

GRACE ATTACKS TILLMAN

TILLMAN TAKES WATER—AFRAID TO EXPOSE WHALEY—PITCHFORK NOT WORKING.

(From Common Sense, the Charleston Weekly.)

It is time the people should know about the status of the Whaley matter in Washington. The following correspondence will throw a strong light upon it. It begins rather in the middle of the case; for before these letters were written (somewhat of a confidential character in parts) and a great deal of verbal communication was had between Senator Tillman and Mr. Grace. This may all come out later, and it will come out if Senator Tillman can be induced to remove from his letters the seal of confidence. The whole correspondence will show that the senator at first promised to press the Whaley matter in the house, and then, as his friend Captain Martin became certainly involved in the mess of corruption backed out. However, none of the following part of the correspondence is confidential; so it is published, and from it the public can form their own conclusions. Can anybody now blame Mr. Grace if he goes over the head of the South Carolina delegation in bringing the matter to the attention of congress?

Charleston, S. C., July 25, 1913.
Honorable B. R. Tillman, United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Tillman: I noticed what you said the other day in the paper about the possibility of Blease's election to the senate by fraud and corruption and of the fight that you would make against him in Washington. The News and Courier had a little editorial on the subject, of course commendatory, not because it hates corruption, but because it hates Blease. Other South Carolina papers, for the same reason, took the same view. An old time Tillmanite and general admirer of yours came in to say that he had read some of the press approvals of your sentiments, which he intended sending you, but at the same time he would ask you why you did not jump into the fight against Whaley on the same grounds. I have no doubt he expressed an almost universal question which the people are asking in their minds about you. They realize the inconsistency of your position, and your fame as a senator and your power as a counsellor next summer in the fight against Blease will depend upon the genuineness of your stand against corruption and perjury as illustrated in the Whaley case. If Washington is the place to fight Blease, why not fight Whaley there?

When I was in Washington recently, you treated me cordially; altogether in such a way as almost to disarm me from persisting in bringing this Whaley matter to a direct issue between us. You would talk to me about everything else, and you permitted me to talk to you about a great many things; but you would hardly come to the point, man to man, on the Whaley question. You talked about affidavits, testimony, etc., and told me that you would prepare an affidavit which if you would sign you would use as the basis of a fight against Whaley and that you would send it to me. I told you that I would sign it if I could. But I have not seen it. Weeks and months are passing. My patience is being taxed. I am honest about it and in dead earnest about it. The case against Whaley is overwhelming. I cannot believe that you hate fraud and corruption as much as you have said you do; because I have presented to you, and am ready to present to congress, the clearest possible case of it; and you only generalize and temporize.

Nobody can deny that my fight against Bleasism has not only been uncompromising, but has been pushed to the point of personal danger and even the risk of my life, as all South Carolina knows. All reports to the contrary notwithstanding, you know that I look upon Bleasism as the crowning curse of South Carolina. I yearn to have it blotted out. But I am beginning to have doubts. For twenty years the people have conferred upon you their every power. You have enjoyed a fullness of leadership which carries with it the obligation of fearlessness. You cannot be afraid to fight Whaley because it will involve the exposure of some of your lifelong allies in this congressional district, and at the same time command any respectable attention from the people of South Carolina. Blease can only be beaten by a combination of men who are not afraid to fight anybody's corruption and, however much they may differ on all things else, will agree that any man that South Carolina sends to represent her in either branch of congress must have a title to that office as pure as Calhoun's. You will be the means of electing Blease and all that he represents and everybody on his ticket (and

I say this with a great many things in mind) now that the issue is made, unless you come out like a man and say that if Whaley committed perjury it shall be made the means of unseating him. Nobody puts any store in your idea against "washing our linen in public," at least nobody but those few who wish Whaley to keep his seat. Even most of those who voted for Whaley now want the facts to come out. The idea of South Carolina not wishing to wash her linen in public—South Carolina, whose politics is a "hissing and a byword!" (Do you recall using these words last summer?) There is hardly a serious or comic paper that doesn't gibe at South Carolina every day and hold her up to the scorn of the universe because of her civic depravity. Why shouldn't they, when the senior senator from Calhoun's State temporizes over the unseating of a man who brazenly bought her people like cattle and then perjured his way into congress? Our State with a glorious history behind her has fallen upon evil times. She now has the proud distinction of leading the sisterhood of States in lynching and illiteracy, and her governor, who says "to hell with the constitution," boasts that he is needed in Washington, because she has nobody there to "represent" her; and he looks to a constituency made up of such corruptionists as Ben Storthart and his very dear friend, and your very dear friend, Captain Martin, to send him there. Unless you at once take a genuine part in bringing Whaley to justice, I will be compelled to believe that your talk about Blease and corruption is but "tinkling cymbals and sounding brass," and so will the people of South Carolina; and thus believing, they will elect Blease and he will be your colleague in the senate. And if you live long enough, some other Blease will defeat you, because you have been "weighed in the balance and found wanting."

It is not a case of washing our linen in public anyhow. The public is already scandalized at South Carolina, and knows exactly what kind of linen she wears. Was there ever a mass of corruption equaling the last days of the dispensary? It's rottenness, as advertised to the world, was unexampled; but was anybody punished? Not only did the world read of those infamies and thievery, but it read also that out of the whole mess the only one man who was convicted was pardoned! Also the horrors of last summer, when our sad situation was detagrapghed to the universe; and all the guilty parties were not only not punished but elected! She has shown, therefore, that she is too rotten to right her own wrongs. Even the criminals of past times have been "turned loose" from the penitentiary on the open theory that they are no worse than most of the judges who sentenced and the juries who convicted them. Her courts have failed; her elections have failed; and our chief executive, with serene contempt for law and order, has not only pardoned the most hardened criminals but when another jurisdiction has sent here to take one of them away to be dealt with according to law, he permits the criminal to "escape" from the capital while the federal authorities are waiting in the ante room. I say the only thing left to do is to go to Washington and wash, if you will have it, our very dirty linen, and let the world know that there is one laundry left where the stain of perjury can be washed even out of the linen of South Carolina. And it is going to be done! But this is the last time that I am going to ask you to help me do it. In view of what you said from the beginning, I think you have cost me a great deal of unnecessary money and much loss of time, and thereby perhaps prejudiced the case; for which I think you should be truly sorry. Instead of telling me, as you did, that you would help me, I think you might have told me that there were reasons why you could not help me. I understand them—you don't want to involve Martin.

But suppose I can prove the case against Whaley without necessarily involving Martin. Whaley used far more than enough money in any one of the other counties in this district to greatly exceed the amount limited by law. One county, therefore, would be enough to oust him. Suppose I agree to leave Charleston county out of it; may I then depend upon you to push the matter?

You said something to me about why should you be called on to do this. Why shouldn't you? You are our senior senator; our State has been renowned for the purity of its statesmen. You have recognized Mr. Whaley's right to the seat to the extent of breaking your promise to Legare to

appoint Storen, and permitting Mr. Whaley to name Peters; although I told you, and the evidence will prove, that Peters also was one of Whaley's cashiers. I can imagine the possibility of the destiny of the United States hinging upon Whaley's vote. It is not probable, of course, but there are instances in even recent history. If it is not your business to take the first step in this matter, whose is it?

I heard a gentleman say the other day in Washington, quoting one of the leading men of the United States, that the gentleman quoted had said that he had always had respect for at least one thing about Tillman, he was honest and hated corruption. But when he saw Tillman shed tears over the expulsion of Lorimer, those tears instantly washed out the little good opinion he had. I told him you were perhaps blinded in the Lorimer case by personal affection. But I can imagine no personal affection between you and Whaley; nor can there be any social or political affection. He represents the things which you capitalized in arraying the people of the State against Charleston. Of course you advocated some things which you might say all of us in Charleston opposed, the dispensary, for instance. But on the other hand all those reforms designed to lift up the poor man and alleviate his awful condition in South Carolina many of us profoundly favored. But it is for just those things that Whaley and his whole crowd hate you. They were wearing the silk stockings and they wanted the people as a whole to continue to go in rags. And I am sure that if the gentleman above quoted could be informed of the way in which you have haggled and hesitated about unseating Whaley, while at the same time talking through the press, etc., about Blease and corruption, it would be impossible to convince him that you had ever been sincere in even your advocacy of reforms for the poor.

Pardon me if you think my letter very plain, but the aggravation is great. Don't say that you have more important things, because there is nothing so important. Representative government is a failure if our representatives are to be those only who do not mind committing perjury. Tillmanism was worse than in vain; it was an unpardonable crime; and the blood that was shed and the men that are dead because of it will rise up and curse the man who began it unless he hold to its professed ideals. The fortune which made you what you are forbids you to have a friend. (Apologies to Junius.) If your right arm in Charleston politics scandalize you, cut it off and cast it from you; and let Tillmanism in its fast fruits correspond with Tillmanism in the seed; or verily shall it come to pass that the tree which has not borne good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire. Yours very truly,
(Signed) John P. Grace.
(To be continued.)

GOVERNORS FAVOR PEAN.

Most of Those Who Talk Indorse Wilson's Policy on the Mexican Situation.

Denver, Col., Aug. 27.—The Denver Post today prints a statement of 19 governors attending the conference of governors at Colorado Springs on President Wilson's Mexican message. Most of them are favorable.

Gov. McDonald, New Mexico, declared the president was right in his views as to the hopelessness of Huerta's attempts to restore order. "As to armed intervention," he added, "I can not say that I am in favor of it."

Gov. Colquitt, Texas, remarked: "Wilson seems to have come around to the opinion of the Texas governor when he says peace and Huerta are at opposite poles."

Gov. Slaton, Georgia, said the United States would not be justified in intervention except under the necessity of protecting its own citizens.

Gov. Eberhardt, Minnesota, approves the policy of the government and is opposed to intervention.

Gov. SPY, Utah, said: "I am in favor of doing the job right and taking over the entire country for ourselves."

Ultimate war with Mexico is forecast by Gov. Byrne of South Dakota, who says the Wilson plan "looks to be rather a weak policy."

Gov. Lister, Washington said: "It seems to me that the president's position is logical."

Gov. O'Neal, Alabama: "Huerta can never pacify the country, and it would be disgraceful for this country to recognize a man like him. I see no occasion for intervention by this country."

Relinquishes Adrianople.

London, Aug. 25.—A long dispatch from Constantinople today gives details of the negotiations between Turkey and Bulgaria, by which it is said the latter has relinquished claim to Adrianople in return for compensation elsewhere.

CONVICT WORK OUTLINED.

CHAIRMAN A. K. SANDERS MAKES STATEMENT OF POSITION OF BOARD.

Prisoners Formerly Employed in Hosiery Mill will Manufacture Leather Goods and Furniture—Road Question Still Open—Bids Requested.

Convicts now employed in the hosiery mill at the State penitentiary are to be used for the manufacture of leather goods and furniture, under contract, according to a resolution adopted yesterday at a meeting of the board of directors.

An advertisement for the employment of 200 to 300 prisoners will be inserted in the press of the State this morning and the contract will be let at a meeting called for September 10. Contract with the management of the hosiery mill will expire November 1.

At the meeting yesterday the board discussed the question of placing some of the convicts on road work, but nothing of a definite nature was decided upon.

Following advertisement will appear this morning:

"The board of directors of South Carolina penitentiary will be pleased to receive bids for the employment of 200 to 300 convicts within the walls of the penitentiary for the purpose of manufacturing leather goods, furniture, chairs, etc. The penitentiary to furnish buildings, guards, water, lights and heat. Contract to be let at their office, Columbia, S. C., on Wednesday, September 10."

There are now 430 prisoners at the penitentiary. Of this number about 45 are women. There are 220 prisoners employed in the hosiery mill.

Statistics gathered by the penitentiary officials show that the following are now employed in the hosiery mill: Eighty-six negro men convicted of murder and serving life sentences; nine white men serving life terms for murder; 13 negroes serving sentences of three to 15 years each for burglary and larceny; 15 white men under similar sentences; three white men and three negroes serving sentences ranging from two to five years each for assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature; 16 negroes serving sentences for manslaughter of 10 to 30 years each; seven white men serving like sentences for manslaughter; 27 negroes serving terms of 30 years to life each for attempted criminal assault; 11 white men and three negroes serving terms of from 10 to 20 years each on the charge of arson.

The general policy was decided upon at a full meeting of the board, which is composed of the following: A. K. Sanders, Sumter, chairman; John G. Mobley, Fairfield; W. H. Glenn, Anderson; J. D. Deas, Charleston; Jasper M. Smith, Colleton.

Contract with the management of the hosiery mill was abolished at the last session of the general assembly. Several days ago J. M. Graham, who has held the contract with the State for prison labor for 2 years, announced that he would give up his contract without litigation.

A. K. Sanders, chairman, made the following statement yesterday:

"As there seems to be a great difference of opinion existing all over the State as to what disposition should be made of the convicts now employed in the hosiery mill when same is closed on November the 1st next, I beg to give my views on the subject as widely, perhaps, as they may differ from a great many. I will say at the outset that I have been a member of the board of directors of the State penitentiary for the last 15 years; have attended several sessions of the American Prison association and have visited most of the large prisons and have a personal acquaintance with nearly every superintendent and warden of prisons in the United States. Ever since my connection with the penitentiary I have made a study of prison conditions, both at home and abroad and have learned enough to know that there are two sides to the great question: What is best to do with the man after he becomes a convict?"

"The greatest of these questions, which most people seem to ignore entirely, is the humanity side of it. As soon as a man is convicted of a crime they seem to forget that he is a human being and deserves to be treated as such. In my judgment, whenever a man is convicted of a crime and thereby forfeits his liberty to the State, the State should never lose its control of him and should be held responsible for his safe keeping and well being. He should be well clothed, given wholesome food, comfortable quarters and good medical attention and then made to work, but making money for the State should not be the main object of any penal institution. But after the prisoners have been accorded the treatment as above set forth, if an honest dollar can be made there is no objection to it.

"A great many seem to think that the proper thing to do is to lease them

out to the different county chain-gangs for the purpose of building good roads. This seems to be the most popular plan but the average citizen does not know the cost in human life and blood by such a system. I want it understood that I am not opposed entirely to the chain-gangs. For petty offenders and short term men I think it is all right and calculated to do a good work, but I will never think it is right to take a man sentenced for 10 years or perhaps longer, shackle him, make him labor six days to the week, sleep in tents on the damp ground and often in wet clothes and, in many cases, with a cruel boss behind him. Under these conditions, and I believe they are true in a number of counties, if a man should survive a 10-year sentence at the end of it he would be a physical wreck and never worth anything more to himself or to his family. Prison statistics will show that the average life of a convict is not over 10 years with the best care and attention that can be given him. As long as a man has the health and strength to do the work he may get along all right, but what becomes of him when he gets sick? Are the chain-gangs in position to properly care for him? I would not think so, unless my eyes have deceived me, as I have seen them brought to the penitentiary, from the various counties, dejected, broken down and sick, their backs, in most instances, standing as living witnesses to the harsh treatment they had received.

"Having made this subject a study and having visited all of the chain-gangs in the State when convicts were hired by the penitentiary, I give it as my honest judgment that the system as now practiced is vicious, cruel and inhuman and should be wiped out of existence.

"With this statement I now come to the main object of this article:

"What is to be done, after November 1, with the convicts now employed in the hosiery mill? Here we have more than 200 men, the most of whom have not done any manual or laborious work in years; they have been worked indoors and protected from the winds and the weather; they have had comfortable beds and good quarters. Aside from their work, all the exercise they have had has been in going and returning to meals and to work. What would be the result if these men are now let to the chain-gangs, just at the beginning of winter, confined in tents on the damp ground and often in wet clothes? It is impossible to tell what the result would be, but in my judgment there would not be many survivors to tell the tale when spring opened next year.

"Does the average citizen in South Carolina want good roads at such a terrible cost? I hope not. What then is to be done with the convicts? Having lived adjacent to the State farms ever since they were established and having observed from year to year the great work they have accomplished, I am thoroughly convinced that farming is the best, healthiest and most remunerative work at which convicts can be employed. It furnishes light, sunshine, fresh air and wholesome food and that means a great deal for the existence of the man behind the bars. A great many object to the State engaging in farming in competition with its citizens, but they must remember that there is no work at which convicts can be employed that does not bring them in competition with free labor and I believe that farming removes it as far as anything I know of. For a number of years a bill has been introduced at every session of the legislature to sell the State farms, but it is usually by a member, who, perhaps, has never seen the farms and their practical workings, to say nothing of the success they have achieved or putting money in the State treasury.

"Instead of selling the present farms, I believe the best thing that the legislature could do, at its next session, would be to authorize the purchase of at least four farms, to be located in different sections of the State, and conduct them as experimental stations. Labor enough from the hosiery mill hands could be furnished to operate them, aside from the dangerous characters who can not be worked outside of the walls of the penitentiary. It would be the best day's work that the legislature could do, both from a health and financial standpoint as well as the great object lessons they would afford to the farmers living in the section where they may be located.

"As I have said in the beginning of this communication, I have an extensive acquaintance with prison men all over the United States and it is the consensus of opinion among them that a prison can not be successfully operated without a farm. They all agree that outdoor work with such labor as the farm affords is best for them. Just a few weeks ago a delegation from Florida visited this State inspecting our prison conditions and particularly our farming industry. Florida has tried the leasing system and as far as dollars and cents are concerned it

was a success, but he it said to its everlasting credit it has seen the evil effects of selling human life and blood to the highest bidder and at the last session of the legislature the purchase of 16,000 acres of land was authorized and \$250,000 appropriated to start in farming. They must realize that it is an improvement over the old lease system. All of the Southern States are now engaged in working their convicts on farms.

"South Carolina, in days gone by, has tried leasing convicts to the phosphate mines, to railroads and to private parties at what seemed to be fair wages. Did it prove successful? I am willing for the records to show. Is it not a fact that until the State farms were purchased and operated that the legislature, at every session, had to make an appropriation for the support of the penitentiary? What are the conditions now? During the last 15 years more than \$150,000 has been placed in the State treasury and more than that amount spent in permanent improvements, all of which come from the net earnings of the penitentiary. Not a dollar has been appropriated by the legislature for maintenance or otherwise.

"Where did the money come from if not from the farms? The farms are open to inspection any time by citizens of the State. There they will find about 2,500 acres in cultivation, equally divided in cotton, corn and small grain. The cultivation is done with 50-odd mules raised on the farm. The farms are well stocked with cattle and hogs. The magnificent crops of cotton and corn now in sight bear testimony to latest scientific methods of farming. It is a great object lesson and an inspiration to those engaged in farming. Above all, the visitors will find the convicts healthy and well cared for and engaged in work they have been accustomed to all of their lives.

"Having given expression to my honest convictions on this great question, this article is respectfully submitted to the people of South Carolina for their consideration."

STATE BOARD IN SESSION.

Columbia, Aug. 27.—The board of canvassers today met in the office of the Secretary of State and went over the dispensary election returns from four counties, adjourning until tomorrow, when the returns from the other counties will be canvassed. The following counties canvassed voted for the dispensary: Bamberg, 499 for and 258 against; Barnwell, 991 for and 319 against; Dorchester, 662 for and 324 against; Florence, 803 for and 657 against.

Judge Purdy, representing the prohibition forces in Sumter county, telephoned Secretary of State McCown late this afternoon that Sumter's returns would be in tomorrow and only part of the testimony in the contest over the result of the election had been transcribed. The board of canvassers will postpone action on hearing of contests and will call them up on September 9, this agreement having been reached informally this afternoon. It is said that there will be contests from Sumter, Lexington and Williamsburg.

NEWS NOTES FROM EGYPT.

Fodder Pulling Going on and Cotton Picking Begun—Personal News.

Egypt, Aug. 26.—Farm work here is moving rapidly. The fodder is ripe and the folks realize it is "now or never" in this case. Cotton is opening in some places, very fast and before many days you'll hear the merry voices of the pickers.

Mr. and Mrs. J. R. McLeod attended a barbecue in Camden on Wednesday.

Misses Lillian Baggot of Tampa, Fla., and Gertrude Pickett of Longtown are spending several days with Miss Lota McLeod.

Miss Rosa McLeod of Camden spent several days during her vacation with Miss Sadie White.

Mr. L. H. White spent a few days at Rembert recently.

Messrs. Wylie and Meek Hague of Camden spent Sunday at the home of Mr. L. A. White.

Mrs. Ida Holland is visiting her sister-in-law, Mrs. J. C. McLeod.

Miss Lucile Britton spent Friday in Camden.

Misses Emily and Gladys Hutson spent several days last week at the home of Mrs. J. W. Waldon.

Miss Sadie White has returned home after a ten days visit to relatives in Camden.

Master Wylie Jenkins of Rembert is spending this week with relatives here.

On last Wednesday evening Mrs. J. W. Waldon gave a peanut boiling in honor of Misses Emily and Gladys Hutson which seemed to be quite a success.

Dr. C. S. Britton continues to be very ill.

Mr. E. O. White left several days ago to take a position at Columbia.

Mr. Peter Barfield and aunt, Mrs. Rebecca Miller of Saratoga, Fla., after spending sometime at the home of Mr. J. K. Richbourg returned yesterday.