other hand, let us suppose that the amendment is defeated. What would be the effect of its defeat on the people? The Eastern people would lose heart; the conditions that exist in the negro counties would be perpetuated. And worse, the negroes finding that the whites have failed in this great effort to purify suffrage, will become more assertive, more aggressive and more intolerant than they have ever been. There will be no bounds to their self-assertion. The races in the East would be massed into two antagonistic political parties, and, in effect, into two antagonistic communities, with race prejudice largely increased, animosities intensified, and the situation will be critical, not merely at election times, but every day during the year. No one could tell when some spark would set fire to the powder heap and some terrible and horrible catastrophe might occur. It is well known that the proceedings at Wilmington at the end of last election would have been duplicated at New Bern and perhaps at Greenville had not pru-

dent counsels prevailed and the people assured that the Legislature would do its utmost to give relief. Indeed, on that occasion fears were felt lest the whole East might become involved in a terrific race war; and that calamity was then averted only by the exercise of the utmost prudence and caution. But, happily, it was averted. We may not be so fortunate in the future. But we should do what we can to guard against such a calamity, and no better way presents itself than to adopt the proposed amendment.

HOW THE AMENDMENT WORKS IN LOUISIANA.

The Constitutional Amendment, submitted by the Legislature for adoption or rejection by the people of the State, is similar in many respects to the amendment which the people of Louisiana have adopted to their Constitution. There are some differences. But the great features of both measures, being part of the great movement in all the Southern States, are the same. The object and the purposes were the same and the measures are similar.

The situation in North Carolina, in its general aspect, is very similar to that in Louisiana.

First. There are the same great masses of ignorant negroes in both States; and in both States alike the prime object was to disfranchise these ignorant blacks.

Second. In both States there are a considerable number of native white men who can not read and write. The object and purpose was to keep them as voters, and so a special provision was inserted that all white men who were voters in 1867, or who are descended from men who were voters in 1867, can specially register without any regard to whether they can read and write. This provision is the very gist and foundation of the whole measure. The purpose being to secure white supremacy by keeping all native white men as voters, while disfranchising that great number of negroes who are ignorant and know nothing of the value of the ballot.

Third. There is a difference between the population in Louisiana and the population in North Carolina, which is to be noted. With us here, there are but very few white men who are not natives. In Louisiana, that is the same way in the country and small towns. But in the large city of New Orleans, the case is different. In that city there are a large number of illiterate foreigners, Dagos they call them, who

are just as ignorant as the negroes. They can not read and write. They are not native born citizens. They have not become full citizens of this country. They have voted solidly just like the negroes do, and at the bidding of their bosses. They are not fit for the ballot, and it will be remembered that on more than one occasion they have precipitated bloody riots, which came near involving this country in trouble with Italy. Under the amendment they can not vote because of their ignorance. This class of ignorant foreigners have fortunately not been imported into North Carolina, and our State is free from that element. That makes a difference between North Carolina and Louisiana; except for that, the population of the two States is very much alike.

In Louisiana there have been some local elections held under the new amendment, notably the city election in the large city of New Orleans, and this April, just gone, a general State election was held under it throughout the State.

Major H. J. Hensay, the editor of the *New Orleans State*, says of the amendment:

"It has worked admirably in the last two elections. There hasn't been a kick against it. No specification has been made of any fraud or wrong. It has put Louisiana on the old system of a white basis, brought it back to the era when it was noted far and near for the chivalry of its people and the bravery of its sons. Its adoption was a grand and magnificent revolution. It has put the State on the high road to prosperity, and I believe that there is a higher tone in public life than in twenty years. There is a feeling of relief that the negro question has been eliminated and that we have returned to the old-time honor."

The adoption of the amendment virtually put the people of Louisiana in the position, as if they had said in 1867, the whites shall continue to vote and such negroes as have qualified themselves by education shall also be voters.

In Louisiana, as in North Carolina, there are many illiterate whites. In that State the old law required every man when he came to register to sign an application blank for registration. Illiterates had to make their mark. In 1896, at a very full election, there were 28,371 application blanks on which white men made their marks. So that may be taken as the number of white illiterates who registered and voted under the old law. In the election of April, 1900, the number of white men who registered under the grandfather clause, under which the illiterate whites were entitled to suffrage, was 31,079. This shows that the illiterate whites were practically all registered under the amendment. With us, here

in North Carolina, the amendment provides that they can register at any time before 1908. They can register as soon as the amendment is adopted, or they can register at any election any year afterwards up to 1908, as they please. Once on the registration roll, they do not have to register again. A perpetual record is to be kept of their registration. The effect of adopting the amendment will be that every white man in the State can register and vote, while only a limited number of negroes can register and vote.

Governor Foster, the present Governor of Louisiana, speaking of the amendment in that State, says:

"The Constitutional Amendment has brought about a better feeling in the State. In absolute and unquestioned control, the white men feel the responsibility of protecting the negro in all his rights. The white people of North Carolina, regardless of party, will miss an opportunity to put their politics on a higher plane if they do not adopt the amendment. They owe it to themselves and their children to do what we have done. Here the negro is eliminated as an important political factor, fair elections leave no excuse for complaints, the white man and negro are on friendly terms, no native-born illiterate white man loses his vote—and all these blessing have been brought about by the amendment."

Mr. Josephus Daniels, who was lately in Louisiana, saw there Mr. Peter F. Pescud, a native of Raleigh, who lived in Raleigh many years and was well known throughout this State some years ago. Mr. Daniels says:

"Mr. Peter F. Pescud, a native of Raleigh, who is now one of the leading and influential citizens of New Orleans, told me that the amendment had worked well in every respect, and secured peaceful and fair elections, eliminated the negro from politics, and had not disfranchised any white man because of his lack of education and property Mr. Pescud has been living here for seventeen years, and has made himself universally respected and popular, and is a business man of large interests and wide acquaintance. He says that he is in no sense a politician, taking only that part in politics that a good citizen is called upon to take. His observations are of great value and weight, particularly to North Carolinians who know him as a careful, intelligent and wise business man. Though a leader in New Orleans financial circles, Mr. Pescud is proud that the tar still sticks to his heels, and he rejoices in whatever helps or blesses North Carolina. 'The passage of the amendment,' he said, 'will eliminate the negro question and give the people freedom to think about the industrial expansion which promises so much for North Carolina.'"

Certain it is that under the amendment every illiterate white man will have the right to register and vote. That is exactly what the amendment says: and exactly what it was meant to do, and exactly what it does do. And in Louisiana more persons have registered under the illiterate clause than there were before that illiterate whites on the registration books. People need not register unless they want to; but they are very apt to want to. And the way is open for all white men to register. Those who can read and write can register, and those whites who can not read and write can register also. That is all there is about it.

It so happened that at the election in Louisiana in April last a light vote was cast, and this fact has been made the basis of a charge that the white people had been disfranchised by the amendment and could not vote.

That election was held during one of those terrible rain storms that sometimes deluge the Gulf States. In the city of New Orleans some people had to go to the polls in boats. But every one knew that the negro vote was eliminated and that the election would be determined by the white voters alone; and they were content. They knew that good government was secure, and they did not have the stimulus to go to the polls as on previous occasions. They did not feel it necessary to brave the storm, for good government was already assured. The registration satisfied them about that.

At the previous election, when each party put out its greatest strength, and there was a full registration, the registration stood:

Native born whites, - - - - - - -	125,000
Foreign born whites, - - - - - -	30,000
Negroes, - - - - - - - - -	144,000

The amendment was then adopted and there was a registration under it, and particular pains had been taken by the registrars to get registered every native white man; and the registration in April, 1899, under the amendment, stood:

Native whites, - - - - - - - -	121,116
Foreign born whites, - - - - -	6,300
Negroes, - - - - - - - - -	5,313

Of these 121,000 native born whites now on the registration books 31,079 registered under the grandfather clause, whereas, under the previous registration laws only 28,371 native whites, who made their mark, had registered at a very full registration.

So it appears that the whites, both the illiterates and others, registered quity fully; and if there was a light vote it was not because the white people could not vote. Indeed, after the amendment is adopted in North Carolina our people will be sure of good government in this State, for it will be white supremacy, and the negroes who can vote will not be many. And so we may expect that election times will not be so exciting as in times past. The whites can then all vote and only the ignorant negroes will be debarred.

Do you like such a system?

If so, here it is offered you for your approval.

This movement to secure good government through white supremacy and by eliminating the negro vote is not confined merely to North Carolina. The whole South has taken some action in some way to attain the same result. Georgia and Florida have a method by requiring all voters to show their tax receipts. Mississippi has a plan different from our plan, but intended to secure the same result. South Carolina has still a different plan. Louisiana has the plan we have thought to follow. And Virginia has just called a Constitutional Convention to determine what steps that State will take to eliminate the negro. Over there our plan is very much liked, and will probably be adopted.

North Carolina proposes to be in the procession.

Every white man should indorse and approve our plan and say "God speed," and should seek to help the movement along with his ballot.

NEGRO DOMINATION.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DOMINATED BY THE NEGRO, AND WHEN IT RULES IN THE EAST WE ARE SURE TO HAVE NEGRO DOMINATION—IT IS USELESS FOR SENATOR PRITCHARD TO SAY THERE IS NO DANGER OF NEGRO DOMINATION WHEN HIS OWN PARTY IS DOMINATED BY THE NEGRO—FACTS SHOW THIS.

Whether those men who hold to the theory that all races are sprung from a common origin are correct or not, it is certain that there are racial differences and antipathies based on the differences between races. The Mongolian, the Indian and the Negro are different in their characteristics from the white man. The negro has been the same that he is now from the earliest period of history. The Ethiopian has not

changed his skin; neither has he changed his characteristics. He is on a different plane and level, intellectually and morally, from the white man. Nature has taken account of the fact, and by nature the lower organism is repulsive to the higher. The negro is repulsive to the white man. It is therefore not a mere matter of prejudice when the white man declares that negro domination is repulsive to him; but rather it is an expression of antipathy fixed in the heart of the white man by his very nature itself.

Negro Rule Odious to White Men.

To the white man negro rule is not merely repulsive, but it is odious and oppressive, and can not be borne.

It is the domination of the superior race by an inferior race, and it is against nature. White men can not stand it.

The Republican Party is composed of two distinct elements—30,000 white men and 120,000 negroes. As might be supposed the strongest and most numerous element controls the weaker. The negroes control the Republican Party, and whenever that party rules the State, the negro becomes the ruler. It is because of these truths that the Republican Party in the Eastern counties has degenerated merely into a mass of negroes.

The Negro has Driven out White Republicans.

Formerly there were a considerable number of white men in the Eastern counties who affiliated with the Republican Party. But they could not stand the rule of their negro political associates, and so they have, for the most part, dropped away from that party, leaving it composed almost exclusively of negroes. With but few exceptions, the white men who continue to affiliate with the negroes in the East belong to the office-holding class, and remain with the negroes in order to obtain office.

Mr. E. V. Cox, who is a Republican, living in Pitt County, in an open letter, has recently said:

"The Republican Party, so far as North Carolina is concerned, is divided into two distinct and separate parts: West and East and Black belts. The average Western North Carolina Republican, and in this respect I am sorry to say Senator Pritchard seems but little better informed than the average, but illy and incompletely comprehends the situation in Eastern North Carolina where the negroes, ignorant and insolent, are entirely in control of all Republican conventions, and where every effort to better the condition of affairs is

counteracted by the opposition of some black-hearted white man with corrupt practices who sees in added intelligence and reputable work a diminution of his own unscrupulously acquired power. Although the Republican Party has an excellent plan of organization it is scarcely ever followed on account of the ignorance and corruption of the negro politicians who, being numerically stronger, preside over white men, call them to order at will, and occasionally consent for them to be elected delegates to a State Republican Convention. The white Republican, if honest, is entirely at their mercy and under their control; if corrupt, he must purchase their votes and influence. This is not an overdrawn picture. * * *

"In concluding this part of my paper, let me say a last word as to the situation in Eastern North Carolina. If the amendment is defeated by the people at the polls in August, in the future there will or may be white Republicans in Western North Carolina, and negro Republicans alone in Eastern North Carolina. The carpet-bagger, the ku-klux, abuse, persecution, —— could not drive the white Republican in Eastern North Carolina from his party. Many chose death instead. But what the ku-klux and the carpet-bagger could not do, the logic and force of events is doing. I will give one example which I do not doubt may be paralleled in a majority of the counties in North Carolina east of Raleigh. In this county, Pitt, in the 80's there were several hundred white Republicans. There can not be twenty-five counted now. No party can hope to succeed for any length of time under these conditions." * * *

What Mr. Cox says of Pitt, he avers to be true of other Eastern counties, and others know that his statement is correct.

Only Office Seekers Remain in the East.

The white Republicans, except those who are on the lookout for office, have quit the negroes. Negro domination has been too much for the white Republicans. At the West, in the Western counties where the negroes are not numerous, the case is different; but in their party conventions and in the administration of public affairs by the Republican Party, the negro influence is felt. The Republican organization has to take into consideration that the party is composed of four negroes to one white voter. To be sure, the influence of four negroes is more potent than one white man.

THE NEGRO INFLUENCES THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Not only then do we have the negro dominant in the Eastern counties, but dominant also in the Republican Party, and whenever that party administers public affairs the negro dominates.

One of the results of this is that many excellent men who opposed the Democratic Party right after the war and became Republicans, have left that organization.

SOME OLD TIME REPUBLICAN LEADERS.

Indeed, the Republican Party, some years back had among its members a considerable number of men distinguished for their talents and standing. We mention Chief Justice Pearson, Tod. R. Caldwell, Judge E. G. Reade, Hon. Thomas Settle, Judge W. P. Bynum, General Barringer, Taswell Hargrove, Judge Boyden, Mr. Sam Phillips and Judge Seymour, etc. But those men have passed away and no other Republicans of similar standing, talents and character have taken their places. It is evident that the Republican Party in North Carolina has mightily degenerated.

NO SUCH MEN NOW.

Its present leaders are not equal to those whose names we have mentioned. But few men of character remain in it. It has sunk far lower than its old time level. Spoils and office are the only attractions. Those men who would sacrifice everything for office remain; but negro domination within that party has driven out of it the better element that might otherwise have become adherents of Republican principles and Republican doctrine.

It is apparent that the Republican Party of to-day is on a lower plane than it was twenty-five and fifteen years ago. Then it contained men of respectable talents and character, in nearly every county, and the negroes were content to follow them without asserting the full influence of their dominant numerical strength.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS DEGENERATED.

Now, those strong and distinguished Republicans have passed off of the field of action, and local leaders of respectable character have quit the Republican Party and their places have not been filled by similar men.

The negroes have asserted themselves, and as a result white Republicans in the East have generally abandoned that

party, leaving it in the Eastern counties nothing but a mass of negroes; and the negro element largely controls the action of the Republican Party in its relations to the State at large. This is a distinct change; a notable change; a change which challenges the attention of the people. It means that the negroes, unless restrained, will dominate every Eastern county where they have the majority; and it means that the negro will dominate the State whenever the Republicans have control of State affairs.

RESULTS OF REPUBLICAN RULE.

The Republicans had control of State affairs just after reconstruction, and such an intolerable condition resulted that the people turned them out and amended the Constitution in respect to county government.

By a fusion four years ago, the Republicans again succeeded in getting partial control of public affairs. Let us see what the condition then was:

In New Hanover County forty negro magistrates were appointed.

Bertie County got sixteen of these dusky dispensers of justice, law and "equality." Edgecombe got nearly twice as many, or thirty-one.

Craven County was blessed with twenty-seven of the ever faithful.

Halifax County was particularly obnoxious, having produced "Buck" Kitchin, who did not believe in negro magistrates, got twenty-nine of them.

Granville County got seventeen while you wait.

Caswell County, which had not done quite so much for "our cause," received seven.

In all, there were named by the Legislature of 1895 three hundred negro magistrates in North Carolina.

So much for the dispensers of justice at the homes of the people.

Was there not a flavor of negro domination in that? But the negroes were not content with that. Years ago the negro did not aspire to the county offices. In that year, however, Craven County was given a negro register of deeds and negro deputy registers and three negro deputy sheriffs, a negro coroner and a negro commissioner.

A negro was elected register of deeds in New Hanover, negro constables and deputy sheriffs were appointed.

In Halifax, Edgecombe, Bertie, Warren and, indeed, in all the black counties of the East, negroes were elected or appointed to public office.

And if there was one office the negro was particularly unfit for it was school committeeman over white children; and yet throughout the Eastern counties there were hundreds of negroes appointed school committeemen over white children.

Nor did the municipalities escape. The charters of the towns were amended to favor the negroes.

Wilmington was protected by naming fourteen negro policemen, and one of the members of the Finance Committee was a negro.

Negro policemen and aldermen were chosen in New Bern.

Greenville was gerrymandered in such a way that the negroes were enabled to elect four of the six members of the board of aldermen.

Was there not something of negro domination in that?

In State affairs:

The negro James H. Young was made chief fertilizer inspector and a director of the white blind asylum.

A negro was appointed collector of customs for the port of Wilmington and twenty-five negro postmasters were named in sundry towns of the East, at the solicitation of State Republican leaders. A negro deputy collector was appointed for the Fourth District and numerous storekeepers and gaugers.

For two years the negro was on top. He controlled the Republican Party, and the administration of affairs was in his interests.

The Crisis of 1898.

Then the election of 1898 came on.

In the Second Judicial District a negro was nominated for Solicitor.

In the Second Congressional District a negro was nominated for Congress and was elected.

In Edgecombe County three negroes were nominated for the Legislature, two in Halifax, one in Granville, one in Vance, one in Craven, one in Pasquotank, one in Northampton, one in Warren, and others in other counties.

In Craven County negroes alone were named for the Legislature, register of deeds, treasurer, coroner, county commissioner, standard keeper, and the candidates for sheriff and clerk promised to name negro deputies.

In all the great negro counties, the darkey ran riot over the white man, and wherever the negro voters had any strength they were given representation on the Republican ticket. This was intolerable. A crisis had come. The white people

banded together in White Supremacy Clubs and met the issue at the polls.

The white people of the State saw the evil of such an administration and put their foot heavily down upon it.

NEGROES IN OFFICE.

However, there yet remain many negroes in office, whose terms have not expired; many postmasters and Federal and county officers.

In Warren there are twenty-one negro justices whose terms expire this year and next year, and there are four negro postmasters in that county. At Ridgeway, Macon, Churchill and Arcola—and there may be others.

In Halifax County the following negroes were appointed by the Fusion Legislature:

N. L. Keen, William Bowser, A. C. Allston, J. M. Pittman, R. L. Berry, L. S. Harris, S. P. Shields, P. R. Jones, H. P. Williams, Israel Whitaker, Jacob Howerton, A. J. Pittman, Louis Williams, Ed. Cheek, J. H. Arrington, Willis Pierce, W. B. Daniel, W. F. Young, Stewart Hardy, Dennison, Thad Shields, C. C. Baker, Henderson Tucker, J. J. R. Shaw.

There were also a good many negro constables, and negro school committeemen too numerous to be mentioned.

There are now negro postmasters at Weldon, Halifax, Scotland Neck, Littleton, and until recently at Tillery.

The negro postmaster first appointed at Tillery, J. M. Pittman, is now in jail, having been convicted in the United States Court of embezzlement.

The Bertie County black record is as follows:

Notaries Public:

Lewis Roulhac, Windsor; appointed by the Governor, November 8, 1899; in office.

S. M. Moseley, Lewiston; appointed by Governor, June 10, 1898; out.

D. W. Baker, Lewiston; appointed by Governor, April 30, 1897; out. He was convicted of stealing post-office funds.

Justices of the Peace:

D. G. Raynor, Windsor Township; elcted 1896; time expired.

Emanuel Taylor, Windsor Township; appointed by Legislature 1895; in office.

Arthur Heckstall, Merry Hill Township; elected 1896; time expired.

A. T. Wilson, Merry Hill Township; elected 1896; time expired.

Mark Law, Merry Hill Township; appointed by Legislature 1895; in office.

Bryant Walton, Roxabel Township; elected 1896 and 1898; in office.

Frank Peele, Roxabel Township; elected 1896; time out.

Richard Biggs, Roxabel Township; elected 1896; time out.

Wright Cherry, Mitchell's Township; appointed by Legislature 1895; resigned.

Noah Cherry, Snake Bite Township; elected 1896 and 1897; in office.

Haywood Cherry, Snake Bite Township; appointed by Legislature 1895; in office.

Simon Cherry, Snake Bite Township; elected 1898; in office.

Geo. W. Hardy, Woodville Township; elected 1896 and 1898; in office.

D. W. Stewart, Woodville Township; elected 1896 and 1898; in office.

Wiley Wilkins, Woodville Township; elected 1896; time out.

John A. Bazemore, Indian Woods Township; appointed by Legislature 1895; in office.

Harry B. Spivey, Indian Woods Township; elected 1896; time out.

W. E. Ballard, Indian Woods Township; elected 1898; in office.

Robert H. Spivey, Indian Woods Townshin; elected 1898; in office.

Coroner:

Champ Pugh, Windsor Township; elected 1896.

Constables:

Cicero Urquhart, Woodville Township; elected 1896, and before his qualification was indicted and afterwards convicted of larceny of cotton from a negro who voted for him and sentenced to one year in the work-house, and was allowed to escape jail the next morning, and is now at large.

Robert Smith, Roxabel Township; elected 1896.

Wm. Gilliam, Indian Woods Township; elected 1896.

Metson Lee, Woodville Township; elected in 1898, and could not give bond.

Ashley Smallwood; elected in 1898; did not qualify.

Member County Board of Education:

Luke Pierce; elected by County Commissioners, etc., in 1897; out by act of General Assembly.

Jailer:

B. J. Askew, appointed in 1897, by Fusion Sheriff, W. G.

Burden. Is now under indictment for permitting Cicero Urquhart, a prominent negro politician and constable and convicted of felony, to escape jail.

At the first meeting of the Fusion School Board the following was passed:

"Ordered, that the Board proceed to the election of three white and two colored men from each district as a committee of the same."

The following negroes were elected by districts as follows:

No. 1.—Windsor, Granville Cherry and Primus Outlaw.
No. 2.—Merry Hill, Geo. Horley and A. T. Wilson.
No. 3.—White's, John A. Horley and Willie Cobb.
No. 4.—Colerain, B. J. Lane and P. H. Morris.
No. 5.—Mitchell's, Willis Askew and Wright Cherry.
No. 6.—Roxabel, R. E. Bush and Whit Peele.
No. 7.—Woodville, Lewis Duggan and J. C. Williams.
No. 8.—Snake Bite, J. J. Bazemore and Dorsey Cherry.
No. 9.—Indian Woods, Isaac Bond and Harry Smallwood.

Postmasters:

Lewis T. Bond, Windsor, N. C.; in office.
Ed. Clarke, Kelford, N. C.; in office.
J. C. Williams, Cahaba, N. C.; in office.
F J. Ryan, Quitsna, N. C.; in office.
—— Cherry, Drew, N. C.; in office.
W. E. Bennett, Powellsville, N. C.; in office. He succeeded Maud Wynn

In Vance County there were, in 1898, 19 negro magistrates and 22 negro school committeemen, and the register of deeds, a county commissioner and a member of the school board were negroes.

We could take up several other counties, but these will do as a sample. They show the extent to which negro rule has gone in the past.

The Negro on Top.

In view of these facts, it is plain that the negro has become much more influential in dominating the Republican Party than he used to be; and it is plain in the Eastern counties of the State, he is almost exclusively the Republican Party.

But notwithstanding all this is so plain that every one can see it and understand it, the Republican leaders pretend not to see it. It is all right in their eyes that the negro should crush the life blood out of the white communities of the Eastern counties, if thereby the negro is kept a voter to help the Republican Party in power.

WHAT SENATOR PRITCHARD PRETENDS.

It is all right in their eyes that the influence of the negro should be potent in the administration of public affairs when the Republicans are in power, if thereby the negro voters are kept in line and by their vote and aid the Republican Party gets control.

They, therefore, pretend that there is nothing at which white men should complain in all this. And they insist that there is no negro domination; that there is no negro rule; that there has been none and will be none. Senator Pritchard stands up in his place in the United States Senate and so asserts, and he and his aiders and abetters so declare on the stump. They declare that there is no negro domination; that there has been none and will be none. If having negroes to fill all those offices we have mentioned does not make negro rule what does it make? If it don't put the negro over the white man, who does it put over the white man? If it is not odious and oppressive and tyrannical and cruel to the white men to place negroes over them, and to have all the public offices filled by negroes, what is it? But it is all the same to Senator Pritchard and his political clique because they think it is all right.

ALL RIGHT TO THEM.

They are the men who did it. They have no fault to find with it. And it is to be expected that they would pretend that there is nothing wrong in it, and that the white men ought to submit with gladness and cheerfulness to having the negro over them, because Senator Pritchard thinks it is for his political interest that it should be that way. But, whatever Senator Pritchard may say, the fact is, whenever that party obtains power the negro is dominant. The white people know that, and it was because the white people came to an understanding and realization of the actual condition of affairs in this State that they determined two years ago on having White Supremacy.

BUT WHITE PEOPLE DEMAND WHITE SUPREMACY.

They, therefore, united and elected a Legislature which, as far as the legislative power went, applied a remedy to the evil of negro domination.

And then this Legislature, representing the white voters of North Carolina, with a determination to eradicate the foul blot and stain upon our State, and to remove the possibility of negro domination of white men hereafter, proposed

a Constitutional Amendment that would settle that matter for all time.

This amendment was not proposed as a party measure. It did not come from the Democratic State Executive Committee. It came from the sovereign people of the State, acting through their representatives in the General Assembly. It was proposed as a measure calculated and intended to suppress negro domination, and it carries with it a hope that when adopted and put into operation it will have a most salutary effect in removing race differences, in settling the race question, in rendering it impracticable for the negro to aspire to office, and in leading the negro to look to industry and labor for support instead of making him an agitator and political factor.

What the Amendment Will Do.

And it will have the effect of putting an end forever to negro rule in some of the fairest counties of the State, and imbuing the white people with hope for future good government and progress. When the incubus of negro domination is finally and effectually removed from those communities, they may be expected to range themselves abreast of the more progressive and prosperous portions of the State, and to make rapid advancement in industrial lines.

To them the adoption of the amendment will be the signal of hope, bringing with it peace, happiness and prosperity.

THE AMENDMENT AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

While we have cities, towns and counties, these are but for convenience and the Legislature can establish, alter and abolish them at its pleasure. The State is the entity. It embraces the whole, and governs the whole. The people are all North Carolinians. The members of the Legislature, while chosen by the people in their several localities, are representatives of North Carolina. They act for the whole State, and make laws for all the people. The Governor is the Chief Magistrate of all the people. The Judges ride the circuit of every county and administer justice everywhere alike. The State is thus one corporate body, with one heart vitalizing the whole, with one system of arteries carrying life blood throughout the entire body, and with all parts intimately connected and dependent upon each other. Whatever is to

the advantage of one part is a benefit to the whole, and whatever is detrimental and hurtful to the people of one section is injurious to the people of the entire State. We are not merely united; but we are one and the same. We are all North Carolinians.

The fact that large masses of ignorant negroes have had the right of suffrage in North Carolina has exerted a baneful influence on the progress and prosperity of the State. It has always made it doubtful what the complexion of the next Legislature would be. It has always made it doubtful what the policy of any new administration would be. Any settled policy of State development was always liable to be thwarted and overthrown by some combination in which these numerous negroes would furnish the strength at the polls to make the combination successful. And when such combinations have been made, the negro has generally been on top. His influence has been potent. His supposed interests have been given precedence. White men have had to get out of his way.

Our contests for the government and control of public affairs have always been between the great bulk of the white men on one side, and the great mass of ignorant negroes on the other side, aided by a small contingent of white men. Leaving out of consideration the large Eastern counties where the negro has the dominant majority, there are many counties in the central belt of the State where the negro element, together with a few whites, often are successful at the polls and take the administration of public affairs away from the white race. Such a triumph of the blacks over the whites is always attended with changed conditions unfavorable to the welfare of the people. As for the communities where the negro is always dominant, there the condition is always bad. Sometimes it may be worse than at other times, but at all times it is unfavorable for general prosperity. And so it is that the power which the ignorant negro has exerted at the polls has distinctly been a drawback to State development and has retarded the general welfare. It has been a disadvantage, not merely to the communities where these masses of ignorance exist but to the citizens of the whole State and every part thereof.

And if we consider the social conditions that are always found where great crowds of ignorant negroes congregate, where they are animated by prejudice against the whites, and where, because of their numbers, insolence and intolerance are engendered and fostered until race animosity becomes acute and intense, we easily see how detrimental such

a situation is to progress in industrial development. Take the case of Wilmington as an illustration. Wilmington has many advantages as a seat of manufactures, but for years her industries stood still, while Charlotte, Durham, Raleigh, Winston and other towns rushed rapidly forward. And New Bern also! crushed as that fine city is under the influence of a terrible negro majority. At last the conditions at Wilmington became so insupportable that the white people raised the standard of white supremacy, proclaimed that they would rule in their town and would have no more negro insolence. The change has been most beneficial. In two years the industries at Wilmington have largely increased, the business of the place has greatly improved, new mills and new enterprises have sprung into existence, and the whole scene presents a hopeful contrast with the deplorable situation that formerly existed there. As North Carolinians we are all, from one end of the State to the other, interested in such details. We are all citizens together of the State, members of the same body. We have a responsibility and duty on us to deal with this subject that can be dealt with by us and by us alone. It belongs to the State to direct these things. We are called on to say how they shall be. As we determine, so will it be. It is our voice, our vote that controls and governs in this State matter. We must decide it. We can decide it for the interest of the State, or we can leave it so that we and the other citizens of the Commonwealth shall still suffer the injuries that we have borne too long already.

THE EFFECT OF THE AMENDMENT UPON THE NEGROES THEMSELVES.

About one-third of the population of the State are negroes, and nothing ought to be done that will injure them or make them worse citizens. They are here by no fault of theirs, and the great bulk of them can not leave us if they would. It is our "plain duty" to treat them justly and to encourage them and help them become better citizens. It is proper, therefore, for us to inquire into the effect of the adoption of this amendment upon this class of our population.

We maintain, and stoutly maintain, that a great wrong was done the negro when the ballot was forced upon him immediately after his freedom and before he had the slight-

est fitness and qualification to use it. In 1867—only two years after his freedom—the negro found himself at the ballot box voting for delegates to a Convention to frame a State Constitution while many of their old masters—at least twenty thousand of them—were not permitted to participate in that election. In the Convention which met in January, 1868, to frame the Constitution, many negroes sat, as members, who had not the slightest conception of what a Constitution meant, while hundreds of the ablest and best qualified men for this work were placed under disabilities and excluded from all participation in it. In April, 1868, when the proposed Constitution was to be voted on, every negro man twenty-one years old was permitted to vote, while at least twenty thousand of the best white men in the State were disfranchised and made to stand aside. This was a new and startling experience in the life of the negro, and one for which he was in no way prepared. It gave him a false conception of his changed condition and its privileges and obligations. He knew not what freedom and franchise meant. When he saw his old masters driven away from the halls of legislation and from the ballot box, while he was admitted to both, he concluded that the negro had become the ruler and the white man his inferior. His idea of this changed condition of things found expression in the familiar phrase of that day—"the bottom rail is on top." It was with such false notions as these that the negro began his life of freedom and citizenship. It was, we repeat, a crime against him to suddenly thrust upon him all the perogatives and responsibilities of citizenship without the slightest preparation therefor. He fell at once into the hands of designing, unscrupulous white men, who used him for their own selfish evil purposes. In order to better do this they stimulated these false notions of the part he was to take in public affairs, and taught him to look upon the Southern white man, who did not court his favor, as his enemy. He became the dupe and tool of this class of white men. He was always ready and fixed in his determination to antagonize the plans and views of the white people among whom he lived. Unfit to govern, disorder, chaos and ruin followed wherever he and his white courtesans obtained power. It seemed impossible to make him understand that the white race was better fitted, by centuries of training and experience, to rule, and that it was better for both races that the intelligent, virtuous white man should govern. Where he has the numerical strength he seeks to dominate, although he has time and again demonstrated the fact that negro domination means ruin. He

abandons those things which would make for his good and clings to politics as the idol of his heart. His course aggravates race prejudice and makes a satisfactory settlement of the race problem more and more difficult. For a third of a century his race has stood in solid column in opposition to the white race and, when opportunity offered, he has fostered this race antagonism till many times whole communities have been perilously near bloody race conflicts. Whether the negro is solely responsible for this condition of things or not can not enter into this discussion. The situation presses itself upon the attention of thoughtful men of both races and presents a difficult problem for solution. Those who study it and deal with it will, if they are wise, take the situation as they find it and not as they would have it.

One feature of the situation which must be taken into consideration is the fact that the white man is better fitted to govern and that he will govern. The sooner the negro recognizes this fact and acts upon, it the better it will be for both races. God, in His infinite wisdom, made one race white and strong and powerful and the other black and weak and impotent They can only live together in peace and prosperity when the stronger race governs and the weaker race acquiesces. Any other course will sooner or later produce conflict, and conflict means danger to the weaker race Hence the continued activity of the negro in politics, and his persistent efforts to fill important positions, and to govern white men, have excited bitter race antagonisms which have resulted injuriously to the negro. It is better for the negro that there shall be a change.

The making and executing laws and the administration of the functions of government are not playthings to be entrusted to those without experience. The best interest of society, the security of life, liberty and property are wrapped up in them, and they demand a higher order of intelligence and integrity in those charged with those duties. It need not be argued that the negro race does not possess this intelligence, for no sane man will assert they have; and yet the negro has given much of his time to politics. And what has he got out of his persistent participation in politics which has been beneficial and helpful to his race after these thirty years of anxious endeavor? Absolutely nothing. Why? Because he has been wasting his time in a field in which he was unfit to labor. To enter this field he needed education, training and experience. He had neither. He was forced into this field, as we have shown, totally unprepared, and failure and disaster have been the consequences.

Although the negro may not think so, it will be a blessing to him to take him out of politics and out of his political conflicts with the stronger race and put him where he can receive the training and help he so much needs. He needs a home for himself and family vastly more than he needs an office. It is a thousand times more important that his race shall use their means and energies in procuring these homes, than that they should waste them in procuring offices for his own or the white race. The school house and the teacher for his children are worth much more to his race than the ballot box is to him. The negro has an honorable and useful place in society, in which he can serve himself and his race. If he will be content to fill this place he will soon find he is happier and better. It must or should be manifest to him that there is nothing in politics for him. He must, therefore, seek his advancement in the industrial pursuits of life. Here he may, by industry and economy, acquire property, home, comforts, quiet, character, protection, and the respect and esteem of the white race. Here he may learn to govern and control himself and his household and thereby learn the first step towards governing others. He may, if he will, acquire all the knowledge and information and habits necessary to make good citizens. He will be freer and more independent than he has been. Heretofore the great mass of them have been driven into politics by their bosses and made to do their bidding. They did not know or care for what they were voting. They simply obeyed the boss. In fact, they were afraid to disobey. They were not allowed to have a will of their own, and generally, when the conflict came, the boss skulked away and left them to take care of themselves. It is best for the negro to be taken out from under the boss and out of politics and left free to turn his attention to industrial pursuits. When this is done the antagonism and conflict between the two races will largely pass away. The negro will then be free to inform and improve himself in the duties of citizenship, and he will find the white man ever ready to help him in all his efforts to become a better citizen. With the passing of the negro out of politics will pass away the bitter antagonisms between the two races, and with the complete establishing of White Supremacy will come a higher sense of obligation on the part of the white man to see that the negro has exact justice meeted out to him in all things. His rights will be respected and enforced in public and private affairs just as the white man's are, and a new era of peace and quiet and prosperity will dawn upon the race. Good and sufficient schools will be provided

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for his children, in which they may learn the duties of citizenship and fit and qualify themselves to become voters as they arrive at full age. No law-abiding negro, who desires to make something of himself and his family, need fear anything from the operations of this amendment. It takes him away from the evils of political strife and puts him where he can better work out his destiny and fill the place in the economy of society for which he is fitted, and which an all-wise God, in His Providence, intended him to fill.

The negro who wishes to do something, to be something, and to have something is profoundly interested in good government. Without it there is no protection, security or hope for him. With it he will grow and prosper and have security and protection and encouragement in all that is good. This good government can only come through the rule of the white man. It can not come through this ignorant, vicious negro vote which we are seeking to eliminate. It must, therefore, be manifest that we are helping the negro to a higher and better life by the passage of this amendment, and that no man need fear he is doing the negro any wrong by voting for it.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO THE AMENDMENT CONSIDERED AND ANSWERED.

The enemies of the amendment in different parts of the State are trying to play upon the fears and prejudices of the people, and it is our purpose to show some things they say and the foundation upon which their statements rest. They say:

1. That the amendment requires a voter to explain some section of the Constitution.

This is utterly false. There is nothing like it in the amendment, and nothing of the kind is required.

2. That it will disfranchise the white man who can not read and write.

This is not true, for it is especially provided that all men who could vote on the 1st day of January, 1867, or any time prior thereto, or who are the lineal descendants of such persons, shall be entitled to register and vote, whether they can read and write or not.

3. That it may be true he can vote now, but a new registration will be ordered after 1908, and he can not then register, and he will be deprived of the right to vote in this way.

This can not be done. The amendment itself provides that

a permanent record shall be made of all who register before the 1st day of December, 1908, and that after that they shall be entitled to vote in all elections, for all time to come, so long as they live, and that without having again to register.

4. That the amendment may disfranchise the negro and let the uneducated white man vote, but that this will place the uneducated white man in the power of the educated.

So far from this being true, the adoption of the amendment will add new power to the vote of the uneducated white man. As it is to-day his vote is destroyed by the vote of a negro; but when you take the vote of the negro out of the ballot box, he can use his vote to protect home and wife and children instead of as an offset to a negro's vote.

5. That he will not be able to register, because he will not be able to prove that he or his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather could vote the 1st day of January, 1867.

Not so. All he will have to prove is that he is a native white man, as all these could vote at that time.

6. That he must produce his poll-tax receipt.

There is nothing of the kind in the amendment, and if he is not liable for a poll tax because too old, or too infirm or poor, he not only does not have to produce a receipt, but he does not have to pay or show that he has paid.

7. That there is a property qualification in the amendment.

This is absolutely false, as a reading of the amendment will show.

8. That it permits the educated, offensive town negro to vote, but disfranchises the inoffensive country negro.

But what will be the effect of the amendment on the offensive town negro; and why is he offensive? Is it not due to his power, and is not his power derived from and dependent upon the ignorant negro vote behind him? We think so, and that when you destroy this ignorant negro vote you destroy his offensiveness. Do you think you would ever have heard of the impudence of White but for the ignorant negro vote behind him?

9. That the negro has voted for thirty years, and it seems hard to take from him this right.

This objection comes sometimes from men who are kind-hearted and generous, and who fear anything that looks like oppression. There would be something in the objection if it were not known of all men that the exercise of the right to vote has not only been hurtful to the State, but to the negro himself. It has created bad feeling and antagonism between him and his best friend, the white man of the South, and it has retarded his progress along all lines. Those of the race

who have made some advancement have done so simply that they might aspire to political leadership, and not to raise the race. When you take from them the ballot we believe you remove an obstacle to their progress.

10. That after 1908 the white children, who become of age after that time, will have to read and write, and that some of these may be disfranchised.

This provision was inserted in the amendment for the double purpose of strengthening it before the courts and giving encouragement to the white children to seek an education. We believe it would have been unjust to the white child to have left it out, as it would have said to the negro child you must read and write to entitle you to vote, and to the white child you need not do so, thereby encouraging the negro to seek an education and discouraging the white child. All that is required is that he shall learn to read and write the English language, and he is given eight years within which to do so. All boys now thirteen years old or more are not affected by this clause, as they can register before December 1, 1908, without having to read and write, and of those who are younger, if they are not qualified by 1908, and become so afterwards, they will be entitled to vote. It will be a wonderful incentive to the father and mother to make some sacrifice and an inspiration to the boy.

11. That the boy may have no father and mother to help him.

This will not be a numerous class, and the orphanages of the State and the public schools are ample to provide for them.

12. That it is unconstitutional, and one can not conscientiously vote for it.

The tribunals to pass upon the legal question of the constitutionality of the amendment are the courts of the land, and when the voter casts his vote for the amendment he does not, nor is he required to, pass upon this legal question. He has no power to do so. He determines the political question as to whether he thinks the provisions beneficial, and if he believes this he can, with a conscience void of offense, vote for it and leave the rest to the courts.

13. That the whole amendment is unconstitutional and will be declared void by the courts.

Senator Morgan, the greatest constitutional lawyer in the Senate of the United States, says it is constitutional, and Senator McEnery, of Louisiana, and Senator Morris, of Mississippi, made speeches in the Senate declaring that to be their opinion. Ninety per cent of the lawyers of North Car-

olina, including leading Republican lawyers, say it is constitutional.

The Supreme Court of the United States has sustained similar provisions in the Constitution of Mississippi, and the amendment to the Constitution of Louisiana, almost exactly like ours, has been in force two years and no one has dared to attack it.

14. That the fifth section, which permits the illiterate white man to vote, will be declared unconstitutional, and will leave the rest of the amendment in force.

Let us, in this connection, examine section 4. That is the only section of the amendment that abridges the negro's right to vote, as you will see by reading it. That section does not allow any negro to vote unless he can read and write. That is a clear abridgement of the general right to vote; a clear denial of the right to vote to all negroes who can not read and write; but the denial is because of the lack of education on the part of the negro, because he can not read and write, and not on account of his race, color or previous condition. So that we see by reading the two sections that it is not the fifth section which denies or abridges the right of a negro to vote, but it is the fourth section, and the fourth section denies and abridges his right, not because of his race, but because he does not possess certain educational qualifications, which the State has a perfect right, as everybody admits, to impose. Now, then, we have seen that neither of these two sections violates the Constitution of the United States when taken separately. Of course, therefore, if when taken together they should violate that Constitution, the unconstitutional element would be in the combination of the two, and not in either taken separately, and of course both would have to fall together.

THE 1908 OBJECTION CONSIDERED, AND THE POLL TAX OBJECTION DISCUSSED.

The fifth section of the amendment reads as follows:

"SEC. 5. No male person, who was on January 1, 1867, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under the laws of any State in the United States wherein he then resided, and no lineal descendant of any such person shall be denied the right to register and vote at any election in this State by reason of his failure to possess the educational qualification prescribed in section 4 of this article: *Provided*, he shall

have registered in accordance with the terms of this section prior to December 1, 1890. The General Assembly shall provide for a permanent record of all persons who register under this section, on or before November 1st, 1908; and all such persons shall be entitled to register and vote in all elections by the people in this State, unless disqualified under section 2 of this article: *Provided*, such persons shall have paid their poll tax as required by law."

Under the provisions of this section all persons who were entitled to vote in any State in this Union on the 1st day of January, 1867, or who are the lineal descendants of such persons, can register any time before the 1st day of December, 1908; and when so registered they are qualified voters as long as they live. To entitle one to register under the provisions of this section he is not required to be able to read and write. All that is required of him is that he shall have been entitled to vote on the 1st day of January, 1867, or that he shall be the lineal descendant of such person. It is admitted that this will include all the white men of the State, whether they can read or write or not, and it may include a few negroes, and that under its provisions all white men can register and vote whether they can read or write or not. But in order to register under this section, the persons desiring to avail themselves of its liberal provisions must present themselves for registration and be registered before the 1st day of December, 1908.

Then it follows, as a matter of course, that those who come of age after the 1st day of December, 1908, can not register unless they are able to read and write, and this seems to be a stumbling-block in the way of many who would otherwise support the amendment. They are afraid they may not be able to send their boys to school, and they are, therefore, unwilling to vote for anything that may exclude their sons from the ballot box. At first blush this objection seems to have something in it, but we are persuaded that upon a more careful study and investigation it will entirely disappear. In the early part of this century such an objection might have had some force in it, but in the closing year of this most wonderful century, it hardly seems possible that any father who loves his boy and wants to see him become something in the world can urge this as an objection. In the early part of the century there was not a steam-engine, a steamboat, a mile of railroad or telegraph or telephone line anywhere in the world. Now they are everywhere. In the early part of the century there were but few post-offices and post-roads or newspapers in North Carolina or any other

State, and it took days to get the news from one county town to another, and weeks and months to get the news from one State capital to another. Now the post-office is found in every neighborhood and the mail passes within short distances of every home. The newspaper has its habitation in every town, carries the news of the world to every man who desires to receive it. In these papers one may read to-day accounts of battles fought yesterday in the interior of South Africa and in the far-off islands of the seas. In the early part of the century there were no free schools in the State and but few of any other kind. Now the universities, the colleges, the academies, the high schools and the private schools are numerous, and are sending out their trained thinkers and workers into every section of the State to join the great army of preachers and teachers and workers who are giving their time and means to the education of the children of the State. The graded school is rapidly making its way into every town and the common school is in every neighborhood and within reach of every child. To these the children of the rich and the poor may go and learn to read and write without money and without price. They are free and open to all. In the early part of the century there were but few churches or preachers, and to thousands the Bible was a sealed book. Now the church and the preacher reaches and blesses every section and the Bible is finding its way into every home. In the early days of the century men and women lived almost entirely within themselves and upon their own productions. Their tastes were simple and their requirements but few. Their business operations were confined to their own little circumscribed neighborhood and they could get along if they could not read and write. But now conditions are changed. Men and women are no longer content to live upon their own productions. They have been brought in touch with the outer world and their simple tastes have changed and their wants have been multiplied. The old spinning-wheel and the old family loom have given way to the spindles and looms of the great factories, and the plain homespun dresses to the beautiful calicoes and ginghams produced by skill and machinery. In the beginning of the century the farmer had no market or trade. What he could not consume at home he wasted. Now he has easy access to a market and there is a demand for everything he has to sell. Trade and traffic is brisk and competition is sharp, and the man who can not read and write finds himself at a great disadvantage in the midst of this busy, bustling age.

We have made this brief contrast between the past and present conditions to impress upon every father and mother, whose attention may be called to the matter, the absolute necessity of sending their boy to school till he can at least learn to read and write. We are fully persuaded that when the parent fully understands the character and conditions of the progressive age in which the rising generation must live and contend for success, he will see the disadvantage his boy will labor under if he has no education. Conditions have so changed that any thoughtful parent must see after a moment's consideration that he will be doing his children a great wrong to allow them to grow up without being able to read and write. This much, at least, every parent owes his child. To do less for them is doing them a great wrong. No father or mother can afford, in this day of schools and opportunities, to start their boy or girl out in life without the rudiments of an education. No father or mother can afford, in this day of churches and Bibles, to let the boy or girl grow up without being able to read the Word of God. There is a solemn duty resting upon every parent, and it is no answer to this call to duty to say "I am afraid I will not be able to educate my boy, and therefore can not vote for the amendment," when there is a free school within reach of that boy. No parent has a right to harbor these senseless fears. They should be made to give place to a fixed determination to send the boy to school. If the parent or guardian say they are poor and not able to pay for the tuition of their children, we reply that the State has provided a free school, where no charge is made. If they say they need the services of the boy at home, we reply they can surely spare him, if they will, a few hours each day while the school is in session. It will only require a few hours daily for a few months for any ordinary boy to learn to read and write. Is it possible that in this age of enlightenment and of schools and of progress there is a father in North Carolina who will stand up and say I am not willing to spare my boy a few hours each day for a few months to go to school. We do not believe such a father can be found. But some parents may say we may die and leave our children orphans. To this we reply that some people are so constituted that they are always fearing some evil may happen. Some men are hopeful, while others are always gloomy and on the lookout for trouble. They never see anything bright or hopeful in life. But even in their most gloomy hours and most oppressive fears they can not ignore the fact that, if their children should be left orphans and poor, the State, the Masons, the Odd Fellows, and

the church have provided Orphan Asylums, at Oxford, Goldsboro, Thomasville, Charlotte, Barium Springs, and possibly at other points, where these fatherless ones will be cared for and educated. So it does seem to us that no parent has any good cause to fear his boy may not be able to vote because he may not be able to read and write.

But we do not close our eyes to the fact that there is a lamentable indifference in many parents as to the education of their children. To meet and counteract this indifference many States and counties have passed compulsory laws by which any parent or guardian who fails to send the children dependent upon him to school a certain length of time each year, is liable to indictment. We have no such law in North Carolina; but we insist that the proposed amendment, if passed, will serve a better purpose, for we assert that it will be the greatest and most certain incentive to father and son for the education of the boy that human wisdom has yet devised. If this proposed amendment becomes a part of the Constitution of the State, we will see no more young men after 1908 who can not read and write. Their parents will find some way to send them to school. Some men will not act in the most ordinary affairs of life till they are compelled to. It seems to be a part of weak human nature to delay and put off. The best of men often need some power behind them to push them forward. This amendment will be the power behind the indifferent parent to push him forward to send his boy to school.

But if the father should fail in his duty to the boy, we make bold to say the boy will not fail in his duty to himself. When the young man of 15, 16, 18 years of age understands that he can not vote when he becomes 21, unless he can read and write, he will find a way to learn that much. No one who has observed public affairs will dare assert that the 18 and 19-year-old young man does not take an interest in elections. The old men may fail to attend public speakings and public gatherings, but the 18- and 19-year-old boy will be there, and when he learns that he can not go to the ballot box and vote, even after he becomes of age, till he shall learn to read and write, he will prepare himself to meet that requirement if he has to study at night by the torch-light. So we repeat that, if this amendment is ratified, the State will no longer see any of her young men who can not read and write, and we insist that if it had nothing else in it to commend it to the people of North Carolina, this one provision ought to secure its adoption. We therefore earnestly appeal to all such fathers and mothers to lay aside their fears and

to vote with us to ratify this amendment. It will, in our opinion, insure the education of their boy.

THE POLL TAX OBJECTION CONSIDERED.

We hear that some men object to the amendment because it requires all men who are liable to a poll tax to pay the same as a prerequisite to voting. We wish to have a word with that class of men. The State has undertaken to establish and maintain a free school within reach of every child in every neighborhood. Those who come of age after 1908 can not vote unless they can read and write. It therefore becomes an imperative duty upon the State to make these schools ample and efficient. Their terms must be made longer and they must be furnished with better teachers. It takes money to do this. The Legislature that proposed this suffrage amendment appropriated $100,000 to the support of these schools in addition to the taxes levied and collected for that purpose. The party that indorsed this amendment, in its Convention pledged itself that these schools shall be run in every county and in every school district at least four months in each year. It is the well settled purpose of those who are advocating the adoption of this amendment, to bring these schools so near the home of every child, and to make them so efficient that no boy or girl shall have any excuse for not learning to read and write long before they arrive at the age of twenty-one. This means the expenditure of considerable sums of money. This money has to be raised by taxation. The property of the State has to be taxed to carry on the State and county and town governments, as well as to carry on these schools. Three-fourths of all the poll tax goes to support these free schools, and the other fourth to the support of the poor. So the poll tax contributes nothing to the ordinary expenses of the State and county governments. When a poor man pays his poll tax he knows that three-fourths of it goes into the school fund to educate his own children; and if he has none of his own, then to educate some other poor man's child. He pays this tax from the time he is 21 years old until he is 50. At 50 he is exempt from poll tax; and if he is afflicted or too poor to pay it between the ages of 21 and 50 years the Board of County Commissioners can exempt him. The tax is small—usually about two dollars per year. Now, we humbly submit that any well, able-bodied man ought to be willing to pay $1.50 per year to maintain a free school for the education of the children of the poor and 50 cents a year for the support of

the poor and infirm of his county. The man who is not willing to pay this much can not feel much interest in his State or in his fellow-man. We are slow to believe that there are many white men in North Carolina who are unwilling to pay this tax and who will vote against this amendment because it requires them to pay it before voting. Experience has taught us that the school fund loses thousands and thousands of dollars every year because the negroes fail to pay their poll tax. Hereafter those who are qualified will have to pay or not vote, if this amendment is ratified. When that time comes they will pay, for they are not going to give up their vote rather than pay their tax. Already the mere agitation of this question has had a good effect upon them in this respect. But few white men, who were able to pay a poll tax, have refused to pay it, and it is believed that but few will do so in the future.

The necessity for an educated citizenship, and the demands of the people for better schools, are daily becoming more apparent. For years North Carolina has been pointed to as one of the States having the largest number of citizens who could not read and write. There is an educational awakening in the State that means much and which will, ere long, wipe out this disgrace. The ratification of the amendment will add fresh impetus to that awakening, and help it grow and spread till it shall reach every home and touch every individual. Certainly no white man who loves his State or cares aught for his fellow-man will fail in his duty in such a holy cause.

WHY THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OPPOSED THE AMENDMENT.

During the progress of the last campaign the exposure of the evils of negro domination was made so plain that White Supremacy Clubs were formed throughout the State, and the purpose to establish White Supremacy took thorough possession of the people. Party lines were largely ignored, both Populists and old-time Republicans kicked over the traces, and declaring that blood was thicker than water, they joined with the Democrats in electing members of the Legislature who were in sympathy with them on this great question. More than three-fifths of the Legislature favored some

amendment to the Constitution that would secure White Supremacy for all time in North Carolina. The white people of the State were nearer of one mind than they had ever been before. Populists and Republicans signified their approval very generally. Many leaders among them announced their support. Others declared their acquiescence. It looked like all the white people were going to join forces to carry the amendment through at the polls. Indeed, it was said that Senator Butler was going to advocate it, and many Republicans of influence asserted that it was the very best thing for the interests of their party that the ignorant negro should be eliminated from politics. Among them we will mention here only Hon. Thomas Settle, E. V. Cox, D. G. W. Reynolds, Hon. Thomas Argo, Thomas Devereux, Col. A. W. Shaffer, Maj. Joshua Hill, Valloy Pace, D. L. Gore, —— Mason, Joseph Perry of Moore, etc.

But after awhile Senator Pritchard announced other views. There were considerations outside of North Carolina. The Republican Party had need of the negro voter in Ohio, in New York, in Connecticut, in New Jersey, in Delaware, in Indiana and elsewhere at the North, and it was feared that if the Republicans in North Carolina did not make a great show of helping the negroes in North Carolina, the negroes in those States would not help them. In those States the negro vote is important to the Republican Party, and if McKinley's administration should lose their favor, he could not expect to carry those States, and hence he could not hope to be re-elected to the Presidency next November. It therefore became very important for Mr. McKinley, personally, that the Republican Party in North Carolina should indorse the negro and carry him on their shoulders.

No matter how detrimental it might be to North Carolina that ignorant voters should vote here, it would be hurtful to McKinley's chances for re-election in Ohio and at the North, if the Republicans did not stand up to the rack in North Carolina. It mattered not what might be for the intersets of our people, it was for the interest of Mr. McKinley that his party should oppose the amendment. And it was done.

Senator Pritchard, therefore, led off in the Senate of the United States. He broke ground with a resolution that the proposed amendment was contrary to the Federal Constitution He and Senator Butler work in couples. They fused and got the two Senatorships between them, and they have been fusing ever since—Senator Butler getting a proportion of the postmasters, and deputy collectors for his Populist followers from the McKinley Administration.

And so, soon, Senator Butler followed with an argument in opposition to this particular amendment because, as he said, it did not go far enough. When the Populist State Convention met, as nearly all the Populist members of the General Assembly had voted for the amendment, and as the Populist people were so favorable to its adoption, that Convention declined to pass definitely upon it, but resolved to leave it an open question, which every Populist could vote for or not, as he pleased.

This did not suit the Administration, and it seems as if the word was passed along the lines that every Federal office-holder was expected to do his duty—and oppose the amendment. He was not to do his duty to the State, or to the people, as he might feel it to be in his heart; but he was to do his duty to McKinley and the Administration, so as to secure the negro votes in the doubtful Northern States. And from that time to this there has been the greatest activity among the Federal officeholders, the store-keepers and gaugers, and deputy marshals against the amendment. Their activity has been noteworthy. It has been so persistent, so widespread, as to have excited common remark all over the State. Evidently the Administration had required those officeholders to engage in an effective campaign against the amendment for purposes of its own, outside of North Carolina.

When the Republican Convention met here in Raleigh, Senator Pritchard was on hand fresh from Washington, store-keepers and gaugers filled the town, numerous deputy marshals swaggered through the streets. There was a great gathering of Federal officeholders to settle this question for the people as far as they could and in accordance with the desire of the Federal authorities. The negroes in Ohio, and the negroes in Indiana, and the New York negroes, and the darkies in Connecticut and New Jersey and Delaware were to be placated and kept straight, even if the white people of North Carolina should suffer.

And they fixed it. The Convention declared against the Constitutional Amendment .

Well, it is no wonder. It was a Convention of officeholders! In addition to all the revenuers who were here as outsiders to influence the delegates, the following delegates were officeholders themselves:

C. D. Jones, Collector of Customs.
Myer Hahn, Collector of Customs.
W. E. Clark, Deputy Collector Customs.
Robt. Hancock, Clerk in the Post-office at New Bern.
D. H. Abbott, member of the Corporation Commission.

A. Lee, Register of Deeds.
F. F. Green, Postmaster.
R. B. Dunn, Government Store-keeper.
John D. Grimesly, Clerk in the Revenue Department.
B. W. Patrick, Census Enumerator.
F. P. Dobson, Postmaster.
H. L. Grant, Clerk of Federal Court.
J. C. Pritchard, United States Senator.
A. E. Holton, District Attorney for Western District Federal Court.
James Boyd, of Ku-klux fame; at present Assistant Attorney-General of the United States.
Spencer Blackburn, who said that the Democrats of North Carolina should take warning from the fate of Goebel. At present he is Assistant District Attorney, and is hoping to run for Congress this fall in the Eighth District.
Roy Retter, Postmaster at Carthage.
C. T. Bailey, otherwise known as "Bailey of North Carolina," at present Postmaster at Raleigh.
S. M. Jones, Sheriff of Moore County.
Bobbie Burns, a defeated candidate for legislative honors.
T. A. Allbright, a Deputy Collector.
J. J. Britt, a revenue doodler who prefers revenue doodling to running for Superintendent of Public Instruction.
—— Newland, of Catawba, a Store-keeper and Gauger.
Heenon Hughes, Fusion member of the Penitentiary Board.
D. M. Carpenter, Postmaster.
—— Hodgin, Clerk in Collector Duncan's office.
J. M. Millikin, United States Marshal.
J. S. Hasty, Postmaster.
G. Ed. Flow, Gauger.
J. W. Stein, United States Commissioner.
Claud Bernard, Attorney for Eastern North Carolina Federal Court District.
G. A. Barkley, ex-Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue.
L. L. Jenkins, Postmaster.
J. A. Hendricks, Supervisor of the Census.
W. S. Patterson, Revenue Agent Western District.
J. W. Bailey, Deputy United States Marshal.
J. W. West, Deputy United States Marshal.
—— Davis, Haywood County, Gauger.
Richmond Pearson, who is trying to steal Crawford's seat in Congress.
G. W. Reed, Postmaster at Biltmore.
—— Logan, Deputy Collector.

Dr. Warren Vines Hall, the rosy-cheeked statesman, who holds a government clerkship in Washington.

Jones Mullen, Postmaster at Charlotte.

W. S. Clanton, Assayer of the Mint at Charlotte.

T. H. Lutterloh, Clerk of Post-office at Sanford, and brother to Postmaster.

Tyree Glenn, Postmaster at Greensboro.

H. S. Hoskins, Collector of Internal Revenue.

W. W. Rollins, Postmaster at Asheville.

Daniel Albright Long, who was sometime President of Antioch College, Ohio; at which institution negroes are admitted on equality with whites.

S. F. Shore, Deputy Collector.

"Cam" Pearson, Postmaster at Morganton.

E. C. Duncan, Collector of Internal Revenue.

H. B. Pearce, Storekepeer and Gauger.

Abe Middleton, Pritchard's messenger, the negro boss from Duplin, who says when he bosses "we always wins."

H. P. Cheatham, the negro Register of Deeds at the District of Columbia.

John C. Dancy, the negro Collector of Customs at Wilmington.

F. B. Rice, the Deputy Collector of Customs at Wilmington.

R. M. Norment, the Postmaster at Lumberton; a chronic office seeker.

Hiram Mason, Storekeeper and Gauger.

W. S. Hyams, Private Secretary to Senator Pritchard.

J. H. Hannon, a negro, Deputy Register of Deeds for Wshington, D. C.

H. C. Cowles, Clerk of the Federal Court at Statesville.

—— Melton, a political refugee, with whose health the climate of Wilmington does not agree.

C. P. Lockey, another man for whom Wilmington has no charms. An ex-barber, lawyer and candidate for Judge.

J. P. H. Adams, a Wake County Revenue Doodler.

Roscoe Mitchell, ex-Departmental Clerk at Washington and former Raleigh correspondent of the Asheville Gazette.

W J. Sutton, of Bladen, Revenue Doodler of high degree.

L. H. Hoyt, Postmaster at Kenansville.

—— McRary, Postmaster at Lexington.

Clyde Cheek, Postmaster at Hillsboro.

With such a showing, it is no wonder that the healthy public sentiment that had led so many Republicans to avow their purpose to support the amendment was ignored, and that every effort was made to crush these men out and to

put the Republican Party back to where it had always been, the supporter of the ignorant negro voter. The bread and meat of these delegates and these white revenuers depended on their action. Many of them doubtless agree in their hearts with their white neighbors on the question of White Supremacy, but they are bound to obey the instructions from Washington. Now we contend that a convention so composed, so run, so constituted and so subservient to the administration is not such a free and independent party convention as to make it the duty of Republicans to sustain it. A convention run by party bosses, under instructions from the Federal Administration at Washington, is not worthy of the respect and support of the people. It is not responsive to their sentiments; it does not declare their will. It simply utters, parrot-like, what the master at Washington decrees. The people should repudiate it at the polls.

THE COMBINATION IS SATISFIED.

Why the Present Order of Things Suits Pritchard, Holton and Butler—Why it Does Not Suit the Rank and File.

We have shown in another article how the Republican Party in North Carolina has degenerated. In the article on that subject we called attention to the fact that in the years that are past and gone the Republican Party had many men of character and ability, and that as they passed away others of like standing and ability have not taken their place; that in the East, where the bulk of that party lies, it is rare that a white man of any standing belongs to it, and that a few men of mediocre ability have control of the State organization of that party. Upon a close investigation, it will be found that there are just about enough of these to fill and hold the Federal offices. It need not be argued that it is the presence and domination of the negro in the Republican Party that has kept the self-respecting white men of ability out of it, and that this will continue to be so as long as the negro dominates it. We say it need not be argued, for it is too plain to be disputed. That condition exactly suits those in charge of the organization and who are directing its policies. They well know that if men of ability and character should join it in numbers that the Federal offices would go to these abler and better men, and that those who now hold

them would soon be left out in the cold. Nobody understands this condition of things better than Pritchard and Holton, and it is a credulous man who believes that they desire to see men of character and standing join their party. They are satisfied with present conditions. They are not ignorant of the fact that there are men of ability and standing who believe in some of the doctrines of the Republican Party who do not vote with it. They also know that as long as the negro dominates the Republican Party these men are not going to join it, but they believe that if the negro was eliminated many of them would. That might endanger their position; hence they are satisfied with present conditions.

Butler is satisfied with present conditions, because he can trade and traffic for office with those now in control of the Republican Party with the same impunity that he would trade for an old cast-off army mule. If the negro was eliminated from the Republican Party and another class of men were to take charge of its organization, he might not be able to trade with them. Hence he prefers the present set. He knows he has betrayed and deceived his fellows and voted and trafficked with the enemies of his party till he has reduced it from a bold, aggressive party of near fifty thousand men, with strong convictions and published principles, to a mere handful of men, who will not to-day tell what they stand for or where they are going. It matters not with him with whom he trades or what kind of political forces he puts in motion, or to what extent he debauches men or politics so he makes a good trade for himself. He has taken the gauge and capacity of the present Republican bosses for trading, and he does not want present conditions disturbed.

This may all do very well for Pritchard, Butler, Holton and Company and their smaller satellites who profit by this trading and trafficking in office. But how does it suit the rank and file of the two parties? The Republican Party is and has been cursed with negro domination. It must be manifest to any thoughtful member of that party that it must rid itself of the ignorant, vicious negro vote that has been weighing it down before it can assume a position in this State to attract young men of ability and character to it. These are not going to put themselves in a party where they must be dominated and controlled by the negro or where they must make terms with the negro politicians in order to procure anything for themselves. Can anything be more certain than that the Republican Party can never be any better than it is so long as present conditions continue? That

may suit those who are profiting by these conditions, but does it suit the great body of Republicans who really desire to see the people in every section of the State enjoy the blessings of good government and to see their party fully capable of administering such government. They can not hope to see their party become fit to take charge of the local governments in the eastern half of the State so long as it is composed of the great mass of ignorant negroes, as now, and of a few straggling white men; and it must be remembered that it is the local offices which come in close contact with the people, and that those go to the negro as his share of party spoils. The white Republicans of the middle and western portions of the State would scorn to support a State ticket which had a negro on it. Did a Republican State Convention dare put a negro on the State ticket it would not be necessary for the Democrats to make any campaign against it. The white Republicans of the Middle and West would, of their own accord, bury such a ticket out of sight. Hence the negro, although constituting four-fifths of his party, can not look to a State Convention of his party to do anything for him. He must be content to hold the local offices of the East as his share of the party rewards. When he gets one of these local offices then it is that he is brought in close contact with the white people and can show his authority over them. We know our white brethren in the Middle and West, even though they are Republicans, would not elect the negro to these local offices in their section, and we believe we can confidently appeal to them to help their white brethren in the East render it impossible for the negro to be elected to these offices. In many counties in the East the negroes are in the majority and can elect whom they please to these local offices. In other counties there are townships in which they are in the majority, and they can elect negroes as justices of the peace in these townships. There are, we assert, a number of negro justices of the peace still in office in the East, some of whom were elected in 1898. This is the case in a county as far west as the county of Granville, where the negroes are in the majority in certain townships in that county. What is true of Granville is true of many other counties east of there. The adoption of the amendment, which will eliminate the large bulk of this negro vote, will make it impossible for a single negro justice of the peace to be elected anywhere in the State. It will not hurt a single white man anywhere in the State, and we believe that white men of all parties will come to the relief of their brethren in the East when they so understand it. As the law now stands

jurors must be qualified electors, so that the negro voter, if he has the other qualifications, may be a juror. As a matter of fact they do serve on juries, and in counties where we have Republican sheriffs they compose a majority of the jury. The negroes elect these sheriffs, and they, in turn, must put the negro on the jury. Now all this may be, and no doubt it is, satisfactory to Pritchard, Holton, Butler and Company; but we do not believe that it is satisfactory to the honest Republican and Populist who are not holding office by the grace of these negroes, and we appeal to them to break away from these bosses and come to the help of the white men and white women of the East. We know these bosses, who got their offices by virtue of this negro vote, will do and say all they can to excite the fears of the Populists and white Republicans and to make them stand by the negro; but we believe that when these good people understand that if they vote for the amendment they are standing by the white man, and that when they vote against it they are standing by the negro, Pritchard, Holton and Butler will not be able to hold them in line for the negro. These good people stood by the white men and women in 1898, and we believe they will continue to do so till a recurrence of the horrible conditions of 1898 is made impossible by the adoption of this amendment.

But some one says that after we have eliminated the ignorant negro vote by the adoption of the amendment there will still be left the educated negro, who can read and write. That is true, but we beg this person to remember that he will be powerless. It is the great mass of ignorant negro voters standing behind the educated negro that makes him arrogant and strong. Take this mass of voters from him and he becomes powerless as a political agitator, and he will then turn his attention to economic and industrial matters and use the advantages his education gives him to help his race to a higher and better life. We therefore appeal to all white men everywhere, of all creeds and parties, to come together in a spirit of amity and patriotism, and ratify the amendment. It will bring good to all races, to all parties and to all sections of our State.

THE ELECTION LAW OF 1899.

THE ELECTION LAW OF '95 AND '97 MADE TO ALLOW NEGROES NOT ENTITLED TO DO SO TO REGISTER AND VOTE—LAW OF '99 MADE TO PREVENT IT—NO MAN WHO IS LEGALLY ENTITLED TO VOTE HAS ANYTHING TO FEAR FROM THE LAW OF '99—IT IS FRAMED ALONG THE LINES OF THE ACT OF CONGRESS UNDER WHICH THE NEGRO FIRST VOTED—IT WILL INSURE A FAIR ELECTION AND NO HONEST MAN OUGHT TO WANT MORE—IT IS SHOWN HOW THE LAW OF '95 AND '97 GAVE THE ILLEGAL NEGRO VOTE AN ADVANTAGE OVER THE HONEST WHITE VOTER WHICH THE LAW OF '99 CORRECTS.

Republicans have denounced the election law passed by the Legislature of 1899, as unfair and unjust, and even have gone so far as to say it is infamous.

Viewed from the standpoint of a Republican, who wishes all negroes to vote, whether entitled to do so or not, convicts, boys eighteen, nineteen and twenty years of age, and who thinks all things wrong that stand in the way of this desire, there is some truth in the charge; but from the standpoint of a white man, who thinks negroes not qualified ought to be prevented from voting, the charge is utterly false.

A comparison of the Fusion election law of 1895–'97, and the Democratic law of 1899, will show that each was framed around one central idea, and that all the provisions of the law worked to this end. Under the Fusion law the aim was to get every negro on the registration books, whether entitled to go there or not, and to make it impossible to get him off when once there, while under the Democratic law the aim is to keep the negro's name off the book, unless it ought to go there, and if it gets there wrongfully to enable you to get it off.

A brief statement of conditions will show that the Democratic idea is right.

The Fusion Legislature of 1895 revised the Democratic laws and repealed every part of them which interposed the slightest obstacle to the registration of any one who desired to register, whether entitled to do so or not. It literally threw down the bars and allowed anyone and everyone who took the oath to register. Under this law no questions were permitted to be asked and no objection allowed to be made

to the free registration of everyone whose conscience would permit him to take the oath. If the Fusion Legislature had stopped here it would have been bad enough, but it did not stop here. Having removed every effective impediment to doubt, fraudulent and illegal registration, it adopted new and unheard of measures to deter and defeat all attempts to purge the registration books of illegal names.

The right to challenge was not, indeed, denied in terms, but a name once on the books was so safely guarded that the right to challenge was practically made of no effect. Let us see how this law proceeded to defeat the right to challenge.

Before that, in North Carolina, when a man's right to vote was challenged, he was required to prove his right to vote, and failing in this his name was stricken from the registration books. This rule had always, before 1895, prevailed in North Carolina. The reason of it was that it was easier for the voter to prove his qualification than it was for the party challenging his vote to prove his disqualification. This rule is based upon a principle of evidence which is recognized in every court in every civilized country in the world. The Act of 1895 reversed this well-established rule of evidence and required the challenger to prove a negative, to-wit: the fact of the voter's disqualification. This was the first obstacle which the Legislature provided against purging the books of illegal registration. No one will say that fraudulent registration ought to be permitted, and no one will deny that it is the duty of every honest citizen to object to such registration, and that in so doing he is performing a high public duty and is entitled to the aid of the State in his effort to thus protect the integrity of the ballot. The Legislature of 1895 seems to have taken a different view of the matter, however. It threw obstacles in the way of challenging. It required notice to be served upon the party challenged, without making any provision for paying the expenses of the service, thus making it necessary that the party making the challenge should do so at his own expense. It required the challenger to prove affirmatively the disqualification, but made no provision for the payment of witnesses that might be summoned for that purpose, thereby requiring the challenger to secure the witnesses in the best way he could, at his own expense. It will readily be seen that under these conditions a fraudulent voter was in very little danger from a challenge. This was the second obstacle which the Legislature of 1895 interposed against purging the registration books of illegally registered names The third obstacle that was interposed was even more formidable than

the other two. It was the character and composition of the tribunal which was provided to try and determine the questions raised by the challenge. True, each of the three political parties were given representation upon that tribunal, but two of these parties were in close, compact political affiliations. For all practical purposes they were but one party. All questions before this tribunal of three were determined by a majority vote. It was, therefore, apparent that the decision was left to a tribunal composed of two members on one side and one on the other—a strictly partisan tribunal to decide a purely political question. The result of this law, framed, as we have seen, in the interest of fraudulent registration and to protect that registration against every attempt to purge and correct it, as applied to the general election of 1896, was just what might have been and was expected. Notwithstanding the obstacles interposed by these provisions for the protection of illegal registration, many challenges were made in that election; but everybody knows that, as a rule, especially in the Eastern counties, without any reference to the testimony, these challenges were decided against the challenger and in favor of letting the name remain on the books. No amount of testimony showing disqualification was, as a rule, sufficient to satisfy these partisan boards. There are instances, which have developed since the election, in many of the negro counties, where negro election officers have been shown to have persuaded negroes to register, knowing them to have been ex-convicts or under age, assuring them that their right to vote would be sustained by the board, if questioned. The honest voters of North Carolina will say that the law of 1895, framed to secure and protect fraudulent registration and voting, as above shown, was bad enough; but the amendments which were passed by the Legislature of 1897 were even worse. Under these amendments, while anybody might register, as before, who was willing to take the oath, one wishing to challenge his right to register was required to state, upon oath, the specific cause or causes of challenge. He was required to cause to be served upon the party challenged a notice by an officer of the law and to pay that officer the sum of twenty-five cents for serving the notice. If the challenge was successful, the money thus paid for serving the notice was refunded, otherwise the challenger must lose it. Like the law of 1895, it cast upon him the burden of showing the facts of disqualification, but made no provision for paying him for the expense and trouble of securing the attendance of witnesses to prove these facts.

Its manifest purpose was to prevent and defeat challenges and thereby make it easy for bad and corrupt men to pad the books with fraudulent registration.

Under the election law of 1895 the Democrats did have some voice in the selection of election officers and some representation upon the several election boards, though it was always a minority representation; but the Legislature of 1897, by a combination between the Republicans and minority Populists, passed a law which deprived them of all representation on these boards in the negro counties of the East. It placed the entire election machinery in the hands of the Clerk, Register of Deeds and Chairman of the Board of Commissioners. It was well known to the combination which passed this amendment to the law of 1895, that as a result of the election of 1896 all these offices in most of the negro counties were held by Republicans or Populists, and that by cooperation between the parties the Democrats would have absolutely no voice in the selection of the election officers in such counties. The object of this combination in making this change in the law of 1895 is apparent. They wanted absolute control of the election boards in the counties in which they expected large fraudulent negro registration. For the sake of securing the control of these boards where they would be of most value to them, they were willing to risk giving the Democrats a control which they had not heretofore had in a few white counties in which the Democrats were in power. Under the election law of 1895, as we have said before, negro boys under twenty-one years of age, negroes imported from beyond the borders of the State, negro ex-convicts and negro repeaters were registered and voted galore. The doors of fraud were thrown wide open to these irresponsible and ignorant voters, and no protection whatever was afforded to the honest voters of the State. The amendment of 1897 threw these doors still wider open and left to the white voters of North Carolina no protection against this fraudulent registration save what their courage and Anglo-Saxon manhood give them. It must be manifest to everyone that these laws of 1895 and 1897. passed in the name of fair and honest elections, were intended to give what they did in 1896 most effectually give—the negro an advantage over the white man, and to increase and multiply his vote. But this is not all that the election laws of 1895 and 1897 were intended to do and have done in North Carolina. The Republicans, not satisfied with a law which enabled them to practice these frauds upon the honest suffrage of the State, passed another law, the manifest purpose of which

was to vote the negro solidly for the official ticket of the Republican Party and to prevent the illiterate voter generally from expressing by his ballot his individual choice for candidates. It ought forever to damn the Republican Party and minority Populists who passed it with the illiterate voters of North Carolina.

It provided for what may be called an official ballot. Each party may file a list of the candidates of that party for the State officers with the Secretary of State, and a list of the candidates of that party for county offices with the Clerk of the Court, and designate a device to be printed upon the ticket with the names on it. This, then, became the official ballot of that party. This law made it a misdemeanor for anyone, not only to vote, but to have in his possession, with this device upon it, a ticket with the name of any person printed upon it whose name had not been filed with the Clerk of the Court or Secretary of State, as the case may be, as a candidate of the party adopting that device.

It has been a right immemorially enjoyed by the free people of North Carolina to vote for whom they pleased, without regard to whether the party they voted for had been nominated by a partisan convention or committee; but this was renounced by the Legislature of 1897.

The Legislature of 1899 undertook to correct these evils and passed the election law of 1899. It provides for a registrar and two poll holders at each voting precinct, and that all shall not be of the same political party, and it gives to the registrar power to examine witnesses as to identity, age and residence of the party offering to register. The condition of affairs in North Carolina made this provision particularly necessary. Shortly after the colored man was enfranchised he showed himself the willing tool of the heelers and manipulators of the Republican Party. They had not those qualities of easy identification which the white man possesses. They were of a roving disposition, moved from place to place, and could readily conceal their identity. For the same reason it was easy to import them from other communities and to register ex-convicts and boys under twenty-one years of age. These facts, which made it easy for them, with little danger of detection, to register and vote at several different places, were taken advantage of by the unscrupulous Republican white bosses; and repeating and fraudulent registration were so common that it became necessary, in order to protect the white voters of the State against having their honest votes offset by illegal and fraudulently registered negro votes, to provide rigid safeguards against this

class of frauds. If, therefore, the Democratic registration laws require particularity in these respects, they were made so to suppress fraud and protect white suffrage. It is boldly asserted, despite Republican clamor to the contrary, that the white vote of North Carolina was entitled to this protection; and the fact that under the election laws of 1895–'97, framed without these necessary safeguards, not less than ten thousand negroes were fraudulently registered and voted in the general elections of 1896 and 1898, shows that these provisions are not only wise, but necessary precautions, unless the honest vote of a white man in North Carolina is to be offset by the vote of some negro having, under the laws and Constitution of the State, no right to vote at all.

The other provisions of the law to which objection has been made all look to the same end—the prevention of fraudulent voting. The books are required to be at the polling places on Saturday before the election for the inspection of all voters, in order that challenges may be marked, and where one is challenged the law requires him to be notified and he is given a hearing.

It also gives the opportunity to challenge on election day, if it is found that a party offering to vote is not entitled to do so.

It requires the election officers to keep clear a space of fifty feet around the voting places, so the voter may be free from interference or interruption, but it permits each political party to have representatives within this space as challengers, and to call in witnesses to sustain any challenge.

It requires the ballots to be on white paper and of the same size, and in order that no mistake may be made and that no ballots may be rejected for failure to comply with this provision, the election boards are required to file a sample ballot, showing size and color of the paper, where it is easily accessible to all parties.

These are the requirements of the law to which objection has been made, and we submit that they are fair and just. We invite a close scrutiny of all its terms, and rely with confidence upon the judgment of the people that it is honest and will promote fair elections. Many of these provisions to which the Republicans most strenuously object did not originate with the Democratic Party, but are to be found in the Act of Congress under which the election of 1867 was held to elect delegates to frame a Constitution, and the rules regulating that election, and this was the first election in which the negro voted in North Carolina. The act of Congress provides:

"That the boards of registration shall have power, and it shall be their duty, before allowing the registration of any person, to ascertain, upon such facts or information as they can obtain, whether such person is entitled to be registered under said act, and the oath required by said act shall not be conclusive on such question, and no person shall register unless such board shall decide that he is entitled thereto; and such board shall also have power to examine, under oath (to be administered by any member of such board), any one touching the qualifications of any person claiming to register."

And among the regulations for the election were the following:

"XIII. The room used for registration, which the chairman shall have previously provided for the purpose, shall be so arranged that the board shall be separated by a bar from all other persons who may be assembled, and those to be registered shall be admitted within the bar, one by one, and their ingress and egress so arranged as to avoid confusion.

"XV. If any challenge be made, the board shall, before final decision, examine the person presenting himself for registration in reference to the cause of disqualification alleged, and shall hear any evidence that may be offered to substantiate or disprove the cause of challenge, and shall have power to summon and compel the attendance of witnesses and administer oaths in any case of registration.

"XVII. Fifth. Whether or not there be any challenge, the board must ascertain, upon such facts or information as can be obtained, that the applicant is entitled to be registered before marking his name as 'accepted'—the oath not being conclusive."

SWORN STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN D. BELLAMY.

CONCERNING ACTUAL CONDITIONS IN WILMINGTON UNDER FUSION RULE—EXTRACT FROM EVIDENCE OF MR. BELLAMY IN THE CONTESTED ELECTION CASE OF DOCKERY VS. BELLAMY.

Q. Did you read the deposition of one Secrest, a witness for Oliver H. Dockery, the contestant in this case, taken at Monroe, Union County, in the present case?

Mr. BELLAMY. Yes; I did read it.

Q. Will you state, in substance, what the testimony was

Mr. BELLAMY. Although I hardly think it necessary to con-

tradict the statement of Mr. Secrest, as his character has been shown by a number of witnesses to be very bad, I will do so. He stated that he was present at a political speaking where I addressed the assemblage at a school house in Union County, and that I stated that the people of Wilmington were armed with Winchester rifles and were going to carry the election if it was necessary to shoot down the negroes. I say in reply to that, that the statement of Mr. Secrest is absolutely false. What I did say, and what has been testified to by other witnesses who heard me, was this: After I had discussed the policy and principles of the Democratic Party, and its position upon National questions, I came down to the question of the bad government of North Carolina under Fusion rule in State affairs, and then, finally, in local matters. I stated to the assemblage as a reason why the Fusionists should be hurled from power and control in North Carolina was that they had subjected the citizens of Wilmington, New Bern and Greenville to the horrors of misgovernment and negro domination, and all that that implied, and after briefly stating how the town of Greenville had been gerrymandered and put under negro control, and how the city of New Bern had been likewise treated, I then came to the city of Wilmington, where I resided, and was familiar with the state of affairs.

I stated that as a result of Fusion legislation the city had been put under negro control, substantially; that although the white people owned about 97 per cent of the property and paid that much of the taxes of the city, that we had a Board of Aldermen, with a white man for mayor, who didn't own a foot of land in the county, and paid comparatively little or no taxes; that three or four of the Board of Aldermen were negroes; that forty of the magistrates were negroes; that from fourteen to seventeen of the thirty on the police force were negroes; that nearly all of the deputy sheriffs in the county were negroes; that the register of deeds of the county was a negro; that every health officer of the city, a very important position, was held by negroes: that one of the three county commissioners was a negro; and the result of it was that a horrible state of misgovernment had been brought about; that night after night burglaries and robberies took place in town without any detection; that within about eight hundred feet of the city hall six burglaries had been committed within ten days without a detection; that one burglar had been arrested in a lady's residence, a negro burglar, was captured and held by the ladies until a police officer arrived, and that, although the

offense was punishable by death and not bailable, he was let off on his own recognizance, or a straw bond, I have forgotten now which, and the negro escaped; that murders and crimes of all character were of constant occurrence; that within about a year six murders had taken place in the county; that the negroes showed an utter disrespect for and defiance of the law; that the city authorities, in the exercise of their discretion upon sanitary matters, had located a hospital for infectious diseases on the outskirts of the town, and the negroes, several hundred in number, a complete mob, armed with guns, pistols and other weapons, went out, attacked, shot into, and burned it down, and the mayor and policemen, although remonstrating, were powerless to resist it, and none of said negroes were ever arrested or tried for the offense; that in the trial of the causes in the court-house it was impossible to convict a negro of crime where a question of credibility arose between white witnesses and negro witnesses; that the juries, composed partially of whites and partly of blacks, would retire and a hung jury was the result, the negroes always voting solidly in the jury box in favor of the acquittal of the negro, if a negro was on trial.

I recollect especially reciting an instance of my own experience, where I told them that I prosecuted for Mr. Hamme, a very gallant and reputable citizen, a hat merchant of this city, who was assaulted in broad daylight in his store by Richard Holmes, a negro policeman, and struck over the eyes with a pair of brass knuckles and fell senseless to the floor, and that on three trials, although the defendant himself, Holmes, did not take the stand, that the jury, although the evidence was uncontradicted, failed to agree a single one of the three times, standing the first time nine whites for conviction and three negroes for acquittal; the second trial taking place at the next term of the court, all the white men on the jury stood for conviction and the negroes on the jury for acquittal; on the third trial, which took place at a subsequent term, it likewise stood eight or nine—I have forgotten the number—white for conviction and three or four negroes for acquittal, according to the number of negroes on the jury; and that finally the Fusion Solicitor, although I myself was associated in the prosecution, *nol prossed* the case without even consulting me; that day after day white ladies, while walking the streets of the city, were insulted, and in one instance a reputable young lady going to the cemetery was shoved from the sidewalk by a negro woman and struck over the head with an umbrella; that the daughter of one of the ablest divines of the city was brusquely hurled

against the fence and bruised by a negro on the streets in broad daytime; that indecent remarks were made to ladies walking the streets by negroes, and complaint after complaint being made to the city authorities, which were the ones I have before related to you, they found themselves unable to repress it; that property and life were not safe, and that good order could not be secured in the town; that the city authorities were totally inefficient to secure it; that the Chamber of Commerce, a representative business body of that city, presided over by a Republican as president, passed resolutions stating the city authorities were unable to secure law and order substantially, and calling upon our people, as a matter of business and self-preservation, without regard to politics, to change the existing order of things. I will state further, that having made those statements in that speech and substantially the same thing in many others that I delivered during the campaign, I now again affirm that the statements made are a statement of the true condition of affairs as they existed in Wilmington, and if I have failed in the satement it was in not stating other and greater wrongs which actually occurred and which I forgot to mention, among them being the publication in a negro newspaper published in the city of a vile and slanderous attack upon the virtue and reputation of the white women of our State.

THE CHARGE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATURE OF 1899 WAS MORE EXPENSIVE THAN THE FUSION LEGISLATURE OF 1897 ANSWERED AND THE FACTS EXPLAINED.

Some Republican speakers who either did not know the facts, or did not care to know them, have charged that the Democratic Legislature of 1899 cost the State some three hundred thousand dollars more than the Fusion Legislature of 1897 did.

The facts and figures given below, taken from Auditor H. W. Ayer's reports, will refute this charge and fully explain the matter.

We copy the following extract from Auditor Ayer's report for the year ending December 1, 1899 (see pp. 10 and 11 of his report):

"It may be interesting to offer some comparative notes in connection with the receipts and disbursements of the public fund for the fiscal year.

"In doing this it should be stated that the receipts are derived from taxable values and license taxes reported by the counties for the year 1898, and have no connection with the existing Revenue Act, which was enacted by the General Assembly of 1899. The receipts from taxable values of real and personal property, and from license taxes on occupations, etc., will not be reported under the existing Revenue Act till the close of the fiscal year ending November 30, 1900. Other receipts, such as revenue from railroad property, bank stock, insurance taxes and fees, tax on building and loan associations, fertilizer license tax, tax on telegraph and telephone companies, express companies, various departmental fees, sales of bonds and a few minor matters, are reported from the volume of business and from such assessments as were maintained in 1899. The report of expenditures directly represents the regular disbursements for the fiscal year.

"The receipts for the Public Fund were $1,545,717.69; an increase of $210,635.45 over the year 1898.

"The disbursements for the year were $1,594,765.76; an increase of expenditures over the year 1898 of $310,794.65.

"While there is an increase of receipts over 1898 on some taxable subjects, the total increase is more than accounted for by extraordinary items not connected with the Revenue Act or direct taxation; such for example as $120,202.50, derived from sale of bonds for payment of State Prison Debt; $65,250 for sale of bonds for the purchase of farms heretofore leased by the State Prison; $19,704.56 from the United States Government, on account of the Spanish-American war; $5,000 from Accumulated Land Grant Fund; $5,734.08 of the State Hospital (Morganton) Fund, which was on deposit in the Piedmont Bank, and returned to the State Treasurer; $12,666 from Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, which was, in fact, a semi-annual dividend for 1898, but was not reported till 1899. It is seen that these items of receipts, which are extraordinary and not regular, aggregate the amount of $228,557.14, or $17,921.69 more than the total increase of receipts over 1898.

"The increase of disbursements over 1898 is also largely accounted for by items of expenditure which are not of an annual character, and may be considered as extraordinary, as compared with the preceding year. Among these may be mentioned $69,552.51 for session of the General Assembly; $19,704.56 received from the United States Government and disbursed on account of Spanish-American war, under the head of "State Guard, Special"; $12,049.95 for Central

Hospital at Raleigh, being a special appropriation for 1899; $15,000 special appropriation for North Carolina Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind at Raleigh for 1899; $5,000 special appropriation for the Soldiers' Home for 1899; $5,000 special appropriation for the State Normal and Industrial College at Greensboro for 1899; $7,500 special appropriation for the University of North Carolina for 1899. None of the amounts here designated as special appropriations are available for 1900, and, therefore, they are referred to as extraordinary disbursements. They aggregate $132,-798.02. As compared with 1898, other extraordinary disbursements are $103,633.45 for payment of old debts of the State Prison, and $55,000 for maintenance of the State Prison for 1899; but a question easily presents itself as to whether these two last named items should be considered as extraordinary, or should be regarded as annual and regular. No approriation was made for the maintenance of the State Prison for the years 1897 and 1898, and the reported condition of that establishment at the end of those two years showed existing liabilities amounting to something over $100,000. The amount of disbursements on account of these liabilities for 1897 and 1898 is $103,633.45, or an average of more than $50,000 per annum. As has already been stated, there was an expenditure of $55,000 on account of maintenance of the State Prison for 1899, and an appropriation of $50,000 is available for the year 1900. Reckoning, therefore, from facts and probabilities, the indications are that the State Prison will involve for the years 1897, 1898, 1899 and 1900 an average expenditure of something like $50,000 per annum, independent of the earnings of that institution."

In connection with the above extract, we should say that it is apparent that, in order to compare the expenditures made by the Legislature of 1897 with those of the Legislature of 1899, the payment in 1899 of $103,633 of old debts due by the Penitentiary must be deducted from the expenditures of the Legislature of 1899, and divided evenly between the years 1897 and 1898, when those debts were made.

The expenditure for 1899 should be decreased $103,000, and the expenditure for the year 1897 and 1898 should each be increased $50,000.

We also make this comment: that while Auditor Ayer specifies some extraordinary appropriations footing up $132,797 as having been made by the Legislature of 1899, we think there were others which he omitted to specify in that connection.

Among these additional ones are the following:

The State Guard.

There is charged in the expenditures for the year 1899 in Auditor Ayer's report, page 258, two items for State Guard, aggregating $40,553. This item goes into the table of disbursements for the year 1899, and has the effect of swelling the expenditures for that year, and therefore forms a part of the increase of $310,000. Auditor Ayer explains this on page 13 of his report, when he says, "Much the larger part of the disbursement under this head is on account of expenses incurred in the mobilization of volunteers for the Spanish-American war."

And he states on page 14 that $21,867 of this item was the outstanding warrants for the year 1898—which has no connection with the Legislature of 1899. He also tells us that the amount of $19,704 was received by the State from the United States Government to pay a part of these warrants, and that the Public Fund Receipts were swelled to that amount thereby. But the main point to be borne in mind is that the whole $40,553 is charged in the disbursements of the year 1899, although the Legislature of 1899 had nothing to do with the accounts of the Spanish-American war.

Now, the gross expenditures for 1898 were $1,283,971; and in 1899, $1,594,765. Taking off from the latter $103,000, old Penitentiary debts, leaves that amount $1,491,000. But $50,000 of this old debt belonged to year 1898; so add that to $1,284,000, and we have $1,334,000.

Then Mr. Ayer says $132,000 of the expenditures for 1899 was special and extraordinary; deducting this we have, according to Mr. Ayer, as the proper expenditures for 1899, only $1,359,000, as against $1,334,000 for the year 1898.

But there are various other items that have swollen the expenditures for 1899 which are not regular ordinary expenditures, such as follows:

In the Auditor's Report of 1898 (p. 192) it appears that the amount paid for State Guard was $31,215; and for the year 1899 it was as before stated, $40,553. Thus we have an excess of expenditures, on account of the State Guard, of $9,338.

And on page 192 of his report for 1898 he states the supplemental appropriation for public schools at $10,856, and in his report for 1899 he states the same item at $17,358, showing an increase for public schools of $6,500, of which no one can find fault.

In his report for 1898, he states there was paid for pensions $100,840, and for 1899 he states there was paid for pensions $121,636, an increase for the old soldiers and widows

of $20,800. Surely these gentlemen who pretend to be so afraid that the old soldiers are about to be disfranchised will not object to this.

The Legislature of 1899 appropriated $5,000 towards supplementing the fund raised by popular subscription to erect a suitable monument, on State ground, on Capitol Square, to the lamented Zebulon B. Vance.

These items alone foot up $41,635. Being of an unusual character, for purposes of comparison, they should be deducted from the expenditures of the Legislature of 1899. Deducting these from $1,359,000, it will appear that the regular expenditures for 1899 were $25,000 less than the expenditures for 1898.

There are other items that should also properly be deducted from the expenditures of 1899, but we have gone far enough to demonstrate that the Legislature of 1899 was not more expensive to the people than the Legislature of 1897.

A similar comparison will show that the regular expenditures for 1899 were less also than the same expenditures for the year 1897.

And so this charge that the Democratic Legislature was extravagant is fully refuted, and is shown to be without the slightest foundation.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The Democratic Party of North Carolina in Convention assembled in Raleigh, N. C., on this day, April 11, 1900, do hereby approve, indorse and ratify the principles enunciated and set forth in the platform of the National Democratic Party adopted at Chicago in 1896.

We denounce the tariff legislation of the Republican Party which has increased the burdens of taxation upon our consumers and increased the powers of the trusts and monopolies to rob the people. Believing that under our present method of Federal taxation that more than three-fourths of our National revenues are paid by people owning less than one-fourth of the property of the country, we protest against such inequality and injustice, and in order to remedy to some extent this great wrong we favor an income tax and favor all constitutional methods to sustain it.

We denounce the Republican Party for its passage of the recent legislation by which the gold standard has been fixed upon our people.

We denounce the policy of the Republican Party for its legislation by which the people in territory acquired by the United States are taxed without representation and deprived of the protection afforded by the principle that the Constitution follows the flag.

We are in favor of peaceful commercial expansion, but denounce imperialism and militarism.

We cordially invite all voters, without regard to past political affiliations, to unite with us in support of our candidates for Congress who favor the principles of the Chicago platform.

We admire the heroism and ability with which the Honorable William Jennings Bryan has defended the principles of the Democratic Party, and hereby instruct the delegates from this State to the next National Democratic Convention to vote for his renomination as a candidate for the Presidency.

We denounce the administration of the Republican Party in North Carolina by which negroes were placed in high and responsible official positions which ought to have been filled by white people.

We approve of the passage of the Act of the Legislature of 1899 to prevent the removal of suits by foreign corporations from the State to the Federal Courts.

We commend the Legislature for the passage of the Election Law of 1899.

We favor a government of the people, by the people and for the people, economy in expenditure and the abolition of unnecessary offices.

We heartily commend the action of the General Assembly of 1899 for appropriating $100,000 for the benefit of the public schools of the State, and pledge ourselves to increase the school fund so as to make at least a four months' term in each year in every school district in the State.

We point with pride to the record of the Democratic Party in the building and management of the institutions for the care of the unfortunate insane, and pledge the party to so increase the appropriation for this purpose as that every needy insane person in the State may be cared for at public expense.

We approve of the passage of the Corporation Commission Act by the last Legislature, and of the administration of the affairs of said Commission by which fairer rates have been secured, which are more just to the people and to the transportation and transmission corporations, and such assessment of railroad property as will make it bear its fair proportion of the burdens of taxation.

We condemn free passes.

We denounce all trusts, monopolies and trade combinations and demand the passage of such legislation, State or National, as will suppress the same.

We favor the election of United States Senators by the people.

We favor the enactment of laws by the next General Assembly providing for the holding of primary elections for the nomination of State and county and Congressional officers.

We hereby instruct the State Executive Committee to make provision for the holding of a primary on the first Tuesday of next November for the selection of a United States Senator by the Democratic voters of the State, at which every elector who has voted the Democratic ticket in the State election shall be entitled to cast one vote for one man for United States Senate.

We heartily approve of the action of the last Legislature in submitting the Constitutional Amendment to the people, and we urge its adoption, because it will promote the peace, the prosperity, the happiness of the people of North Carolina.

(CERTIFIED COPY.)

An Act Supplemental to an Act Entitled "An Act to Amend the Constitution of North Carolina," Ratified February 21, 1899, the same being Chapter Two Hundred and Eighteen of the Public Laws of 1899.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION I. That chapter 218, Public Laws of 1899, entitled "An Act to Amend the Constitution of North Carolina," be amended so as to make said act read as follows:

"That article 6 of the Constitution of North Carolina be, and the same is hereby abrogated, and in lieu thereof shall be substituted the following article of said Constitution as an entire and indivisible plan of suffrage."

ARTICLE VI.

SUFFRAGE AND ELIGIBILITY TO OFFICE.

SECTION 1. Every male person born in the United States, and every male person who has been naturalized, twenty-one years of age, and possessing the qualifications set out in this article, shall be entitled to vote at any election by the people in the State, except as herein otherwise provided.

SEC. 2. He shall have resided in the State of North Caro-

lina for two years, in the county six months, and in the precinct, ward or other election district, in which he offers to vote, four months next preceding the election: *Provided*, that removal from one precinct, ward or other election district to another in the same county shall not operate to deprive any person of the right to vote in the precinct, ward or other election district from which he has removed until four months after such removal. No person who has been convicted, or who has confessed his guilt in open court upon indictment, of any crime, the punishment of which now is, or may hereafter be, imprisonment in the State's Prison, shall be permitted to vote unless the said person shall be first restored to citizenship in the manner prescribed by law.

SEC. 3. Every person offering to vote shall be at the time a legally registered voter as herein prescribed and in the manner hereafter provided by law, and the General Assembly of North Carolina shall enact general registration laws to carry into effect the provisions of this article.

SEC. 4. Every person presenting himself for registration shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution in the English language; and, before he shall be entitled to vote, he shall have paid on or before the 1st day of May, of the year in which he proposes to vote, his poll tax for the previous year as prescribed by article 5, section 1 of the Constitution. But no male person who was, on January 1, 1867, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under the laws of any State in the United States wherein he then resided, and no lineal descendant of any such person shall be denied the right to register and vote at any election in this State by reason of his failure to possess the educational qualification herein prescribed: *Provided*, he shall have registered in accordance with the terms of this section prior to December 1, 1908. The General Assembly shall provide for the registration of all persons entitled to vote without the educational qualifications herein prescribed, and shall, on or before November 1, 1908, provide for the making of a permanent record of such registration, and all persons so registered shall forever thereafter have the right to vote in all elections by the people in this State, unless disqualified under section 2 of this article: *Provided*, such person shall have paid his poll tax as above required.

SEC. 5. That this amendment to the Constitution is presented and adopted as one indivisible plan for the regulation of the suffrage, with the intent and purpose to so connect the different parts, and to make them so dependent upon each other, that the whole shall stand or fall together.

SEC. 6. All elections by the people shall be by ballot, and all elections by the General Assembly shall be *viva voce.*

SEC. 7. Every voter in North Carolina, except as in this article disqualified, shall be eligible to office; but before entering upon the duties of the office, he shall take and subscribe the following oath: "I, ..., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and maintain the Constitution and laws of the United States, and the Constitution and laws of North Carolina, not inconsistent therewith, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of my office, as ......, so help me God."

SEC. 8. The following classes of persons shall be disqualified for office: First, all persons who shall deny the being of Almighty God. Second, all persons who shall have been convicted, or confessed their guilt on indictment pending; and whether sentenced or not, or under judgment suspended, of any treason or felony, or of any other crime for which the punishment may be imprisonment in the Penitentiary, since becoming citizens of the United States, or of corruption or malpractice in office; unless such person shall be restored to the rights of citizenship in a manner prescribed by law.

SEC. 9. That this amendment to the Constitution shall go into effect on the 1st day of July, 1902, if a majority of votes cast at the next general election shall be cast in favor of this suffrage amendment.

SEC. II. This amendment to the Constitution shall be submitted at the next general election to the qualified voters of the State, in the same manner and under the same rules and regulations as is provided in the law regulating general elections in this State; and at said elections those persons desiring to vote for such amendment shall cast a written or printed ballot with the words, "For Suffrage Amendment" thereon; and those with a contrary opinion shall cast a written or printed ballot with the words, "Against Suffrage Amendment" thereon.

SEC. III. The votes cast at said election shall be counted, compared, returned and canvassed, and the result announced and declared under the same rules and regulations, and in the same manner as the vote for Governor; and if a majority of the votes cast are in favor of the said amendment, it shall be the duty of the Governor of the State, upon being notified of the result of said election, to certify said amendment, under the seal of the State, to the Secretary of State, who shall enroll the said amendment so certified among the permanent records of his office.

SEC. IV. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

CHANGES MADE BY THE LEGISLATURE IN AMENDMENT AND ELECTION LAW.

The proposed Constitutional Amendment has been changed by the Legislature in one or two respects, and we desire to call particular attention to the changes.

First, because some apprehension had been expressed lest section 5 might be held inoperative by the Courts, leaving in force the educational qualification not restrained by the grandfather clause, the Legislature deemed it expedient to set at rest all such groundless apprehensions. So the Legislature enacted that the proposed amendment, as an entire and indivisible plan of suffrage, shall be substituted for the present Article VI of the Constitution.

To carry that idea out more perfectly, the grandfather clause, which originally constituted section 5, was made a part of section 4; so that both the educational qualification and the grandfather clause are now interwoven in the same section.

A new section 5 reads: "That this amendment to the Constitution is presented and adopted as one indivisible plan for the regulation of the suffrage, with the intent and purpose to so connect the different parts, and to make them so dependent upon each other, that *the whole shall stand or fall together.*"

These changes certainly remove every possible fear that any man can entertain about one part being held unconstitutional while the other shall be in force.

The effect is to present to the consideration of the voter the simple question, Do you favor this one and entire and indivisible plan of suffrage?

Do you favor eliminating the ignorant negro as a voter, while continuing all white men in as voters?

The last prop is now knocked from beneath the feet of those schemers who sought to defeat the amendment by appealing to the apprehensions of white men.

THE POLL TAX CHANGE.

The amendment as originally drawn contained a provision that "Poll taxes shall be a lien only on assessed property and no process shall issue to enforce the collection of the same except against assessed property."

On consideration, it was thought best to strike that out. So poll taxes will be collected hereafter as heretofore.

Section 4 is also changed so as to require that before any person shall be entitled to vote, he shall have paid, on or before the 1st day of May of the year in which he proposes to vote, his poll tax for the previous year as prescribed by Article V, section 1 of the Constitution.

This alteration meets some objections as to the time of payment of poll tax, and confines the poll tax to that stated in the Constitution. Only persons between twenty-one and fifty years of age are to pay it, and the County Commissioners can relieve the infirm and the poor from paying it in special cases.

The amendment as now presented is free from every objection that reasonable men have urged to it; and is in such shape that every man can now vote for it with perfect confidence.

The sole question now is, Do you want the ignorant negro to continue to vote?

No native-born white man can now say that in any possible contingency he may lose his right to vote.

The Election Law.

The Legislature at its adjourned session also made some changes in the election law, only three of which need be referred to here

First. The Legislature concluded to remove from the list of questions the registrars are to ask the voter, the question about his having paid his poll tax. All about the poll tax is struck out of the election law.

Second. It now requires the applicant for registration to prove his identity to the satisfaction of the registrar. Originally, the law required him to prove his identity by the oaths of two witnesses. It was thought best not to require any number of witnesses, but merely proof of identity to the satisfaction of the registrars.

There is a third very important alteration. A provision is made forbidding any judge of any court from issuing any injunction against an election officer until the facts have been passed on by a jury; and even then the injunction is not to go into operation if an appeal is taken, and bond given; and the right of appeal is expressly given.

This will prevent any undue interference with the election by any partisan judge.

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