

The Times-Dispatch

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SUNDAY, APRIL 26, 1903.

DR. ABBOTT'S VIEW.

The address made last night before the Education Conference by Lyman Abbott was noteworthy in several respects, but particularly in that it confesses that there had been a change of opinion in the North with respect to negro suffrage.

Dr. Abbott is the distinguished editor of the Outlook, is a man of keen observation and wide experience in public affairs, and was an original abolitionist. He said the northern people are beginning to learn that suffrage is a prerogative and a duty, rather than a right, and that "manhood suffrage means manhood first and suffrage afterwards."

Very true. And if the views of Lincoln had prevailed—even if Andrew Johnson had had his way—the Southern States would have been treated as if they had never been out of the Union, and under certain limitations, would have been allowed to regulate suffrage to suit themselves.

But the extremists in Congress, having become very bitter toward President Johnson, resolved that they would rule or ruin. Possibly Lincoln might have led them, but Johnson could not do so. He was a southern man and was charged with wishing to put the "old rebels" back into power again.

Dr. Abbott quoted Henry Ward Beecher as saying that "all the laws in the world cannot lift a man higher than the natural forces put him." The Doctor was satisfied that while the country ought to claim for the colored man the right of elective franchise, they would never be able to secure it and maintain it for him, "except by making him so intelligent that men cannot deny it to him."

If the Oeden education movement had accomplished nothing more than directing northern public attention to the negro question, it would be entitled to general approval and hearty praise. It is a great point gained when a man like Dr. Abbott, representing the constituency which he does, and viewing the case from the standpoint that the disciples, substantially admits that in dealing with negro suffrage the South has been in the right and the North in the wrong.

The Times-Dispatch has heretofore pointed out and emphasized, the new Constitution of Virginia in its educational qualification offers to the colored man a strong stimulus to qualify himself as a voter. The time will come when the intelligent Virginia negro, instead of resenting the suffrage article of the new Constitution will recognize it as the greatest incentive ever held out to his race to acquire education.

We are glad to find Dr. Abbott occupying the position that he does. He is a man of great intellectual force, and is in a position of influence. We are satisfied, too, that he is the spokesman of a very large number of thoughtful and patriotic men in the North, who have had their eyes opened lately on the subject of negro suffrage, and who are resolved to do what they can to let the South deal with the question in its own way and its own time.

Along with many other happy utterances made by the learned Doctor night before last was one wherein he approved Dr. McKelway's tribute to Jackson and Lee, which he said brought tears to his eyes—a sentiment that was received by the audience with great applause.

THE CITY COUNCIL.

It is not always easy to gain consent of good and serviceable men to offer as candidates for the City Council, nor is it always possible to retain them in place after they have been elected. While it is an undeniable fact that public office has a charm for many persons, it is equally true that most such persons are sensitive under criticism, and become disgusted when they find that their work worthy and self-sacrifices are followed by hostile influences, or are not appreciated by the masses.

Lack of appreciation does not fall to the lot of councilmen alone. There are others. Not even the newspaper man is always properly valued in his day and generation, and the lawyer, the doctor and the minister are justified in making the same complaint on occasions.

The fact is that a good deal of the state's philosophy is needed for one to deal satisfactorily with the dear public.

But, as we have intimated, not all of the buffets a councilman receives come from the people; no indeed, he receives many from his fellow members, whose views and schemes do not coincide with his own. And then, too, the faithful councilman has to give as much of his time to his duties. Not only has he to attend regular and adjourned and special meetings of the Common Council or Board of Aldermen, but many long, tedious and inconsequential committee meetings. Then, again, sometimes he must waste hours and hours for the arrival of tardy and inconsiderate members needed to make up quorums.

Altogether the lot of a city father is not a happy one. The fact is that here in Richmond the City Council and its committees have imposed upon themselves too much detailed work; too much of trivial and routine labor that would be better done by the heads of departments.

It is a wonder to us that councilmen will cling to that sort of thing. It brings to them little of joy or satisfaction and could be disposed of otherwise to great advantage. Under a wise system, nearly one-half of its time and energy now given by councilmen to the public service could be economized, leaving members with minds free to deal with real, substantial, important matters of legislation, now too often neglected.

The practice in vogue, we know, is hallowed, as it were, by ancient precedent, but for all that it is not business-like, and it is not suited to the demands of this urgent and insistent age, and would be more honored in the breach than in the observance. Hence we would advise both branches of the City Council and their committees to unload as much as possible of their small executive work and encourage members to concentrate their time and thought upon matters of grave concern; matters of real legislation.

Speaking generally, and viewing the subject by and large, Richmond councilmen have been the equals of those of any other city of our class has had in our time. We have had many excellent men to serve us; positively had ones have been the rare exception and not the rule. When voting time comes around we ought to settle up with the latter; but at all times we should keep the former in grateful memory and let them know that we understand their worth and appreciate their services. They belong to a somewhat numerous class of citizens, who would prefer to have some pleasant things said about them now while they live, rather than that all such material should be reserved for use in their obituaries.

THE SAFE-OPENING.

The Postmaster-General has removed from office his first assistant, partly because of acts done and deeds committed by his first assistant's wife—Mrs. Tyner.

Some years ago Mr. Tyner was Postmaster-General. Of late he has been glad to have a subordinate's position. Even that he was unable to fill satisfactorily because of ill-health, partial paralysis. He was not only sick, but in trouble, because of alleged official misconduct, and his resignation had been exacted of him.

In one of the safes in the Department, he had left papers of importance to himself and being unable to go for them in person, his wife went and, taking an expert with her, caused the safe to be opened. She withdrew the desired documents and boldly carried them off.

When Postmaster-General Payne heard of this, he became indignant and removed him from office, thereby anticipating by some days the date when Tyner's resignation would have taken effect. He also wishes Tyner or Mrs. Tyner, prosecuted criminally, but this the law officers say cannot be done unless they know what papers of the government's were abstracted. For their part, the Tyners contend that all the papers removed were personal papers of Mr. Tyner. They offer to exhibit them to agents of the government now, though they at one time refused to do so.

It is not improbable that the matter will be permitted to rest where it is, unless the President comes home soon and compels a searching investigation to be made. Many recent developments show that the Postoffice Department needs overhauling.

CHURCH AND STATE.

We have a letter from an old citizen of Virginia who was a Confederate soldier, and who says that he has been a temperate man and a religious man and a good church member for many years, but that he believes that as alcohol is here and that as men are going to drink it and men are going to sell it, it is better to have the sale regulated by law. "Holding these views," he proceeds, "I was led honestly to give public endorsement of the same by voting for the public sale of the same by the Church, to which I belonged, even to the extent of suspension from membership of the same or expulsion, as being guilty of an act of immorality."

This is a most notable case and interests us no little. Of course, every church has the right to make rules and regulations for the government of its members, and those who by their acts make themselves offensive to the congregation, may in all reason be suspended or expelled from membership. It is not for a newspaper to dictate to any church organization what those rules and regulations shall be, nor to criticize the church for disciplining its members or excommunicating them. But it seems to us a most dangerous thing for any church to expel a member because he has exercised his right, as a citizen of Virginia, to vote his convictions this way or that in a public contest.

It may be said that in this case a purely moral question was involved. But so the Abolitionists said that the abolition of slavery was a purely moral question, and it played a conspicuous and revolutionary part in the Methodist Church of America. It may be contended that the question of regulating child labor is a moral question, and indeed, many sociological questions may be classed under that head. There are no hard and fast

definitions. If a church may exclude a man from the communion because he has voted against prohibition, may it not also exclude him for voting against a prohibition candidate for office? But suppose this should be done; suppose all the churches in Virginia should decide that each and every member must vote the prohibition ticket in all elections, or be excommunicated—what would be the result? We should soon have a church party and an anti-church party, and either the church party would go down in defeat and the church itself be almost annihilated, or we should have a successful church party, in which event all sorts of designing men would go into the church for the purpose of seeking office through that channel.

It is a dangerous question for the church to deal with. It is dangerous for the church to dictate to any man how he shall vote on any question. It is for the church to deal with a member's conduct from a moral and religious point of view, but it is not for the church to interfere with him in exercising the right of franchise. If the church can show that a man who has voted for a bar-room is a regular patron of the bar-room, and that he drinks whiskey in a way to make himself offensive, or that he is in any way immoral, the church may deal with him according to its rules. But if the man is otherwise moral and upright in his living and conforms to the rules, we do not see how his church can consistently expel him because he has cast a conscientious ballot. We say that it is a most dangerous departure for the church to make, and if that rule should be adopted by all the churches of Virginia there would soon be an end to our great principle and practice of complete separation in the matters of church and State, and we should have the church in politics up to its neck.

Even God-deniers are in some degree and in an unobscured sense, God-seekers. Life is often a tragedy, always a mystery, a self-contradiction. Sometimes men are more infidel in words than they are in heart. They often say things they really do not mean, in order as it were to good the soul to grasp the whole truth. No human teacher can bring them knowledge of these mysteries. The need is deeper than that; and can only be met in divine revelation. Judge yourselves by your aspiration. What do you want? What do you pant for? What do you need? If you can say, "Lord, Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest that I love Thee. I want to know and do my duty. I want to grow more and more like Thee." Then you are His, and none shall pluck you out of His hand. In Him you will find rest for your souls.

THE "PER CAPITA."

It seems but yesterday, although it was about four or five years ago, when there came up from "bleeding" Kansas a Populist wall, not to say a weird scream, about the awful condition of what the long whiskered fraternity were pleased to term "the per capita." The wall was taken up by the Populists everywhere, and we all remember how they told us between walls and screeches that in all this broad country from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Gulf to the Lakes, the amount of circulating medium was just the paltry sum of \$24.57 "per capita." Down South it was that sum "per capita," but this slight variation in the screech did not affect the amount. It was further alleged that this insignificant "per capita" or "per capity," as the case might be, was in the hands of the gloated bondholders and plutocrats, all of which distressing conditions were due to the remedy, the only remedy, according to the screechers, was the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the sixteen to one ratio. The remedy was not applied, thanks to better sense, and the hated gold standard still prevails, but somehow the country has not gone to the dogs, and Kansas, too, is doing pretty well, for the papers of that State are now boasting that there are \$30 on deposit in the banks out there for every man, woman and child in the Commonwealth. By the way, there is no walling and screeching in Kansas now, and yet there are those outside of that State who are saying the Democratic party must stand squarely on the Chicago and Kansas City platforms. Surely those who speak thus do not wish to see the party win in a national election.

"THIRSTING FOR GOD."

(Selected for The Times-Dispatch.) "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God."

Psalm xlii 1.

Why does the hart pant after the water-brooks? Why does not the hart go quietly and take a cool draught of the limpid water? Why this panting? Why this heart-benting? Why this quivering frame? See how the poor beast pants, quaking in distress!

The little birds fit, taking their sips of dew without stir or tumult. Why then does the hart pant? We need something more to explain the situation; but insert "chased" or "hunted" and we have the idea. As the hunted hart chased by hounds; as the hart more dead than alive, over-run, over-borne, imperilled, pants and cries for the water-brook, "So" now we can fill it up with our human experience. If we are living any life at all we are persecuted and threatened. It is hunted souls that pray, threatened souls that cry out mightily for the living God. Praying may be but a mechanical exercise, but panting means earnestness and prostration with groanings that cannot be uttered.

"As the hart . . ." Then this soul-panting after God is natural. Always distinguish between a natural and an acquired appetite. Whatever is natural admits of legitimate satisfaction, whatever is acquired grows by what it feeds upon, until it works out the ruin of its devotee. No hart ever panted after wine, no bird ever fluttered for strong drink.

The understanding needs God. The heart in all its tumult of emotion and in its agony of dissatisfaction, needs a God, who alone has the living waters. When a man really prays, he realizes the purpose of his creation. When he goes into the sanctuary he is at his best. The church is not merely a stone building put up by human hands, it is His Father's home, a rough emblem of the house heavenly. It is natural therefore in the most profound sense to seek God; it is fallen and corrupt nature that flees from His presence.

"As the hart panteth . . ." Do not stop there. God is not mocked, nor will He mock His earnest needy creatures. "The hart panteth for the water-brook." Who made them? The brooks were there before the hart, the provision was made before the need was felt. See how one part of life is balanced by the other. And did the hart know what he wanted to quench his thirst? Does not nature itself teach you? Is there not a presence within you leading you up to higher things?

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goes out in vehement desire. Why did not the hart satisfy itself from within? The cry of all nature is for something beyond itself. We have to go out for everything and the going does us good. Blessed are they who know where to go! So much for the hart, chased, panting, hunted and bound-pursued!—What of the human soul? "So panteth." That word "So" must be interpreted in all the length and breadth of its meaning if we would understand the comfort of the text. "As" balances "So." The one is the guide of the other.

"So panteth my soul after Thee, O God." Yea, for nothing less. Man needs all of God. Every sinner needs the whole cross. Nothing less than God will, or can satisfy the panting soul. We drink up all the little streams and rivers; and still the heart is sore with pain and thirst. We must have a living God, a present Saviour or cleansing spirit in us, living in us, abiding with us, supping with us—a hospitality that takes away the terrors of the night.

"For Thee, O God." Then for nothing strange. As the water-brooks were made for the poor chased, panting hart, so God lives to satisfy the soul. Here see the greatness of the soul of man. What does that soul need to fill and satisfy it, to quiet and renew it? The soul cries out for God and only finds rest in Him. It must have the living God.

Even God-deniers are in some degree and in an unobscured sense, God-seekers. Life is often a tragedy, always a mystery, a self-contradiction. Sometimes men are more infidel in words than they are in heart. They often say things they really do not mean, in order as it were to good the soul to grasp the whole truth. No human teacher can bring them knowledge of these mysteries. The need is deeper than that; and can only be met in divine revelation. Judge yourselves by your aspiration. What do you want? What do you pant for? What do you need? If you can say, "Lord, Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest that I love Thee. I want to know and do my duty. I want to grow more and more like Thee." Then you are His, and none shall pluck you out of His hand. In Him you will find rest for your souls.

Today Jesus brings to you and to me this living water. To this you, weary heart-broken worker, He holds out the cheering hope. "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink." Here is the hospitality of love. Here is the free offer of heaven. Will you accept—or refuse it?

The Nell Publishing Company, of Washington, D. C., announces for publication this summer a book by Major Robert Stiles, of this city, entitled "Four Years Under Marsa Robert." Major Stiles' work is "a connected record of the daily life of a soldier of General Lee's army—his surroundings, aspirations, inspirations and experiences." It will be an octavo volume of 450 pages, and will be "largely composed of reminiscences telling what Johnny Reb did and suffered—what he was, what he felt, what he thought and why he fought." It includes sketches and original stories of Lee, Jackson, Johnston, Ewell, Early and the Hills and many other Confederate leaders. In it, we are told, Major Stiles "makes a startling disclosure of a fatal blunder of the Confederate military authorities, that contributed to the failure of the cause."

Major Stiles is a vigorous and graceful writer, and we are prepared to expect from him a book of uncommon interest and value.

Measles is—or are—no respecter of persons. It is impartial and non-partisan in its visitations. Now it is in the White House and has seized Archie Roosevelt, the son of the President. And in consequence thereof Miss Alice Roosevelt dares not return to her home, but is quartered with her aunt, Mrs. William S. Cowles, at the latter's residence on N Street, Washington.

Miss Roosevelt is to be the guest of honor at a dance at the British embassy next week, and therefore thinks it well to keep herself away from the White House while there is danger of infection. The view she takes is a sensible one, and it would be well if it were generally taken. As it is, too many persons are utterly indifferent whether they carry infectious diseases or not to the houses of their friends.

In the April No. of the Old Dominion Journal there is an article from the pen of Coronator Taylor under the title, "The Burial of Ophelia," which has been reprinted in pamphlet form, and will find many readers. The style is original and graceful, and the treatment of the subject is in the form of a vigorous protest against the "stigma of barbarity" often recklessly attached to suicides.

Mr. Roosevelt is looking for a Southern man (white man) to be his running mate, Henry County is the particular locality that can meet the demand.

Of course, the mine owners will take advantage of the mulishness of the miners to advance the price of coal to last year's figures.

The educators have been doing a good deal of educating, and have been learning a good many things themselves.

Anyhow, when an Illinois lawmaker goes in for a parliamentary riot he does the thing up in great style.

Chauncey M. Depew is just sixty-nine years of age. Some of the jokes he tells on occasions are older than he is.

The President emerged from the tall timber long enough to help plant a gate post for the big park, and then away he flew.

By draining the swamps in Florida and irrigating the far western plains, we will by and by open the door of hope to the landless.

The Vanderbilt are doing their best to keep Essayist Watterson supplied with subjects.

Suicide is not so prevalent in Japan as it once was. The Emperor writes poetry, and the Empress is still living.

Trend of Thought In Dixie Land

Montgomery Advertiser: "The lady doth protest too much, methinks." said Shakespeare, and he might have applied the remark to some members of the William Joel Stone, of Missouri, for example.

Augusta Chronicle: A negro lawyer represents the First District, composed of the First and Second Wards of Chicago. Apparently the West votes a little more like it talks than does the East.

Austin (Tex.) Statesman: Human beings are the only creatures that are awake of night, and try to devise some scheme whereby they can defraud one of their own species.

Columbus Enquirer-Sun: The Georgia peach grows at the same time to plant large watermelon crop and next to the Georgia peach the Georgia watermelon holds the place of honor.

FROM THE CHURCH PAPERS.

There is a point where prudence ceases to be a virtue and fidelity becomes imprudence to a great negro editor. The point that soul need to fill and satisfy it, to quiet and renew it? The soul cries out for God and only finds rest in Him. It must have the living God.

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Suicide is not so prevalent in Japan as it once was. The Emperor writes poetry, and the Empress is still living.

wife to become visitors at the White House. I take it that "Virginia" refers to the report concerning an invitation said to have been sent to Assistant District Attorney Lewis, of Boston, and his wife, I happen to know that when the President was in the city he called to the fact that a report to that effect had appeared in an editorial from the Richmond News, copied into The Literary Digest of February 14th, he said it was the first he had heard of it, and that he had not even thought of extending such an invitation. So much for that count in "Virginia" indictment.

The President did invite Professor Booker T. Washington to dine with him one evening more than a year ago, because this would give him a good opportunity to hear the suggestions which he knew in advance that wise colored leader wished to make with reference to the advisability of appointing white Democrats to the best class to be promoted to offices in the South. This President is such a busy man that he often invites to luncheon or dinner gentlemen who have business with him, and that without any idea of entertaining this situation of social equality. The President having disclaimed any intention to set an example of introducing such equality at the White House or in the South, would it not be wise to accept his declaration of social equality in his letter to Mr. Clark Howell, and let that old matter rest? When Queen Victoria entertained Professor Washington and his wife at luncheon would any one presume to say that by that act of hospitality to a great negro educator he meant that Englishmen and negroes should all be on terms of social equality in South Africa? When Professor James Bryce, author of "The American Commonwealth" was entertained at luncheon and his wife at dinner, does any one suppose that great scholar and statesman intended that he was setting an example for his Southern friends in America to entertain the colored people at luncheon and dinner? The President has entertained this exceptional negro and his wife at her home, and when Lady Henry Somerset invited them to spend several days in her home, did those noble ladies wish to be understood as favoring social equality between the races in South Africa and in our Southern States? That does not follow by any means. They were simply recognizing the great work done by that wise leader of the negro in America. They doubtless honored him as he is the only negro who has been invited to the family table in the White House (so far as we are informed), ought we not to regard the President's invitation to a great negro educator as a matter of course, to these formal official receptions, just as the Minister from Haiti and his wife (who are negroes) are invited to the more formal State dinners at the White House? But "Virginia" will want to know then why negro guests attended the President's official reception. Well, that can be easily and satisfactorily explained. Ever since negroes have had Federal citizenship, and since the President has invited them to the White House, they and their wives have been invited, as a matter of course, to these formal official receptions, just as the Minister from Haiti and his wife (who are negroes) are invited to the more formal State dinners at the White House. But "Virginia" will want to know then why negro guests attended the President's official reception. Well, that can be easily and satisfactorily explained. Ever since negroes have had Federal citizenship, and since the President has invited them to the White House, they and their wives have been invited, as a matter of course, to these formal official receptions, just as the Minister from Haiti and his wife (who are negroes) are invited to the more formal State dinners at the White House.

When we recall how often the President has spoken words of praise and admiration of the South and of our Confederate leaders, and how ready he is to show a feeling of interest in the Southern States of those leaders, it seems strange that "Virginia" could suppose that this same President would offer a "deadly and stupid insult to the State of South Carolina," in which he had been recently hostilely entertained in the White House. It is found himself in a trying dilemma, because as a conscientious man trying to be the Executive of the whole people, he did not believe he could ignore nearly 10,000,000 people in making appointments to office, and he could not be so unprincipled to the last, in spite of later criticism and abuse, and if, as "Virginia" asserts, the President and his family are "antagonizing every sentiment and tradition of the South," how is it that such noble and true men as Thomas Y. Page and General Basil Duke remain his friends?

I hold no brief to defend the President. Indeed, I know that he does not believe that his acts need either apology or defense. He has given his own reasons for the desire to get some people, including "Virginia," to see the other side, for whatever our political creed, we ought to wish to think well and not ill of the President of our Republic.

In conclusion, let me commend to all reasonable people open to conviction the editorial comments on the President's policy in the February and March numbers of the Review of Reviews, the able editor of which, Albert Shaw, has long been an intimate friend of the President and also a warm friend of the South, as he has so frequently shown in the pages of that popular periodical. When we read there that of eighty Federal appointments in South Carolina, only one was given to a negro, and that, including Dr. Crum, only three negroes in the South have received new appointments from President Roosevelt, we wonder why so much more ado has been made over these few than over the larger number of such appointments by his predecessors.

As a Southern man I know how difficult our problem is, but at the same time I cannot see how anyone helps to bring this problem by misrepresenting and abusing such a man as President Roosevelt.

April 17, 1903.

Some Pertinent Questions.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch: Sir,—You will recall that under the "Interstate Commerce" act a State law was declared unconstitutional and void, which prohibited drummers from offering goods in this State. Under the Mann bill, any one offering to sell liquors of any kind by sample is required to take out a sample merchant's license, cost \$250. Would any such restriction be applicable as applicable to a salesman representing a Baltimore house? And if so, would not this restriction also be illegal as applicable to a resident of this State? Would houses located in other States? Is there any United States statute exempting the general application of the Interstate Commerce act as to the rights of the State to regulate the liquor traffic, and to require special licenses from salesmen representing houses located in other States? "INQUIRER."

Richmond, Va., April 26th.

Patriotism.

Patriotism is a hallowed word, hallowed in glory, stiched in blood. To God and Thee we bend our knee, Watchword of nation, brave and free, Thousands sleep for love of thee, Password of nation brave and free, Angels we'll cherish thee thro' unborn years.

As I have seen thee with orphan tears, Patriotism, oh, sacred word, Embellished in glory, stiched in blood, To God and Thee we bend our knee, Watchword of nation, brave and free, Thousands sleep for love of thee