flag. If sectionalism is dead, why does not that committee bring in that bill here with a favorable report and let us strike the act from the statutes? If the war is not over —

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President —

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. TILLMAN. No. I yield to none from South Carolina does not suppose I am attempting to bulldoze him or his committee. I would not have alluded to this, but I have been charged with waving the bloody shirt, when you have on your statute books an act which says that Confederate soldiers or any of their kin or kin to them shall now a pension and still you know that several thousand people are paying forty millions a year pension tribute to the men who conquered them.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator will permit me. I am not exercised about my being bulldozed or my committee being bulldozed, but I hope that if the road is to do it I do it, and ready to let the dead past bury its dead if you will bury it and let it alone and let us alone. That is what I propose. But you will not let us alone. You are continually bringing the race issue into every kind of proposition, to slander at and abuse the South.

Mr. SPOONER. The trouble with the Senator from South Carolina is that he will not let us alone. [Laughter.]

Mr. TILLMAN. An honest confession is good for the soul, and when I get gentlemen in a position where I have on one or the other prongs of a dilemma — on the prongs of my pitchfork — I do not care which side they take, and I have got them right there. I like to drive it home to you, do you know? [Laughter.]

You either were in error in regard to the colored races then or you are wrong now. You may be honest in both cases, because you can have more than one opinion, but if you have been, why do you not acknowledge it? That is all I am asking.

Do you realize the difficulties under which the Southern people labor? Do you recognize the fact that the colored race, even when it has been educated to a limited degree, is still unfit for suffrage, that the simple negroes do not possess that moral character and that moral fiber which are necessary to good citizenship? Even when in some degree equal to that of the lower strata of whites they are still not fit to vote, for this reason: They are always led off by their preachers and others, they are the natural prey of the demagogues and the law, whether they be the franchise by virtue of intelligence or of manhood suffrage.

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President —

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. TILLMAN. I yield.

Mr. FORAKER. I thought the Senator from South Carolina had concluded. I wanted to ask to have a document printed.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator must be very anxious for me to get through. He must not like this.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. TILLMAN. I yield.

Mr. FORAKER. I think I like it as well as anybody else in the Chamber. If there is any comfort to the Senator in that remark, he is entirely welcome to it.

Mr. TILLMAN. It is a very nice compliment, considering that you have a very large Republican majority here and that very few of you seem to be willing to take up the gage I have thrown down. The President pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. TILLMAN. I yield.

Mr. FORAKER. I would not have interrupted the Senator, but I thought he was about to take his seat.

Mr. President. I present a letter from Mr. Carlos Soler, together with a petition for the adoption of certain changes in the by-laws of the Banco Español deuda. Mr. Speaker, the letter and accompanying papers be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. TILLMAN. I can only have a few more words to say and then I will let the Senate vote on that position.

I take up the bloody shirt for a brief moment and am waving it like a red flag to a bull and the latter will not fight or budge, and I will call the attention of my friends from the North — I have a great many on that side, I am proud to say — of the fact that they do not know yet, and, more with us than with us, that we have had to contend against and just what we have to contend against even now. They do not realize it; they can not realize it; and it is for the purpose of trying to have them study this question of race a little more and analyze it that I have attempted, in my move to move the body for the brief remarks I have made on this subject.

I will tell you, while I am talking about negro suffrage, why they are dangerous as voters. In any State where the whites divide — and they have divided in every Southern State except mine and Mississippi — into Populists and Democrats the negro