

## Front Matter

### Title Page and Credits

THE EVERLASTING STAIN

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## Preface

The essays in this collection center about the issues growing out of the World War and the Negro's relation to them. Several of the titles have appeared in separate pamphlet form and as magazine articles. The reader will note that the articles are presented as of date of writing. There appear some duplications, due to the fact that the productions herein assembled were prepared for various occasions.

Kelly Miller.

## Introduction

For nearly a generation Kelly Miller has been the Negro's chief intellectual protagonist. Others have formulated programs, peddled nostrums and elaborated panaceas; but he, dealing with the concrete issues, has conducted our defenses. It is true that from the point of view of the theorist he has seemed to shift from position to position -one has not the choice of position in defensive combat. Now upon one frontier, now upon the other as the issues of attack have shifted, he has been found in valiant logical defense. His very virtuosity in this has often been judged a fault: with an ax for every occasion he has at times seemed to be chiefly engaged in sharpening his own wits. But there is more than the edge of practice upon the sharp and readymindedness of this man; there is the edge of science and in his heart there has always been a loyalty of a feudal kind and degree to the interests of his race. Here in this volume are gathered together not merely the sundry whittlings of the fray, but some of the substantial rail-splitting which has cleared obstruction from our racial path and made clearings where

there were forests, and roads where there was but jungle growth of misunderstanding and folly. Nor has it been solely a struggle against natural circumstances and natural enemies; in advance of others and with the courage of promptness, Kelly Miller has entered single-handed many an ambush of hostile cunning, intrigue and hate, and has emerged with unscathed sanity and a more or less notorious scalp.

Centered as they have been upon the transitory phases and issues of the race problems, Professor Miller's writings would inevitably pay the usual penalty of the polemic -a lusty youth and an early grave, but for two redeeming traits -style and comprehensiveness. The style of his essays is a conceded and well-known fact. What is not so generally realized this collection should especially make manifest -that is, the historically representative character of his work as year by year it has followed and registered the changing issues of the discussion of race within his generation. They constitute from decade to decade a history of the discussion of the problem. They register first of all the shift from the purely theoretical discussion of the late reconstruction period to the practical scientific analysis and statistical comparison of today. They trace the successive levels of

*Race Adjustment*  
*Out of the House of Bondage*  
*Appeal to Conscience*  
*The Everlasting Stain*

Oddly enough the discussion of today finds itself back to a theoretical phase. When the moral issues lapsed in the decline of the abolitionist spirit and interest and the idealistic yielded to the social pragmatism of Booker Washington -who, by the way, is more aptly interpreted in Professor Miller's short essay than in the several extant volumes of biography put together -it seemed that the theoretical aspect of the problem was permanently obscured.

Throughout this moral and idealistic eclipse, however, Kelly Miller has held up the lamp of reason, and during the ebb of indifference has confidently predicted the return of the moral and theoretical flood-tide of interest and concern. This has now come about, and we find the appeal to reason and the appeal to conscience more possible and more hopeful than perhaps ever before.

One will instinctively ask two questions as the touchstones of such work as is represented in these essays. First, has there been consistency -and then, what is the proposed solution? As to the first there has been polemical versatility of an almost too casuistic sort, but back of it a redeeming moral consistency which has always championed the right and condemned the wrong. There has been, of course, as is proper for an approach essentially intellectualistic, the tendency to see and even to state both sides. The workmanship has therefore been sound. And then as to the solution, there has been a singularly consistent and almost unpopular insistence on the solvent of reason. One might almost regard Kelly Miller as a belated rationalist of the eighteenth century or a Jesuit strayed from the cloisters into the arena, but for his very modern and practical preoccupations. He believes in the essential efficiency

of reason and common sense. Surely he can scarcely be said to have had any creed beyond "A man's a man for a' that" or any formula on the race question except two and two are four. And, after all, if there is to be any solution to social problems can we afford to abandon the hope in reason tempered with sanity and common sense, and in a not over-sentimental humanism?

Allain Leroy Locke, Ph. D.,

Professor of Philosophy, Howard University.

July, 1923.

## **Chapter 1: The Everlasting Stain**

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A dying and desperate political party clutches at the straw of race hatred as its last gasping hope. Bourbon democracy is true to its ruling passion strong in death. The crafty politician psychologized the public, and felt assured that the cry of Negro blood would throw it into a spasm of delirium. The infamy of this taint was deemed to be more detestable than the murderous brand upon the forehead of Cain. It was thought to outweigh in public estimation the entire catalog of intellectual, moral and political virtues. To charge an American with murder would be a mild accusation as compared to this.

The time was set with dramatic cleverness. The iron must be struck while it is hot. There must be no margin of time to refute the charge or to reconcile public sentiment. The cry of "Wolf! Wolf!" on first alarm, stampedes the crowd, even if there be no wolf. But the bungling

dastard did not know his game. Righteous strategy triumphed over dastardly cunning. With amazing celerity of action the charge was refuted as soon as made. The dastardly deed redounds to the shame of the doer. Never before, and let us hope, never again, will any political party sink to such a low level of infamy. "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely." With righteous indignation against the methods of the character assassin, the American people with all but one voice swept Harding into the White House, assured that his purity of blood was as unblemished as his spotlessness of character. The country is safe, the Republican party is victorious, and the honor of the white race is secure.

But what of the Negro? Is he supposed to be endowed with ordinary human pride and sensibilities? To him the defense is, if anything, more insulting than the attack. Why should it be considered more heinous than any crime to possess a trace of Negro blood? I doubt whether any race since human civilization began, has ever been placed under any such ban of opprobrium. It is the boast of statesmen and of men of renown that they carry in their veins a blend of Indian blood. But one drop that flows from African veins vitiates ten times its

own volume of any other strain. Against this assumption the Negro rebels with all the ardor and indignation of which his nature is capable. Can the Negro be expected to share in the derogation of his own blood? Is his color of his own choosing? He is wholly guiltless of the stain for which he is stigmatized.

Pigmentation affects the color of the body, but not the equality of the soul. Were Dumas, Douglass, and Dunbar accursed of God and unworthy of honor and esteem because of their sable hue? Shall we be expected to give a higher meed of glory to Plato and Shakespeare and Jesus because their skins were white? Perish the thought! Such self-abasement would compromise the Negro's self-respect and hypothecate all hope.

The Ten Commandments assure us that the Father of all races and breeds of man visits the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate, but shows mercy unto thousands of them that love. The Constitution of the United States forbids the attainment of blood, so that the political and legal sins of the fathers may not be visited upon the children. Must the Negro of all men stand doomed to eternal infamy from the foundation of the world unto the end of time?

There can be no satisfactory solution of the

race problem while this notion prevails. In the face of its inexorable exactions, our palliatives and programs are as ineffectual as the application of emollients to the hopeless consumptive. From the inherent sense of self-respect and in vindication of the essential claims of humanity, the Negro must insist that his blood is as good as any which courses through human veins.

## **Chapter 2: Radicalism and the Negro**

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Revolution accelerates evolution. Gradual advance is expedited by epochal upheavals. Social progress is wrought through change. Stability begets stagnation. Perfection is an ideal of perpetual approximation. Traditional values must ever and anon be restated in terms of contemporaneous demands.

The world today is in process of radical readjustment. The relationship of the rich and the poor, the laborer and the overlord of labor, the strong and the weak, the white and the nonwhite races of men, must be adjusted in harmony with the progressive spirit of the times. The germ of the new idealism has inoculated the blood of the world and thrown it into throes of delirium. The social fabric is being battered with the shocks of doom. Riot and revolution are rife. Action and reaction are always equal, but in opposite directions. The whole creation groaneth until now. It is the travail of the new birth.

### **World Restlessness**

The World War has upset everything, and, so far, has settled nothing. The upset world must now be set to rights. Germany has been physically overpowered but not inwardly conquered. Her tough Teutonic spirit has not been broken. She is writhing under the sting of defeat, and planning troubles anew. Russia is in the hands of the riotous "Reds." France is trembling in the balance of insecurity.

Italy is dominated by the Socialists. The Laborites in England are waiting the next election for a conceded victory. The fate of the British Empire will soon fall into the hands of a class unaccustomed to exercise power and domination. Neutral states are not immune from internal confusion. The Balkan States are breathing out hatred and slaughter. China and Japan are pitted against each other by connivance of the white man's cunning to divide and control. Ireland is in revolt against the tyranny of Anglo-Saxon dominion. Egypt and India are dreaming of the hour when they shall be able to throw off the yoke of British overlordship. There is no abatement of customary turbulence in the South American Republics. The United States is seething with internal turmoil and confusion. Labor is all but ready to try conclusions with

capital. We have seen the Labor unions shake the finger of defiance in the face of the Government, and wrest the demanded concessions. The advice and counsel of the President of the United States have been flouted, and his good offices and kindly suggestions rejected with scorn. The decree of the courts has been regarded as little more than a scrap of paper. Strikes everywhere abound. We have seen race riots raging along Pennsylvania Avenue, the national thoroughfare which runs from the Capitol where the laws are made to the White House where they are supposed to be executed. Surely the times are out of joint.

Surface sores are but the outward manifestations of inner disease. The scourge of war with its grewsome toll of blood and treasure was not the cause but the consequence of worldwide social dissatisfaction and unrest. Indeed the war in all probability relieved the severity of the shock. The upheaval might have come with greater suddenness and virulence had not the war intervened. The violent cough is the outcome of the irritation of the lungs. Sagacious statesmanship, both in Europe and America, clearly foresaw the coming of the evil day. William Jennings Bryan, like blind Cassandra, prophesied its coming, but none would believe him. Theodore Roosevelt was the greatest American who has lived since Lincoln died. Through clear foresight and courageous conservatism he staid the revolution for half a generation.

#### Woodrow Wilson and the Negro

The late Woodrow Wilson believed that he could hold a restless world in poise by the soothing balm of pleasing phraseology. His single-track, double-acting mind moved with equal celerity, sometimes with and sometimes against the onswEEPing current which he sought to guide and control. He was no whit abashed at the tangle of moral paradoxes in which he frequently found himself enmeshed. He followed the lead of events only long enough to gauge their tendency and trend in order that he might make himself appear to guide them. He frequently reversed his course, and proceeded to the new goal with utter disregard of logical sequence or ethical consistency. It is utterly impossible to tell whether he underwent a genuine conversion of heart or a prudent shift of mind. The same lack of consecutiveness and consistency appeared in every great issue which he was called upon to handle. Elected the first time upon a platform which condemned renomination, he accepted a second term, and connived at a third with convenient forgetfulness. He

forced his party to change its declared attitude on the Panama Canal by threats of calamity which he alone foresaw. Habitually opposed to national female suffrage, after the propaganda had gained significant proportions, as belated entrant, he then outran the other disciples. He kept the nation out of war while the presidential campaign was on, and without additional provocation plunged it into war when the election was over. After Germany had committed every atrocity with which she has subsequently been charged, he issued a proclamation to the American people urging them to refrain from discussing the moral issues involved lest they disturb the serenity and composure of the German mind. At first an ardent advocate of the Washington policy of no entangling foreign alliances, he sat at the head of the Council Table and tied his country to alliances which are unentangleable. The apostle of new freedom for mankind ignored its application to the freedom in America. The high priest of democracy in Germany became the obligated beneficiary of oligarchy in

Georgia. He played at peace and war successively with Huerta, Villa and Carranza, and yet our Southern neighbor remained untranquillized and defiant. In one breath he declared that politics should be adjourned during the progress of the war, with

another he urged the country to return a Democratic Congress as more easily pliant to his imperious will. As head of the nation he congratulated the Republican Governor of Massachusetts upon his victorious stand for law and order, and as head of the Democratic Party he felicitated the successful Governor of his own State and party, who won the election on the declaration that he would make the nation as wet as water, thus subverting all law and order. The highest world exponent of derived powers, he swiftly overleaped all precedents in the assumption of unauthorized power. Elected President of the United States, he made himself the chief magistrate of mankind. He reversed the world motto; his charity began abroad rather than at home. He believed in democracy for humanity but not for Mississippi. Abraham Lincoln's gospel of freedom was immediate; Woodrow Wilson's was remote. The one believed in the freedom of the Negro; the other in the freedom of nations. President Lincoln wrought for the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson for the United States of the World. The former never uttered one insincere or uncertain word; the utterances of the latter rarely escape the imputation of moral ambiguity. By marvelous assumption of superior insight, he propounded

preachments and compounded idealistic theories as infallible solvents of all social ills. He retired into the secrecy of his inner consciousness and evolved his famous Fourteen Points -the new "tetra decalogue," which he was the first to violate and ignore. The advocate of open covenants openly arrived at proceeded to the Peace Conference enshrouded in the sacredness and secrecy of Sinai, and returned with the League of Nations written upon the tablet of his own conception with the finger of finality. Although the newly conceived League of Nations transcends the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, "anathema, maranatha" be upon the head of that impious statesman who would add or subtract one jot or one tittle from the law oracularly vouchsafed by the ordained lawgiver of the world.

President Wilson was indeed the greatest phrase-maker of his age, although each preceding phrase was apt to have its meaning nullified by a quickly succeeding one. "The Nations should be permitted to shed all the blood they please"; "we are too proud to fight"; "there must be peace without victory," have already taken their places in the limbo of innocuous desuetude. Such lofty expressions as "to make the world safe for democracy"; "overridden peoples must have a voice in the governments

which they uphold"; "the only way to stop men from agitation against grievances is to remove the grievances" still await vindication in light of sanctioned and condoned practices. To the Negro these phrases seemed to possess the sinister suggestion of hollow mockery under the guise of holy democracy. Mr. Wilson would strengthen the chain by ignoring the weakest links. His abstract doctrine broke down at the point of concrete application. The Negro question, the most aggravating moral issue of American life, was avoided or thrust aside as hopelessly impossible. He handled this issue with less positiveness and moral aggression than any president since James Buchanan. Under pressure of political exigency or military exaction he indited several of his customary notes on this question, but their lukewarmness indicated that they might have been written with the left hand as the easiest riddance of a disagreeable issue. On promise of political support, he pledged Bishop Walters the full recognition of the Negro's claims. Shortly after election he sent the name of a Negro as Register of the Treasury. His Southern partisans protested. The nomination was withdrawn. The promise was ignored. It must be said that the President's change of attitude or shift of mind was usually in the direction

of progress, aggression and courage; on the Negro question it was in the direction of timidity, negation, and reaction. President Wilson appeared to be at once the greatest radical and the greatest conservator of the age. Under such leadership the American people -white and black -had to face the

issues which then confronted the world.

### The Old Order and the New

But the struggle grows apace. No man can move very far forward or backward the hand of the clock of time. The fullness of the hour has come; the conflict is irrepressible. A better dispensation is at hand. Human relations must be adjusted on the broad basis of righteousness and brotherhood. Shall the process of adjustment be peaceful or violent? Can the old bottle hold the new wine? Can the tree of liberty be saved by pruning away the dead limbs or must the ax be laid at the root of the tree? The awful sacrifice of the past six years will have been in vain unless it results in a securer fabric of social order than the one that has been shaken down. The new order must be ushered in; the old order must pass away. The passing régime, based upon the divine right of kings, the avarice of power and the arrogance of race, dies hard. The new order must rest upon liberty,

fraternity, equality for all the children of men. Conservatism is the inertia of human nature. An imparted impulse tends to move forever unaccelerated in speed and unmodified in direction. Innovation is universally denounced and condemned. Tradition is the dead hand of human progress.

Despite the terrible ordeal through which the world has just passed, there is a persistent tendency to revert to the previously existing status in government and social polity. The vanquished nations may enter the kingdom of freedom ahead of the victorious allies. Realignment in Germany is moving more rapidly than in England, and with amazing illogicality adheres to the exploded tradition of King and hereditary class. America, with scarcely less blind devotion, bows down to the idols of the past. Standards and methods of a hundred years ago cannot fix the guidance of the people to the end of days. The fathers laid the foundation on the eternal bedrock, but left the structure uncompleted. The war has not yet wrought a radical change in the heart of the nation. The old ideals still seek to perpetuate themselves. The Civil War radically readjusted social opinion and conduct; but the World War so far has brought forth only vacuous phraseology. The old spirit still persists with stubbornness. The nations

are vying with each other in selfishness and greed. The world is held in equilibrium by the parallelogram of forces rather than the paragon of principles. The strong exploit the weak; the rich oppress the poor; the white lord it over the black, the yellow and the brown.

The belabored League of Nations, which Mr. Wilson relied upon with amazing optimism to cure all human ills from militarism to the measles, is based upon the dominance of five great powers over a score of weaker ones. England still holds Ireland, Egypt and India in the clutches of her overlordship. The United States has a strangle-hold upon Hayti and San Domingo, Japan insists upon supremacy in the Orient. France demands the spoils of victory. Britannia still rules the waves. Labor is still interpreted in terms of money rather than manhood. The laborer is besought to be satisfied with whatever the generous overlord, who exploits his labor, may graciously dole out to him in the form of wages or under the guise of philanthropy. The Negro is expected to resume his wonted place of inferiority as if he had not felt the moral energy and self-elation of the new awakening. The world has been bathed in blood, but not baptized with the spirit. Religion has functioned, but feebly. The church has looked on with pitiful impotency, while

every principle which it professed has been trampled under foot. The voice of conscience has been crying in the wilderness with no language but a cry. No great leader in church or state has yet arisen with moral virility to meet the new demand. Archaic platitudes and wornout moral maxims will not cope with the new situation. The doles of charity will profit but little. There must be quickened a keener appreciation of the inherency of the manhood of man. All programs of reconstruction not based on this conception are but soothing syrup to relieve the delirium; leaving the internal malady untouched.

### Bolshevism

The one distinctive dispensation which has come out of the conflict, decisively different from existing conditions, appears in Russia. The new philosophy proclaims that those who work with the hand shall exercise exclusive right to rule. This is a radical departure from the aristocratic theory wherein those who work with the hand were excluded from participation in government. Bolshevism is the antithesis of autocracy. It is democracy run mad. The pendulum swings with equal ease to either extreme and finally rests at the middle point. The true order of things lies midway between

Russia under Nicholas, the Czar, and Russia under Trotzky and Lenin, the ruthless Radicals. Bolshevism has thrown the world into a spasm of convulsion for fear its example might become contagious and imperil the foundation upon which social order rests. The first effect of release from autocracy is, naturally enough, extreme experiment in democracy. The Russian peasants being crushed for centuries under the iron heel of tyranny, are over-elated with the first taste of self-direction. Liberty is the medium between license and oppression. Moderation is the golden mean between the extremes of indulgence and deprivation. The term Bolshevism, etymologically considered, means the rule of the majority and it is equivalent to democracy in the Russian tongue. Menshevism, the rule of the minority, corresponds to the detested term, oligarchy, in the English speech. The world extols democracy and detests oligarchy; but when these expressions are translated into Russian speech and practice, the feeling is reversed. The rule of the majority in Massachusetts is called democracy; the rule of the majority in Mississippi would be condemned as Bolshevism. We should not allow ourselves to be frightened at a phrase. It is not the word itself that disturbs the world, but rather the abuse in the hands of radical expounders

who would push it to the verge of unmitigated madness. We are reminded of the attitude of the European monarchies when the democratic spirit began to exert itself a hundred and a half years ago. Conservative thought and feeling of that day believed that it threatened the stability of social order and was destructive of accumulated values of all generations that had gone before. The old monarchies bound themselves in alliances, holy and unholy, to stamp out the doctrine of democracy which threatened the destruction of the world order. History repeats itself. Order will rise out of chaos.

The denunciation of Bolshevism rests upon the familiar charge that when government is placed in the hands of the peasant class without traditional inhibition and self-restraint, it will inevitably pull down the Temple of Liberty and Justice, involving all in common ruin. This argument is parallel in every particular to the justification for the overthrow of reconstruction governments in the South. The French Revolution passed through the same range of experiences. Majority controlling a complex constituency always entails serious difficulties. Its seeming failure is always greatly exaggerated and ridiculed and condemned in terms of loud denunciation.

#### Macaulay on Liberty

Lord Macaulay declares: "The final fruition and permanent fruits of Liberty are wisdom, moderation and mercy. Its immediate effects are often atrocious crimes, conflicting errors, skepticism on points the most clear, dogmatism on points the most mysterious. It is just at this crisis that its enemies love to exhibit it. They pull down the scaffold from the half-finished edifice. They point to the flying dust, falling bricks and comfortless homes, and frightful irregularity of the old appearance and then ask with scorn where the promised splendor and comfort are to be found. There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces. That cure is more *freedom*.

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.

Ariosto tells a story of a fairy who by some mysterious law of her nature was condemned to appear at a certain season in the form of a fowl

and poisonous snake. Those who injured her during the period of her disguise were forever excluded from participation in the blessing which she bestowed; but to those who in spite of her loathsome aspect pitied and protected her, she afterward revealed herself in the beautiful and celestial form which was natural to her, accompanied their steps, granted all their wishes, filled their houses with wealth, made them happy in love and victorious in war. Such is the spirit of liberty. At times she takes the form of an atrocious reptile. She grovels, she hisses, she stings, but woe to those who in disgust shall venture to crush her! And happy are those who having dared to receive her in her degraded and frightful shape, at last shall be rewarded by her in the time of her beauty and her glory."

The world today might well take this lesson to heart as it applies to the retarded and belated peoples of all lands struggling to set themselves free. American institutions have nothing to fear from this neo-democracy which for the moment is delirious in the first flush of release from an intolerable tyranny. There is no ground in America upon which Bolshevism may grow. Our people are too intelligent and understand too well the beneficence of free institutions. Our danger lies in failure to live up

to the platform of our own principles. The best way to make vice odious is by making virtue odorous. We will most surely discredit the vices of Bolshevism by exemplifying the virtues of Democracy. Our Ship of State, if kept headed straight to the Haven of Liberty, will weather every gale.

#### Common Cause of Aggrieved Groups

The American Negro, representing a suppressed and aggrieved class, cannot be incurious or indifferent to the effort which any struggling people is making to throw off the yoke of tyranny and oppression. He has no interest in or sympathy for Bolshevism or any other radical doctrine excepting so far as it may seem to suggest relief from existing evils. It is perfectly natural for any new propaganda to seek support among the dissatisfied groups wherever they may be found. The greatest reformer of all time appealed to the restless, the despised, the rejected and the aggrieved peoples of his day: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." The French nation during the American Revolution encouraged the colonists to revolt against the mother country and helped them to throw off the yoke of oppression. Lafayette and Washington joined forces because of a

common grievance against England. The descendants of these glorious heroes joined hands with the descendants of their ancient foe, by reason of the common grievance against Germany. The German nation, logically enough, sought to encourage Irish revolt against Great Britain and met with hospitable reception. The hanging of an Irish peer with a silken cord may put an end to the unholy alliance, but not to the deep-seated grievances of the irrepressible Celt. The Germans also sought to foster dissatisfaction among American Negroes because of the alleged grievances against democracy's illogical attitude towards them, but the seed fell on stony ground. President Wilson, supposing that the German people entertained grievances against the Prussian autocracy, advised them to join with him to rid themselves of their tyrannical government, but subsequent events proved that he failed to fathom the Teuton's deep-seated love for overlordship.

There is a widespread belief that the Bolsheviki of Russia are disseminating their doctrine among the American Negroes and are finding converts among them. A new propaganda is always persuasive in its promises to the oppressed to whom it appeals. The Bolsheviki of Russia have made an American Negro a Cabinet officer under the Soviet Government. This

is in striking contrast with our Democratic Policy, which accords no Negro an office of firstclass importance, although this Government is supported and upheld by ten million loyal people of this race. The Socialists and Industrial Workers of the World, it is said, are making overtures to the Negro workingman by holding out more flattering considerations than those which he received at the hand of organized labor. Any new party is apt to write a better platform than an old one. Political parties degenerate in moral quality and tone when they are harnessed with concrete responsibilities. These appeals will find little lodgment in the mind of the Negro. His conservative nature makes him for a long time bear the ills which he has before flying to those which he knows not of. There are doubtless a few minds of the race to whom such doctrine might appeal. This is not surprising for there are many white Americans, native and foreign-born, who give hospitable ear to the new doctrine. In every race there are to be found men of a certain type of moral temper and mental oddity who will be swayed by the wind of any new doctrine; but the wind of false doctrine will pass away with its own blowing. There would be no Negro radicals if the wise policy were pursued by those who would vindicate the beneficence of American

institutions for all the peoples who are true and loyal to them. If the American people would only follow the advice of President Wilson, "the only way to stop men from agitation against grievances is to remove the grievances," there would not be found a single one of the ten million of this race in the ranks of restlessness and discontent.

#### Alien Propaganda Among Negroes

It is the policy of cunning to make a doctrine detestable by casting odium upon its advocates. It appears that the leaders in this new agitation against existing order are recruited in large part from the ranks of dissatisfied foreigners who do not understand or appreciate the beneficence of American institutions. They fly from the oppression of the old world to the freedom of the new; but abuse the asylum which offers them shelter and protection. America cannot be expected to receive hospitably foreign radicals who would destroy the house that gives them shelter. Insidious attempt is being made to align the Negro with the restless and dissatisfied foreigners, a thing which would at once deprive him of the tolerance which he has always received because of his unfaltering patriotism and loyalty, whatever the circumstances of his lot. But it does not require the

persuasion of the Bolsheviki to make the Negro dissatisfied with injustice. He does not need the advice of the Industrial Workers of the World to feel keenly the sting of industrial discrimination. No foreign propaganda is required to cause him to denounce Jim Crow cars. His feelings are not so numb that he must await the urgency of Socialism to make him cry aloud against lynching. Such supposition would prove the Negro is not a normal human being and does not voluntarily feel the sting of cruelty, injustice and wrong which should meet with universal condemnation. It used to be thought that the Negro, if left to himself without outside intermeddlers, would be satisfied with any condition that might be imposed upon him. That day is past. His self-insurgency of spirit rebels. But if external stimulus were necessary to excite a quickened sense of resentment and resistance to the iniquities which he suffers, it need not be looked for in the plausible and specious pleas of the Bolsheviki, Industrial Workers of the World, or the propaganda of native or foreign Socialists. He absorbs it from the new atmosphere which the World War has created. President Wilson became the mouthpiece of the new freedom of humanity. His high declarations quickened the spirit of resentment and resistance of every aggrieved group in the world.

#### Suppression of Free Speech

Attempt is made to throttle the expression of dissatisfaction on the part of the Negro against the wrong and injustice which he suffers. A proposition has been made on the floor of Congress to shut off free speech of the Negroes who would give vent to their just complaints. It must be conceded that in times of war the Government has the right to commandeer the life, property, and the conscience

of the people in order to save itself from destruction. Beyond this, universal experience proves that the suppression of complaint against grievances is the very best way to advertise them. During the anti-slavery controversy the South used every endeavor to shut out freedom of speech. The detested agitators were bodily banished. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and other literature baring the evils of slavery were forbidden circulation; but such prohibition did not prohibit full and free discussion of the merits of that moral issue. William Lloyd Garrison, the chief apostle of freedom, went so far as to denounce the Constitution as being "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." For such assertion today, he might be given free passage

on the ark of the Soviets or lodged in jail with Eastman and Debs. But the result of free discussion was to vindicate the integrity of the Constitution, and to purge it of this alleged evil alliance. Any attempt to limit free speech on the part of the Negro, except for the purposes of war, would merely serve to make martyrs of those whose voice is suppressed and further disseminate the doctrine which they declare. The best way to promote any doctrine is by persecution and martyrdom.

### Kindness and Cruelty

The Negro's soul is prepared soil for the sowing of good seed which quickly takes root and springs forth into abundant harvest, but the seed of destruction and discord finds uncongenial reception. Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner had few followers and no successors. On the other hand, the seed of the Christian religion found Negro nature a congenial soil where, without cultivation, it has grown into luxuriant harvest. The Negro masses can easily be aroused to frenzy by religious or patriotic appeal, but respond very slowly -if at all -to the appeal of hatred, animosity and revenge. The race is slow to anger and plenteous in mercy. The Department of Justice would more effectively perform its function by using

strenuous endeavor to secure justice for the Negro rather than by trying to stop his complaint against injustice.

### Radicals and Conservatives

Since time began, mankind has been divided into two groups of temperament -the radical and the conservative. The radical is habitually dissatisfied with the existing order and seeks change through revolution. He would rather prove all things than to hold fast to what is good. The conservative is disposed to be content with things as they are and deprecates effort at reform. Social progress is the resultant of these two conflicting tendencies. In the fundamental sense, there are comparatively few Negro radicals. The Negro nature possesses the conservatism of inertia. Some Negroes are cautious, while others are courageous in the expression of their conservatism. The cautious conservative believes in amelioration through moderate modification, as distinguished from the radical who advocates change for the love of innovation. The Negro who is content with existing conditions is a satisfied simpleton, while the Negro who advocates the destructive radicalism is a distracted idiot. Before the World War, the race leadership was divided into two hostile camps based upon

quiescence on the one side and assertion on the other. There never has been a Negro conservative in the sense of satisfaction with existing status, but merely in the sense of prudential silence in the face of wrong. All right-minded Negroes everywhere and at all times must want equal and impartial laws, equally and impartially applied. Any other attitude is simply unthinkable. Every Negro today who is using his brain above the dead level of a livelihood is pronounced in demanding the full measure of manhood rights. He would not be a worthy American if this were not so. Any individual or group of individuals who are willing to accept without protest less than the fullness of the stature of American citizenship is not fit material for the new order of things now about to be ushered in. The leaders of any suppressed people should speak boldly, even though they be ambassadors in bonds. It is not

impossible for the Negro to be courageous and sensible at the same time. He must recognize conditions which he may not be able to overcome, but he must not let such conditions cow his spirit or sour his soul.

### The Voice of the Negro

The highest function of the higher education of the Negro is not merely to produce a set of educated automatons who can ply a handicraft or practice a profession with creditable cleverness, but to develop a class of men who can state the case and plead the cause of the masses in terms of persuasive speech and literary power. Their voice should not be controlled or constrained by any outside coercion. Their attitude must be candid and courageous if they would fulfill the high function of interpreting to the world the feelings, hopes and aspirations of the people who look to them for leadership and direction. Every institution of learning, North and South, has produced its quota of leading Negroes who are now insisting upon the fulfillment of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. This courageous attitude is shown by Trotter of Harvard; Dubois of Fisk and Harvard; the Grimkes of Lincoln; Frazier Miller and Murphy of Howard; Johnson and Hershaw of Atlanta; Ferris and Whaley of Yale; Hurst and Ransom of Wilberforce; Pickens of Talledega and Yale; Daly of Cornell; Abbott of Hampton; Brawley of Morehouse; and Barber and Owen of Virginia-Union. It is no reflection to say that those Negroes today who take any other public attitude are operating on a lower level of moral courage and intellectual understanding, and are moved by motives of thrift or constraint

of prudence. This spirit is not limited to the educated Negro, but pervades the entire mass of the race -the man between the plowhandles, the mechanic applying his tools, the miner in the bowels of the earth, the waiter standing behind the chair while his white lord and master sits at meat, the barber with his razor, the menial in the humblest service -all feel and are actuated by the same spirit, and are moved by the same impulse. Although they may not be able to give voice to the sentiment which they feel, they quickly respond when it is expressed and interpreted for them. The new Negro has arrived. The war has developed a new spirit. In the time of revolution there is but a tenuous partition between timidity and cowardice. If Booker T. Washington were living today with all the high prestige of his personality, patronage and power, he would not be able to hold the Negro to his avowed doctrine of prudential silence on the issue of manhood rights.

### Hopes Aroused by the War

During the war the nations relied upon the forgiving spirit and patriotic emotion of the Negro and that reliance was not in vain. Although he had just cause for deep dissatisfaction, he held his grievances in abeyance, but not

in oblivion. He was a good American while the war was on and wishes to be considered as an American now that the war is over. His valor and courage contributed in full measure to the consummation of the struggle. The slogan of democracy was harmonious to his ear. It aroused in him hopes and ambitions that he would enter as a full participant in the fruition of that democracy which he was called upon to sustain and perpetuate. He was given every assurance that the nation would no longer deny him a just share in the new democracy which his courage helped bring to the world. Andrew Jackson advised the Negro troops who won the belated victory behind the fleecy breastworks of New Orleans to return to their masters, and be loyal, obedient servants, but no one now expects the Negro soldiers of the World War to revert with satisfaction to the status they occupied before the war for the emancipation of mankind.

### Racial Equality

The final outcome of the war must be the fulfillment of the Tennysonian prophecy:

"Where the common sense of most shall hold a fretful world in awe;

And the kindly earth shall slumber lapped in universal law."

Four hundred million members of the white race today are dominating twice their number of the non-white peoples of the world. They are at present superior in the development of concrete and concerted power and lay arrogant claim to superiority as inherent race endowment. By some sort of divine favor it is claimed that they are predestined to rule over their darker brethren for all time to come. The darker and at present the feebler races cannot recognize the justice of this claim, and would seriously question the justice of that providence which ordains one-third of the human race to rule over the other two-thirds to the end of days.

#### The Negro a Natural Conservative

The conservative elements of the nation -white and black -who would test the values of American institutions must unite in determined effort to withstand reckless revolution which threatens to shake the foundations of existing world order. It will require united effort of all men of sound judgment and conservative temper to uphold and vindicate the integrity of our laws and institutions, purged as they must be of injustice and inequity. The nation looks to the Negro as a great storehouse of conservatism.

Before entering upon the war the Government began to count upon its reliable resources. The devotion and loyalty of the Negro were regarded as a certain asset. In the past this has been the loyalty of inertia -the blind altruistic devotion to flag and country. In the future this loyalty will not be less emotional or ardent, but more intelligent and self-enlightened. The Government said to itself that the good-natured and unresentful Negro will quickly forget all of the indignities and outrages heaped upon him and join with his white fellow-citizen in upholding the glory and honor of the flag which he has never failed to magnify and adore. The Negro has been prone to exhibit the spirit of humility and forgiveness -the crowning glory of the Christian graces. He has loved his enemies. He has done good to them that despitefully use him. He has returned love for hate and good deeds for spiteful usage. Booker T. Washington, the personal embodiment of the blamelessness of the Negro, has declared that no white man could be so mean as to make him hate him. However cruelly and unjustly the nation might treat the black man, he has always responded, "Though you slay me, yet will I serve you." But the acerbity, not to say the bitterness, of W. E. B.

DuBois very strongly indicates that this submissiveness of spirit is not universal and may not be everlasting.

#### Circumstances Alter Racial Character

Although these characteristics have prevailed up to the present time, and are still operative, we cannot rely upon their everlasting continuance. Circumstances not only alter cases, but characteristics as well. There is no such thing as unchangeable racial character. The Hebrew race possessed the spiritual genius of the world as long as they were shut in to a peculiar environment which encouraged the development of spiritual talent, but when they became scattered abroad among the gentiles they forthwith lost their spiritual ascendancy. There has not arisen a single Jew with transcendent spiritual genius or originality since St. John died. The Greek mind reached the loftiest pinnacle of thought and genius as long as the environment favored the development of this peculiar form of culture, but the lapse of two thousand years does not indicate that this race possesses today the slightest trace of that intellectual subtlety which gave rise to "the glory that was Greece." God has made of one blood and of one mind and of one spirit, all nations to dwell on the face of

the earth, and has set as the bounds of their habitation no geographical lines or racial limitations, but the natural boundaries of land and sea which fix the confines of human habitability. Race and color are physical and geographical attributes, and do not permanently determine mind and spirit. All races in the long run will respond to the same stimulus in the same way. The Negro is perhaps the

most adaptable and chameleon-like of all the races of man. He takes on the quality of the environment in which he is involved. He is a Mohammedan in Turkey; a Catholic in South America; a Protestant in the United States; a Frenchman in France; an Englishman in Jamaica. He helps Peary find the North Pole and assists Goethals in digging the Panama Canal. There is no type of human culture which he does not readily absorb and assimilate. He has learned the white man's language, borrowed his religion, and conformed to his political policy in all the ends of the earth. He reads his literature, and is quickened by his ideals, hopes, and aspirations. He has also absorbed a goodly measure of the white man's blood, carrying with it an asserted quantum of disposition and spirit.

The Negro cannot, therefore, develop meekness

and humility in an environment of resentment and aggression. The white man will not let him do so. Hatred begets hatred, as love begets love. It is an imperfect knowledge of human nature that expects the white man to preserve his attitude of overlordship, revenge and disdain while the Negro, nourished with the same nature, will forever remain passive and forgiving. It is too much to hope that he will forever requite cruelty with kindness and hatred with love and mercy. The nation cannot expect to humiliate the Negro eternally with Jim Crow cars, disfranchisement, segregation, and lynching, and expect him to assign his love and devotion in perpetuity. If the victims of mob violence were equally distributed throughout the nation, there would be standing a blood-stained tree in every county in the United States as a ghastly reminder to the Negro of the crucifixion of his race. Unless this barbarous tendency is checked, lynching will become ingrained in the warp and woof of the national character. Would the nation, then, have the moral right to demand the Negro's love and devotion? The nation must destroy lynching or lynching must destroy the nation. Let us fondly hope that the Negro will be forever true to the nation; but let us fervently

pray that the nation will prove itself worthy of his affection.

### Race Riots

We have heard of late very much about the so-called race riots in several parts of the country. Although these riots do not indicate an aroused spirit of revenge, they do suggest an awakening purpose of self-defense. But these outbreaks were perpetrated by a small element of lawless whites against the Negroes who merely acted on the defensive. Mr. Dooley has complained that the Negro is "too easily lynched." To paraphrase the famous statement of Frederick Douglass, "The people who are lynched easiest, will be lynched oftenest." But there has not been, and let us hope that never shall be a race riot in the full sense of the term, where all the members of one race will be arrayed in violent hostility against the other. In these recent happenings we have had the conservative masses of both races, white and black, uniting to quell the riot and put down lawlessness. In acting on the principle of self-defense, the Negro has but followed the advice of Abraham Lincoln, who in the Emancipation Proclamation advises the people set free to refrain from all violence except in necessary

self-defense. The moment the Negro goes beyond the limit of self-defense, aggressive violence will mean self-destruction. But there is no likelihood that the Negro will ever become the aggressor. He is the victim, not the perpetrator. The wolf always has some sinister purpose when he accuses the lamb of muddying the stream above him. It is entirely probable that all conservative elements of this nation will be appealed to in the approaching Presidential election to uphold the integrity of the courts. The finality of the courts lies at the basis of free institutions. We have already seen two of the most distinguished Americans leading campaigns to upset this doctrine. The Negro complains that he can hardly secure justice at the hands of the courts. The white man precipitates race riots, the Negro is punished by the courts. A recent survey has been made showing how difficult it is for a poor man to receive justice, but there is a double difficulty when the applicant is both poor and black. And

yet when this appeal is made, the Negro, although it places a severe tax on his devotion, will be found standing shoulder to shoulder with his conservative white fellow-citizen in vindicating the majesty of the law and upholding the finality of the judiciary as the last word in the settlement of human issues.

### The Integrity of American Institutions

As outcome of the World War, every nation except our own will probably have its governmental structure radically modified and readjusted. Our institutions are pedestaled upon the Declaration of Independence, and though the winds of revolution may blow, they will withstand the fury of the storm, because they are founded upon the eternal Rock of Ages. No other foundation can be laid than that which has been laid. We may hope to live up to but can never transcend the conception therein contained. The spiritual genius of the Hebrew race gave the world the everlasting, never-changing religious truth. Through inspiration of the intellect, the Greeks have given us the formal laws of thought which never can be changed. The founders of our government with no less political genius have formulated for all time the right law of political procedure. The Constitution was founded in the midst of slavery, but the founders had the projected discernment to transcend these regrettable incidents which they knew would pass away with time. Had their vision been fully caught by the immediately succeeding generations, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments would have been unnecessary. But when the

first test came to justify their faith and vision, there sprang up a new set of political thinkers with a double portion of the spirit of the old. They completed the purpose of the founders by the necessary addenda to the Charter of Liberty. Abraham Lincoln justified the faith of Thomas Jefferson. The Emancipation Proclamation was the fulfillment of the Declaration of Independence.

### Not to Destroy, but to Fulfill

And now in this day of world dissatisfaction and unrest, we need not doubt the validity of the foundation on which we rest. The way has been left open for progressive adjustments to meet the requirements of events. Orderly amendments may be added in harmony with the progressive need of the human race. But unless the new additions are in alignment with the old foundation, the superstructure will topple and fall. The Negro has no hope outside of the Declaration of Independence and its embodiment in the Constitution of the United States. There is no other power under Heaven whereby he might be saved. It is the greatest human instrumentality for the profound development of mankind. The world revolution will but disseminate the blessing of American institutions among the other nations of the earth. This is

the light that lighteth the path of every struggling people of the world. The Negro must insist, with incessant insistence, upon the exact fulfillment of the declared purpose of American institutions. Not only his own self-interest, but the integrity of their high purpose as well, demands that he should do this. Let him insist upon every American right with the "i" dotted and "t" crossed, but woe be to him who would lay destructive hand to tear down this Temple of Freedom. The Negro will be the last of all to give hospitality to such unholy thought. When it is considered what American institutions have done, and are calculated to do for this race, despite the past disappointment and present hopes deferred, he might well exclaim, "Though all men should forsake you, yet will not I." The Negro will seek remedy for his grievances under the flag, and will uphold the institutions which it symbolizes and extols. There is a divine discontent, but there is also a diabolical spirit of disturbance. The Negro will not be allured by the arguments of distracted, destructive radicals who, like Job's wild wife, would curse and die. The reckless radical is without the restraint of law and reason and is guided only by the license of a disordered imagination. He would strike at the chastity of women, the integrity of the home,

and the regnancy of law and order, and the beneficence of divine providence, while setting up a materialistic dispensation which begins in appetite and ends in death. The Negro will have none of

this, but joins with the courageously conservative forces of this nation, not to destroy the law, but to fulfill.

### **Chapter 3: The Negro in the New World Order**

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The inherent rights of man receive emphasis and new assertion at moments of social stress and strain. When society is in travail, liberty is born. During the long eras of leisure, the spirit of liberty languishes. Existing order is transformed, and all things made new amidst the fire and smoke of revolution. In times of quietude and peace, social evils accumulate and crystallize. The acquisition of wealth and the attainment of culture and refinement constitute the goal of endeavor. Discontent is decried and the soul seeks its ease. The voice of the reformer is denounced as tending to disturb social placidity and repose. The troublesome issues of the rights of man are banished from consciousness. Inequalities arise, aristocratic prerogative is asserted, and divine sanction assumed as the ordained scheme of social adjustment. When reform becomes impossible, revolution becomes imperative. It requires periodic upheavals to startle the soul from its complaisant slumber, discredit the dominance

of material aims, frustrate the assumption of arrogance and pride, and vindicate the rights of man as the highest attainable human value.

History abounds in convulsive epochs when the acute evils of society are eradicated. We have but to recall the tremendous outburst of moral energy during the Revolutionary Struggle and the Civil War, to bring to mind the operation of this principle within our own national experience. Each of these great upheavals served to curb the arrogant assumption of irresponsible power, and to give impulse to the doctrine of the inherent claims of man as man. The titanic struggle which has just engulfed the whole world in red ruin of revolution is but another act in the drama of human liberation, and the uplifted curtain shall fall on a world transformed.

#### **Revolutions Never Go Backward**

Revolutions never go backward. When a nation puts its hand to the plow of liberty, although it might wistfully reverse its vision, yet the furrow which marks the forward path can never be effaced. Revolutions always lessen the domain of oppression and increase the area of liberty. By the inexorable logic of events, the poor and oppressed receive the chief benefits of these great movements of history. The world

convulsions precipitate the showers of liberty whose droppings fall upon the needy and neglected of the children of man. The despised Jew of Europe, the oppressed millions of Asia, the Negro in Africa and America, and the under-man throughout the world will be the beneficiaries of the blessings which flow from the greatest epoch in the history of social evolution.

#### **Power and Principle**

The fundamental issue involved in this struggle is but the consummation of the age-long struggle between power and principle. The Central Powers, under the compulsion of Germany, espoused the ancient dogma of the dominance of power and the divine right of the strong. Through their ruthless acts, which spoke louder than their arrogant words, they defiantly declared that the weak has no rights which the strong is bound to respect. When the Belgian border was crossed, the die was cast. The Allies were forced, willingly or otherwise, to accept the challenge. Right and might once more

met in open conflict. There is in the human heart a deep-seated conviction of the indomitability of right. The universal and spontaneous response to this appeal confirms the same conviction. Power may seem to triumph for a while; might may be enthroned

while right is enchained; but final defeat is never accepted until the verdict is reversed, and right is crowned victor. If it appears that God is on the side of the heaviest battalion, a deeper insight and closer scrutiny reveal the fact that ultimately the heaviest battalion gets itself arrayed on the side of right. Power may put on efficiency and seem to work wonders for a while, but conscienceless efficiency is no match for efficiency quickened by conscience. The victorious outcome of this titanic struggle has given to the cause of right a sanction that can never again be shaken. The inviolability of the rights of man has become a sacred principle for all time to come.

### The Overruling Purpose

Shakespeare was not uttering threadbare theological dogma, when he declared that "there is a divinity which shapes our ends." This belief is in harmony with universal human experience. No statesman or philosopher was able to foresee or guide the trend of events during these five foregone fateful years. The wise statesmen have but followed the flow of events. The foolish tried to stem the tide. Men and nations have been moved, as it were, by an unseen hand, as pawns upon the chessboard of the world. Those who were at first impelled

by the traditional motives of greed, ambition, animosity, and revenge, have been led to a broader vision as the involved purpose of the great drama was unfolded. If there have been hesitation, indecision, and revised or substituted statements of the objects and aims of the war, it has been only in proportion as a constantly clarifying vision has been vouchsafed to those who were sincerely seeking after the right way, if haply they might find it. The wrath of man has been made to serve the great consummation, and the remainder of wrath has been held in restraint. The offense must needs come, but woe unto that man or nation by whom it cometh. The Serbian assassin of an Austrian Prince fired the shot that shocked the world. But we have already forgotten the name of the prince and assassin, in the momentous results which transcended the part which these unwitting participants were made to play. The little fire kindleth a great matter, when the fuel has already been accumulated for the flame. This tragedy was but the exciting occasion of a deep-seated cause. The idle gust overtopples the giant oak only when the foundation has already been undermined. The fullness of time had come. The world was ripe for a great moral revolution. The rapid scientific and material advancement had outrun ethical restraint. Culture

had supplanted conscience. Deeds had become glorified over ideals; the thing counted for more than the thought. Success meant more than righteousness. The rights of the weak were subordinated to the interests of the strong. Religion had become silent in the face of wrong. The church with pious cant continued to repeat archaic phraseology, while the world plunged headlong into sin.

### The Failure of Prophecy

It is a sad commentary on the human understanding that the so-called wise men and seers of the time were proclaiming the era of universal peace and the end of war, at the moment when the world was on the edge of a precipice. Their eyes were holden, so that they could not discern the signs of the times nor see the shadow of coming events. They proceeded in the even tenor of their satisfied way. Moral maxims were mouthed without moral meaning. The church preached a lukewarm gospel and a tepid righteousness that had reconciled itself with arrogance of class and prejudice of race. It attempted the forbidden rôle of trying to serve God and Mammon. The moral deluge engulfed the complaisant world with suddenness and shock as completely as the Mosaic flood startled and overwhelmed the convivial devotees

in the days of Noah. The fountain was suddenly swept away by that hand which rules over events and brings to naught the purposes of man. The highest human wisdom has little predictive value. We can with no greater assurance foretell what the next five years will bring forth than, in 1914, we could predict the momentous movements of the intervening quinquennium. Czar and Kaiser, King and Mikado, Sultan and President, were made to play their assigned parts. The Kaiser of the Germans may be considered the Pharaoh of modern times, whose heart had been hardened, in order that the dominance of right over might might be vindicated anew. The voice spoke through the mouthpiece of the Allies to the heart-hardened leader of the hosts of oppression, saying, "Let my people go." The horse and rider have been overthrown in the Red Sea of destruction, as a modern reminder to kings and nations of the fate of those who would stand between the people and liberty which is their due.

### A Righteous Cause

It is not necessary to invoke the doctrine of perfection in order to justify the part which the Allies are playing in this great issue. A righteous cause may be better than any man or nation

involved in it. An evil propaganda may be worse than its most wicked advocate. Christianity, in nineteen hundred years, has not yet produced a single Christian according to the rigid exactions of the cult. Nor has the kingdom of evil produced a single unmitigated devil. The modern crusade of liberty is better than any allied nation which espoused it. The doctrine of oppression is more detestable than its most wicked adherent. Not one of the allied nations could pose as model of the virtue which is espoused, nor yet claim freedom from the evil practices which were so bitterly denounced in the adversary. A nation without sin cannot be found to cast the first stone. In the readjustment of historical wrongs of nation against nation and race against race, the victorious Allies will be forced by considerations of prudence to choose a comparatively recent date as point of departure, to save themselves from serious embarrassment. In order to make ourselves worthy devotees of a righteous cause it is not necessary that we should be free from sin, but that we acknowledge our sin, and promise to do so no more. Any nation that enlists in the crusade of humanity with vainglorious assumptions of self-righteousness thereby proclaims its own insincerity. They who would prepare themselves for vicarious and sacrificial

service, must first submit themselves to serious self-searching with deep humiliation and contrition of soul.

Abraham Lincoln was the one commanding moral genius that has arisen in the Western Hemisphere. He followed the leading of the inner light. He heard and heeded the call, and accepted the commission to lead the unrighteous hosts in behalf of righteousness. But he was all the while deeply conscious of our national unworthiness, and accepted the chastening hand of affliction with a groaning of spirit that was too deep for utterance. In an outburst of moral anguish he exclaims: "Yet if God wills that it (the war) continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

The vital difference between the Central Powers and the Allies, all of whom had fallen far short of the standard of national rectitude, consisted in the fact that the Allies stood ready to acknowledge their faults and prayed forgiveness as moral preparation for the great contest. On the other hand, the Germans

valued the discarded methods which the Allies repudiated. They had the foolish hardihood to justify their misdeeds as a part of their code of national morality. Great indeed is the condemnation of that man or nation who breaks the moral law and justifies its transgression. A nation cannot wait until it has become perfect before espousing right ideals. But a declaration of high purpose arouses the conscience and reacts upon the conduct. Nations, like individuals, rise on stepping stones of their

dead selves to higher things. But all moral progress is estopped when misdeeds are justified. The American people were not in favor of the emancipation of the slave when they entered upon the Civil War. England was not committed to the doctrine of world democracy when she joined hands with Russia, the most autocratic state in Europe, to protect a violated treaty. But just as the battle-cry of freedom soon became the dominant motive in our Civil War, so the World War had not progressed far before it became imperative that the allied cause be impelled by the dynamic power of a moral watchword. To Woodrow Wilson was vouchsafed the high privilege of uttering this word. All the nations of the world have been made nobler and worthier by reason of the righteous doctrine which they have espoused and extolled.

Never again can the weak peoples of the world be ruthlessly overridden by arrogant power. The United States has assumed the world's spokesmanship for the doctrine of human liberty. Never again can the American Negro be dealt with in ruthless disregard of this declared doctrine without discrediting our righteous advocacy and making our high pretensions of non-effect.

### The Power of Right Doctrine

Historic epochs enounce dynamic doctrines surcharged with pent-up revolutionary power. These doctrines epitomize and express the oppressive burden under which the people have been laboring and embody their ideals of relief. The doctrine is more than the deed. The thought precedes the thing. The issues of life flow from the fountain-head of thought and belief. The Christian church, not unwisely, emphasizes the supreme importance of orthodox belief, which serves as the standard by which right conduct is regulated and controlled. If the people's ideals are right, their conduct cannot be wrong. If the people's ideals are wrong, their conduct cannot be right. A pure fountain cannot send forth a corrupt stream. The world is ruled by opinion. Revolutions always emphasize the right opinion concerning

human liberty and the equality of man. "Liberty, fraternity, equality"; "all men are created equal"; "no distinction on account of race and color," are maxims which epitomize the outcome of the three great social revolutions of modern times. These maxims have become axioms and are appealed to as self-evident principles in all subsequent social progress. Revolutionary fervor heats the thermometer of public sentiment many degrees beyond its normal registry. Great truths are uttered by the entranced prophets of reform which transcend the calculated and cautious judgment of calm and quiet reflection. Like the enraptured apostle on the Mount, they utter words of marvelous wisdom, though they wist not what they say. The moral watchword of the French Revolution was principally intended for Frenchmen who were oppressed beneath the heavy heel of haughty autocracy. The author of the Declaration of Independence was a slave-holder, and must have penned that immortal document with serious reservation of mind or disquietude of conscience. The abolition of race and color in civil and political procedure marks the most daring concrete application of this abstract philosophy of human rights to which this doctrine has yet been subjected. The world is still amazed at the moral audacity of

the great apostles of human liberty who made the despised Negro a citizen and clothed him with political and civil prerogative and power.

### The Inherent Truth of Sound Doctrine

The value of doctrine does not depend upon its interpretation by the one who first uttered it, but rather upon the meaning which it suggests and the response which it evokes in the minds of those who receive it. The telling sermon depends upon the meaning which the minister imputes to his text. Shakespeare, who fathomed the depths of human thoughts and feelings, was incapable of profound intellectual or moral convictions. His maxims of wisdom were called forth to meet the requirements of mimic art. We read into his words a profundity of thought and meaning of which the author never dreamed. A word once uttered can never be recalled. He who sends it forth cannot retract or limit its

meaning and interpretation to his narrow interest or intention. The early apostles of Christianity were profoundly impressed with the conviction that the gospel dispensation was limited to the Jewish race. It required a divine revelation to convince its chief spokesman of its higher intent and purpose to embrace all mankind. Universal truth enforces universal application,

despite the narrow judgment of men who may not be able to see beyond the circle of their own circumstances. The story runs, that a colored citizen of a southern state became sorely perplexed as to a practical definition of the word "democracy," which had recently become current in the discussion of the issues of the day. The dictionaries at his disposal furnished no satisfactory relief from his dilemma, in view of the proscriptive civil and political policy of which he was made to bear the brunt. In the midst of his bewilderment he decided to write to his senator, who is far famed for his reactionary attitude towards manhood rights of the Negro race. This distinguished senator, not knowing that the request came from a colored constituent, replied: "Democracy means that you are as good as I am." He was thus beguiled into telling the truth, which no subsequent qualification can affect, though he may expostulate until the day of judgment.

### World Democracy

Democracy for the world, and the world for democracy, has become the keyword of the convulsive struggle in which the nations and races of mankind are involved. This instantly appeals to the moral energy of those who labor

and are heavy laden in all the ends of the earth. It is needless to speculate as to what reservations of thought or qualifications of judgment lay in the mind of the statesman who first gave utterance to this expression, or to point out inconsistency between word and deed. It is more important to know that those who stand in need of the beneficence of the great truth hear it gladly. All races, colors and creeds have fought under the inspiration of its banner. It has become the battle-cry of those who yearn for freedom, the tidings of great joy for those who sit in the shadow of arrogance and power.

### Divine Right

The dominance of power over weakness was the only sanction that primitive man needed for his overlordship among his feebler fellows. As soon as the troublesome qualms of conscience emerged, they were assuaged by assumption of divine right. All of the historical evils of nation against nation, and race against race, and class against class have sought justification on this ground. The overbearing attitude of the Germans toward the other nations of Europe was based primarily upon might backed up by assumed divine sanction. Because this nation had reached certain superior attainments, it asserted the right to impose its

imperious will upon others without let or hindrance. The arguments which the German apologists used to justify their conduct towards other European nations are paralleled in every particular by the assertions of the anti-Negro propagandists in the United States, who would hold the Negro in everlasting subordination to the white race. One distinguished German philosopher declared:

"As the German bird, the eagle, hovers high over all the creatures of the earth, so also should the German feel that he is raised high above all other nations who surround him, and whom he sees in the limitless depths beneath him."

Another tells us:

"One single highly cultured German warrior, of those who are, alas! falling in thousands, represents a higher intellectual and moral life-value than hundreds of the raw children of nature whom England and France, Russia and Italy, oppose to them."

With the proper substitution of terms, these citations might be adopted bodily by those American publicists who believe that God has appointed the Negro an inferior place in his all-wise scheme of things. It was but logical that the German nation should raise the race issue in the world conflict.

They first appealed to England on the basis of a common Teutonic

blood to refrain from entering the conflict in behalf of the inferior Celts and Slavs. The invited participation of the yellow and black races was reprobated as the crowning act of apostasy against the ordained superiority of the white race. It is interesting to note that a certain type of southern opinion which is welded to the divine theory of race relationship agreed with the German point of view, and denounced the enlistment of the black and yellow races to fight against the lordly white race as a crime against humanity.

#### Deep-Seated Evils

There are certain evils which get themselves so firmly lodged in the human mind that they can be eliminated only by shot and shell. Men at one time sincerely and honestly believed in the right of the strong to own the weak, as master and slave, especially if the strong man were white and the weak one black. This doctrine was shot to death at Appomattox. The last important public utterance of Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, the oracle of a certain school of opinion, was to the effect that he was glad that the Civil War was resolved in favor of the Union, and that the Negro was made free. The mind of the defeated reactionary gives its tardy assent to the righteous judgment enforced

by the sword. The German people sincerely believed in the divine right of kings and the German nation. But this doctrine received its death wound at the battle of the Marne. Enlightened German opinion will soon express gratification that the World War was resolved in favor of the Allies, and that the detested doctrine of divine right of kings and nations has been shot out of the minds of men forever. It is the lost cause that never can be revived. The anti-slavery advocates used to declare that whenever a practice became too despicable for human responsibility, it sought vindication under the shelter of divine sanction. It is noticeable that those who assume familiarity with divine intendment, exhibit least of the divine spirit in dealing with their fellowmen. To suppose that there could be any traceable connection between an All-wise and All-good Providence and the workings of the minds of those who have been loudest in denying the inalienable rights of man, on both sides of the Atlantic, would reverse all our received notions of the divine attributes.

#### The Divine Right of Race

But along with the divine right of kings must go every other semblance of the divine right, including divine right of race. There is no

more reason to suppose that God has chosen the white race to exercise lordship over the darker races of men than that He has chosen Germans to lord it over the other European nations. There exists in the minds of many the deep-seated opinion that the white race has some God-ordained mission to which the weaker breeds must bow in humble submission. Rudyard Kipling's *White Man's Burden* is but the modern refrain of the exploded conceit that God has given his chosen race the heathen for their possession to be broken to pieces with a rod of iron. The divine right of kings is a more acceptable doctrine than the divine right of race. It is more consoling to be required to submit to one ruler of divine designation than to be compelled to bow in subjection to a whole race of persons so designated. Most of the unjust and unrighteous discriminatory regulations against the Negro are based upon the assumed or implied superior claim of the white race. Wherever and whenever the white man is accorded a single advantage because he is white and the Negro subjected to a single disadvantage because he is black, it represents a discrimination without any reasonable justification, human or divine. A social fabric built upon this basis rests upon the foundation of sand which will surely be shaken down when

the wind and rain of democracy blow and beat upon it; and great will be the fall thereof.

#### Kinship in Iniquity

The advocates of race discrimination are spiritual descendants of the defenders of human slavery, who in turn bear close kinship of spirit with the Germans who believe in the divine right of kings. It is a tragedy to see men of genius prostituting their power on the side of human oppression instead of liberty. The most tragic chapter in history is the collapse of the Germans, the most highly favored of nations. They misjudged their mission and misapplied their powers. It will never again be possible for the black man and the yellow man, who fought side by side with the better element of the white race against the outrageous pretensions of the minor and meaner fraction, to believe that color confers any divine favor. By what possible process of logic can it be claimed that one-third of the human race, because it happens to be white, should exercise lordship forever over two-thirds which happens to be colored?

### Noblesse Oblige

Some individuals, some nations and some races have present advantages over other individuals, nations and races. If there is any divine attribute to whose appeal the human conscience responds, it requires that the strong should encourage and strengthen the weak, and not aggrandize their own conceit at the expense of those more helpless and hapless than themselves. Germany might have uplifted the whole human race to a higher level of science and achievement, had she chosen the way of liberty rather than oppression. The strong will fulfill their mission in the world by playing the rôle of the big brother rather than that of the big bully. The divine right of kings, the divine right of race, the divine right of class, the divine right of power must go the way of all wicked and detestable dogmas. The only divine right that will be acceptable to a democratic world is the divine right of each individual to make the most of himself.

### Race Prejudice

Human history abounds in deep and bitter political, religious and social animosities. The dawn of history breaks upon a world at war. Society, like nature, has been red in tooth and claw. The ape and tiger have had little time to slumber. But race prejudice, as it is understood in the world today, is the product of comparatively modern times. It has sprung

up during the past four hundred years, since the Western European has forced himself upon the weaker breeds of man in all parts of the world. Ancient literature contains little or nothing of this form of race prejudice, under which eligibility is based upon the flesh and blood rather than upon mind and spirit. The Germanic races are more seriously afflicted with this idolatry of blood than those of Latin or Slavonic origin. The Latin races have had as wide and varied contact with weaker peoples as the Teuton or his Anglo-Saxon cousin. But the Latin dispensation, despite its manifest imperfections, has never sown the seeds of race hatred in the portions of the world where its power held sway. In South America and in the West Indian Archipelago where the Latin blood and authority dominated for centuries, the people live and move in racial peace and good will. But in the Teuton cult, color is more than creed, race counts for more than religion. The Negro in France may rise to the level of his talent or genius in the civil, social or military life, but race intolerance among the Germanic races would restrict his aspiration on the mere ground of race and color. A Negro soldier might rise to superior command in the French army; but should a Negro possess the military genius of Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon combined

into one, he could not rise above a designated level in the armies regulated by this restrictive spirit. Some one has written a book entitled *If Christ Came to Congress*, and pointed out the strange contradiction which He would witness among those who profess to follow in His footsteps. But should the Man of Sorrows return to earth under the similitude of a man of color, in many parts of the world, He would be denied communion with the saints in His own church which He died to establish; or at most, restricted to spiritual relationship with those of His own assumed complexion.

### An Anomaly

It is one of the curious anomalies of history that in the recent World War the climax of bitterness was reached between German and Anglo-Saxon of kindred blood and spirit. The German nation translates its doctrine of intolerance into logical and unmitigated action. The Anglo-Saxon rose up in his might to defeat the logical conclusion of his own intolerant attitude. His good sense has redeemed his bad logic. The spirit of intolerance based on race and blood has received a shock at the hand of its own adherents from which it can never recover. Italy, Spain, France and Russia and the Balkan States do not show the same aversion of

race as the Teuton and the Saxon. The Saxon who is but a Teuton of diluted blood is better than the Teuton. Some Saxons are better than others. Race aversion whose stubbornness and strength override considerations of conscience does not characterize the entire white race, but only a lesser fraction of that race. Of these the Germanic element is the dominating force of the world today. But this tough Teutonic intolerant spirit must yield by attrition with the milder and more human disposition of the great majority of the human race whether European, Asiatic or African. For the first time in the history of the world, all elements of the European peoples have come into council with representatives of other races and colors to deliberate upon the fate of the world. This council will be brought to naught unless it is based upon the underlying principles of the brotherhood of man. The Japanese, the foremost section of the Asiatic peoples, are now speaking with authority for the yellow races. They have already put the world on warning that the intolerant spirit of the more arrogant portion of the white race can never be accepted as the final basis of peace on earth and good will among men. Race prejudice is the greatest evil that afflicts the world today. Animosity growing out of greed, religious schisms, and

political ambition may be made amenable to reason of force. Those who foster race hatred are defeating the millennium of world civilization, whatever form of value their contributions to human culture may take. What profit is it to gain the whole world at the expense of the soul? German efficiency dwindles in importance when weighed against her accompanying arrogance and intolerance of spirit. Unless the higher soul values shall be universally recognized as transcending the intolerant exactions of flesh and blood, the moral unity of mankind cannot be attained, the devoutly hoped for brotherhood of man is a delusive dream, and Jesus Christ, as Savior of the world, has lived and died in vain.

### Moral Consistency

The Allied Nations will be bound in ethical consistency to live up to the doctrines which they espoused to meet the great moral emergency. All permanent progress depends upon the stability of law. The Savior tells us: "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." This is characteristic of all universal law, whether spiritual or scientific. It is independent of time and place. This is true of the multiplication table. It cannot be varied

or modified to satisfy human arrogance or pride. Great indeed is the condemnation of that one who violates law and justifies the violation. The business man who would misapply the multiplication table in his dealings and justify his conduct, must be placed under drastic penalty, or else our economic fabric would fall. When the German nation would ruthlessly destroy weaker nations for its own aggrandizement and justify the destruction, it was establishing a new code of morality which must not be allowed, lest civilization be imperiled. There cannot be one law for the weak and another for the strong, or one law for black men and another for white men. The ethical principles have no respect for geographical latitudes nor for the conventional pride of men or nations. What is wrong in Germany, is equally wrong in Georgia. Atrocities in Texas and atrocities in Turkey call for like condemnation. The United States, as sponsor for the moral issue upon which the world struggle is waged, will be bound to treat all of its citizens with the equal justice which it is now proclaiming as

the saving doctrine for the world. The nation cannot longer permit its own Constitution to be violated with impunity, while insisting that other nations shall observe the letter and spirit of international law. It must practice and inculcate

the principles of justice and equality at home, as preparation to serve as moral monitor of mankind.

### Reconstruction of Thought

The only reconstruction worth while is a reconstruction of thought. Permanent reforms grow out of a change in the attitude of mind. The weaker element is always governed by the attitude of the stronger. Programs proceed from principles. As long as man looked upon woman as a plaything and a toy, she was a nullity in the state. But in proportion as his more enlightened view leads him to regard her as a co-equal in the equation of life, she will be accorded a larger and larger measure of privilege and prerogative. The Negro was at first regarded as representing an inferior order of creation, fit only for drudgery and rough toil. Under the dominance of this idea, he was made a slave. So long as this notion prevailed, he could hope for no other status. But when it began to dawn that he was a man, with all the involved potentialities of manhood, his captors began to become unquiet concerning the inhuman treatment heaped upon him.

The anti-slavery struggle resulted in profoundly changing that attitude of the people toward the Negro race, which finally resulted

in emancipation. Chief Justice Taney's name has been damned to everlasting fame by a single sentence that failed to synchronize with the sentiment of the nation at the time it was uttered. The institution of slavery rested upon the foundation of the dogma that the Negro had no rights that a white man was bound to respect. The leaven of the Declaration of Independence and the anti-slavery propagandists had wrought a great change in public sentiment concerning the place and function of the Negro. It was in view of this altered attitude of mind that the Negro was set free and clothed with the prerogative of citizenship. As the American mind began to grow cold and indifferent on this issue, a strong sentiment was arising which demanded the annulment or abolition of the reconstruction amendments to the Federal Constitution. But at this juncture the World War was precipitated, which reëmphasized the doctrine of the rights of man. The gallant part which the Negro played in bringing victory to the side of liberty has also served to liberalize the feelings and sentiment in his behalf. The new reconstruction, therefore, in so far as it may affect the Negro, will grow out of this new attitude of mind. According to the present state of sentiment, the Negro has some rights which the white man is bound to respect, but

others which he is privileged to ignore. The moral revolution must create a new heart and renew the right spirit. All the rights of every man must be respected by every other man. It is needless to attempt to formulate in detail the particular forms which this reconstruction will take. If the spirit of democracy prevails, the statutes, articles, and clauses will take care of themselves.

### The African Colonies

The future government of the African colonies will form a chapter in the new reconstruction of the greatest interest and concern to the American Negro. During the past four hundred years the European has been brought into contact with the African. But the one motive has been exploitation of the weak for the aggrandizement of the strong. The poet Pope has embalmed the deep infamy of motive which has dominated the European in his contact with the weaker breeds of men. Lo, the poor Indian, is described as seeking release from it all in his happy hunting grounds beyond the skies,

"Where slaves once more their native land behold  
No thieves torment, no Christians thirst for gold."

But a new note has been uttered. The beneficence of democracy is extending even to the

man farthest down. The enlightened statesmen have united in declaring that, hereafter colonies must be governed in the interest of the people themselves, and not for the aggrandizement of their exploiters. The haughty Germans, relying on the ancient dogma of divine right, have ruthlessly ruled the African colonies with iron efficiency, with sole reference to gain. It is agreed on all sides that these colonies must be taken over by the Allies in the interest of humanity. They are to be governed, as far as practicable, on the basis of self-determination. The United States is under heavy moral obligation to the African continent and its people. Under the spell of the old dogma, America reached out her long arm across the sea and captured helpless African victims and subjected them to cruel bondage. The Peace Conference will be confronted with the question of requiting the historic wrong of one nation against the other; the American can never requite the Indian whose land she despoiled and whose race she extinguished; nor yet the African, whose simple-souled sons and daughters were snatched from their native land and made to labor for centuries in unrequited toil. But the adjustment of grievances of French against German, and Italian against Austrian, suggests the deep moral obligation to this helpless and

expatriated people. The United States represents the highest type of democracy among the nations. Democracy will never justify itself as a world influence unless it can be becomingly related to the backward and belated peoples of the world in such a way as will lead to their speedy development and reclamation. Indeed the immediate, persistent problem of civilization is the satisfactory adjustment of the advanced sections of the human race to their less fortunate fellowmen. The infamy which has hitherto characterized this relationship stands in everlasting discredit against the claims of Christianity and civilization. While the Constitution of the United States does not bestow authority of government over subject races and peoples, nevertheless, we have taken over Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines on the ground of national necessity and benevolent assimilation. The United States is under both moral and political obligation to assume responsibility for the future welfare of the African colonies taken from Germany for reasons of humanity. It might be well for the United States to assume complete responsibility over a section of the German colonies as an example to the world of how a backward people can be governed without exploitation, and lifted to higher planes of civilization under the guidance

of the democratic spirit. This government would naturally enough utilize the talents and attainments of its Afro-American element to help sympathetically in the government and development of their African kinsmen.

### Self-Determination

No people, however lowly and backward, can be effectively governed unless an element of self-determination is involved in their government. There are ten million Americans of African descent in the United States. They have naturally a vital interest in the welfare of their motherland. The Afro-American, on the whole, constitutes the most advanced section of the African race to be found anywhere in the world. He is best qualified to utter the voice of two-hundred million black people in the continent of Africa and scattered over the face of the globe.

### Race Leadership

All true leadership must be autochthonous. It must spring from the midst of those to be led. The real leader must be of the same blood and sympathies and subjected to the same conditions and linked to the same destiny as his followers. No race can speak for another or give

utterance to its striving of soul. Before an individual of one class can assume to be spokesman for another, he must forego his former allegiance and naturalize himself in the class for which he aspires to speak. He must leave the one, and cleave to the other. Should a conflict arise between the two, he must eschew the old and espouse the new. Napoleon Bonaparte was by blood an Italian. He became not only the mouthpiece but the oracle of the French people; but he must first become a Frenchman

by adoption. The white man is not disposed to become naturalized in the Negro race, nor to forego the privilege and prestige which his class and color confer. The Kaiser is the most detested white man on the face of the earth today. And yet the Anglo-Saxon *amour propre* would revolt against the suggestion of subjecting him to the humiliating conditions which without compunction of conscience it forces upon the Negro.

### The Limit of Philanthropy

In the days of slavery when the black man's tongue was tied, noble champions arose to plead his cause. The voices of Phillips, Garrison and Sumner, ringing with righteous indignation, quickened the conscience of the nation. This

race can never repay the debt of gratitude for this vicarious service. But the slave has been made a freeman. His sons and daughters have been taught the art of disquisition and persuasive appeal. The black man must now plead with his own voice and give tongue to his own complaints. The white man can yet do much to champion the cause of the Negro, and to arouse the conscience of his own race against injustice and wrong heaped upon the defenseless head of the weak and helpless people. Altruistic advocacy, however genuine, fails to arouse the desired response in public feeling and judgment. The people who fail to produce their own spokesman can hardly convince the world that they feel a deep-seated sense of injustice and wrong. The man who feels the wound must utter the groan. Although the retained advocate may have a genuine interest in the welfare of his clients, the persuasive power of his plea is weakened by the thought that his own destiny is not involved in the verdict. It was necessary that Moses should be one in flesh and blood and spirit with the oppressed people of Israel, to qualify him to stand before the court of Pharaoh, and plead their cause with plenary power and unimpeachable moral authority.

### The Voice of the Negro

The white man, with amazing assumption of wisdom and goodness, has undertaken to set the proper régime for the Negro without consulting his advice or consent. The all-wise physician disdains inquiry of the patient of the nature of his ailment. But experience proves that the civilized man is not enlightened enough to govern the savage; that the saint is not sanctified enough to govern the sinner; the philosopher is not wise enough to govern the fool, without involving the consent and participation of the one to be governed. John Locke was a keen expert in the workings of human understanding, and yet he was unable to draft a satisfactory constitution for the people of South Carolina. It is now conceded that the European, with all of his assumed power, has woefully failed in establishing efficient and satisfactory government of weaker races and peoples. This failure has been in proportion to his neglect to consult the interest and feelings of those to be governed. There can be no good government where the principle of self-government is not involved and invoked.

The Negro represents one-eighth of the population of the globe. The Peace Conference now sitting at Paris has assumed the function

of the Parliament of Man. The common sense of most must hold the fretful world in awe. All classes and races with just grievances to be remedied or wrongs to be righted are seeking a hearing before this tribunal of law, justice and peace. The laboring men throughout the world, the Irish, the Jews, dissatisfied elements of every race and class, are demanding a hearing through voices of their own choosing. Shall not the voice of the Negro be heard and heeded, if the world is to establish an enduring peace or equality and righteousness?

### The New Reconstruction

The United States belongs to the victorious nations, and is not subject to technical reconstruction. Our whole fabric, however, economic, political, social and moral, will be transformed by the new democratic spirit. The Negro need not expect to be made the subject of special legislation, but may

expect to be included in the program of social justice and human opportunity. Proscriptive and restrictive regulations will be nullified under the mollifying influence of these ideals.

### Rights and Fights

The Negro represents a minority in the midst of a more powerful and populous people; but unlike minority races in the Balkan States, he does not hope to win his cause by primary conflict. He must rely upon the essential righteousness of his claim and the aroused moral sense of the nation. He is a coward who will not exert his resistive power to its utmost for the unlimited enjoyment of every right which God or man has conferred upon him. There are certain God-given rights which man may be mean enough to deny but never can be mighty enough to take away. The contest which the Negro must wage incessantly and unceasingly is not a conflict that would result in the destruction of the social fabric of which he forms a part, but would rather lead to the fulfillment of its declared aims and ideals. The Negro's cause is right, and right must finally win. The devils believe this, and tremble.

### States' Rights

As a striking result of this new reconstruction, the old doctrine of States' rights, which had its origin in the purpose to subordinate the Negro and perpetuate his inferior status, will be wiped away. This reactionary doctrine has stood athwart every great moral reform which our nation has undergone. It opposed unity of the nation and the freedom of the slave. It sought to defeat prohibition and women's claim

for the suffrage. Provincialism has been the bane of our national life. The Civil War created a new nation with dominant powers over the states. The World War will create a new world whose sanction will transcend that of any nation. Great reform movements, now sweeping through the world and the nation, will benefit all of the people, and no race or class can be shunted from the benefits thereof.

### The Old Reconstruction and the New

The reconstruction growing out of the Civil War resulted in adding the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery and giving the Negro his freedom, is universally accepted and uncontested. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which made the Negro a citizen and clothed him with the elective franchise, have never been accepted in all parts of the nation. The refractory states have in a large measure nullified the intended effect of these Amendments. But the new reconstruction through which we are now passing must complete the work of the old, so that in truth and in deed, as well as in word and phrase, "There shall be no discrimination on account of race or color."

### The failure of the old reconstruction, in so

far as it may be so considered, was due to the fact that it never met with the unanimous acceptance of the American people, but was forced by one section upon the unwilling acquiescence of the other. The new reconstruction, on the other hand, must meet with the unanimous consent of the American people, North and South, East and West. What American dares rise up and say nay to the demands of democracy?

### Government Based on Inequality

Alexander Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederacy, stated in his inaugural address, that the Confederate States would attempt to found a government based frankly upon human inequality. For four long years the bloody struggle raged around this issue. Strange to relate, the World War, waged upon the survival of the same issue, lasted for the same duration of time. The Confederate cause was lost. The German cause has been lost. Any cause that openly advocates human inequality is bound to

be lost under the assault of democratic ideals. By the irony of history, the political heirs and assigns of the advocates of government based upon inequality were in control of the affairs of this nation during the World War, when it was committed most unequivocally

to the doctrine of government based frankly upon human equality. Woodrow Wilson was spokesman for democracy, not merely for this nation but for all nations. It may be said, in homely phrase, that the South was in the saddle, but she was riding a democratic horse which was headed to the goal of human equality. She must ride straight or dismount.

### Reaction

Reactionary voices here and there may be expected to rise, but they will be drowned in the triumphant course of democracy. Over-buoyant expectation may meet with disappointment. Negro soldiers, returning from across the seas with laurels of victory, may here and there be made to feel the sting of rebuff and insult by the very people whose liberties they fought to secure. Intense local animosities may be engendered in one place or another. Outbreaks and murder may spasmodically occur. A comprehensive understanding of the far-reaching effect of forward movements must discount all this. Black laws followed the Thirteenth Amendment. The Ku Klux Klan came after reconstruction. There was a recrudescence of race prejudice after the Spanish-American War, in which the Negro had played a glorious part. These are but backwaters in the current of

democracy. The tide is now at flood and cannot be stemmed. The most conspicuous opponents of democracy, for fear it might include the Negro, with dying gasp of defiance, were driven from places of public power under the excoriating lash of President Wilson, Southerner. The logic of events overrides the narrow purposes of men. The sign of democracy is written across the sky, in letters so bold and pronounced, that he who runs may read; and those who are too foolish to read will be compelled to run.

### Rights and Duties

The Negro must not be allowed to make the same mistake in the new reconstruction that he was permitted to make in the old. All of his energies were focused upon the issue of political rights and privileges with little or no reserved power for economic and industrial advancement. Could Booker T. Washington have come upon the stage a generation earlier, preaching the doctrine of industry, thrift and economy alongside of Frederick Douglass, proclaiming in thunderous tones the gospel of human rights, the advancement of the race would have been built upon a foundation that could not be shaken. The desired product involves both factors. In this new day, the Negro must place equal emphasis upon rights and duties. He must deserve all that he demands, and demand all that he deserves.

### Self-Reclamation

The government can give the individual only a fair chance. The race, he himself must run. No trick or contrivance of government can ennoble the Negro beyond the level of his work and worth. When democracy prevails, the upward struggle has just begun. Soil, sunshine, and moisture may abound, but the seed must send its own roots into the soil, and its blades into the air by the push of its own potency.

War energizes the powers, and liberalizes the faculties of man. In the wake of war, reconstruction always builds mightier structures than those that have been torn down. The United States is on the threshold of a mighty economic, educational, and moral awakening. The worker will feel a new zest, the thinker will have a new thought, and the poet will sing a new song. Opportunities will be open to every competent and willing worker for the best development and exercise of his highest powers and attainments. The Negro must contribute his bit and his best to the general welfare, and

derive his just share from it. He must enter as a competent and willing participant in the new issues of life, and must not fail to help promote the glory of that new freedom whose beneficiary he devoutly hopes to be.

## **Chapter 4: Unrest Among Weaker Races**

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## **Chapter IV: Unrest Among Weaker Races**

The inherent rights of man receive emphasis and new assertion at moments of social stress and strain. When society is in travail, liberty is born. During the long eras of leisure, the spirit of liberty languishes. Existing order is transformed, and all things made new amidst the fire and smoke of revolution. In times of quietude and peace, social evils accumulate and crystallize. The acquisition of wealth and the attainment of culture and refinement constitute the goal of endeavor. Discontent is decried and the soul seeks its ease. The voice of the reformer is denounced as tending to disturb social placidity and repose. The troublesome issues of the rights of man are banished from consciousness. Inequalities arise, aristocratic prerogative is asserted, and divine sanction assumed as the ordained scheme of social adjustment. When reform becomes impossible, revolution becomes imperative. It requires periodic upheavals to startle the soul from its complaisant slumber, discredit the dominance

of material aims, and vindicate the rights of man as the highest attainable human value.

The permanent effect of any war is to be judged by its humanitarian outcome and moral aftermath. Sacrifice of blood and treasure is in vain unless there results a better social relationship. The American Revolutionary War released the Declaration of Independence, the embodiment of the democratic ideal. The French Revolution set the ears of the world atingle with the doctrine of "liberty, fraternity, equality." The war between the States produced the Emancipation Proclamation and extended the ennobling bonds of liberty to include the race farthest down.

The World War has exacted an unparalleled toll of human life and material values; but, alas, the world impatiently awaits a clear indication of corresponding moral contribution. The League of Nations, designed for the composure of the world, is frustrated by age-old jealousies, greed and ambition. Nations are vying for political and commercial ascendancy as of yore. Race animosities have been aroused and stimulated. The weaker breeds of men have developed an assertive and defiant self-consciousness. Japan smarts under the stigma of race inferiority. The darker breeds of men resent the assumption on the part of the

whiter ones of everlasting lordship and dominion. In America, human beings are lynched, tortured and burned alive at the exaction of race prejudice; the land of liberty is in danger of becoming the land of lynchers. The Ku Klux Klan proclaims the revival of an invisible empire based upon the principles of darkness and evil. Is the World War to bring in the Anti-Christ or the Christ that is to be? This query must prick the Christian conscience to the core. Race prejudice is the one dominant obstacle in the world today which stands surely athwart of the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven which Jesus sought to set upon the earth. The Christian church is vainly deluding itself in a frantic endeavor to reconcile Christian duty with racial caste. The chasm between races cannot be bridged by a structure resting upon such insecure foundation; the folly is as apparent as in building upon shifting sands instead of enduring rock, or substituting coils of smoke for bands of iron.

Yet we hope that, somehow, there is an imminent moral economy in human affairs. The World War has brought together all peoples of all lands and this incidental contact has, of itself, aroused a consciousness of brotherhood and of moral unity. It is the psychological moment for the Christian religion to quicken

this consciousness into a keener sense of spiritual kinship and a more intense appreciation of the oneness of human nature and of human needs. Christianity must justify its claim of being the world religion by meeting the needs of the world at this critical time. The one dominant purpose of the teachings of Jesus is to promote peace on earth and good will among men as was proclaimed by angelic heraldry on the night of His birth. The dominant note in Christianity is brotherhood, without restriction or reservations. If a brother of the flesh should impose upon his less fortunate kinsmen fixed boundaries beyond which he dared not go, the proffer would be rejected with scorn.

The man at the bottom is always the chief beneficiary of social upheavals. As long as the surface of the lake is calm and tranquil, the sediments at the bottom are fixed in their place by pressure of the superincumbent waters. But when the storm arises, and lashes the waters into fury, the bottom sediments arise toward the top and settle themselves according to their own specific gravity. The consciousness of the weaker races has been aroused by the turbulence of war. Their erstwhile lethargy and lassitude are giving way to the stimulated urge of restlessness and divine discontent.

The war to destroy imperialism has left the world more imperialistic than before. The imperialism of race is more despicable in the eyes of the dominated races than the imperialism of empire. A noted American statesman based his objection to the League of Nations on the ground that it admitted the non-white races on a footing of equality with the whites. The terms "white" and "colored" today convey the same arrogant and intolerant significance as "Jew and Gentile," "Greek and Barbarian," "Christian and Heathen" in the days when the world was divided into such mutually exclusive classes with the implied hauteur and contempt of the former for the latter. Those who stand on the pinnacle of temporary advantage declare themselves to be the "chosen people," but they need not expect their claims to be allowed by the unchosen whom they hold in despite.

Can small nations, without the means of compelling power, maintain their self-sovereignty among larger nations with greater armies and navies? Can the weaker races assert their independence against the greed and rapacity of the stronger ones? are questions as ancient as the world-old issue between might and right. In the present posture of the world thought and conduct, the gospel of the heaviest battalion is the last word of authority, and the booming

gun is the only sanction that has no doubt. But, somehow, the moral genius of mankind expects that the still small voice of conscience will triumph over the earthquake, the whirlwind and the devouring flame.

The restlessness of the weak lies at the basis of moral progress. No individual, nation or race is likely to abolish inethical procedure as long as it proves profitable. Idol makers will never destroy idolatry. Slavery has been banished from the civilized world by common consent of the exploiting nations, but only when it proved to be economically disadvantageous to the nations as a whole. Economic inequity quickly stimulates the sense of moral evil.

The man that feels the pain must utter the groan. The weak nation may not be morally superior to the strong one, but it possesses the moral advantage of weakness. It is a human instinct to heed the cry of the oppressed. But if the oppressed fail to give the outcry, there will be no indication for the oppressor to heed. The balance of powers is relied on to hold a turbulent world in equilibrium. The League of Nations is a polygon of forces in which the strongest components control the resultant. The two score of weaker nations are confessedly placed at the mercy and good graces of the five strongest powers. The weaker races of the

world outnumber the stronger ones in the ratio of two to one. The mind is so prone to superficial indications that color has come to connote quality. "White" and "black" convey moral significance, like "up" and "down" in ethics.

The ultimate outcome of the war will hinge upon the relation of the stronger to the weaker races of mankind. All races, creeds and colors were brought into the conflict, and inspired with the hope that the bond of human brotherhood would become stronger than border, breed or birth. Their participation was invited on the basis of this assurance. The doctrine of self-determination became the moral watchword which gave zest and justification to the struggle. President Wilson made this phrase pregnant with vital meaning. He, doubtless, intended its application to be limited to the smaller and weaker states of Europe, which embraced his universe of moral discourse. But a word once uttered can never be recalled, nor can its application and meaning be limited to any prescribed races or preferred peoples. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. "Liberty, fraternity, equality," originally intended for the Frenchman, became the moral watchword of mankind. The Declaration of Independence was intended to meet a political emergency in the relationship of England to her colonies. The denunciatory

phraseology and vehement asseverations aimed at an obstinate monarch are dead, and lie buried in the dust and cobwebs of oblivion, and possess only an antiquated interest. The effervescence of the hour passes as the winds that blow. The fundamental doctrine of human liberty makes the universal appeal, and renders the document immortal.

The Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, though couched in terms of concrete particulars, sounded the death knell of slavery throughout the world. The doctrine of self-determination is but a modified expression of Lincoln's universal declaration, "No man is good enough to govern another without his consent." Reëmphasis of this doctrine appeals most keenly to the weaker races because their ears are pricked to its kindly suggestion. To the stronger races it conveys a certain condescension in loss of pride and lowering of prestige; to the weaker ones it is the power which makes for salvation. There exists among modern statesmen and publicists the complaisant delusion that they can indulge in universal declarations of the rights of man, while the ears of the weaker people are too dull to hear and their minds too feeble to understand. But when Pandora's box is once opened, it can never be closed. Ex-President Wilson's

attitude toward Mexico, Haiti and San Domingo spoke louder than the uttered word. The aggrieved groups quickly detected and repudiated the partiality of his meaning but insisted upon the universality of its import. The maxim is greater than the mouthpiece. The treasure is heavenly, though the vessel be earthen.

The minority cannot hope to dominate the majority for all time to come. The domination of the white race because of its whiteness would reverse all of received moral ideas of justice and righteousness. The stronger races today are the trustees of civilization, which they hold in trust not only for their descendants of the flesh, but for all the children of men. How can the advanced races best relate themselves to the backward ones, so as to lift them as expeditiously as possible to the attained level of civilization? is the ultimate question of statesmanship. That they can be, or should be, kept at a lower level so as to remain forever a field for exploitation finds no justification either in our ethical system or practical philosophy.

The present bias of mind of European nations is that the backward peoples are incapable of self-government according to the existing level of civilization, and, therefore, must be brought under alien dominion for the common good of all. But from another point of view it is also

apparent that any people, at whatever level of culture, can govern themselves better than any other agency can govern them. Self-government is more fundamental than good government; for self-government usually leads to good government, but good government, however benevolently imposed, will never lead to self-government. President Wilson, in an unguarded moment, stated that the people of Mexico should be allowed to spill all the blood they pleased in the struggle for self-government, just as the people of Europe have done. The deep, underlying thought of this suggestion

was obscured and left undeveloped by reason of its political unwisdom. Much of the imperfection in the régime of the backward peoples struggling up to the higher levels of civilization is but incident to the upward struggle.

We scan the horizon in vain for an instance wherein a stronger nation has conferred a lasting benefit upon a weaker one by the imposition of its political authority. Japan is the most illuminating instance in evidence. The Japanese wisely adopted and adapted whatever their own genius could assimilate from the standards of European culture and thereby rose swiftly to the desired level of efficiency. She wove the woof of alien attainment upon the warp of native culture. Had any one of the European

states assumed control of Japan as a means of developing the natives, like progress would have been delayed by many centuries, if not made utterly impossible. American civilization came in touch with the Sandwich Islands with as high and holy a motive as ever an advanced culture approached a lower one. There was then quickened impulse of spiritual motive and missionary enthusiasm, but when the Stars and Stripes were lifted over the islands, it was but the symbol of death to the hope and ambition of the native population. Whatever the future position of these islands may be, it will not be for the welfare of the native Hawaiian. A shrewd missionary once described the blessings which Christianity brought to the natives by saying that it prepared thousands of them for the blissful hereafter to which it hastened them. The American Indians would possibly in time have developed the western continent to the highest level of civilization if left to their own autonomy. The marvelous expansion of the American continent has been in the interest of the white race and at the expense of the red. Lo, the poor Indian, looks stolidly on as he sees the paleface plant a glorious civilization in the wake of the death of his own race. The white man's glory is the red man's gloom.

The United States may do much in the Philippine Islands, but it is only by withdrawing its political authority and restoring the liberty of the people themselves that it can ever hope to lead to the development of the natives. Europe can never hope through political dominance to develop India or Africa. China must be left to her autonomous development if she would come into her own in the equation of civilization. It was President McKinley who devised the phrase, "benevolent assimilation." The strongest races can be of great advantage to the weaker races by proffering the right suggestion of friendly relationship, wholesome advice and kindly counsel. Moral mandates will bring help and encouragement; political mandates mean exploitation and death. Altruism is hardly a national virtue. A state exists to promote the welfare of the people within its borders and within the sphere of its operation. Avowed declaration on the part of statesmen of vicarious welfare of the weak must always be taken with a grain of salt. What nation would not gladly assume mandate of a rich and fertile area? On the other hand, who is willing to assume such responsibility for lands and peoples without resources of material or strategic value? An American humorist has shrewdly suggested that the United States would find

quickly that the Philippines were hopelessly incapable of self-government if gold mines or oil fields should be developed in that distant archipelago.

Proximity is the fundamental process of socialization. Nearness begets dearness. This is a universal principle without deviation. Territorial unity lies at the basis of all national and racial spirit. Universal strivings of people everywhere show plainly that they seek a country. Abraham felt the impulse of his race for a homeland, and this impulse has been the inspiration of the Hebrew people from the days of Abraham to those of Einstein.

The Irishman, like the Jew, has a longing to reawaken the life and spirit of the harp that once shed the soul of music through Tara's Halls. When a people has become for a long time settled upon a given territory, and established reaction between the soil and the soul, they regard it as their eternal possession for themselves and for their seed after them, and the highest ideal is for self-government

and self-direction in the land which the Lord, their God, has given them. Outside conquest can never overthrow this feeling unless it destroys the race itself, root and branch. Any racial element that cannot be exterminated will yearn to

regain dominion over its homeland. The conquest of the white race over the regions of the earth can only be temporary except where it utterly destroys the native race, as in the case of the Indian on the American continent, or the native races in Australia. By universal agreement, the black and yellow races cannot be destroyed by contact with civilization, and are destined to dominate the lands that gave them birth. There are two widely contrasted theories of racial endowment; the one asserting that the European alone has inherent ability to lift himself from a lower to a higher level of culture; the other theory asserts that culture is only the outgrowth of environment, and that any race, under encouraging environment, will develop the requisite powers to adjust itself to a form of culture suitable to that environment.

The most striking evidence of the oneness of the human race is that mankind everywhere makes like response to the same stimulus. Not only the weaker states of Europe have caught the doctrine of self-determination, but aggrieved groups everywhere have been inspired by it. Japan has opened the eyes of the world, and has convinced the weaker races that culture is not an attribute of color, and that the white race cannot claim a monopoly of those faculties of mind and soul which make for advancement and civilization. The leaven of racial unrest is at work all over the world.

In India, it assumed form under the leadership of Ghandi who, embodying the genius of his race, based his propaganda upon non-resistance. The European for such a long time has ignored the doctrine which his borrowed religion inculcates that he has almost forgotten the meaning of its founder who declares that he who fighteth with the sword shall perish by the sword. The example of the Son of a subject race may yet teach the lordly European the wisdom of the essence of the Christian religion which he accepts and ignores. The World War has directly, or indirectly, killed off 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 members of the white race, approximately one-tenth of the Aryan population of the world. The white race is staggering under a burden of armament which all but breaks its back under the Atlantian load.

President Harding's conference on disarmament keenly realized the self-destruction of carnal warfare. So slow is the European mind to realize the wisdom of the Nazarene. This comparative race for armament is to determine which nation shall outdo the other in exploiting the resources of the weaker races scattered over the face of the earth.

All thoughtful minds are perfectly aware that in time the Indians will come into possession of their own sovereignty, if not through the passivity of Ghandi, yet through the inevitable racial aspiration for self-sovereignty.

Of all the weaker races, the Negro occupies the most interesting and most tragic situation. The continent of Africa is under their physical dominance, and in some blind, half conscious way it is looked upon as the homeland of this race. Scores of millions of African blood have been snatched from the motherland and distributed among the European peoples in all points of the earth. In the United States of America we have the most interesting fragment of this scattered race. And the outcome here will probably determine the future of Africa in the scheme of the world. No race question can be solved by dealing with scattered fragments, but the essential solution must be effective in the homeland of the race. The Irish question can never be settled by any adjustment of expatriated Irishmen to the nations and governments all over the world, but it must be determined by the genius of the race asserting itself in the native Erin. The Japanese question can never be solved by dealing with a handful of Japanese either in Australia or on the Pacific coast of America, but in the center of Japanese

hope and aspiration, the island of Nippon itself. Even the question of the Jewish race will not be determined by dealing with the Jew in relation to the various nations and governments among which he is scattered over the face of the earth, but by the establishment of a Jewish state in Zion, where the race genius longs for Jerusalem, My Happy Home. And so, the African question cannot be settled in South America, or in the British Islands, or in the United States of America, until finally settled on the continent of Africa.

Valera, the Irishman, voiced the unrest of a branch of the Aryan race whose physical distinction has no significance, but whose racial passion demands self-guidance. Ghandi, the meek and lowly Hindu, spoke to the alien over-lord of his race in the language of Moses to Pharaoh - "Let my people go." Marcus Garvey, a West Indian Negro, broke suddenly upon us like a voice crying in the wilderness for the redemption of Africa. Egypt joined the chorus. The scattered racial fragments throughout the world reëcho the refrain. Self-determination is and will be the goal of racial striving, unless or until, perchance, there arises a moral and spiritual sanction transcending the bonds of breed and birth, which shall ring out the feud of strife and blood.

## **Chapter 5: Race Differences**

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## **Chapter V: Race Differences**

So to Eternal Difference of Race

*(Open Letter to President Harding and Reply)*

Honorable Warren G. Harding,

The White House,

Washington, D. C.

Nov. 30, 1921.

My Dear Mr. President:

Your Birmingham address marks an epoch in the history of race adjustment in the United States, if not throughout the entire world. You have doubtless received thousands of responses from all parts of the country expressive of every shade of thought, feeling and opinion. There is a sort of dilatory prudence in with-holding the expression of one's opinion until others have spoken. But one thus runs the risk of being charged with hesitancy of opinion and deference of judgment. I trust, however, that this communication will not be regarded as being hopelessly belated or presented out of due season. The significance of your proposition is comprehensive and permanent. It possesses

little or no news value or journalistic timeliness. The principle which you lay down and the policy which you approve are calculated to have enduring consequences upon the tangled issue of race relationships. Indeed, the hasty reaction will probably have no important results. The race problem remains in all important respects the same immediately after your delivery as immediately before it. Fundamental principles cannot be judged by instantaneous results. One generation sows the seed, the next enjoys the fruition thereof.

The immediate effect of your declaration has been to bring the eternal Negro question once more to the forefront of current discussion. There seems to be a conspiracy of silence on part of the organs of public opinion to ignore troublesome or distressing issues. Men are prone by nature to seek easement of conscience by affecting obliviousness of evils which menace private repose and public tranquillity. In this way is cherished the vain delusion that we may gain surcease from menacing

conditions which we lack the moral courage to face. But the ghost of evil conditions will not down at our bidding. The bronchial tickling and the occasional cough remind the over-sanguine consumptive of the fatuity of his optimism. From the foundation of the government until now there

has been no interval of long duration when the unwelcome issue of race has not forced itself on public thought and action. Just at a time when the South was flattering itself that its provincial régime of political and civic inequity had received the approval, or at least the connivance of the nation, and when the North, being so absorbed in economic exploitation, that its ear had grown dull to the complaints of the Negro, you came forward with the courage, -may I say without offense, with the temerity -to lend the weight of your high authority to renewed discussion of an issue which the people, if they could, would gladly relegate to the realm of oblivion.

The motive which prompted this bold and courageous utterance on your part has given rise to much speculation. Some have been disposed to consider its timeliness with reference to the Disarmament Conference as a preliminary pronouncement on the great issue of race which lies in the background of the international gathering now sitting in the city of Washington. This conference is a result of your statesmanship, and the world is looking with anxious expectancy to its effect upon the world-wide adjustment of nations and races. The race problem in America casts a shadow of suspicion upon the claims of democracy as the ideal form

of government. A clear clarion pronouncement on this subject, coming from the highest authority in the nation, might well serve to allay this feeling of doubt as to the sincerity and genuineness of America's pretensions which the other nations have a right to entertain. Your declaration has been construed in some quarters as the answer which Great Britain and the United States, the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, have agreed to render in respect to Japan's demand for racial equality. It has been suggested that you may have been voicing the sentiment of the more intolerant Teutonic element of the white race in its endeavor to persuade the more liberal Latin element that the whiter races must adopt this policy in dealing with the darker ones.

On the other hand, there are those who are inclined to believe that your chief intention was to extend the influence of the Republican party in the Southern States which has, hitherto, been reduced to a nullity by reason of the race problem. In the last election the Republican party carried the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma. You would probably have received the electoral vote of every state in the Union if the race issue had not interfered. All genuine effort to remove this question from politics must meet

with the approval of all right thinking American citizens. However, the recent overwhelming defeat of the Republican party in Virginia, which, it seems, anticipated much of your platform, is not reassuring.

The sudden abortive ending of the Ku Klux Klan investigation by the legislative and executive branches of the government lends color to the suspicion of some that your forthcoming deliverance would be relied on to squelch this nefarious organization, whose midnight wizardry seeks darkness rather than light because its deeds are evil.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that it was your purpose to lay down a comprehensive platform on which both races can stand and work out, with mutual confidence and coöperation, their common destiny. I am disposed to accept this interpretation of your motive.

There is all but universal commendation of your moral courage in injecting an unwelcome issue at so critical a juncture of the world's affairs. It is only the intolerable type of Southern opinion that questions either the wisdom or propriety of your doing so. As a Republican, elected mainly by Northern and Negro votes, you have gone into the heart of what Mr. Bryan would call the enemy's country, to reaffirm a doctrine which for two generations

the white people of that section have united in oath-bound allegiance to combat. Every President of the United States, since Abraham Lincoln, with a single exception, has indulged in public declaration on the race question. Mr. Wilson, who relied on the soothing balm of pleasing phraseology to hold a restless world in poise, is the only President who did not deign a single word on this subject during his tenure of office. He probably felt that any utterance which he could afford to give would be violative of his declared principles of universal liberty and equality, and, therefore, preferred to remain silent rather than convict himself of illogicality and ethical inconsistency. The race issue was always shunted by his single-track mind. It will not be regarded as ungracious to say that he retires to private life with the unanimous approval of the Negro race. The esteem of the despised and neglected may seem to be of little import to one who treads the highway of world renown, but it is doubtful whether any American statesman, whatever his achievements, can receive the highest meed of permanent esteem if the least of his fellow-citizens justly have aught against him.

No President has spoken more clearly or with more genuine sincerity or with more evident indication of good will and generous spirit than

that which characterizes your Birmingham address. But, Mr. President, any doctrine originated or adopted by one in high authority will not be judged in the future by the intention of its author, but by the meaning and significance inherent in the doctrine itself. A slave-holder penned the Declaration of Independence, but the motto: "All men are created free and equal" has gained an interpretation and significance that far surpass the restricted intention of its author and his aristocratic compeers who adopted it as a revolutionary watchword. Chief Justice Taney was considered a courteous, kindly and well-meaning jurist. His famous obiter dictum, that "the Negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," expressed, as he judged, with accuracy and appositeness the state of mind at the period which he undertook to describe; but the phrase itself rendered nugatory his meaning and purpose, and damns the author to "everlasting fame."

A phrase may be more potent than a fact. Opinion, crystallized in terse phraseology rules the world or throws it into confusion. The term "Social Equality" conveys deeper meaning and evokes quicker reaction than a volume of argumentation. The treatment which the Negro receives is always the outgrowth of the estimate

in which he is held by his white fellow-citizens who for the time being occupy the superior position in our social scheme. When the Negro was regarded as a beast without a soul to be saved, he was dealt with in accordance with this low assumption. So long as he was held in the estimate described by Justice Taney's dictum, his legal and social status was adjusted in accordance. It was only by reason of the moral energy aroused by the anti-slavery discussion that the essential human recognition of the Negro found expression in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The thought is greater than the thing. Ideals are better than deals. A principle is greater than a program. Feeling is not only the greatest fact, but the greatest force in the world. Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life. Unless the public mind is held to the right attitude, we look in vain for righteous public action. If through the authority lent to the doctrine of race distinction by your great office it should prove convincing to the American people, the Negro would be branded with a stigma of inferiority, and laws, customs and practices would be based upon this foundation so long as its validity remains undisputed.

Mr. President, I know that it will grieve you

to learn that your colored fellow-citizens whom it was your chief purpose to benefit by your Birmingham platform, place upon it a construction which may be farthest from your intention and purpose. It is only out of a sense of duty to my race and to my nation that I write as I do. By voice and pen, I advocated your election as far as my limited opportunities would allow. I have hoped to have the chance to assist in your reëlection three years hence. I am not, therefore, writing in a captious spirit of criticism, but from deep conviction. Unfortunately, I have not yet learned the wisdom of the

politician whose first principle of procedure is never to tell those in superior station the truth unless, perchance, he be first assured of its kindly reception. Candor compels me to say, Mr. President, speaking deliberately on behalf of the thoughtful element of the Negro race, that your platform based upon the assertion of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences" of race is calculated, in the long run, to do the Negro as great harm as the Taney dictum would have done, had not the aroused conscience of the nation negatived the interpretation which the author placed upon it. Since the foundation of the government no other president has ever lent the authority of his great office to the doctrine that the rights of American

citizens should be conditioned upon recognition of indelible difference of race.

The fathers and founders of this republic, though dealing with the Negro race, then relatively more numerous than now, and on a decidedly lower level of progress and development, were scrupulously careful to exclude from the organic law all suggestion of race distinction. The federal administration should ever be kept true to the ideal of democracy. The fountain-head must be kept pure, although the streams which flow from it may gather impurities from its tributaries after leaving the original source. A corrupt fountain cannot send forth a pure stream.

The danger lurking in your platform, Mr. President, lies in its essential illogicality. You have attempted to derive a Northern conclusion from a Southern premise; and in doing so you have satisfied neither the North, the South, nor the Negro. The South accepts your premise, but rejects your conclusion; the Negro accepts your conclusion, but rejects your premise; while the North maintains a hesitant and lukewarm attitude towards both.

Senator Watson of Georgia, and Senator Heflin of Alabama, who typify the more radical Southern attitude, as well as Senator Pat Harrison, who occupies a medium position, were

quick to retort that your conclusion would at once destroy your premise, and, therefore, must be rejected. The governor of Alabama, who presided at your meeting, gave a courteous and cautious approval to your address as a whole, but he will probably have to pay a heavy political price when the day of reckoning comes with the junior senator from that state.

From the Negro's point of view you have attempted to build a superstructure of righteousness upon a fallacious foundation. Whatever the intention of the builder, a house builded on sand will not stand when the rains fall and the floods descend and beat upon it. If you write at top of the page the declared and accepted doctrine of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences of race," it then makes no difference what you may write underneath, the Negro would be degraded into an inferior caste which would render any form of equality impossible. The Negro's claim to political and civil equality does not rest upon any condition or concession, but grows out of his inalienable right as a human being and his guaranteed rights as an American citizen. When the Fourteenth Amendment made the Negro a citizen, it was intended that he should enjoy all of the benefits and fruitions of citizenship. There was not the slightest suggestion or intimation that he would

be required or expected to assent to any assumption as a condition precedent to the enjoyment of his rights. These rights, instead of being stipulated upon the assumption of racial difference, were affirmed "without regard to race or color." The Negro, if he would, cannot barter away his rights, or hypothecate them upon the acceptance or rejection of any alleged theory of difference of race. If both races should accept or reject it, in whole or in part, the rights of the black man would be wholly unaffected by such agreement or disagreement.

So far as I have observed, the white press of the South has not in a single instance clearly and unequivocally adopted your platform of political, economic and educational equality for the Negro. But some of them, out of considerations of courtesy, and through ambiguity of language, and with evident mental reservation, have given cautious quasi approval of your position. On the other hand, the Negro press, in considerable proportion, either condemns your doctrine of eternal racial

difference or ignores it in view of the hoped-for advantages to be derived from equality of opportunity. Your words are so much more pronounced and emphatic than any which this generation is accustomed to hear, that the over-optimistic Negro is carried away with the enthusiasm of

the promise without stopping to consider the impossibility of its fulfillment. But in no single instance have I seen the Negro opinion which accepts in clear and unequivocal terms the doctrine of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal difference of race." Neither Major Moton nor Marcus Garvey would avow a categorical acceptance of this doctrine. Some are disposed to hope that the advantages which are calculated to flow from political, economic and educational equality would justify present silence, but not general acceptance of your premise. Others, I feel, have deluded themselves with the hope that if the conclusion be granted, the premise will speedily be overlooked or forgotten. The general drift of opinion, however, on part of the Negro press that has taken pains to give careful thought and analysis to the question, is that any form of equality will be impossible if your hypothesis becomes generally accepted. The Negro would thus sell his birthright for a mess of pottage, with no assurance that he will receive the pottage.

President Roosevelt, in his celebrated letter to a Southern publicist, declared that he would not shut the door of hope in the Negro's face. Your policy, Mr. President, contrary to your purpose, would latch, lock and bolt it to all eternity.

I am fully aware that you do not use the term "inferiority" in this discussion. Race difference does not in itself necessarily carry this connotation. There are marginal dissimilarities in racial attributes and endowments. The German is more phlegmatic than the Frenchman, the Celt is more hysterical than the Teuton, the peoples of Northern Europe show greater racial intolerance than those of Southern Europe. Italy has artistic temperament different from that of England. The Chinaman is more stolid than the Japanese. The Negro possesses patience, meekness, forgiveness of spirit which surpasses that yet manifested by any other race. In the sum total of racial endowment it is not a question of equality, but of equivalence. These differences or dissimilarities are doubtless the outgrowth of environment and long continued custom and practice. I think that no biologist or psychologist who has regard for his reputation would care to venture the opinion that such differences are inescapable and eternal.

Your words, Mr. President, were addressed to a Southern audience, and must have conveyed to them the meaning which they are accustomed to attach to such phraseology. In the vocabulary of the South, race difference means Negro inferiority. It would not be fair or courteous

to you to suppose that you would employ words which would convey to your hearers strange and unusual meaning. Nor can we for a moment suppose that you intended that your words would convey one meaning to the white man of the South and another to the Negro. Your language, translated in terms of Southern interpretation and understanding, simply means that the Negro should be treated kindly so long as he is content to occupy the place which God and nature have assigned him. The man temporarily at the top is ever prone to set up fixed barriers between himself and the man at the bottom. This policy is as old as human oppression. But any insistence beyond these fixed limits leads swiftly to the reaffirmation of the Taney dictum that the Negro has no rights that the white man is bound to respect, but only restricted privileges which he is generous enough to bestow.

You recite with approval the views of Mr. F. D. Lugard set forth in the April number of the *Edinburgh Review*.

"Here then is the true conception of the inter-relation of color -complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each

pursuing his own inherited tradition, preserving his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual, agreed divergence in the physical and material."

This conception is magnificent in theory, but unworked and unworkable in practice. It might conceivably be applied to races of widely separated residential boundaries like Japan and England, but is utterly impossible as a permanent solution where races are inextricably intermixed on the same territory. In the Hawaiian Islands there exists today a conglomerate racial situation composed of competing numbers of Europeans, Japanese, Chinese and natives, with a sprinkling of the Negro, together with various cross progenies. Such a permanent outcome of this tangled situation as Mr. Lugard proposes is but a beautiful dream.

One opinion in sociological matters suggests another. Surely the position of Professor Franz Boas, of Columbia University, would be as convincing to Americans as that of the author whom most American readers met with for the first time in your citation. Writing in the June number of the *Yale Review*, Professor Boas closes an illuminating article on "The Problem of the American Negro" with these words:

"Thus, it would seem, that man being what

he is, the Negro problem will not disappear in America until the Negro blood has been so diluted that it can no longer be recognized, just as anti-Semitism, until the last vestige of the Jew as a Jew has disappeared."

When doctors of equal learning disagree, the layman is at liberty to accept the diagnosis of either, or reject both.

You have taken for granted a doctrine of universal importance without attempting to prove its accuracy or even to argue its validity. Without intending to do so, you have adopted the dogma of every pro-slavery advocate and of every present-day reactionary on the question of human rights. On this point you are in perfect accord with the late Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, and Mr. Thomas Dixon, Jr., author of *The Clansman*. This unintentional agreement, I am sure, will prove an uncomfortable one. The question of essential difference of race is one on which there are not sufficient scientific data to base any conclusion of value. The few psychologic tests already made are inconclusive.

On the other hand, the apostles of race prejudice assert with self-assumed infallibility that the difference of race is God-ordained, beyond a shadow of doubt or peradventure. These extemporaneous philosophers assume omniscience

without taking the pains to acquire intelligence. They take their cue from the cuticle. On sight of color they seek no further proof. They assert without proof and argue without reason. Mr. Thomas Dixon, Jr., the chief effect of whose works is to stir up racial strife and ill-will, presents a fair specimen of the type of argument relied upon to prove the everlasting inferiority of the Negro. When the mind is already made up, confirmation is easy. Mr. Dixon's citations are hoary, his arguments trite and his rhetorical form of statement prescribed. Not a new fact or argument has been advanced on this subject since the days of Calhoun.

President Lincoln, in the heat of political discussion, in 1856, indulged in some general remark concerning the social distinction of the races, which is the only utterance from the Great Emancipator which Southern statesmen recite with approval. It is indeed disappointing to find a President of the United States at the end of the World War for democracy reverting to the undemocratic doctrine which has always been relied on to justify man's inhumanity to man.

Some time ago I wrote an open letter to Mr. Thomas Dixon, Jr., in which I undertook to controvert the whole fabric of his anti-Negro philosophy. I challenged him to point out a

single intellectual, moral or spiritual discriminant which distinguishes the two races. So far the challenge remains unanswered. No reputable author has as yet isolated it.

In the present inflamed state of public feeling the question of social equality can be asserted only to be assented to. Opinion on a given question is of value only when the one who entertains it is equally free to espouse the opposite conclusion. Even the President of the United States could not discuss the question of social equality in Alabama, unless it was understood beforehand that his conclusion was in consonance with local sentiment. Rational discussion on this issue serves only to inflame the mind of its proponents.

"You may as well go reason with the wolf  
Why he has made the ewe bleat for the lamb."

The Negro does not wish to agitate this issue, but only asks that it be defined, so that he may understand the range and scope of its operation. If two races, from instinct or from calculated reasons, prefer to group themselves separately in all matters of personal and pleasurable intercourse, neither would have the right or reason to complain of the mutual exclusiveness. It is only because the plea of social equality limits citizens in their public and civil

rights that the Negro utters the voice of protest. The two races at present occupy separate social spheres. Social prejudice, whether it be based on color, race or religion, may be deep seated and long abiding, albeit not eternal. All peoples at times have recognized and acted upon schemes of social distinction by acceptance, acquiescence and silence or by prudent complaisance or compulsion. But one can hardly expect the debased party to justify the grounds of his debasement. The Negro finds himself in a segregated social world. He is making the best he can of this situation. He is not clamoring for so-called social equality, and would be wholly unable to assert his claim even if he were clamorous. But surely it cannot be expected that the race will meet in solemn conclave and affirm its belief in and acceptance of "fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences." This would justify the propaganda of the Ku Klux Klan whose avowed purpose is to help the Almighty carry out his plan of everlasting white supremacy. Complaisant acquiescence on his part could not mitigate the malignity of race prejudice, but would serve to intensify it, if it be natural, and to justify it if it be acquired.

You mention with approval Mr. Stoddard's book on *The Rising Tide of Color*. This book was under review by Mr. Lugard when

he proposed his platform of race adjustment based on race distinction. Mr. Stoddard is the apostle of the dominance of the white race by sheer right of its color. His doctrine sounds the death knell of democracy, Christianity and the brotherhood of man. Idolatry of race is more vicious than idolatry of graven images. Mr. Stoddard and all those of his persuasion would do well to ponder the fundamental purpose of the Second Commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or likeness -Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them." According to Mr. Stoddard it is more important that the world should be white than that it should be right. I wonder how this doctrine is received by the Japanese, Chinese and Hindu representatives who are now sitting in the world conclave at Washington. There is no attribute of the Almighty which is understandable by the darker races of mankind which dooms two-thirds of the human race to the everlasting domination of the other third by virtue of the pigmentation of the skin.

Mr. President, your platform conforms with considerable closeness to that of the late Henry W. Grady, the oracle of the new South, and to that of Booker T. Washington, the acknowledged race statesman of his day. Only you go farther in both directions than either of these

cared to go. Mr. Grady was ready to give the Negro every consideration consistent with the separateness and superiority of the white race. He entertained certain misgivings as to the eternal barrier of race and was frank enough to declare that, if in his judgment natural antipathy were not

enough to keep the races asunder, he would stimulate race prejudice in order that it might acquire and hold the strength and stubbornness of instinct. Dr. Booker T. Washington, in his epoch-making Atlanta address, proposed the familiar hand and finger policy as a working hypothesis. But I find nowhere in his teaching nor in his practice any recognition of a "fundamental, inescapable and eternal difference of race."

Your doctrine of eternal difference is contrary to the scientific, ethical and social tendencies of the age. The human race is moving toward unity, not diversity. The ancient barriers of caste, religion and race are being thrown down by the onward sweep of cosmic forces. The varieties of gifts, talents and attainments of different individuals, races and nations of mankind are easily interchangeable and modifiable by contact and culture. The rapid means of communication and transmission of intelligence are bringing the ends of the earth into momentary touch. No longer can

any race or nation expect to hold its peculiar culture in airtight compartments. You and I, Mr. President, are about the same age. It is a reasonable hope and expectation that we shall both live to see the time when aerial communication between Tokio and New York will be as expeditious as land communication is at present between Washington and Chicago. Where people meet and mingle, differences disappear and unsuspected likenesses are revealed. The culture of mankind flows from the higher to the lower levels and tends, with increasing facility, to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

Your audience must have received your remarks about the impossibility of amalgamation with a measure of amusement mixed with amazement. A glance over the colored section of your audience would have convinced you that amalgamation is not a theory, but a fact. No discerning eye was keen enough to tell where the white strain left off and the Negro began. In face of these stubborn facts, your statement is hard to understand. According to the 13th census, there were over 2,000,000 mulattoes in the United States. This albescent contingency of the Negro race was not produced by the semi-tropical climate of the Southland, as Southern white men know full well. No wonder your audience received this deliverance in silence.

It is idle for white men to prate about race purity while they practice race promiscuity. There is need of plain speaking on this point. It is needless to blink the facts, if I may be permitted to use your own expression, or, like the ostrich, to engage in complacent self-deception. The white man has never failed to mingle his blood with the darker races wherever he has met them in all the ends of the earth. According to President Roosevelt, Brazilian statesmen are convinced that their method of benevolent amalgamation is a more effective solvent of the race problem than the Anglo-Saxon policy of social segregation. In South Africa a million and a half Europeans have already produced one-half their number of mulattoes. The production of this composite progeny constitutes an important factor in the solution of the race problem not only in the United States of America, but throughout the world.

Several years ago I appeared before the House Committee to oppose a bill then pending forbidding intermarriage of whites and Negroes in the District of Columbia. I find that my words used then are pertinent now: "If you let people alone, of their own notion they do not usually amalgamate. The Jew will marry a Jew, the Italian an Italian, the Englishman will marry an Englishwoman. This is so in the

natural course of things. Amalgamation of races is a slow and long process when you leave people alone. If you want to forbid intermarriage of races you must have in mind this fundamental principle. It makes no fundamental difference in the long run whether races are amalgamated legitimately or illegitimately. Students of history know that at one time in England there were two distinct peoples, the Normans and the Saxons, who finally became amalgamated very largely through the illegitimate process. But, after a few generations, when the social stigma had passed away, it made no difference. The social stigma of the father is visited on the children only to the third and

fourth generations. For instance, the chairman of our delegation, though a colored man, is as white inside and outside as any member of Congress. If he chose to change his name and residence and to practice a little deception he could easily become a part of the white race. What he could do is only what 200,000 others could do in like situation." If God or nature had intended any indelible difference between the races, He could easily have accomplished the purpose by making them immiscible. It requires great human audacity to reenact laws of the Almighty, to say nothing of enacting laws for the Almighty.

You urge the Negro not to imitate the white man, but to set up his own racial ideals. The American Negro has acquired the European's consciousness and put on his spiritual clothes. He uses the same language, reads the same books, admires the same art, understands the same science, accepts the same standard of ethics and practices the same religion. When he builds a house or buys a suit of clothes or preaches a sermon or writes a poem, he must proceed along European lines. Whatever racial aims or ideals he might have developed if left in his native country have been destroyed by transplantation and by imitation of his captors. Fred Douglass used to say "there is none of the banana in me." It is no particular compliment to the white man that the Negro imitates him. The human race is ever prone to imitate admirable qualities wherever they appear. It is not color or racial indiosyncrasy that is imitated, but attainment, of which the color may be a negligible accompaniment. The Anglo-Saxon professes to imitate Jesus, the Savior of the World, although he may affect to despise the idiosyncrasies and race peculiarities of the Jew. It is not the race, but the ideal manifested by the individual. As in the water face answers to face, so the heart of man to the heart of man. The external incidents of

race and color count absolutely for naught. Because the Negro's forefathers traveled in the dugout, there is no reason why his descendants may not use the steamship, the railway and the airplane. Whatever divergencies there may be in racial gifts and qualities serve as the spice of variety. It would be a curious philosophy that urged the Indian to put aside his ancestral and tribal ways and yet encouraged the Negro to revert to his African customs and traditions.

If I may be permitted to revert again to the deracialized millions of mixed breed, whose ethnic identity the white man has made doubtful, it would be interesting to know what traditions and racial ideals they should be encouraged to develop. Your advice to the Negroes on this point, Mr. President, though given with a generous purpose and kindly intent, is necessarily void of effect. No one can effectively advise another to be different from himself or to be content with anything less or anything different from that which he is willing to accept for himself. In vain does the millionaire advise the pauper to be content in his poverty. The well man need not urge the invalid to be satisfied with illness. The philosopher in vain preaches to the fool the contentment of folly. The teacher who would teach his pupil to be less than himself or different from himself loses the

power of inspiration. No white man, however generous his spirit, is competent to advise the Negro in the domain of the segregated life which he must live apart.

"The toad beneath the harrow knows  
Exactly where each toothprint goes.  
The butterfly along the road  
Preaches contentment to that toad."

Mr. President, your doctrine ties your hands and makes it impossible for you to accord the Negro political equality. You were supported in the last election by 100 per cent of the Negro voters. They naturally expect official recognition according to their weight and importance in the political equation. Their votes as much as any others helped to swell the magnitude of your majority. So far you have not seen your way clear to recognize this support by concrete tokens of political reward. The plaint of disappointment is all but universal. Your black political allies can scarcely refrain from the familiar lines

"Behold a stranger at the door,  
He gently knocks, has knocked before,  
Has waited long, is waiting still;  
You treat no other friend so ill."

No one believes that this is in accord with your spontaneous feeling and attitude, but by reason of the recognition of race difference you hesitate to accord the Negro political equality. It is also stated that you have declared that you will not appoint a single colored man to office in the South where 8,000,000 loyal Republican Negroes reside. This is not because hundreds of Negroes are not well qualified to hold sundry offices as the white men whom you are likely to select, but because of alleged racial differences. Political equality must carry with it the right to vote and be voted for or to hold any office in any part of the United States. It is also stated that you have refused to appoint a colored man to the position of Register of the Treasury, a position accorded to the race for more than a generation, because 500 subordinate white employees in the Treasury Department petitioned you not to place a colored man over them. Racial segregation in the government departments, begun under Mr. Wilson's administration, is continued under yours. These instances are sufficient to prove conclusively that even a President of the United States cannot accord the Negro political equality as long as he defers to the doctrine of eternal difference of race.

It would be pleasing to suppose that the

Negro could get economic equality on the basis that you have laid down but the hope is vain. Every caste system in the world is based on vocation. Social stratification rests upon employment. The Negro in Washington is not permitted to operate a street car as a motorman, not because of his lack of ability to do so, but by reason of his race alone. Any man who can run an automobile in the open streets where there are not tracks can surely guide a street car which moves along fixed grooves. This single citation is sufficient to show that you cannot have democracy in industry as long as you recognize inescapable difference of race.

In conclusion, Mr. President, you have called the nations of the earth together to promote peace and good will among men. Whatever adjustments immediate exigencies may require, whatever concessions weakness may be forced to make at the behest of strength, the weaker and darker races will not shut the door of hope in their own faces by accepting the doctrine of "fundamental, inescapable, and eternal difference" among the members of the human race.

The Negro has given his labor and his life to build up American civilization. He is willing to cooperate with his white fellow-citizens in all constructive ways for the common weal. He accepts without complaint the temporary humiliation

of an inferior position. But he believes that God Almighty has ordained America as the trial ground of democracy where among all men there shall prevail equality with the "i" dotted and the "t" crossed.

Yours truly,

Kelly Miller

29 November, 1921.

The White House,

Washington, D. C.,

December 6, 1921.

Dear Dr. Miller:

Your long and very interesting letter of November thirtieth is before me.

I shall not at this time attempt anything like a detailed consideration of it, but I do want to thank you in the utmost sincerity for the effort you have made to present so forcefully your point of view.

I am sure you will not be disappointed if I say that you have not convinced me, or, if I add that I do not believe you will succeed in convincing a majority of the American people, of either the white or black race. This problem has been the subject of a good deal of thought and consideration on my part, as I know it has been on yours.

I believe the suggestions advanced in the Birmingham address represent the possibility of a large and early amelioration of the condition of the colored people, and should greatly regret to have to conclude that they were unwilling to recognize this possibility and to avail themselves of it.

(Signed)

Warren G. Harding.

Dr. Kelly Miller,

Dean, Howard University,

Washington, D. C.

## **Chapter 6: Disgrace of Democracy**

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## **Chapter VI: Disgrace of Democracy**

*(Open Letter to President Wilson)*

Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States,

The White House,

Washington, D. C.

Aug. 4, 1917.

Mr. President:

I am taking the liberty of intruding this letter upon you because I feel that the issues involved are as important as any questions now pressing upon your busy attention. The whole civilized world has been shocked at the recent occurrences in Memphis and East St. Louis. These outbreaks call attention anew to the irritating race problem of which they are but eruptive symptoms which break forth ever and anon with Vesuvian violence. For fully a generation American statesmanship has striven to avoid, ignore or forget the perplexing race problem. But this persistent issue will not down at our bidding, and cannot be shunted from public attention

by other questions, however momentous or vital they may seem to be.

I know that I am taking unwarranted liberties with the ceremonial properties in writing such a letter to the President of the United States at the present time. It may seem to partake of the spirit of heckling after the manner of the suffragists. Nothing is further from my purpose. No right-minded American would wish to add one featherweight to the burden that now so heavily taxes the mind and body of the President of the United States who labors under as heavy a load as human nature is capable of sustaining. Every citizen should strive to lighten rather than to aggravate that burden. It is, nevertheless, true that any suppressed and aggrieved class must run athwart the established code of procedure in order that their case may receive a just hearing. Ceremonial codes were enacted by those who are the beneficiaries of existing order which they wish to perpetuate and make unchangeable. They would estop all social and moral reform. The ardent suffragists find it necessary

to violate ruthlessly the traditional and decorous modes of procedure in order to promote the reform which they have at heart. On one occasion you felt forced to terminate an interview with a committee of

suffragists because they persisted in cross-examining the President of the United States.

There are 10,000,000 loyal citizens of African descent in the United States. They are rigorously excluded from a voice in the government by which they are controlled. They have no regularly constituted organ through which to present their case to the powers that be. They have no seat nor voice in the council of the nation. The late Doctor Booker T. Washington was the accepted spokesman and mediator of the race, but he has no successor. Under former administrations there was a small appointive official class of Negroes. Though derisively designated as the "Black Cabinet," they were on the inside of the circle of governmental control to which they had ready access in presenting the claims of the race. But under the exaction of partisan exigencies even these have been excluded from official position under your administration. Several weeks ago a delegation of colored men from the State of Maryland sought an interview with you concerning the horrible crime of East St. Louis. You were good enough to write Senator France that you were too busy with other pressing issues to grant the request of an interview. The failure of all other methods is my only excuse for resorting to an open letter as a means of reaching

you and, through you, the nation at large, concerning the just grievances of 10,000,000 loyal American citizens.

The Negro feels that he is not regarded as a constituent part of American democracy. This is our fundamental grievance and lies at the basis of all the outrages inflicted upon this helpless race. It is the fundamental creed of democracy that no people are good enough to govern any other people without their consent and participation. The English are not good enough to govern the Irish. The Russians are not good enough to govern the Finns. The Germans are not good enough to govern the Belgians. The Belgians are not good enough to govern the people of the Congo. Men are not considered good enough to govern women. The white people of this country are not good enough to govern the Negro. As long as the black man is excluded from participation in the government of the nation, just so long will he be the victim of cruelty and outrage on the part of his white fellow-citizens who assume lordship over him.

These periodic outbreaks of lawlessness are but the outgrowth of the disfavor and despite in which the race is held by public opinion. The evil is so widespread that the remedy lies in the hands of the national government.

Resolutions pending before both houses of

Congress look toward investigation of the outrage at East St. Louis. I understand that you are sympathetically disposed toward this investigation by Federal authority. Such investigation is important only to the extent that it implies a tardy recognition of national responsibility for local lawlessness. There is no expectation that any additional comprehensive information will result. You may rest assured that there will be a half dozen similar outbreaks before this investigation is well under way. Indeed, since the East St. Louis atrocity there have already been lynchings in Georgia, Louisiana, Pennsylvania and Montana. Every intelligent American knows as much about the essential cause of this conflict as he will know after long and tedious investigation. The vital issues involved are apt to be obscured by technical wranglings over majority and minority reports. What the nation needs is not investigation of obvious fact, but determination and avowed declaration on the part of the President speaking for the people of the United States to put an end to lawlessness wherever it raises its hideous head.

I know that it has been steadily maintained that the Federal Government has no authority over lynchings and local race conflicts. This is not a political contention. This view was maintained

under the administrations of Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. Indeed, President Cleveland, that great American democrat, came nearer recognizing Federal responsibility in such matters than any President before or since his time. During the administration of President McKinley, an atrocious riot occurred in Wilmington, N. C., the city in which you spent your boyhood as the son of a minister of the Gospel. Scores of innocent Negroes were killed and hundreds were driven from their homes. But it was maintained that the President had no authority to interfere. A horrible lynching took place at Alexandria, Virginia, a few miles from the White House, which the President might possibly have observed through his field glasses. And yet it was looked upon as a purely local affair for which the Federal Government had no responsibility nor concern. You recall the atrocities of the riot in Atlanta, a city in which you spent your young manhood as a practitioner of law. But here again even President Roosevelt could find no ground for interference.

These outbreaks are not limited to the Southern States, although they occur there more frequently than elsewhere because of the relatively larger number of Negroes in the total population. There have been lynchings and burnings

in Illinois, Kansas, Delaware, Ohio, Indiana, Colorado and other Northern States. The evil is indeed national in its range and scope, and the nation must provide the remedy. Striking indeed is the analogy between the spread of lawlessness today and the extension of the institution of slavery two generations ago. Like slavery, lawlessness cannot be localized. As the nation could not exist half slave and half free under Abraham Lincoln, so it cannot continue half law-abiding and half lawless under Woodrow Wilson. The evil tendency overcomes the good, just as the darker overlaps the brighter phase in the waning moon. If the Negro is allowed to be lynched in the South with impunity, he will soon be lynched in the North, so easy is the communicability of evil suggestion. The lynching of Negroes has become fashionable in some parts of the country. When a black man is accused of wrongdoing, "Lynch the Negro!" is the cry that springs spontaneously to the lips of man, woman and child. The fashion is rapidly spreading throughout the whole nation. If slavery could have been isolated and segregated in the South that institution might have existed even down to the present time. And so, if lynching could be localized and limited to the Southern States, the nation as a whole would have less pretext for

interfering. But this cannot be done. Senator Tombs of Georgia boasted that he would call the roll of his slaves under the shadow of the Bunker Hill monument, an ambition which, doubtless, might have been gratified had not the nation arisen in its moral might and blotted out the iniquitous institution altogether. Unless the aroused conscience of the American people, efficiently asserting itself through Federal authority, shall stamp out the spirit of lawlessness, it is easy to prophesy that the Negro will yet be lynched not only in the shadow of the Bunker Hill monument, but on the campus of your beloved Princeton. Already there have been burnings of human beings in the bleeding State of Old John Brown, and in the city where lie the remains of Abraham Lincoln. During the past thirty years nearly 3,000 Negroes have been lynched in various parts of the country. Scores of these have been burned at the stake. Even the bodies of women have been fed to the flames. Thousands of localities in the majority of the States of the Union have experienced these outrages. Our fair land of liberty is blotted over with these foul spots which cannot be washed out by all of the waters of the ocean. It is not easy to calculate the number of persons who have been involved in these lynchings, either as participants or as acquiescent lookers-on,

all of whom were potential murderers. So general and widespread has become the practice that lynching may well be characterized as a national institution, to the eternal disgrace of American democracy.

Lynching cannot be confined to the Negro race. Hundreds of white men have been the victims of lawlessness and violence. While these words are flowing from my pen, news comes over the wire that a labor agitator has been lynched in the State of Montana. Although the Negro is at present the chief

victim of lawlessness, like any other evil disease, it cannot be limited by racial lines.

It is but hollow mockery of the Negro, when he is beaten and bruised and burned in all parts of the nation and flees to the national government for asylum, to be denied relief on the ground of doubtful jurisdiction. The black man asks for justice and is given a theory of government. He asks for protection and is confronted with a scheme of governmental checks and balances.

Mr. President, you are commander-in-chief of the army and navy. You express the voice of the American people in the great world conflict which involves practically the entire human race. You are the accepted spokesman of the world democracy. You have sounded the

trumpet of democratization of the nations, which shall never call retreat. But, Mr. President, a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. A doctrine that breaks down at home is not fit to be propagated abroad. One is reminded of the pious slaveholder who became so deeply impressed with the plea for foreign missions that he sold one of his slaves to contribute liberally to the cause. Why democratize the nations of the earth, if it leads them to delight in the burning of human beings after the manner of Springfield, Waco, Memphis, and East St. Louis while the nation looks helplessly on? You add nothing to the civilization of the world nor to the culture of the human spirit by the technical changes in forms of government. The old adage still remains true:

"For forms of government let fools contest -  
What's best administered -is best."

If democracy cannot control lawlessness, then democracy must be pronounced a failure. The nations of the world have a right to demand of us the workings of the institutions at home before they are promulgated abroad. The German press will, doubtless, gloat with ghoulish glee over American atrocities against the Negro. The outrages complained of against

the Belgians become merciful performances by gruesome comparison. Our frantic wail against the barbarity of Turk against Armenian, German upon Belgian, Russian upon Jew, are made with no effect. It cannot be said that these outbreaks are but the spontaneous ebullitions of popular feelings, without governmental sanction or approval. These outrages occur all over the nation. The nation must be responsible for what it permits. Sins of permission are as reprehensible as sins of commission. A few years ago a Turkish ambassador was handed his passports by you for calling attention to the inconsistency between our national practice and performance. The nation was compelled, with a spirit of humiliation, to accept the reproach which he hurled into our teeth: "Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote of thy brother's eye." Every high-minded American must be touched with a tinge of shame when he contemplates that his rallying cry for the liberation of humanity is made a delusion and a snare by these racial barbarities.

It is needless to attempt to place the blame on the helpless Negro. In the early stages of these outbreaks there was an attempt to fix an evil and lecherous reputation on the Negro race as lying at the basis of lynching and lawlessness.

Statistics most clearly refute this contention. The great majority of the outbreaks cannot even allege rapeful assault in extenuation. It is undoubtedly true that there are imbruted and lawless members of the Negro race, as there are of the white race, capable of committing any outrageous and hideous offense. The Negro possesses the imperfections of his status. His virtues as well as his failures are simply human. It is a fatuous philosophy, however, that would resort to cruel and unusual punishment as a deterrent to crime. Lynching has never made one Negro virtuous nor planted the seed of right doing in the mind of a single American citizen. The Negro should be encouraged in all right directions to develop his best manly and human qualities. Where he deviates from the accepted standard he should be punished by due process of law. But as long as the Negro is held in general despite and suppressed below the level of human privilege, just so long will he produce a

disproportionate number of imperfect individuals of evil propensity. To relegate the Negro to a status that encourages the basest instincts of humanity, and then denounce him because he does not stand forth as a model of human perfection, is of the same order of ironical cruelty as shown by the barbarous Teutons in Shakespeare, who cut off the hands and

hacked out the tongue of the lovely Lavinia, and then upbraided her for not calling for perfumed water to wash her delicate hands. The Negro is neither angelic nor diabolical, but merely human, and should be treated as such.

The vainglorious boast of Anglo-Saxon superiority will no longer avail to justify these outrages. The contact, adjustment and attrition of various races of mankind constitute a problem which is coterminous with the ends of the earth. The lighter and stronger races are coming into contact with the weaker and darker ones. The stronger breeds of men are relating themselves to the weaker members of the human family in all the ends of the earth. How does it happen that in the United States alone, of all civilized lands, these atrocious outrages are heaped upon the helpless Negro? The English nation has the largest colonial experience and success since the days of the Roman Empire, and has come into relationship with the various weaker breeds of men in all parts of the world. But everywhere under English jurisdiction law and order prevail. In the West Indies, where Negroes outnumber the whites 20 to 1, rape and lynching have scarcely yet found a place in the local vocabulary. In Brazil, under a Latin dispensation, where a more complex racial situation exists than in the United States, racial

peace and good-will prevail. Belgium furnishes the only parallel of civilized nations, in the atrocious treatment of a helpless people placed in their charge. But even the Belgians were forced to modify the rigors of their outrageous régime in the Congo, under the bombardment of moral sentiment of the more enlightened nations of the world. America enjoys the evil distinction among all civilized nations of the earth of taking delight in murder and burning of human beings. Nowhere else do men, women and children dance with ghoulish glee and fight for ghastly souvenirs of human flesh and mock the dying groans of the helpless victim which sicken the air, while the flickering flames of the funeral pyre lighten the midnight sky with their lurid glare.

Mr. President, the American conscience has been touched and quickened by the East St. Louis outbreak as it has never been before. Press and pulpit have tried to forget these outrages. At each fresh outbreak they would lash themselves into a spasm of virtue and exhaust the entire vocabulary of denunciation, but, forthwith, would lapse into sudden silence and asquiescent guilt. By some fatuous delusion they seem to hope that the atrocities of Springfield, Wilmington, Waco, Atlanta, Memphis and a thousand other places of evil report would

never be repeated, nor the memory rise up to condemn the nation. But silence and neglect merely result in compounding atrocities. The East St. Louis outbreak convinces the nation, as it has never been before, that the time for action has come. The press is not content with a single editorial ebullition, but by repeated utterances insists that the nation shall deal with its most malignant domestic evil. Reproach is cast upon your contention for the democratization of the world, in face of its lamentable failure at home. Ex-President Roosevelt, who is the greatest living voice now crying aloud for individual and national righteousness, has openly proclaimed, in dramatic declaration, that these outbreaks make our moral propaganda for the liberation of mankind but a delusion and a snare. Mr. President, can this nation hope to live and to grow in favor with God and man on the basis of a lie? A nation with a stultified conscience is a nation with stunted power.

Democracies have frequently shut their eyes to moral inconsistencies. The democracy of Greece conferred privilege upon a mere handful of freemen in the midst of ten times their own number of slaves. The Greek philosophers and statesmen were supremely unconscious of this moral obliquity. The Declaration of Independence which declared for the equality of all

men was written by a slaveholder. The statesmen of the period, however, hoped that slavery would be of short-lived duration, and would effect its own solution in the process of time. But Thomas Jefferson was keenly sensitive of the moral inconsistency of this attitude that God is just, and that His justice would not slumber forever. Abraham Lincoln is perhaps the only great statesman of democracy who was absolutely consistent in his logical attitude and moral sincerity. He uttered no word of cryptic meaning. The people heard him gladly because the words that fell from his lips were not the coinage of his intellect, but the mintage of his heart. The embattled hosts under his high command marched to victory with the Battle Hymn of the Republic resounding in their souls:

"As He died to make men holy  
Let us die to make men free -"

To them this phrase had no remote and deferred meaning, but was immediately applicable to their black brother in chains. It was not a barren ideality, but a living impulse. You have given the rallying cry for the present world crisis. But this shibboleth will be robbed of instant meaning and power unless it applies to the helpless within our own gates. If the sons

and grandsons of the heroes who battered down the walls of slavery a half century ago could be made to feel with unreserved certainty a renewal of the moral energy which urged their fathers to that high resolve, they would, with heightened enthusiasm for humanity, demolish the Teutonic bulwarks of oppression across the seas.

Doctrine is more than deeds, if it be sound doctrine. Deeds are the outgrowth of doctrine. Doctrine lives forever with persistent potentiality. Doctrine rules the world or throws it into confusion. The power of words is far greater than the meaning of the author. It makes no difference what lay in the minds or practice of the statesmen of Greece. They planted the seeds of democracy, and all mankind will become the beneficiary of the sowing. The intendment of the signers of the Declaration of Independence boots but little. That document will stand for all time as the gospel of human liberty. When you speak of the democratization of the world and the liberation of mankind, you are setting up a standard to which the whole world must rise in the ages to come, despite its attitude at the present time. It may be far from the purpose of our present-day statesmen to admit the Negro into this democracy on terms of equality with the rest. But

in spite of the purpose of this statesmanship, this must be the ultimate goal of human democracy. A democracy of race or class is no democracy at all. It is with projected imagination that the Negro will endure until these high-sounding phrases have borne their full fruition. Any other class of the American people, under the strain of distress to which the Negro has been subjected, would imitate Job's distracted wife, and curse the white God and die. The Negro will neither curse nor die, but grin and live -albeit beneath that grin is a groaning of spirit too deep for utterance. The Negro says to his country, "Though you slay me, yet will I serve you."

The Negro's patriotism is vicarious and altruistic. It seems to be an anomaly of fate that the Negro, the man of all men who is held in despite, should stand out in conspicuous relief at every crisis of our national history. His blood offering is not for himself or for his race, but for his country. This blood flows like a stream through our national history, from Boston Commons to Carrizal. Attucks was the first American to give his blood as an earnest of American independence. The Negro was with Washington in the dark days of Valley Forge, when the lamp of national liberty flickered almost to extinguishment. The black

troops fought valiantly with Jackson behind the fleecy breastworks at New Orleans. Two hundred thousand black boys in blue responded to the call of the immortal Lincoln for the preservation of the Union. The Negro was the positive cause of the Civil War, and the negative cause of the united nation with which we face the world today.

The reckless daring of Negro troops on San Juan Hill marked the turning point in the struggle which drove the last vestige of Spanish power from the Western world. It was but yesterday that we buried with honor, at Arlington Cemetery, the Negro soldiers who fell face forward while carrying the flag to the farthest point in the heart of Mexico, in quest of the bandit who dared place impious foot on American soil. In complete harmony with this marvelous patriotic record, it so happened, that it was an American Negro who proved to be the first victim of ruthless submarine warfare, after you had distinctly announced to Germany that such outrages would be considered tantamount to war. In all of these ways has the Negro shown, purposely or unconsciously, his undeviating devotion to the glory and honor of the nation. Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his country.

In the midst of the World War for the democratization

of mankind, the Negro will do his full share. I have personally always striven to urge the Negro to be patriotic and loyal in every emergency. At the Reserve Officers' Training Camp in Fort Des Moines, there are over one hundred young colored men, who have come under my instruction. The devilry of his fellowmen cannot devise iniquities horrible enough to drive him from his patriotic devotion. The Negro, Mr. President, in this emergency, will stand by you and the nation. Will you and the nation stand by the Negro?

I believe, Mr. President, that to the victor belong the spoils, especially if these spoils be human liberty. After this war for the liberation of mankind has been won through the Negro's patriotic participation, he will repeat the lines of the old familiar hymn somewhat louder than ever:

"Behold a stranger at the door,  
He gently knocks, has knocked before;  
Has waited long, is waiting still;  
You treat no other friend so ill."

As a student of public questions I have carefully watched your attitude on the race problem. You have preserved a lukewarm aloofness from the tangled issues of this problem. In

searching your writings one finds little or no reference to this troubled phase of American life. It seems that you regard it as a regrettable social malady to be treated with cautious and calculated neglect. There is observable, however, a passive solicitude. You have kept the race problem in the back part of your mind. Your letter to Bishop Walters during your first campaign for the Presidency, expressing a generous concern for the welfare of the race, though of a general and passive character, caused many Negroes to give you their political support. Under the stress and strain of other pressing issues and the partisan demands of your political supporters, you have not yet translated this passive purpose into positive performance. There is, however, something of consolation in the fact that while during your entire career you have never done anything constructive for the Negro, you have never done anything destructive against him. Your constructive opportunity is now at hand. The time has come to make lawlessness a national issue, as a war measure if not from any higher consideration. As a patriotic and military necessity, I suggest that you ask the Congress of the United States to invest you with the power to prevent lynching, and to quell lawlessness and violence in all parts of the country during the

continuance of the war. Or at least you might quicken the conscience of the nation by a stirring message to Congress calling attention to this growing evil which is gnawing at the vitals of the nation. It is entirely probable that before the war is over you will have to resort to some such measure to control internal disturbances on other accounts. It is inconceivable that this nation should spend billions of dollars and sacrifice the lives of millions of its citizens without domestic uprising and revulsion. In such a time it becomes necessary for the President to exercise all but dictatorial power. The country is willing to grant you anything you ask which, in your judgment,

would promote the welfare of the nation in this crisis. You asked Congress to grant indiscriminated use of the Panama Canal as a means of securing international good-will and friendship, and it was granted. In face of the impending conflict you demanded that Congress should grant the eight-hour demand of the laboring men, and it was done. The suffragists who guard you going in and coming out of the White House were duly convicted under process of law, but were immediately pardoned by you to avoid embarrassment in this war emergency. You asked for billions of dollars and millions of lives to be placed at your disposal for the purpose of

carrying on the great conflict, and it was willingly granted. The people have willingly placed in your hands more power than has ever been exercised by any member of the human race, and are willing to trust you in the use of that power. I am sure that they will grant this additional authority during the continuance of the present war in order to secure the unqualified patriotic devotion of all of the citizens and to safeguard the honor of democracy and the good name of the republic.

Mr. President, Negroes all over the nation are aroused as they have never been before. It is not the wild hysteria of the hour, but a determined purpose that this country shall be made a safe place for American citizens to live and work and enjoy the pursuits of happiness. Ten thousand speechless men and women marched in silent array down Fifth Avenue in New York City as a spectral demonstration against the wrongs and cruelties heaped upon the race. Negro women all over the nation have appointed a day of prayer in order that righteousness might be done to this people. The weaker sex of the weaker race are praying that God may use you as the instrument of His will to promote the cause of human freedom at home. I attended one of these 6 o'clock prayer meetings in the city of Washington. Two thousand

humble women snatched the early hours of the morning before going on their daily tasks to resort to the house of prayer. They literally performed unto the Lord the burden of their prayer and song, "Steal Away to Jesus." There was not a note of bitterness nor denunciation throughout the season of prayer. They prayed as their mothers prayed in the darker days gone by, that God would deliver the race. Mr. President, you can help God answer their prayer. May it not be that these despised and rejected daughters of a despised and rejected race shall yet lead the world to its knees in acknowledgment of some controlling power outside of the machinations of man? As I sat there and listened in reverent silence to these two thousand voices as they sang, -

"On Christ, the Solid Rock, I stand,  
All other ground is sinking sand -"

I could not think of the godless war which is now convulsing the world -a war in which Christian hands are dyed in Christian blood. It must cause the Prince of Peace to groan as in His dying agony when He gave up the ghost on the cross. The professed followers of the Meek and Lowly One, with heathen heart, are putting their trust in reeking tube and iron

shard. God uses the humbler things of life to confound the mighty. It may be that these helpless victims of cruelty and outrage will bring an apostate world back to God.

Mr. President, ten million of your fellow-citizens are looking to you and to the God whom you serve to grant them relief in this hour of their deepest distress. All moral reforms grow out of the people who suffer and stand in need of them. The Negro's helpless position may yet bring America to a realizing sense that righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.

Yours truly,  
Kelly Miller.

## **Chapter 7: The Negro and the Japanese**

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## Chapter VII: The Negro and the Japanese

I happened on the Pacific Coast when a committee of the United States Senate was inquiring into the Japanese situation. The stress of opposition was laid upon economic rather than racial differences. It was generally considered that the Japanese, by reason of their thrift and frugality, proved to be more than an equal competitor for the white man. They are able to increase the economic fraction by decreasing the denominator, whereas augmentation of the numerator is the only method that the American is willing to practice. Physiologically, the Japanese seem to be better adapted to truck gardening and other modes of agriculture on the Pacific coast; they are small in stature and can the more easily practice certain phases of agriculture which, like religious devotion, must be performed on the knee.

In addition to this, the Japanese have back of them a strong, aggressive and self-assertive nationality. With a territory too small to support its population, to seek a larger area for the expansion of its overcrowded life is the fixed policy of the Japanese government. It supports semi-officially large land and agricultural projects for its expatriated citizens. The American farmer, therefore, has to compete, not merely with individual Japanese, but also with the concealed hand of the Nippon government.

It is not contended that the Japanese have aspirations to become American citizens with singleness of spirit and detachment of aim, but after absorbing the substances of other lands, they long to return to their native land as the scattered Jew yearned for his native Jerusalem.

Mr. Harding, as the senator from Ohio, with statesmanlike comprehension of the issues involved, stated that America must be understood to possess the sovereign right to exclude any undesirable element from its borders, and must be the undisputed arbiter of the test of desirability. This he has done without wounding the racial pride or the just sensibilities of the nation involved in the issue.

I consulted many Californians, white and black, as to the attitude towards the Negro, and found that there existed on the Pacific coast no Negro problem in its frictional aspect. Where restrictive laws existed, they were inspired by the emergencies of the oriental situation

and did not aim directly at the American Negro. The fact that the oriental situation had reached a stage of acute irritation tended to direct attention away from the Negro. It is not good policy to handle more than one troublesome issue at a time. Effort is frequently made to identify the attitude of the Pacific coast statesmen on the oriental question with that of the southerners on the Negro question. The two cases are in no sense identical.

The Negro is an American citizen whose American residence and citizenry reach further back than the great majority of the white race. He has from the beginning contributed a full share of the glory and grandeur of America and his claims to patrimony of American citizenship and privilege are his just and rightful due. The Japanese, on the other hand, is the eleventh hour comer, and is claiming the privilege of those who have borne the heat and burden of the day. If the case of the Negro were parallel to that of the Japanese, if the Negro were now for the first time claiming the right of unrestricted entry into the American industrial, political and social scheme, the situation would be entirely different; but he is as much a part of the constituent sovereignty as any other. He cannot, therefore, be deprived of any of the rights, privileges and prerogatives

of American citizenship without violating every national and human obligation and stultifying the national conscience. Race adjustment, at best, constitutes an intricate and complicated problem, but considering the political aspect of the case, the political status of the Negro is so far removed from that of the Japanese that a comparison becomes odious.

Takao Ozawa is destined to become the Dred Scott of Japan. In the Dred Scott case the Supreme Court decided that the Negro race did not possess citizenship rights. In the Takao case the same tribunal has just declared that the Japanese race is not eligible to citizenship in the United States. Fortunately for the Negro race, this famous decision came at a time of intense moral agitation. The aroused conscience of the nation reversed the verdict of the court of next to the last resort. The American people arose in their moral might and utterly repudiated the repugnant verdict.

The people themselves constitute the court of last resort. The Fourteenth Amendment made a definition of citizenship which includes every person born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof. The learned jurist through whose voice the decision was announced became a byword of reproach to the American people. From that day until

this, his name is never mentioned except in terms of denunciation or disgust. Had this iniquitous decision been handed down twenty years earlier or fifty years later, it doubtless might have met with a less unfriendly reception.

The Takao Ozawa decision came at a time when the American mind is not so sensitively concerned with the inherent rights of man to man. The rights of human beings, responsive to moral issues, must await the convenience of the interest of race. In all of the influential organs of public opinion, one looks in vain for a clear, straight from the soul, and straight from the shoulder condemnation of this Japanese decision. What is right and what is wrong is not determined by technical determination of the narrow letter of the law, but by the quickened or callous conscience of the people at that time.

According to the law passed in 1870, the white race and the Negro race are the only races eligible to naturalization. The Supreme Court has upheld the meaning and intent of the law. It is again fortunate for the Negro that this law was passed at a time when the American feeling on the Negro race question had reached its moral maximum. Well do I recall serving as spokesman of a delegation that

called upon members of Congress to protest against a proposed law which excluded both Asiatics and Africans from coming to the United States. The Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration was a Democrat from Alabama. He stated that since the number of Negro immigrants was so insignificant, being but a handful of West Indians, and since these few settled in the North, and did not bother the white people of the South, he was perfectly willing to limit the restrictive provision to the Asiatics.

To some it may seem to be inexplicable that discrimination is here made in favor of the Negro rather than the Japanese. Ordinarily the higher meed of favor goes to the yellow Oriental. Here is a distinction with a deep difference. The claim of the Negro as a moral co-equal in this nation does not rest upon mere political expediency, or theory of race relationship, but is firmly founded upon basic principle of equity and justice. The white and black races came to this country at practically the same time. As many generations of blacks as of whites lie buried beneath her soil. They enjoy an inheritance of three centuries of ancestral toil. The white race has no claim to ownership of this nation that does not equally apply to the Negro. Both have contributed

according to their talent and opportunity to her grandeur and glory. The contribution of the Negro as a spontaneous and cheerful coworker has never been questioned. In industrial endeavor, in loyal devotion, in patriotic performance and in spiritual enrichment he has done his full share. The white race cannot, without violating every obligation of justice and honor, deny to the Negro any reward of privilege which as the fruit of their joint labor he claims for himself.

But with the Japanese it is not so. He has contributed nothing to the growth and grandeur of America. His claims rest solely upon the demands of international comity and the more abstract claims of human brotherhood.

Ozawa claimed that the Japanese should be classified as white by virtue of a common ancestry from which both races sprung. This claim was disallowed by the Supreme Court. The line of demarcation between the white and non-white races is clearly understood in a practical sense, which no amount of learned ethnological disquisition can seriously disturb. On the abstract side of the contention, the Negro cannot but sympathize with the Japanese point of view. The world cannot separate itself into air-tight compartments along lines of racial cleavage. The scientific, commercial and moral movements of the age make for moral unity. We can never have moral unity so long as any race smarts under the stigma of unfair discrimination.

The Supreme Court has never been the keeper of the conscience of the American people. Courts and jurists who deal in customs, traditions and precedents are apt to lag a generation or so behind the moral progress of the age. It was so in the Dred Scott decision. But in this instance it seems more likely that our highest tribunal has sensed the reactionary moral sense of the time. There is some faint glimpse of hope in the policy of the Department of Justice in requesting that the Supreme Court suspend consideration of this case pending deliberations concerning international disarmament. International harmony of action is dependent upon international good-will. The Ozawa decision cannot possibly produce good feeling among the Japanese people. None of the non-white races of the earth will contemplate this decision with satisfaction. Will this decision be overthrown in time by the aroused moral sense of the nation as was its prototype in the days of Dred Scott or will it stand as a stumbling block in the way of international peace and good-will?

## **Chapter 8: Education of the Negro in the North**

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#### **Chapter VIII: Education of the Negro in the North**

That "the Negro can earn a dollar in the South, but cannot spend it; and can spend a dollar in the North, but cannot earn it," is one of Booker T. Washington's most felicitous phrases. This was an apt accurate description at the time of its utterance. But social upheavals frustrate the wisdom of our profoundest philosophies. The war robbed this sententious assertion of its erstwhile truth and appositeness. The great educator had scarcely been dead a single year, when Negroes by the tens of thousand were rushing into the North to fill the vacuum in the labor market. The scale of wages seemed fabulous to the Negro workman, accustomed to the meager compensations in the South. The opportunities to earn and to spend were availed of with equal avidity. As a result of this labor demand, fully a half million Negroes were transferred from the South to the North.

Economic opportunity constitutes the prevailing

motive in the movement of human population. Human greed is too hasty for immediate concrete results to calculate the far-reaching social consequences that follow in the train of the introduction of strange population for purposes of industrial and economic exploitation. The foreigner in America, the Negro in the South, and the Japanese in Hawaii and on the west coast were introduced to fulfill urgent labor demands, but their permanent social adjustments constitute the gravest problems of our national experience.

Fred Douglass used to say that wherever the Negro goes he takes himself with him. The sudden injection of a half million Negroes into the North will tend to make the question of race adjustment a national, rather than a sectional problem. The various features of the problem will gain new meaning and emphasis because of its widespread relationships. The educational significance of this northern movement of the Negro has hitherto received little or no attention, and yet it is calculated to be of the

greatest significance in the educational life of the entire Negro race, and to influence the attitude of the whole nation. According to the reports of the Census Office, in 1920 there were 1,550,754 Negroes in the North, giving a decennial increase of 472,418 over the census of

1910. The great bulk of Negroes in the North are found in the cities. The number of rural Negroes in the Northern States has been gradually diminishing for the past three decades. The Northern Negro creates an urban rather than a rural problem. The following table reveals this city tendency in a most striking manner:

Negro Population -Cities North of the Potomac River

City	1910	1920	Increase
New York	91,706	153,088	61,382
Philadelphia	84,459	134,098	49,639
Washington	96,446	109,976	13,530
Chicago	44,103	109,594	65,491
Baltimore	84,749	108, . . . . .	. . . . .
St. Louis	43,960	69,603	25,643
Detroit	5,291	41,532	36,241
Pittsburgh	25,623	37,688	12,065
Indianapolis	21,816	34,690	12,874
Cleveland	8,448	34,474	26,026
Kansas City	23,566	30,706	7,140
Cincinnati	19,639	29,636	9,997
Columbus	12,739	22,091	9,352

These thirteen cities show an unusual increase, amounting in some cases to more than fifty per cent. While this rapid growth was due to special causes of limited continuance,

yet the numbers are not likely to diminish, but will show substantial increase with the coming decades.

There are six cities in the United States with more than 100,000 Negroes, all of which, with the single exception of New Orleans, are to be found north of the Potomac River. The border cities, Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Kansas City, have separate colored schools, following the policy of the Southern States. In the other cities on the list there is no legal scholastic separation of the races. The city is the center of the educational life of the nation. The great systems of education, as well as the great seats of learning, are to be found mainly in the centers of population. A million and a half Negroes, constituting 15 per cent of the race, are thus brought into immediate contact with the best educational facilities to be found anywhere in the world. In the South the Negroes are found mainly in the rural district, where school facilities are meager and inadequate, and even in the large cities of this section the provisions for colored schools fall woefully short of the up-to-date standards of a well ordered system. In speaking of the education of the Negro, we should always keep in mind the widely contrasted educational advantages of these two groups.

Negroes in the North generally are admitted to all educational facilities provided for the general community, whether supported by public funds or based upon private foundation. The people of the North have devoted much of their resources and philanthropic energy to the education of the Negro in the South, while giving little or no consideration to the contingent of the race within their midst. The individual has been given an equal chance in the general educational provisions and has been

expected to rise or fall according to the measure of his own merit. The rapidly increasing numbers focusing in the large centers of population will inevitably call attention to the special needs of this growing group separated in many ways from the life of the community of which they form a part.

The colored children have not seemed overeager to avail themselves of the advantages provided for them. They have not felt the necessity of thorough educational equipment for the life tasks that lay within their reach. Being confined to the menial modes of service, they have not in large numbers been inspired to enter upon the higher reaches of education demanded in the more exacting lines of service. The eagerness of the Southern Negro for knowledge in the midst of meager facilities was in glaring contrast with the apathy of his Northern brother surrounded by such great advantages.

Until quite recently the fact of a colored student graduating from a high school in the North was so unusual as to demand general notice and flattering comment. For the most part the colored youth who pushed their way through Northern institutions of learning have been from the South with fresh incentive of the masses upon them. But as their numbers increase and concentrate in the larger centers, the circle of racial opportunity widens. The inspiration of racial life and uplift gives spurs to higher aspiration. The inherent needs and necessities of the masses create opportunities in the higher lines of leadership and service that demand the fullest educational equipment. Wherever the number of Negroes in a community is too small to create a center of racial life and activity, there is apt to be shown a corresponding lack of ambition and upward purpose on the part of colored youth. Wherever a handful of Negroes are gathered together in the North, there springs up a little church, which serves as an outlet for leadership and as a center of race aspiration. The largest Negro cities in the world are found in the North. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore,

Washington, and Chicago contain each a sufficient number of Negroes to engage the highest human powers and faculties to answer the needs of so large a number of human beings. The ever widening field invites the highest ambition of Negro youth to rise to the level of the opportunity that awaits them.

In all of the Northern cities the Negro is concentrated in segregated areas and districts. This residential segregation creates a demand for leadership and self-direction. Large as his numbers seem, taken by themselves, the Negro constitutes only a small percentage of the total population except in several of the border cities. If they were evenly distributed throughout the white population, they would be practically unnoticed as a factor in the general equation. One hundred and fifty thousand Negroes in New York in the midst of six million whites, if evenly diffused, would count but one in forty, and would be a negligible entity in the general life of the metropolis. But a hundred thousand Negroes in Harlem constitute a city within a city. The racial needs of this large mass must be supplied by their own leadership, almost as if they constituted a separate community. Negro ministers, physicians, lawyers, editors, teachers, and business men must conform with reasonable approximation to the prevailing

standards of the community. This opportunity gives incentive and ambition to the youth of the race to equip themselves with the fullest educational qualifications.

In most of the Northern States primary education is compulsory, so that every Negro child, in compliance with the law, must attend the public schools for a given period of years. In the near future we may expect that the Negro will approximate his full quota in high school, normal schools, technical schools, and colleges in the great centers of population where he is rapidly congregating.

There were more than four hundred Negro graduates from high schools in the class of 1920, and more than one hundred graduates from colleges and professional schools in the Northern States. This indicates the rapid growth in enrollment of the Negro in secondary as well as in higher

institutions. There were probably 500 Negroes enrolled in colleges and professional schools of the North during the past year. This educational awakening in the North but indicates what may be expected in the near future.

The question naturally arises as to how far separate educational facilities will be deemed advisable for the Negroes in the Northern cities as their numbers tend to increase. This is already

a mooted question in such cities as Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Chicago. In Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Kansas City, where separate colored schools are maintained, there is a much larger enrollment of colored pupils in the higher levels of instruction than in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, where the schools are mixed. The separate systems seem to invoke a keener incentive and zest.

Will separate schools bring out the higher aspirations of the Negro and lead to the unfolding of his powers and possibilities? is the question countered by the query: Will not scholastic separation on racial lines vitiate the spirit of democracy and lower the standards of the less favored race? This controversy will doubtless engender great heat of feeling and animosity on the part of both races. The final outcome should be determined in the light of the best good to the Negro as well as that of the community. The purpose of the schools is to produce good and useful citizens. This objective should transcend all theoretical question of manner or method. And yet the great democratic ideal must be kept constantly in mind.

While the masses of the race remain in the South, the educational center of gravity will be shifting toward the North. Ambitious youth will flock to the centers of the best educational advantage, regardless of national or racial border lines. Northern institutions are filled with white Southern youth because they find there at present better educational facilities than the South provides. They saturate themselves with the aims and ideals and acquire technical facilities of these great centers of learning, and carry the acquisition back for the assimilation of their own section. Negro youth will be actuated by the same impulse and purpose.

Negro schools in the South have, so far, been planted and supported on the basis of the Northern philanthropy. This philanthropy has concerned itself largely with Negroes in the Southern States who have been suppressed below the level of educational opportunity and advantage. It has not contemplated that Negroes in considerable numbers would avail themselves of the best educational facilities afforded by colleges and universities of the North. It will be interesting to note the effect of this tendency upon the fate of the Negro's higher institutions of learning supported in the South on a philanthropic basis. Philanthropists are, naturally enough, disposed to place help where they deem it is the most needed. There is no particular need to help the Negro in the North, where he

has only to stretch forth his hand and partake of the tree of knowledge which flourishes all about him. It is also natural that philanthropy will be inclined to foster institutions which encourage graduates to live and work among the masses in the South where the need is greatest. Negro students of Harvard, Yale or Chicago do not make the same philanthropic appeal as those in Atlanta, Fisk, and Tuskegee.

There is also a reserved feeling that it might be well to encourage separate Negro institutions, in order to keep too large a number of Negroes from entering white universities. This feeling will doubtless inure greatly to the benefit of Negro schools in the South. It must be determined whether the Northern universities are apt to impart to Negro students the social impulse and racial aspiration requisite to the best service of the race. These institutions are not adapted to the Negro's peculiar circumstances and conditions. They are founded and fostered to meet the needs, aspirations, and ambitions of the most favored white youth. The Negro must grasp the general aims and ideals and interpret and apply them to the situation and circumstances of his own race.

The schools of the South will be patterned after those in the North. The less-developed always pay homage to the better-perfected

standards. The Negro will gain acquaintance with the aims, ideals, and methods of the North, and will, perforce, exploit the attainment among his own people in the South.

In the educational world the law of supply and demand is inexorable. The demand for Negroes in the higher levels of intellectual, moral, and social leadership in the North will be relatively small as compared with the larger field of the South. The incidental hardships and inequalities of the Southern régime will be undergone in quest of a larger field for acquired attainment, quickened by sacrificial impulse of racial reclamation. Thus the Northern movement of the Negro, actuated by purely industrial and economic motives, will yield significant educational fruitage.

## **Chapter 9: National Responsibility for Negro Education**

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## **Chapter IX: National Responsibility for Negro Education**

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution made the Negro a citizen of the United States. By fiat of law the status of the chattel was suddenly transformed into that of the citizen. The National Government is wholly responsible for the creation of Negro citizenship, a responsibility which involves the obligation to prepare him for his new function in the government. Carried away by the heat and hysteria of war, the statesmanship of that period did not consider all of the consequences growing out of this momentous act. It was deemed sufficient to invest the newly emancipated slave with a garb of citizenship, without preparing him to wear the unaccustomed garb becomingly. His education was left to the afflicted states, which had recently been disrupted and disorganized by the ruinous ravages of war. The ill-fated Freedmen's Bureau undertook in some slight measure to fulfill the

national obligation. But for the most part the freedman was left to shift for himself in his upward struggle from ignorance to enlightenment. It was hoped that his enfranchisement might enable him to exert the requisite influence on the policy of the several states, leading to the establishment of adequate educational provision. Amidst all the imperfections and misdeeds of reconstruction, actual or alleged, there stands out in bold relief one clear redeeming feature. Actuated by the purpose of qualifying the Negro for the proper exercise of his citizenship function, the reconstruction governments established the public school system in the several Southern States. One searches in vain for any record of Southern statesmanship, before or since the Civil War, fraught with greater benefits to both races than the public provision for the education of all citizens, established by the much-maligned reconstruction governments.

But actual experience soon demonstrated what prudent provision should have foreseen, namely, that the recently impoverished and distracted Southern States were not, of themselves, able to maintain adequate school systems for the efficient education of both races. Their heroic efforts must be supplemented by national provision, or else the South for many

generations must lag behind other sections of the nation, and the efficiency of the nation, as a whole, will be seriously impaired.

We are apt to be misled by statistics of illiteracy showing the remarkable rapidity with which the Negro is acquiring the use of letters. Beginning practically at the zero point of literacy, at the time of his emancipation, the rate of literacy had arisen to 70.6 per cent in 1900. The rapidity with which the Negro race has been literalized, has been considered the most marvelous attainment of the past century. In the period of fifty years a considerable majority of its members has learned the use of letters. This is a much larger per cent than is shown by many of the historic races of the Old World.

The mere technical acquisition of letters, however, is a matter of very simple attainment. A few months' schooling is sufficient to communicate to the individual the oral and phonetic symbols of knowledge, and the method of combining them into written and spoken speech. The letters of the alphabet constitute a key with twenty-six notches, which unlocks the accumulated storehouse of the wisdom and experience of mankind. But the mere possession of this mystic key is of little value unless the wielder has a previous appreciation of the

wealth of wisdom which the storehouse contains. The Red Indian or any other savage peoples might acquire the ability to read and write within a single generation but if they still cling to their ancestral and traditional ways, without the curiosity of incentive to understand the secret and method of civilization, their mere technical attainments would be of little more value than a curious intellectual gymnastic. Although 70 per cent of the Negro race can read and write, comparatively a small fraction of that number actually do make an efficient use of their attainments. In the states which require a literacy test for the exercise of franchise, the great bulk of Negroes are excluded because of their inability to meet this simple test; albeit the statistics of such states show a high average of Negro literacy. Of course it would be unbecoming to intimate that a sovereign state would be guilty of the deep dishonor of depriving its citizens of fundamental rights by cunning device or tricky contrivance. Statistics of illiteracy are misleading because the individual's pride which indisposes him to have his ignorance acknowledged and recorded, often leads him to render misleading answers to the query of the enumerator.

At Camp Dodge, where there were 3,600

Negro conscripts from Alabama, no one of whom, under the terms of conscription, was over 31 years of age, the Young Men's Christian Association found that over 75 per cent of them were unable to read or write effectively, notwithstanding the fact that the rate of Negro illiteracy in Alabama, according to the federal statistics, is only 40.1 per cent. There is one conspicuous outstanding fact, that the great majority of the Negro race are not able to make use of literary knowledge to improve their efficiency, or measure up to the standard of an enlightened citizenship.

When we consider the woeful inadequacy of provision made for Negro education, there is left no room to marvel because of this alarming result. According to reports just issued by the Bureau of Education, the State of Alabama expends \$1.78 per capita for each Negro child, the state of Georgia \$1.76, and Louisiana \$1.31. These states expend from five to six times this amount per capita for the schooling of white children. It is conceded that even the provision for education of the white children of the South is scarcely more than one-third of that for the education of a child of the North and West. If it requires \$25 per capita to prepare for the duties of citizenship in the North, a white child whose powers are reënforced

by racial and social heredity, by what law of logic or common sense can it be expected that \$1.31 will prepare a Negro child in Louisiana, who misses such reënforcement, for the exercise of like function?

I am not bringing this glaring discrepancy to light for the purpose of condemnation or denunciation, but merely to describe a situation furnishing a basal argument for the necessity of national aid to Negro education. Without such aid the Southern States must continue for generations under the heavy handicap of a comparatively ignorant and ill-equipped citizenship.

It is a fatal mistake to suppose that the efficient education of the Negro can be conducted on a cheaper scale than that for the whites. The fact that his home environment and his general grade of life is lower, makes adequate educational facilities all the more expensive. One dollar and thirty-one cents per capita applied to Negro education in Louisiana accomplishes even less, in effective results, than a like sum applied to the whites. Imagine the educational status of Massachusetts, if the state should suddenly reduce the provision of public instruction to the level of the cost of Negro education in Louisiana.

Philanthropy to a commendable degree has

served to supplement the deficiencies of the Southern States for Negro education. But neither the individual state nor the United States has the moral right to depend upon voluntary philanthropy to prepare its citizens for the responsible duties and obligations of citizenship. At best philanthropy is only a temporary and inadequate makeshift. As huge as philanthropic contributions seem to be in the aggregate, they amount to little more than one dose of medicine in the hospital, when compared to the magnitude of the task to which they are applied.

A generation ago Senator Henry W. Blair, of New Hampshire, devoted his public career to the promulgation of national aid to Negro education. The array of facts and arguments, which he marshaled in support of his propaganda, was undisputed and indisputable. The urgency of the need has been emphasized by a generation of neglect. It is said that the Athenians banished Aristides because they grew weary of hearing him called Aristides, the Just. By parity of ungracious procedure, Senator Blair was thrown out of public life because of his loquacious advocacy of national equity and justice. But his cause still remains. The nation has merely deferred payment on a debt which sooner or later must be liquidated with accumulated interest.

At the time of the Blair Educational Bill there were lurking suspicions in the minds of opposing statesmen of political and partisan advantage, and sinister sectional animosity concealed under the guise of Federal aid to education. The doctrine of local sovereignty was sharply accentuated; but opposition on these grounds has weakened with the intervening years. There still survives a statesmanlike duty of the nation to meet its moral obligation to the least of its citizens.

It was unfair to the Southern States to require them, unaided, to prepare the Negro for duties of citizenship at the time of his enfranchisement. The nation as a whole was responsible for the condition of the Negro. The fact that slavery became a localized institution was not due to the inherent devilry of the South nor to the innate goodness of the North. Slavery was a national institution and became localized under the operation of climatic and economic law. It is equally unfair today, to require the South to bear the heavy burden alone. The Negro problem is the nation's problem; the remedy should be as comprehensive as the need.

In democracy, as in ethics, the individual is

the ultimate unit, and there must be essential equality among the units, or else the fabric of democracy, like the fabric of ethics, must fall. Under the traditional attitude of the white race toward the Negro, it was supposed that the guiding intelligence should be lodged in the white man's brain, and the muscular energy in the Negro's arm. But the circuit is too long. In a democracy each man must think as well as work. The country can no longer look upon the Negro merely for his utility as a tool, but must regard his totality as a man. An ideal American citizen is not that of a working man; but that of a man working. The presence of the ignorant Negro lowers the general average of efficiency of the community in which he lives and of the nation of which he forms a part. Georgia with half of its population practically illiterate can never hope to keep pace with Iowa, which strives to make every citizen intelligent and efficient. The United States can never reach the desired goal of efficiency, until it utilizes the undeveloped energies which lie dormant in the brain and brawn of every citizen.

So far I have dealt with the demands for Federal assistance to primary and elementary education, which imparts to each citizen a more or less well understood minimum of necessary

knowledge and standard of efficiency. But there is a higher sense in which the nation is obligated to the cause of Negro Education. At the time of his emancipation the Negro was wholly without wise guidance and direction. The sudden severance of personal relation which had existed complacently under the régime of slavery left the Negro dependent upon his own internal resources for leadership of his higher and better life. The discipline of slavery had ill fitted him for this function. It had

imparted to him the process without the principle; the knack without the knowledge; the rule without the reason; the formula without the philosophy. If the blind lead the blind they will both fall into the ditch. For want of vision people perish. The professional class constitutes the higher light of the race, and if that light within this race be darkness, how great is that darkness.

The Negro teacher meets with every form of ignorance and pedagogical obtuseness that befalls the white teachers; the Negro preacher has to do with every conceivable form of original and acquired sin; the doctor meets with all the variety of disease that the human flesh is heir to; the lawyer's sphere covers the whole gamut involving the rights of property and person. The problems growing out of the contact,

attrition, and adjustment of the races involve issues which are as intricate as any that have ever taxed human wisdom for solution. If, then, the white man who stands in the high place of authority and leadership among the members of his race, fortified as he is by superior social environment, needs to qualify for his high calling by thorough and sound educational training, surely the Negro needs a no less thorough general education to qualify him to serve as philosopher, guide, and friend of ten million unfortunate human beings.

The Federal Government should make some provisions for those who are to stand in the high places of intellect and moral authority. In the Western States where philanthropical millionaires are scarce, and where the average citizen is not able to support the system of education on the higher level, the state undertakes the task of maintaining high institutions of learning for the leaders in the various walks of life. The Negro is unable at present to maintain such institutions for his own race; he is dependent upon a remote and vicarious philanthropy. The chief benefits of the higher workers among the Negro peoples inure to the community, to the state, and to the nation. Dr. James, the president of the University of Illinois, has for years advocated with great power

of persuasion the establishment of a national university. All of his arguments may be multiplied by ten, when applied to obligation of the government to support at least one higher institution for the education of the Negro race.

Already through Land Grant and other federal funds, the government, in coöperation with the several states, is supporting agricultural and mechanical colleges for white youth. Some provision is also made for the Negro in the states where there is scholastic separation of the races. But these agricultural and mechanical colleges are essentially schools of secondary grade and cannot be maintained on high level of collegiate basis. It is easy for the Federal Government to extend the application by establishing and maintaining at least one institution of technical character and collegiate grade, which might serve as a finishing school for the work done in the several states. The Negro needs to be rooted and grounded in the principles of knowledge on the highest collegiate basis. The Federal Government has already acknowledged this responsibility in the moderate support which it gives Howard University as the national institution of the Negro race. This acknowledgment of a national responsibility, let us hope, augurs early ample provision for the education of a race in its upward

struggle to the fullness of the stature of American citizenship.

It is needless to inject into this discussion the intricate and tangled issues of the race problem. Suffice it to say that ignorance is a menace to intelligence; sloth to efficiency; vice to virtue; and degradation to the dignity and decencies of life. Just as the Government through adequate Federal agency stamps out the yellow fever, cholera, and other infectious diseases, so it must, sooner or later, exterminate ignorance, which is more menaceful than any other plague that afflicts the nation.

## **Chapter 10: The Practical Value of the Higher Education of the Negro**

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## Chapter X: The Practical Value of the Higher Education of the Negro

The progress of the Negro race consists in improvement of the personal worth and social efficiency of its individual members. The value of any type of education must be appraised in terms of these standards. Any proposed scheme of social uplift which hopes to gain popular approval and support must be subjected to the concrete test of rendering the recipient more worthy in his individual qualities and of making him a more efficient instrument of service to his fellowman.

In this practical age there is little tolerance for abstract doctrine or fruitless theory that does not translate itself into the actualities of life. The whole educational world has been profoundly affected by the influence of this tendency. The stress of educational emphasis has been shifted from the passive to the active aspect of culture. To be somebody was the ideal of the old school education; to do something

is the aim of the new. The one placed stress of emphasis on being; the other on doing.

This tendency towards the practical end of education is greatly emphasized when the application is limited to the colored race. The Negro's presence in this country, in the first place, was due to the belief that he was intended by the Creator to be an instrument of crude service. His traditional function was mainly mechanical, and scarcely more human than that of the ox which pulls the plow. His personality was at first denied, and afterwards ignored. Men spoke of the Negro as a "good hand" just as they spoke of a good ax or a good ox. The imputed virtue had exclusive reference to his utility as a tool. The traditional bias concerning the Negro's ordained place in the social scheme influences present opinion concerning the kind of education which should be imparted to him. As a consequence of this attitude, that type of education which fits him for his accustomed sphere and place has found ready appreciation and favor; he is to be educated for his work, rather than for himself.

As a matter of fact, the great bulk of this race must devote its chief energies to the cruder and coarser grades of service which fall to its lot as far in the future as our present vision

can penetrate. The industrial education of the masses, therefore, becomes a matter of the highest concern to the practical statesman and philanthropist. Dr. Booker T. Washington, in his moments of greatest enthusiasm, has never over-stated the importance of industrial training as an essential agency of the general social uplift. But at the same time, it should never be forgotten that the Negro is a human being as well as a utensil of service. A wise educational economy will seek to make him a man working, rather than a working man.

The universities and colleges for the Negroes were founded on the wave of moral enthusiasm which marked the highest point that Christian philanthropy has ever attained. Upon the crest of this wave of enthusiasm for quickening the manhood of the Negro, educational facilities were provided for the race, which, up to that time, had been forbidden the use of letters, on the basis of the higher standards adapted to the requirements of the most favored European youth. If the practical phase was ignored, it was merely because industrial training was not at that time considered a vital part of the education of the white race. Indeed, it was reserved for General S. C. Armstrong to add a new chapter to American education. Industrial training has

gained and will forever retain its important place in the educational program of the American people. Hampton and Tuskegee typify national, rather than racial educational ideals. General Armstrong and Booker T. Washington, his chief apostle, have become the schoolmasters, not merely to the Negro, but to the nation. Educational methods suggested by the needs of the Negro have been applied to the requirements of the white race. One is reminded of the lines of Kipling: "The things that you learn from the yellow and brown will help you a heap with the white."

As the heat of feeling engendered by the antislavery agitation cooled down, it was inevitable that there would be a reaction in public sentiment against the higher education of the race. Sentiment at the time when the general educational policy of the nation was being rewritten in terms of new demand, was such that it was to be expected that the so-called higher education of the Negro would be discredited and belittled. Under the partisan propaganda of the industrial advocates, the fountain of philanthropy was frozen to the appeal for a higher education.

Fortunately, however, the saner sense of the people is now reasserting itself. The two types of education are no longer contrasted as antagonistic

and inconsistent, but compared as common factors of a joint product. Their relative claims should never have been made a matter of essential controversy, but merely a question of ratio and proportion. Negro colleges, following the lead of their white prototypes, are adjusting their curricula to the demands of the age. Economics, social science, and history are sharing with the traditional ingredients. The advocates of industrial training are now willing graciously to concede the value of the higher education if sensibly adapted and wisely applied.

There are ten million Negroes in the United States with the status of American citizenship, each of whom needs to improve his personal qualities and social efficiency. This improvement must be brought about through philanthropic assistance and by self-reclamation. The agency that will most effectively conduce to this end is the chief concern of wise philanthropy and statesmanship. Industrial and the higher education are both applied to the same task of uplifting and sustaining these millions of human beings and rendering them competent and willing co-workers for the common good of the nation. Industrial education is pushing up from the bottom, while the higher education is pulling

from the top. Both elements are efficient; neither is sufficient.

The chief aim of the higher education is to produce an efficient leadership. According to the last available data from the Federal census, there are fifteen thousand Negro clergymen, about two thousand Negro physicians and dentists, twenty-one thousand Negro teachers, seven hundred Negro lawyers, and several thousand workers along the other lines of the higher callings and pursuits.

These constitute about one-half of one per cent of the race; but it is to this class that the ninety-nine and one-half per cent must look for leadership. The foreigners who flock to our shores are uplifted and sustained largely because they have intelligent and sympathetic leadership within their own race. The Catholic priesthood with its high standard of intelligence and practical statesmanship, saves the foreigner from becoming a national menace. The Negro must have a leadership within his own race to save him from a like fate. It is only through the higher training that such influence can be developed; this task is a practical one. It is of no more immediate practical advantage to the Negro, that the hungry should be fed, the naked clothed, and the houseless sheltered, than that the sick should be healed,

the ignorant enlightened, and that the simple should be guided and the wayward reclaimed.

In the present temper of the American mind the Negro is confined to a separate social area which makes it necessary that his needs should be met by the professional class of his own race. Thus the Negro teacher, minister, physician, lawyer, and editor become a social necessity; hence the importance of the Negro college and university to train men and women of this blood for the higher offices to which their destiny calls them. Just in proportion as the spirit of racial segregation increases, the demand for internal leadership becomes intensified. No race, even through its most self-sacrificing members, can furnish intimate direction for a despised people, where general regulations compel them to ride in separate coaches, and to walk the streets apart, and to move in separate social spheres. It will be generally conceded that professional workers should have about the same degree of education regardless of the social advantages of the people among whom they will

be called upon to labor. The Negro teacher certainly meets with the most difficult problems in pedagogy and psychology; the Negro physician must treat every form of disease that human flesh is heir to; the Negro minister has to deal

with the gravest moral and spiritual problems growing out of original and acquired sin. There devolves upon the leadership of this race the handling of issues which are far-reaching in their relations and as intricate in their entanglement as any that ever taxed the human understanding. Surely, they need that kind and degree of preparation for their calling which have been found to be necessary by the experience of the ages. The function of the Negro college is to prepare the choice men of this race to stand in the high place of moral and spiritual authority as guides, philosophers and friends to their less fortunate brethren. For want of vision people perish, as well as for want of provision. The blind cannot lead the blind lest both fall into the ditch.

The graduates of Negro colleges and universities are sometimes derided in all the moods and tenses of irony and ridicule. We have all laughed ourselves to weariness over the account of the barefoot boy reading Plato between the plow handles, the kitchen scullion discanting upon Kant, and the hotel waiter reveling in the glories of the Renaissance. The Negro collegian is depicted as an impractical doctrinaire, who spends his time in impotent frenzy, screaming against the existing evils of society which he has neither the deep discernment

to understand nor the practical wisdom to alleviate.

In the rapid rise of this class from the lower to the higher levels of life, instances of maladaptations and grotesque misfits might naturally be expected. But a wide acquaintance with the graduates of Negro colleges and universities, in all parts of the land, convinces me that such instances are exceptional, and do not, in the least, characterize them as a class. They are almost universally employed along lines of useful endeavor for the general betterment of the community and command the respect and good-will of the people of both races among whom they live and work.

As a concrete illustration of this principle, I cite the case of Howard University, which is the largest university of European type for Negro youth to be found anywhere in the world. This institution has a student body of fifteen hundred young men and women pursuing the various branches of collegiate and professional studies, and has sent into the world about three thousand graduates, and several times as many sometime pupils who have shared the partial benefit of its courses. These three thousand graduates and sometimes pupils are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land, in almost every country and city with considerable

Negro population, and are working along the lines of their callings as ministers, physicians, lawyers, teachers, and in the general activities for the welfare of the people. What is true of graduates of this university is equally true of those of other Negro colleges and of the men of the higher education as a class.

A few individual examples of Howard Alumni must suffice to justify this statement. Rev. Wm. H. Brooks, Pastor of St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City, has gone in and out among a congregation of nearly two thousand members for seventeen years, as their moral and spiritual example and guide. He is generally beloved and esteemed for his good works, and might well be described as the Good Shepherd of the colored people of New York City. Rev. George Frazier Miller, of the City of Brooklyn, a man of clean life and clear thought, high ideals and lofty endeavor, has endeared himself to the entire community as an exemplary moral and spiritual leader of men. Wm. E. Benson, founder of Kowaliga, Alabama, has established a self-supporting community involving ten thousand acres of land within the very heart of the black belt of the South. Hon. J. C. Napier, ex-Registrar of the U. S. Treasury, is a lawyer of substance and standing in the City of Nashville, and is universally

respected and esteemed by the white and black alike for his manly life and wholesome influence. Prof. Hugh M. Brown, the re-organizer of the Colored Institute at Cheney, Pa., is perhaps the best expert of the country upon the application of industrial education to the teaching needs of the masses. Dr. W. A. Warfield is surgeon-in-chief of Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, D. C., an institution with two hundred and fifty beds, and perhaps the largest and best equipped hospital between Baltimore and New Orleans. Mr. J. E. Moorland, International Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, has been instrumental largely through the beneficence of Mr. Rosenwald, of Chicago, in promoting the erection of Y. M. C. A. buildings costing upward of \$100,000 each, in large cities of the country; such buildings are already in full operation in Chicago, Washington, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia, and plans are under way for erection of like plants in a half dozen other cities. Under the leadership and direction of Mr. Moorland, the Young Men's Christian Association has become the most active field of social endeavor among the colored race within the last few years; the work already accomplished and under way involves more than a million of dollars. These are but samples of

the effective work which graduates of this university are doing along all lines of endeavor for the general betterment of the people.

In the final analysis it will be found that there is no reasonable ground for conflict or misunderstanding between the two types of education. The late Dr. Booker T. Washington was a trustee of Hampton Institute and also of Howard University, and effectively served his race through the instrumentality of both institutions. Both types of school make the joint appeal to the philanthropy, statesmanship, and conscience of the American people: "This, ye ought to have done and not to have left the other undone."

## **Chapter 11: The Negro Balance of Power**

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## **Chapter XI: The Negro Balance of Power**

Significant political effects will result from the sudden influx of a half million Negroes to the North. This Negro migration was due primarily to the industrial necessities of the World War. The Negro is an inalienable Republican. He adheres to the fortunes of the party of Lincoln with a fealty that never falters. This adherence is not only due to gratitude for former favors, but also to the past, present and persistent hostile attitude of the Democratic party. To the mind of the Negro, the political appellations, Democratic and Republican, convey moral condonation. They convey contrasted ideas of good and bad, like up and down in ethics. A one party race occupies an unfortunate position in a two party state. Fluctuating political fortunes will ultimately put the one-sided adherent at the mercy of the political enemy. The ultimate political salvation of the race depends upon its enfranchisement from the bond which binds it to its salvators, and leaves it free, as other races, to form political allegiance. But, alas, there

seems to be but little immediate hope. The Southern element is dominant in the Democratic party. The stubborn attitude of this Bourbon constituency makes affiliation with that party impossible. The recent experiment under the first term of Woodrow Wilson's administration proved disastrous.

The Negro newcomers to the North will adhere to the fortunes of the party which, in the past, gave their race freedom and the franchise, and at present offers more favorable consideration than its political adversary.

The solid Negro vote constitutes the balance of power in the closely contested states of the North and West which usually determine the issue between the two parties. Outside of New England there are few states in which prediction of success for either party can be relied upon with satisfied assurance

in a presidential election. The tide of fortune turns according to the merits of the candidates and the issues espoused. The overwhelming result in the last election is no criterion. A political landslide slideth where it listeth. We feel the effect thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth. It sweeps a given party in or out of power with equal celerity and suddenness.

Every new Negro voter counts for a certain addition to the Republican ranks and adds

probability to success. European immigrants usually distribute themselves more or less evenly between the two dominant parties, and do not greatly disturb the political balance. But as this source of numerical augmentation has now been greatly diminished by stringent legislation, the Negro influx will receive greater consideration and emphasis. The enfranchisement of woman also lends advantage to the party to which the Negro belongs. Enfranchised white women divide their vote in about the same ratio as the white men. But the new Negro female vote adds a solid block to the Republican column. Negro men have been known, under appropriate inducement and persuasion, to vote the Democratic ticket, but the Negro woman is more cautious and conservative. No inducement or persuasion yet advanced can swerve her from allegiance to the party of racial deliverance.

The Negro in the North, especially the newcomer, is mainly adult, and yields a larger proportion of voters than is contributed by a normal population. It is reasonable to estimate that more than half of the half million Negro migrants are over twenty-one years of age. This would add at least 250,000 voters to the Republican strength in the Northern States.

The Northern influx of Negroes has been

confined mainly to a few industrial states which, curiously enough, are the states of greatest political uncertainty. The following table, giving the Northern states containing over 50,000 Negroes, and the decennial increment during the last decade, furnished interesting material for political speculation:

#### Negroes in the North

State	1919	1920	Increase
Entire North	1,078,336	1,550,754	472,418
Pennsylvania	193,919	234,494	40,575
New York	134,191	198,433	64,242
Ohio	111,452	186,183	74,731
Illinois	109,049	182,254	73,205
Missouri	157,452	178,241	20,789
New Jersey	89,760	117,132	27,372
Indiana	60,320	80,810	20,490
Michigan	17,115	60,082	42,967
Kansas	54,030	57,925	3,895
Total	927,288	1,295,554	368,266

Eighty-seven per cent of the Negroes in all of the North and West are found in these nine states, which also caught 88 per cent of the increase of Negro population. This shows that the race is growing slightly more rapidly in this area than in the other twenty-two more thinly settled states comprising the North and West.

Four hundred eighteen thousand Negroes, or 88 per cent of the Northern migration, went to the heavy Negro states above enumerated. In all of the remaining twenty-two states of the North and West there were only 151,048 Negroes whose numbers increased by 54,152 from 1910 to 1920.

Estimating that 25,000 voters will probably turn the tide in a closely contested election, it will be seen that the Negro easily holds the balance of power in the above enumerated states. There were at least 45,000 new voters added to the Republican party in New York, 32,000 in Pennsylvania, 37,000 in Ohio, 36,000 in Illinois, 10,000 in Missouri, 17,000 in New Jersey, 10,000 in Indiana, 22,000 in Michigan, and 3,000 in Kansas. The 205,200 Negroes scattered throughout the other twenty-two states have important political weight, amounting in some instances to a decisive factor.

On the whole, the Republican party represents the capital and organized business, on a large scale. The Democratic party is more largely composed of laborers and industrial workers. The conflict between labor and capital threatens the stability of our social order. The Negro's alignment with the party of conservative business integrity may serve to postpone the final issue of this conflict and, it may be,

lead to permanent security of the existing order.

The Negro in the North is found mainly in the large centers of population. This city concentration will have great bearing, not only on municipal politics in general, but will enable the colored voter to utilize his ballot for the welfare of his group. For it will stimulate ambition to elect members of the race to official position.

The following table shows the cities with a Negro population of over 20,000, together with the decennial increase:

#### Negro Population -Cities North of the Potomac River

City	1910	1920	Increase
New York	91,706	153,088	61,382
Philadelphia	84,459	134,098	49,639
Washington	96,446	109,976	13,530
Chicago	44,103	109,594	65,491
St. Louis	43,960	69,603	25,643
Detroit	5,241	41,532	36,241
Pittsburgh	25,623	37,688	12,065
Indianapolis	21,816	34,690	12,874
Cleveland	8,448	34,474	26,026
Kansas City	23,566	30,706	7,140
Cincinnati	19,639	29,636	9,997
Columbus	12,739	22,091	9,352
Total	477,746	807,176	323,901

The Negro in these cities increased by 72 per cent during the last decade, whereas the Northern contingent increased by only 46 per cent, the southern element by only 1.9 per cent, according to census reports. The race is not only flocking rapidly to the North, but much more rapidly to the large cities of that section. While this remarkable increase is due to causes of limited duration, yet the numbers are not likely to diminish, but will probably show substantial increase for the coming decades.

The segregation of the Negro in wards and districts in these cities has also important political significance. It will lead to political aspiration of the race for a measure of leadership and self-determination. If the Negroes were evenly divided throughout the entire population in such cities as New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, they would constitute a negligible per cent of the total population, and would have little or no direct political influence. But, because of residential

segregation, they will, to a large degree, dominate the circumscribed areas in which they reside. Already Negro aldermen are elected to city governments in New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago, Indianapolis and Cleveland. In the course of time, the race will be represented by its members in all city governments where they reside in large numbers

and are restricted to circumscribed areas of domicile. Segregation also enables the race to elect members of the state legislatures as they dominate in the number of legislative districts. Already there are Negro members of the legislature in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Ohio and Illinois, based upon circumscribed numbers in segregated areas. Thus the Negro is not only gaining political power in local city affairs, but also in the state governments as well.

The Negro in the North is not an incurable Republican in municipal and state politics. The attitude of the Northern Democrat toward him is not less friendly than that of his Republican rival. In local affairs, they often affiliate with the party that offers the most advantageous consideration. In this way a basis of political influence is built up with both parties for the welfare of the race. The man with the votes is the man with the influence. The man without a vote is a nullity in the state.

It is a safe prophecy to predict that within the next half generation there will be Negro congressmen from New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. According to the present apportionment, it requires 211,877 to constitute a congressional district. Wherever the Negro constitutes the majority party, a Negro congressman

may be nominated and elected by skillful manipulation. A Negro population of 60,000 or more might easily claim this distinction. The whites are more than apt to be divided among a number of parties with divergent political tenets. A solid party vote of more than one-fourth of the total might very easily dictate the final selection.

If the Negro population in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Chicago were located in a single congressional district, they could easily elect members of their own race to Congress. But while they are segregated, these areas in which they reside are not contiguous so as to form a separate congressional district. By the political device known as gerrymandering, manipulators may regulate affairs so as to frustrate this ambitious purpose. But if the present tendency toward augmentation in numbers and segregation in sections continues, several of our great cities will contain districts with Negro political leadership.

In an important sense, the Negro constitutes a separate political entity from the whites. In prevalent parlance, the "Negro vote" is a racial entity without reference to hard and fast geographical lines. If all the Negroes in New York or Illinois could sense the necessity for a racial representative in Congress, they might

so prevail upon the management of the Republican party, either to regulate congressional districts in their favor, or to throw the nomination to a Negro in districts even where they do constitute the majority of the dominant party. Trading votes is a practice well known to sagacious political management.

Self-determination is a phrase which President Wilson gave prominence to describe the spirit of the World War. Abraham Lincoln expressed the idea with greater aptness when he said that no man is good enough to govern another man without his consent. The same thought lay in the mind of Thomas Jefferson, who declared that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The wise man is not wise enough to govern the fool. The good man is not good enough to govern the bad man. The rich man is not liberal enough to govern the poor man. The white man is not good enough to govern the black man without his consent and participation in the government. American women have full faith and confidence in American men; but they do not feel that they are qualified to govern them without their consent.

No class of people can have self-determination in the sense of a government separate and distinct from the whole people. All that can

be expected is that every class shall have an equal say and an equal voice in the government by which it is controlled. An infant with no language but a cry exerts as large a share of self-determination upon the household as the wiser and older members of the family. Self-government is better than good government, for without self-government, good government has no enduring basis. Any class which is excluded from the governmental circle cannot expect to have its interests carefully considered and safeguarded. One Negro member of a city council or state legislature, or of the Congress of the United States, would be likely to accomplish more for the just consideration of his race than is possible for white representatives to do. The specific provisions securing public and civil equality of the races in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio and Illinois have, for the most part, been proposed and pushed through by a single Negro member who happened to be elected to the legislature. Two or three Negro members of Congress with a comprehensive understanding, calm judgment and adaptable good sense would go far toward changing the national attitude on the public and political relations of the race. The Negro's political power is in inverse proportion to his relative numerosity. A handful of Negroes in Massachusetts have more political

weight than a million of the race in Mississippi. It does not seem likely that the Negro will get his political power in the South within the near future, but whatever power the race asserts will come from the North.

The political oppression which tends to drive the black man to the North, and the proscriptive spirit which determines the metes and bounds of his habitation, will serve to give the race political vantage ground, and react to the undoing of the proscriptive tendencies of which he seems to be the helpless victim. Thus the Negro will become the negative beneficiary of circumstances which at first seemed calculated to work his political damage.

There is no likelihood that the North will resort to disfranchisement to deprive the Negro of his constitutional rights. His numbers are so small in proportion to the whole electorate that the scarecrow of Negro domination can have no terror.

The Negro voter in the North is actuated by altruistic racial motive in demanding full recognition for his race in the South. He will continue to keep the political agitation for constitutional rights which may serve to bring the nation to a realizing sense of its anomalous position when it would pose as the moral monitor of mankind and yet makes a scrap of paper of

its fundamental law. May it not be that this Negro migration incident to industrial exigencies will, by the good fortune of circumstances, lead to the fulfillment of the war amendments of our Constitution, and make of that document a charter of liberty indeed?

## **Chapter 12: The Haitian Mission**

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The unfortunate involvement of the United States in the affairs of the Haitian Republic constitutes as serious and as difficult a diplomatic tangle as any which the new administration is called upon to unravel. It is indeed the most troublesome issue which has been transmitted by the outgoing régime. The attempted rape of Haiti constitutes the most disgraceful chapter in the annals of diplomacy. This nation has always been too noble to play the rôle of oppressor, and too high-minded to take advantage of the weakness of the weak. America stands as the champion of the democratic ideal in

the Western Hemisphere, and its vindicator in the eyes of all the world. A champion who ruthlessly overrides the weak will soon forfeit his reputation for chivalry and nobleness of nature. The rôle of the big brother and the big bully cannot be successfully played at the same time.

Theodore Roosevelt possessed a passionate instinct for righteousness. His was the first clarion call to the conscience of America against the shameful procedure in Haiti which convicts this nation of moral inconsistency, and belittles and belies our loud boastings about the widening bonds of democracy. The deed nullifies the doctrine. Exultation in the name of holy democracy becomes the empty mouthings of a hollow mockery. Those who sincerely believe in the democratic ideal as the ultimate form of human government must encourage its manifestation even in places where it thrives as the tender plant, and as a root out of dry ground.

What American statesman can have the heart, or rather the heartlessness, to snuff out the torch of liberty now flickering feebly in our black sister republic in the West Indies? A continuation of so great a shame and scandal by the present administration is unthinkable. To adjust this situation in harmony with the just aspirations of the Haitian people and in keeping with the democratic spirit of America demands a diplomatic representative of sane and sincere human sympathy and sound judgment, whose intellectual and moral authority will inspire confidence in the native, insure national satisfaction, and command international respect. This difficult task is worthy of the highest diplomatic genius. Such assignment

might be a temporary one until the intricate tangle has been untied.

Since the days of reconstruction it has been the policy to send a colored man as minister to Haiti. This post is regarded as the highest political prize awarded the colored race for party devotion and political service. The idea of a Negro representative for a Negro government is doubtless intended as a compliment. The most eminent colored men, including Frederick Douglass, John M. Langston, and George W. Williams, have been assigned this post. But, on closer analysis, this official segregation involves a compromise rather than a compliment. It is undemocratic, to say the least, to circumscribe the official privilege of any group of American citizens to a limited and peculiar area. A representative with deep race affiliation and sympathy is hardly the ideal American diplomat who must, first of all, represent the government which sends him and not the government to which he is sent.

We have, in our cosmopolitan citizenship, naturalized or native born citizens whose blood ties bind them to every race and nation; and yet we would hardly send an Italian as ambassador to Italy, or a Frenchman to France, or a Russian to Russia. We should certainly not send an Irishman to Ireland did these militant

people secure complete diplomatic independence. The race spirit has become so intensified in Haitian diplomacy that a colored representative would necessarily be placed under great temptation of divided allegiance. We cannot expect to discredit the Negro at home and hope that he will be esteemed abroad. San Domingo has expressed resentment at our sending as representative a citizen of an ostracized group. If the American Negro is not deemed good enough to represent his government in the general diplomatic service, he will not long be acceptable in this capacity by governments of his own race and color.

At one time the American Negro was appointed to the consular service in several European centers and served acceptably to all concerned. President Garfield offered the ministership to Brazil to Senator Bruce, who, doubtless, would have been appointed and confirmed had he not declined the proffer. President Cleveland appointed a colored man as minister to Bolivia, who failed of confirmation on account of stubborn opposition of Southern senators. Mr. Cleveland's policy was to send a white man to Haiti and a colored man to a white government, so that the colored race would not lose official recognition, but would rather gain, broadening the hitherto prescribed

area. The statesmanlike wisdom of this policy was unfortunately frustrated by the narrow provincial spirit which gained the upper hand of his own political party.

Much of the misfortune of the present predicament in Haiti is due to the unwise policy of appointing a Southern white man as minister and filling the important fiscal stations with men of Southern birth and attitude on the race question. The dogma that the Southern white man knows best how to handle the Negro has long been exploded. A slave driver knows best how to drive slaves, if slaves must be driven; but it would be most difficult for him to readjust his attitude so as to deal with an erstwhile chattel on terms of equality. The Southern white man is apt to have a provincial mind, and a limited spirit and local outlook so far as race relationship is concerned. He genuinely mistakes his narrow traditional spirit for the universal mind on this question, and where he does not find it so, he quickly inaugurates a missionary propaganda to make it so. The intensity of his zeal for racial traditions necessarily militates against his success as diplomatic agent among the people held in social disesteem.

It might prove to be practical wisdom to send a member of the Hebrew race on this delicate mission to Haiti in this delicate crisis. This

race is characterized by unquestioning national loyalty, broad human sympathy and international understanding. All elements concerned will have confidence in the righteousness of his judgment. It is our traditional policy to send a Jew as ambassador to Turkey because of the intricate racial and religious situation. England sent a member of this race as viceroy to India to compose the racial turmoil. President Wilson recently appointed a member of this race as personal representative and mediator in Armenia.

At any rate it is to be hoped that some way out of this awkward situation may be found by the present administration.

## **Chapter 13: Enumeration Errors in Negro Population**

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The Bureau of the Census was established for the purpose of enumerating the population of the United States, and for the collection and coalition of other statistical data bearing on the social welfare of the nation. The government bases its calculations upon the information furnished by this bureau. The ratio of congressional representation, military conscription and other federal regulations is based upon the census enumeration within the limits of the several states. Publicists and social philosophers base their conclusions upon the same data. It is, therefore, a matter of the greatest importance that the enumeration should be reliable and trustworthy. The Bureau of the Census ranks as a scientific department of the government. Constantly repeated errors of this bureau tend to impeach its scientific reputation and to vitiate the conclusions based upon its output. Numerous complaints have been made by competent critics not only repudiating

the results, but also impugning the motive. Manipulation in behalf of sectional and partisan advantage has been freely charged. Senator Roger Q. Mills, in an article in *The Forum*, bitterly complained that the South was deprived of its due quota of representation by the imperfection of the enumeration of 1890. Indeed, the alleged inaccuracies of the eleventh census provoked a flood of condemnatory literature.

Various enumerations of the Negro population by the Census Office since 1860 have not been very flattering to the scientific reputation of that bureau. These enumerations have been not only inherently erroneous, but so conflicting and inconsistent as to demand calculated corrections. It may be taken for granted that the enumerations up to 1860 were reasonably accurate and reliable. The

Negroes, up to that time, were in a state of slavery, and the master had merely to hand the list of his slaves to the enumerator, just as he would the list of his cattle or other forms of chattel. There was every facility and every reason for accurate returns. The Negro population up to 1860 was inflated by importation of slaves from Africa, and, consequently, it was impossible to check the accuracy of the count by the ordinary statistical tests. Beginning, however, with the

census of 1870, this population has been cut off from outside reënforcement and has had to depend upon its inherent productivity for growth and expansion. It, therefore, becomes an easy matter to apply the ordinary statistical checks to test the accuracy of enumeration.

It is conceded that the enumerations of 1860, 1880, 1900 and 1910 were accurate within the allowable limit of error. According to these enumerations, the growth was more or less normal and regular, and conformed to the requirements of statistical expectation. But the enumerations of 1870, 1890 and 1920 are so flagrantly discrepant as to demand special explanation and correction. A miscount at one enumeration upsets the balance for two decades. If it be an undercount it makes the increase too small for the preceding decade, and too large for the succeeding one. Accordingly, the only consecutive decades upon which we can rely for accuracy concerning the growth of the Negro population would be the 1850-1860 and 1900-1910. In order to escape obvious absurdities, the figures for the other decades must be supplied by reasoned interpolations. The mere exhibit of the several enumerations by the Census Office will convince the student of their inherent improbability.

#### Negro Population at Each Census, and Decennial Increase, 1860-1920

Year	Number	Decennial Increase	Per Cent of Increase
1860	4,441,830	803,022	22.1
1870	4,880,009	438,179	9.9
1880	6,580,793	1,700,784	34.9
1890	7,488,676	907,883	13.8
1900	8,833,994	1,345,318	18.0
1910	9,827,763	993,769	11.2
1920	10,463,013	635,250	6.5

The irregularities of these figures are as whimsical as if produced by the sport of the gods. The normal growth of population uninfluenced by immigration or emigration shows a gradual increase in decennial increment and a gradual decline in the rate of increase. Wherever there is found to be a wide divergence from this law, it must be accounted for by special contributory influences. The column giving the decennial increments, instead of showing a gradual behavior, jumps back and forth with unaccountable capriciousness. A sudden drop from 803,022 to 438,179 is offset by an alarming rise to 1,700,784 for the next decade, when, lo and behold, there is a swift decline to 907,883 for the following ten years.

We look aghast at the upward bound to 1,345,318, thence a downward drop to 993,769, followed by a still further startling decline to 635,250. It makes the head swim to try to keep track of such whimsical variations. The decadal increase per cent shows similar irregularities. The rhythmical rise and fall of these figures impresses one as the alternate up and down motion of boys playing at seesaw. Why should the ordinates of a curve, which should move smoothly downward, drop suddenly from 22.3 to 9.9, then rise to 34.9 and drop again to 13.9, then rise to 18.0 and decline again to 11.2 with a final slump of 6.5? Such variability has, perhaps, never been experienced by any human population. The internal evidence of error is overwhelming. The Census Bureau has sought to make corrections for the evidently erroneous enumerations of 1870 and 1890. But the equally discrepant figures of 1920 remain so far undisputed.

The census of 1870 has been universally discredited. The greatest error of enumeration falls, naturally enough, on the Negro race. This race had just been set free, and had not reestablished itself in definite domiciles. Political conditions in the South were in the flux and flow of readjustment. The machinery of the Census Bureau was not sufficiently efficient

to cope with so complicated a situation. Statisticians, recognizing the evident error, have tried to correct the mistake by statistical computation. The Census Bureau estimates the error in the Negro population for the decade to be 512,163. An acknowledged error of a half million, it would seem, would put this bureau on the lookout for similar errors in the future. But the census of 1890 was notoriously faulty. Here again the undercount, it is obvious, fell mainly in the South, and largely among the Negro population.

The Census Bureau, in commenting upon the apparent irregularities of returns for 1890, states: "According to the returns, the rate from 1880 to 1890 was very much lower than even the last rate, that of 1870-1880, and the rate for 1890-1900 was much higher than during the preceding or succeeding decade. Such abrupt changes in a class of the population which is not affected by immigration seem very improbable and almost force the conclusion that the enumeration of the Negroes in 1890 was deficient." In a special volume on *Negro Population of the United States 1790-1915*, the director further declares:

"The presumption of an undercount at the census of 1890, therefore, rests upon the improbability of the

decennial rates of increase themselves as developed from the census returns; the inconsistency of the indicated changes in the rates from decade to decade with the changes in the proportion of children in the Negro population, and upon the improbability of the decennial mortality indicated for the decades 1880-1890 and 1890-1900. . . . The number of omissions at the census of 1890 cannot be accurately determined, but it would seem to be a fair assumption that the decline in the rate of increase from decade to decade was constant, and that the rate fell off in each of the two decades, 1880-1890, 1890-1900, by approximately the same amount. On this assumption, the probable rates of increase for the four decades, 1870-1910, are 22.0, 17.9, 13.8, 11.2. . . . A rate of 17.9 for the decade 1880-1890 would give a Negro population in 1890 of nearly 7,760,000, which, in round numbers, exceeds the population enumerated at the census of 1890 by 270,000. This is probably the number of omissions of Negroes at the census of 1890, on the assumption that the retardation in the rate of growth in the 20 years, 1880-1900, was constant."

By making the estimated corrections for acknowledged error in the counts of 1870 and 1890, decadal growth from 1880 to 1890 would be reduced and from 1890 to 1900 increased, so as to produce reasonable conformity with the laws of normal growth. A gradual decline in the rate of growth from 22.3 per cent to 11.2 per cent in 60 years will prove that the Negro

element conforms to the regular law of human population. This decline would appear even more gradual if we consider that the rate of 22.1 from 1850 to 1860 was contributed, in considerable measure, by African importation. The Census Bureau offers the following table with corrected numbers for 1870 and 1890:

Negro Population -Decennial Increases, with Estimated Allowances for 1870 and 1890

Year	Number	Decennial Increase	Per Cent of Increase
1910	9,827,763	993,769	11.2
1900	8,833,994	1,073,994	13.8
1890	7,760,000	1,179,207	17.6
1880	6,580,793	1,188,621	22.0
1870	5,392,172	950,342	21.4

1860 4,441,830 803,022

22.1

According to the recent bulletin issued by the Bureau of the Census, the Negro population showed a surprising and unexpected decline during the last decade. In 1910 there were 9,827,763 Negroes, and in 1920 10,463,013, giving a decadal increase of 635,250 or 6.5 per cent. If these figures were added to the table corrected to 1910, the disparity would be as

glaring as any which has yet come from the Census Bureau. The sudden drop in decadal increase from 993,769 to 635,250, or from 11.2 per cent to 6.5 per cent, is so strikingly out of harmony with the more or less regular movement of the table as to call loudly for correction or explanation. The table shows a gradual increase in the decennial increment from 1880 to 1910, a decline of 194,852 in three decades. But now we are called upon to accept a sudden decline of 358,519 in a single decade.

The decennial rate of increase dropped from 11.2 per cent between 1900 and 1910 to 6.5 per cent between 1910 and 1920, whereas we should have expected a gradual decline of not more than one or two points. On the face of the figures it seems probable that the Census Bureau has again committed an error in the enumeration of the Negro population. As this bureau has admittedly committed grave errors in enumeration of Negro population in two preceding censuses, it is but reasonable that the obvious discrepancy can be most reasonably accounted for by an error in the present count.

Aside from the internal evidence itself, there is sufficient reason to suppose that this count might have been erroneous. The mobile Negro population has been greatly upset by the World

War. There was a mad rush of Negroes from the South to fill the vacuum in the labor market caused by unsettled conditions. Thousands of Negro homes were broken up and their members scattered without definite residential identity. In the cities especially, it seems probable that the count was greatly underestimated. The Negro migrants lived for the most part in improvised lodgings and boarding houses whose proprietors had little knowledge of and less interest in the identity of the boarders. The census official, visiting such boarding houses with a large number of Negro boarders would, in all probability, receive an inaccurate underestimate by the ignorant and uncaring proprietors. As an illustration of such inaccuracy, I cite a quotation from an editorial of the *Dispatch* of Oklahoma City:

"If the Census enumerators over the United States were as careless in the count as they were shown to be by this publication during the poll of the population last year, the general charge is right that the black man has made a much larger numerical advance than the official, yet faulty, records show. It will be remembered that the *Dispatch* made the charge during the enumeration that there was a laxness and really seeming desire to overlook the black man in this city. Our charge was printed in the daily papers. To cap

it off, the irate enumerator in the section of the city where the *Dispatch* is located, appeared on the evening that the charge was published, and demanded of the editor the basis of the charge. We took him out into the 300 block on East Second Street and found 33 black men whom he had not counted, folk who told him so, and whose names he did not have on his lists."

If the presumption of undercount was justified by the statistical indication for 1870 and 1890, surely a like presumption would obtain for the census of 1920. There are but three methods of accounting for this sudden slump in the growth of the Negro population. First, an undercount of the Census Bureau; second, a sudden increase in the death rate; and third, a decrease in the birth rate of Negro population.

It is known that the death rate of the Negro is decreasing rather than increasing under improved sanitary conditions and general social environment. The Director of the Census states that "the death rate has not changed greatly." Instead of adhering to the "fair assumption" of a steadily declining

rate of increase, as was done for the faulty enumerations of 1870 and 1890, the Director of the Fourteenth Census accepts the violent leap from 11.2 to 6.5 and endeavors to vindicate the count of 1920,

by assuming a sudden decrease in Negro birth rate.

On this point the Census Bureau explains:

"The rate of increase in the Negro population, which is not perceptibly increased by immigration or emigration, is by far the lowest on record. This element of the population has been growing at a rapidly diminishing rate during the last 30 years, its percentage of increase having declined from 18 per cent between 1890 and 1900 to 11.2 per cent during the following decade and to 6.5 per cent during the 10 years ended January 1, 1920. Such data as are available as to birth and death rates among the Negroes indicate that the birth rate has decreased considerably since 1900, while the death rate has not changed greatly."

The statement, "this element of the population has been growing at a rapidly diminishing rate during the past 30 years," that is, since 1890, presupposes the accuracy of the census of 1870, which presumption the Census Office itself discredits in a previous statement. It entirely overlooks the fact that the rate rose suddenly from 13.8 for 1880-1890 to 18.0 for 1890-1900. With the indicated corrections the rate of increase has declined within the expected limits of fluctuation from 22 per cent for

the decade 1850-1860 to 11.2 per cent for the decade 1900-1910, making a drop of 10.8 points in six decades. The sudden downward drop by 4.6 points in a single decade certainly calls for a more satisfactory explanation than a sudden and unaccounted for decrease in birth rate. The only statement which the Census Bureau vouchsafes to account for this rather startling conclusion is a very hesitant and uncertain one:

"Such data as are available with regard to birth and death rate among Negroes indicate that the birth rate has decreased considerably since 1910, but the death rate has not changed greatly."

On examining the data on which this conclusion is based, we find that they are wholly insufficient to justify the sweeping conclusion imposed upon it. The mortality statistics are based upon returns from the registration area. Only five Southern states are now included in the area; namely, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Kentucky, from which birth and death rates are collected annually, and even these states were not admitted to the birth registration area in 1900. Thus the computation of birth and death rates for the colored population of these states is neither adequate nor convincing.

Birth Rate of Negro Population in Specified Registration States, 1900 and 1919 (Comparative)

Those are the only heavy Negro states within the registration area.

These states were not all included within the registration area for 1900. Mortality statistics in the non-registration area are notoriously inaccurate and unreliable. Birth registration is especially unsatisfactory even in the registration area.

Return of Negro births would naturally be most inaccurate. Negro births, especially in rural and small urban communities, are not always attended by regular physicians or certified health officials. The midwife still plies her trade. There is a relatively large number of illegitimate births among Negroes. Official returns in such cases would not be apt to be rendered fully for prudential reasons. It is therefore evident that the rapidly declining birth rate revealed by the census is based upon no comparable and adequate data.

Even the apparent rapid increase in the white death rate awaits fuller explanation before the figures can be relied upon with assurance. It is curious to note that the birth rate among the whites in South Carolina fell from 32.3 in 1900 to 27.1 in 1919, the death rate rising but slightly from 10.4 to 10.6 during the same interval. And yet the white population of that state increased from 557,807 in 1900 to 808,538 in 1920. There was a vigesimal increment of 250,731 with little or no reinforcement from immigration. This unexplained increment in the white population seems also to discredit the reliability of the recorded mortality statistics within the states so recently added to the registration area.

It is well understood that these states, except

South Carolina, have shown a comparatively slow rate of increase in Negro population for thirty years preceding the census in question. The facts are indicated in the following table:

Decennial Rate of Increase of the Negro Population in Certain Registration States: 1880-1910

From the table it will be seen that the increase in Negro population in the Southern states within the registration area has been considerably lower than that for the country at large. In Maryland, there is an actual decline in the Negro population of 1.2 per cent, from 1900 to 1910, and the small gain of 2.6 from 1880 to 1890. In Virginia the highest rate of increase during the past thirty years was 4 per cent. In Kentucky there was an actual decline for two of the three decades. The low rate of increase in the border states is due to the large

emigration of the Negro from these states to the nearby Northern states and cities. It is well known that the Negroes who migrate to the North and the large cities are largely younger people of both sexes, who, if they had remained at home, would naturally tend to increase the birth rate.

The low birth rate revealed by the census in these states is due to the migration of the Negro population of reproductive age from those states within the registration area. This, of course, does not affect, necessarily, the birth rate of the Negro population as a whole. A better view of the birth rate of the Negro population may be secured by considering the growth of the population in the more typical Southern states not so much affected by migration during the same period.

Decennial Rate of Increase of the Negro Population in Certain Non-Registration States: 1880-1910

Name	1890	1900	1910
United States	13.5	18.0	11.2
Georgia	18.4	20.5	13.7
Alabama	13.1	21.9	9.8
Mississippi	14.2	22.2	11.2
Louisiana	15.6	16.4	9.7

Thus it will be seen that four heavy Negro states, with an aggregate Negro population of nearly four million, show a rate of increase far greater than those in the registration area. The increase in these states was due wholly to excess of births over deaths. But this does not tell the whole story. While the stream of migration was not so pronounced from these states as from the northern tier of Southern states, still there has been a considerable northern movement for the past three or four decades.

From a comprehensive view of the whole situation, it seems perfectly clear that the sudden decline of the Negro population as revealed by the census of 1920 is due to miscount rather than to the declining birth rate. If we should estimate an error in count of 300,000, scarcely greater than that conceded by the Census Bureau itself for the count of 1890, the Negro population during the last sixty years would have followed more or less consistently the ordinary laws of growth. Let us accept

the substantial accuracy of the census of 1860, 1880, 1900 and 1910 and estimate the error for 1870 at 512,163, for 1890 at 270,000, as conceded by the Census Bureau, and let us still further allow an error in the count, 300,000 for 1920, as here suggested.

The growth of the Negro population since 1850 would be as follows:

#### Negro Population

Year	Number	Decennial Increase	Per Cent of Increase
1920	10,763,013	935,250	9.6
1910	9,827,763	993,769	11.2
1900	8,833,994	1,073,994	13.8
1890	7,760,000	1,179,207	17.6
1880	6,580,793	1,188,621	22.0
1870	5,392,172	950,342	21.4
1860	4,441,830	803,022	22.1

The table makes the Negro population behave more or less normally, and is certainly more reasonable than the startling deviation revealed by the face of returns, and the explanation is more acceptable to reason than that urged by the Census Bureau, of a sudden and unexplainable decline in the Negro birth rate.

It is a source of surprise to note that the American mind seems to expect that any fact which affects the Negro will deviate from the normal course of human values. It is prone to accept with satisfaction wild assertions and unsupported theories, without subjecting them to the test of logic and reason. If it is seen in

the Census, it is so. Any statement issued upon the authority of the government which seems to be belittling to the Negro will be seized upon by the would-be social philosophers and exploited throughout the nation to the disadvantage of the race.

De Bow, relying upon the low rate of increase in the Negro population, revealed by the census of 1870, proved to the entire satisfaction of those who were satisfied with this type of proof that the Negro could not withstand the competition of freedom and would, forthwith, fall out of the equation as an affected factor. The census of 1880, showing the unheard of increase of 34 per cent, set all of De Bow's philosophy at naught. But thence arose another school of philosophers which declared that this unheard of increase in the Negro population threatened the numerical ascendancy of the white race, and, therefore, the black man should be returned to Africa whence his ancestors came. The census of 1890 refuted this conclusion by showing only an increase of 13.8 per cent; but, no whit abashed, another type of anti-Negro propagandism arose, declaring that the rapid decline in the race indicated inherent, degenerative physical tendencies threatening to the health and stamina of the American people. The census of 1900, showing a rise of

decadal growth of 8.0 per cent, produced a calm in the domain of social speculation. It seems to be the nature of the prophet to ignore the failure of the fulfillment of his prophecies. But the preceding prophecies of evil are still of record.

It is particularly unfortunate that such loose and unscientific propaganda can be bolstered up by data from government documents which the uninquiring mind is disposed to accept with the authority of holy writ. The calamity philosophers have already dipped their pens in ink to damn the Negro race to degeneration and death by reason of the latest census figures. The thought, and perhaps the conduct, of the nation may be misled on the basis of erroneous data, backed up by governmental authority.

The broader question arises in the scientific mind: If the data on Negro population furnished by the census cannot be relied on, as is clearly shown by past enumerations, what assurance is there that collateral information, such as death rate, birth rate, occupation, illiteracy, etc., is to be given full credit and confidence? The Negro problem is the most complicated issue with which we have to deal. Straight thinking and sound opinion based upon accurate data are absolutely necessary to enable us to reach any conclusion of value. The Census

Office has now become a permanent bureau which, it is hoped, will take rank with other scientific departments of the government.

Statesmen and publicists should have serious concern about the accuracy of Negro statistics in view of the importance of the political and sociological conclusions based upon and derived from them.

The problem of eugenics is receiving much attention from students of sociology at the present time. The future welfare of society depends very largely upon perpetuating and carrying forward the best characteristics derivable from physical heredity and social environment. The application of eugenics to the colored race of the United States suggests several new and interesting lines of inquiry.

A study of the number of children, contributed by the fifty-five colored teachers in Howard University, Washington, D. C., throws an interesting side light on the question of eugenics as it affects the Negro race. Howard University is an institution for the higher education of the Negro, comprising a student body of over fifteen hundred. The Negro members of the faculty maintain, on the whole, perhaps, a status as high as any other group of colored people to be found in the United States. The present study is limited to the teachers of the academic

faculties, as they constitute a coherent social entity, whose life focuses about the institution.

As outgrowth of sudden change of condition due to the Civil War, the Negro has developed a small upper class with a wide fissure between it and the great mass life of the race. There are about fifty thousand Negroes belonging to the professional class, who earn a livelihood by some form of intellectual endeavor; while the great bulk of the race lives mainly by manual exertion. All social stratification rests ultimately upon occupation. The Negro has no considerable middle class, such as is found in well regulated societies, which shades imperceptibly in both directions. According to the occupational test, the demarcation between the professional and laboring classes of the Negro is as sharp as a knife-cut line.

It becomes a matter of sociological interest to know how far this upper class is self-sustaining through its own reproductivity. I have, therefore, undertaken to make a study of race eugenics in so far as this particular group is concerned. In the fifty-five families from which these teachers were derived, there were 363 children, or an average of 6.5 for each family. On the other hand, these fifty-five teachers who have passed from the lower to the upper section of Negro life, have, so far, contributed

only 37 children, or an average of .7 for each potential family involved. Of this number there are 41 males, 14 females; 22 are married, and 33 are single; the number for each family so far formed is 1.6; the largest number of children in any family is 6; four of the families are barren and four have one child each. The average age of the single members is over 32 years. This strongly indicates that the upward struggle defers the age of marriage to a time when only limited progeny might be expected. Considering all the probabilities in the case, it seems to me entirely likely that these fifty-five potential families, when the whole record is in, will not produce more than an average of two children to each family, while the fifty-five parent families, under the old régime gave rise to 363 children. The new issue will scarcely produce sufficient progeny to perpetuate its own numbers.

There is always a certain sort of social restraint, in the case of an individual advancing from a lower to a higher level of life. The first descendants of foreigners in this country have a lower birth rate than any other element of our population. The intolerant social environment created by the white

race may also produce a strong deterrent influence. Animals, in captivity or under restrained environment, do

not breed as freely as when placed under free and normal surroundings. The educated Negro, especially when submerged in a white environment, is under a sort of social captivity. The effect of this psychophysical factor upon reproductivity awaits further and fuller study, both in its biological and psychological aspects.

From a wide acquaintance with the upper life of the Negro race, under wide variety of conditions and circumstances, I am fully persuaded that this Howard University group is typical of like element throughout the race so far as fecundity is concerned. The upper class is headed towards extinction, unless reënforced from the fruitful mass below. It is doubtless true that the same restraining influence is exerted upon the corresponding element of the white race. But as there is not the same sharpness of separation between the social levels, nor such severe transitional struggle, the contributing causes do not perhaps operate with the same degree of intensity.

The prolonged period of education delays the age of marriage. The Negro during the first generation of freedom acquired his education at a later period than the white children and, by reason of the hard struggle he has had to undergo, his scholastic training was completed at a somewhat advanced age. The high standard

of living, which the professional Negro feels he must maintain, still further delays the age of marriage. A single illustration will serve to clarify this point. I half-jocularly asked one of our bachelor instructors, who has passed beyond his fortieth birthday, why he did not take unto himself a companion and helpmate. His reply was that his salary was not sufficient to allow him to support a family in the style and manner which he deemed appropriate. My reply was: "If your parents had been constrained by like consideration, you would probably not be in existence." His father was a laboring man with a family of eight children. It was the opinion of Grant Allen, the eminent English literary and scientific authority, that the human race would become extinct if all females deferred marriage beyond the age of twenty-six.

The conscious purpose of race suicide doubtless contributes somewhat to the low birth rate. There are some of sensitive and timid spirit who shirk the responsibility of parenthood, because they do not wish to bring into the world children to be subjected to the proscription and obloquy of the Negro's social status.

Will this tendency, which threatens the extinction of the higher element of the Negro race, continue to operate in the future with the same degree of intensity as at the present time? Probably not. The first generation after slavery was subjected to the severe strain and stress of rapid readjustment. The sudden leap from the lower to the upper levels of life was a feat of social acrobatics that can hardly be repeated under more orderly scheme of development. The life of subsequent generations will be better ordered and, therefore, we may expect that the resulting effect will be seen in the family life. The birth rate of the mass of the race is not affected by like considerations. They feel little or nothing of the stress and strain of the upper class, and multiply and make merry, in blissful oblivion of these things. The rate of increase of the upper class is scarcely a third of that of the bulk of the race, as is clearly indicated by the relative prolificness of the Howard University faculty as compared with that of their parents. The higher or professional class in the Negro race will not be recruited from within its own ranks, but must be reënforced from the great mass below. This will produce healthy current throughout the race which will serve somewhat to bridge the chasm produced by the absence of a mediatory class.

The whole question suggests the importance of a more careful and extended study in this field of inquiry which is as fruitful as any other in its far-reaching effect upon the general social welfare.

## Chapter 14: Booker T. Washington Five Years After

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## Chapter XIV: Booker T. Washington Five Years After

"The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often interred with their bones." These words were placed in the mouth of Marc Antony, with Shakespearian adroitness, to appease the passion of the hostile multitude. This propitiatory utterance contradicts the universal propensity and experience of mankind. Contemporaneous faults and foibles of genius are never permitted to obscure their permanent contribution to the sum total of human good. Lifetime reputation is an unsafe measure of the influence of a great man. His acts must be judged in the calm retrospect, and disengaged from the predilections and prejudices of the period, in order to determine his proper place and appraisal.

Booker T. Washington has been dead five years. Even now too short an interval has elapsed to disentangle his real work and worth from partisan zeal and animosities, and to weigh calmly his genuine contribution to the welfare of his race and nation.

For almost a generation the name of Booker T. Washington occupied a large share of the attention of his fellowmen. The nation delighted to mark the wisdom of his sayings and to write his speeches in its books. He occupied as large a place for as long a time in public esteem and favor as any man of his generation. He bore the stamp of natural greatness. His wisdom was intuitive. According to African lore he was born with a caul over his face. He knew without learning, and understood with the certainty of instinct. Like Abraham Lincoln, he possessed an infallible inner sense whose guidance he followed with satisfied assurance. He possessed the genius of common sense, and the philosophy of simple things. His was a universal mind. While he dealt with the most complex and distressing social particulars, his spirit always rose above the temporary intricacies of besetting conditions and lived in an atmosphere that was calm and serene. Booker T. Washington was, perhaps, the only man of eminence of his day who was free from race prejudice. He neither despised nor esteemed any man because of his race. Race prejudice is often extolled as a virtue, but the moral genius of mankind reprobates it as a vice. Though corporally aligned with the Negro race, morally and spiritually he was heir

of all the ages. Flesh and blood did not reveal to him the truth by which he guided his path. Progress from enmity to amity is the highest mark of human culture. "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you," is the goal of human strivings which the carnally minded still deem impossible of realization.

His spiritual inheritance was reinforced by the folk sense and the folk feeling of the Negro race. The Negro embodies the assemblage of Christian virtues and graces to a degree unequaled by any other member of the human family. Meekness, humility and forgiveness of spirit are undetachable coefficients of his blood. He is incapable of deep-seated hatred and revenge. He endures with passivity and quick forgetfulness outrage and contumely which would make other races curse God and die. When he is reviled, he reviles not again. The Negro nature strangely fulfills the apostolic definition, "Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." To the revengeful and vindictive spirit, this racial virtue is an amazing grace;

but to the Negro it is assuredly a saving one. By no other endowment could he possibly survive in the midst of an arrogant and rapacious civilization with which he has neither the power to cope nor the spirit to contest. The Indian showed resentment; and is dead. The Negro submits and survives. There

are thirty million Negroes in the Western world who are clearly destined to inherit the full measure of European civilization and culture. History affords no more striking fulfillment of the beatitude with a promise, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." The vehement and inflammatory utterances of part of a certain type of temperament are but the temporary effervescences of an excitable mood, and do not express deep-seated or serious purpose of the people whose cause is thus espoused. The Negro spiritual breathes in blind, half-conscious poetry the spontaneous feelings of his soul without bitterness or hate. Booker T. Washington fathomed the feelings of his race as well as his own personal disposition when he said, "No man can be mean enough to make me hate him." This apothegm ranks with the great moral maxims of mankind, and takes its place alongside of the wisest sayings of saints and sages of all time. Let other races conquer through the exploitation of power; the Negro will triumph through

the manifestation of love. Mr. Washington also embodied the mother wit and never-failing good humor of his race. Next to his submissive spirit, the Negro's humor is his greatest salvator. He laughs where others weep; he smiles where others frown; he grins where others groan. He thus relieves the pressure upon his overburdened spirit which would otherwise pine away under the weight of impressing ills. His humor disarms his enemies. The race that laughs is the race that lasts.

Booker Washington possessed the qualities of naturalness, moderation, and simplicity which are not usually considered to be attributes of the Negro race. He had poise without pose. Extravagance in word or deed was foreign to his nature. Amidst turmoil and confusion he maintained a calm and unruffled exterior, albeit there may have been inner groanings of soul too deep for utterance. A quick appreciation and proper appraisal of values are characteristic of men of long experience in handling practical affairs. What others acquire by experience, he gained through instinct. Walt Whitman speaks of himself as "meeter of gentleman and savage on equal terms." Booker T. Washington could mingle with kings and potentates with the dignity and nonchalance of one to the manor born, and could

sup with a peasant in a log cabin in Alabama and make himself an agreeable guest in this humble environment. He received a gift of a million dollars from admiring philanthropists and endured the bitter abuse of his own race with equal equanimity and composure. Excitability of temperament is considered characteristic of the Negro race, and yet he was steadied by a natural ballast that held him in stable equilibrium. A simple, unadorned story of his life in *Up from Slavery*, recorded without the least ornamentation or studied style, takes rank with the great biographies of celebrated men. It was easy to believe the genuineness and sincerity of his purpose because of the naturalness and simplicity of his spirit.

With this secret and method, Booker T. Washington entered upon the scene of action more than a quarter century ago. A superlative nature needs no nurture. A soul surcharged with moral and spiritual potencies requires only the suggestion and the occasion to wake it into life and power. Samuel Chapman Armstrong gave the suggestion and the Negro situation in the South furnished the field. Ingersoll says of Shakespeare: "Give him an acorn, and he will create the forest; give him a grain of sand and a drop of water, and he will

create the seashore and the mighty ocean." The man met the opportunity.

Assigned to a little Alabama town with an Indian name, in no sense different from a hundred similar communities with like designations, in a few years he gave Tuskegee a name as renowned as our great metropolitan centers. This institution grew out of the personality of Booker T. Washington as surely as the oak grows out of the acorn. It is but the outward embodiment of his inner spirit.

His whole propaganda was based upon the philosophy of peace and good-will between the races. The apostle Paul advises that we should, if possible, live at peace with all men. Booker Washington always found it possible. His task was a most difficult and delicate one. He preserved the equilibrium

of a triangle of forces. Up to his time the white man of the South, the white man of the North, and the Negro were of divergent minds as to a proper plan of racial adjustment. There was something of coöperation between the North and the Negro, but the Southern white man was left out of account. He essayed, and in large measure succeeded, in bringing these three factors into harmonious coöperation. An ardent disciple of General Armstrong in promoting the gospel of industrial education, he gave that doctrine an emphasis

and application which it was impossible for the founder of Hampton to do. The unpreparedness of the Negro to compete in the skilled pursuits of life with requisite expertness gave him the strategical advantage in promoting this practical gospel. This was not a one-sided obsession on his part. He saw the present, pressing need, and urged its fulfillment with all of the ardor and earnestness of his nature. He was a partisan advocate only in the sense that he stressed with unreserved emphasis the things he felt to be of the greatest need for the time and place with which he was dealing. If advocates of other types of effort were worsted in the controversy, it was because they were unable to match his earnest urgency and persuasive plea. His advocacy of industrial education was not limited to the Negro race, but was as wide as the circle of human needs. It meant most to the Negro only because he needed it most. He aimed to reach the man farthest down.

No man of his day did more, if as much, to put practical education in the program of our educational systems throughout the country. He became the exponent and spokesman of this practical ideal, not only for the Negro, but for the nation. The utilitarian tendency in education owes as much to Booker T. Washington

as to any other contributant agent or agency. They called him the wizard of Tuskegee, not because of his working in the darkness after the manner of the traditional wizard, but because of the wonderful works which grew, as it were, out of the wizardry of his august personality.

The apostle of the new method came upon the scene at a critical time in the history of race adjustment. The reconstruction program which attempted to enforce political equality had been overthrown. The carpetbagger, native white, and Negro politician had been driven from power, but were still hanging to the lingering hope to regain the blissful seat. The sectional hatred engendered by the war was gradually yielding to the mollifying influence of time. The attitude of the North was hesitant and equivocal; that of the South was growing assertive and hopeful. Political discussion hinged upon the wisdom or unwisdom of enforcing the war amendments to the Constitution. Force bills were introduced in Congress to compel the South to yield to the declared and decreed will of the nation, but were defeated by skillfully manipulated combinations. Economic discussions began to vie with political rights in the arenas of public debate. The question of the industrial and economic rehabilitation

of the South was supplanting agitation for political reconstruction. The wounds of war were slowly healing. The North and South were gradually gravitating towards a basis of common understanding. The Nation was growing tired of the continual agitation of the race question, which for fully a generation had all but absorbed public attention. Up to this time every Negro leader had ardently espoused the old political platform. The industrial and economic development of the race had been given little earnest consideration. The gospel of race development, according to Armstrong, was deemed decidedly unorthodox. The Northern philanthropists and friends of the Negro had espoused the same view. Institutions for the so-called higher education of the Negro, fostered by philanthropy, flourished like the bay tree.

The public mind, by the well-known laws of social psychology, will not hold one sentiment intently for a long time. It is always in quest of some new thing. The time was ripe. The public sentiment was ready for a change. A brilliant colored man with attractive public powers was all that was needed to launch the new propaganda. The time was ripe to exploit any Negro leader who would abandon the old method and advocate a new policy more in consonance

with changing public sentiment. Booker T. Washington stepped into the breach. He understood the point of view of the Southern white man, as well as that of the Northern white man and the Negro himself, and endeavored to hold a just balance among conflicting states of feeling and belief. As ambassador for the Negro he was accepted at the court of the white race, and spoke before the bar of public opinion for his people boldly, as an ambassador ought to speak. He did not demand more than he had the power to enforce or the ability to persuade. He who demands only what he can command is wise; he who demands less is cowardly; he who demands more is a braggart.

Booker T. Washington was a pragmatist of the first water. He believed in attempting the thing possible and postponing the unattainable to the time of increased ability and power. He knew with an instinctive certainty just how far the prejudice of the white race would permit the Negro to go, and just how far the Negro with his traditional weakness and ineptitude, could go without such permission. The bar was placed at the exact height which the athlete could leap with his present training and strength, and raised to higher levels according to developing prowess and skill. There was sharp criticism on part of his race because he

did not place the bar at an ideal height whether the acrobat could jump it or not.

Dr. Washington was often denounced by critics of his own race because, as spokesman, he did not demand all that they were entitled to in theory. But no one has ever demonstrated that he ever asked for less than it was probable, or even possible, to secure. He was the philosopher of the possible, and believed in reaching the ideal by gradual approximation. His was the patience of knowledge. The one who comprehends the whole equation refuses to become unduly excited over any unfavorable factor. He knew the Negro and he knew the white man as none before or since has known, for his knowledge rested upon the infallible foundation of intuition.

Booker T. Washington had a deep and abiding faith in the ultimate possibilities of the Negro, although he fully appreciated his present defects and imperfections. In his belief the white race had already contributed about all it was calculated to do through direct and intimate ministrations. Race reclamation must come through self-directed activities. Up to this time white men had worked for the Negro. Dr. Washington taught that the Negro must henceforth work for himself. Tuskegee was built on the basis of this idea. Negroes conduct all of

the activities of this institution in its various features and ramifications. It was declared that the Negro could not safely be put in charge of large interests, such as the construction of large buildings, and the management and manipulation of large plants. He did not argue the point, but produced the concrete results. This institution, which sprang up as if by magic, under Negro enterprise and skill, still remains the largest and most complicated project under race direction and intimate management. Not only so, but Tuskegee became the center of race energy and enterprise ramifying in all directions throughout the country. White philanthropists were easily persuaded of the wisdom of this policy and were willing to furnish the means to give the experiment a full and fair trial. There is perhaps no other philanthropic enterprise that promises so much for the ultimate development and reclamation of the race. The only help that is worth while is the help that helps the helpless to help themselves.

Dr. Washington minimized politics and stressed economics as the immediate step in race development. And yet he believed that the Negro should have all the political rights he could get, just as he believed that he should have all of the higher education he could use. The storm center raged around his political

policy. The whites, North and South, were easily persuaded of the importance of economic development as contrasted with political power. He became not only the spokesman, but the oracle of race adjustment and relationship. So complete was the confidence imposed in him by the white race that he was chosen as the referee of such political patronage as it was deemed wise to assign to

the Negro leaders. In this capacity his position was anomalous. The avowed advocate of political relinquishment becomes the controlling dispenser of political power. But where the carrion is, there will the vultures be also. It did seem amazing with what ease the erstwhile Negro politicians were won over to the Washington practical and pacific program after Roosevelt selected him as the political referee for the race. So great is the persuasive power of patronage. In this seemingly anomalous capacity, Dr. Washington, after all, was not inconsistent. He believed to the fullest extent in the rights of the Negro, in so far as he was able to secure and maintain those rights. And he did not deem it inharmonious with his asserted policy of political quiescence to help him as far as feasible on the road to political power and prestige. The putative apostle of the Negro's political elimination wielded more political power than has befallen

the good fortune of any other Negro before or since his time. The assumption of this rôle, strangely enough, did not offend the white men of the South, whose avowed purpose was to exclude the Negro from politics, and who relied upon the program of Dr. Washington to facilitate this exclusion. There was the reserved feeling that whatever he did was right.

There always existed a small group of assertive Negroes which Dr. Washington never was able to bring to his point of view. This group was composed mainly of college bred men of liberal culture who were unwilling to compromise their intellectual integrity by surrendering the abstract claim of political rights. They could not tolerate the suggestion of inferiority which his program implied. Even his control of political patronage was not able to convert the most stubborn of these. The man with the theory always has the advantage of the man with the thing, in abstract disquisition. Since Mr. Washington's death, this group has gained the ascendancy in dominating the thought and opinion of the race, but has not been able to realize to the least degree the rights and recognition so vehemently demanded.

A statesman is one who possesses the sagacity to formulate a program of procedure and who has the force to impress it upon his day

and time as an effective policy. Booker T. Washington is the only Negro who has been able to force upon the acceptance of the American people a policy and program for his race. From this point of view he may be denominated the one commanding race statesman yet to appear. It is true that his policy has not solved the race problem, but it has laid down certain lines which must be followed in any plan of future solution. His program is not complete, but it is fundamental as far as it goes.

Booker Washington died before America entered into the World War. He left no successor. Those who come after him absorb and apply such measure of his method as may be appropriate to their nature and understanding. Others will take advantage of his demise to disparage such of his doctrine as does not meet with their approval. None have caught a full portion of his secret and method. The white race regard his loss as irreparable and hardly expect to look upon his like again.

The last five years have wrought great change in the spirit of aggrieved groups in all parts of the world. A new sense of self-assertion has been aroused in the Negro. The white race has become more determined and intolerant. The Ku Klux Klan is a concrete expression of this intolerance. The two races are facing each

other with suspicion and distrust. There is no Booker Washington to lay propitiating hands upon them both. Had Booker Washington survived to this time his wisdom to deal with the shifting exigencies of the problem is conjectural. Who can tell what effect the perplexing issues of reconstruction might have had upon the reputation and fame of Abraham Lincoln had he survived to that time? We only know, in case of the one as of the other, that his pacificatory spirit and his enlightened common sense would have been a sobering and steadying influence in any emergency.

The titanic struggle has greatly modified many of the conditions with which he had to deal. He urged the Negro to remain in the country; the war thrust him into the city. The war created unforeseen industrial demands. Five hundred thousand Negroes rushed to the North to fill the vacuum in the labor market. The advocate of political inaction is apt to be hooted by the multitude whose passion has been heated by strife. There is little patience with the counsellor of patience when the beat of the war drum dings in the ear. The radical rides on the rising tide of war. That "the Negro could earn a dollar in the South, but could not spend it; and spend a dollar in the North, but could not earn it," ranks among Mr. Washington's

most apt and pithy sayings. But the truth and appositeness of his sententious assertion were suddenly reversed with changing industrial conditions. The new situation of the Negro frustrates much of the philosophy that used to pass as the last words of wisdom. Programs are always subject to the exigencies of shifting conditions; principles will abide.

Booker T. Washington's pacificatory doctrine of racial peace and good will, his sound, sober appraisal of the importance of practical education, his urgent insistence upon economic development instead of too confident reliance on political action, his common-sense gospel of industry, thrift, and economy, his philosophy of accomplishing the possible rather than attempting the unattainable, must be at the basis of any future scheme of race reclamation and relationship.

His place in history is secure. His contribution is permanent. His influence will abide. Booker Washington will be remembered by posterity, not only as a great Negro, but as a great American, and as a great man.

## **Chapter 15: Race Cooperation**

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## **Chapter XV: Race Cooperation**

The permanent effect of any war is to be judged by its humanitarian outcome and moral aftermath. Sacrifice of blood and treasure is in vain unless there results a better social relationship. The Revolutionary War released the Declaration of Independence, the embodiment of the democratic ideal. The French Revolution set the ears of the world tingling with the doctrine of "liberty, fraternity, equality." Our Civil War produced the Emancipation Proclamation and extended the ennobling bonds of liberty to include the race farthest down.

The World War has exacted an unparalleled toll of human life and material values; but, alas, the world impatiently awaits a clear indication of corresponding moral contribution. President Wilson's loudly declared doctrine of bigger and better definition of democracy is now repeated only with a sneer or with a smile. The League of Nations designed for the composure of the world is frustrated by age-old jealousies, greed and ambition. Nations are vying for political and commercial ascendancy as of yore. Race animosities have been aroused and stimulated. The weaker breeds of men have developed an assertive and defiant self-consciousness. Japan smarts keenly under the stigma of race inferiority. The darker breeds of men in all lands resent the assumption of the whiter ones of everlasting overlordship and dominion. In our own land human beings are lynched, tortured and burned alive at the exactions of race prejudice. The land of liberty is in danger of becoming the land of lynchers. The Ku Klux Klan proclaims the revival of an invisible empire based upon the principles of darkness and of evil. Did the World War bring in the Anti-Christ or the Christ that is to be? This query must prick the Christian conscience to the core. Race prejudice is the one dominant obstacle in the world today which stands squarely athwart the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven which Jesus sought to set up on earth. The Jewish race held so tenaciously to the tenets of racial and religious prejudices that they rejected altogether the new doctrines of social, moral and spiritual democracy.

The Southern slaveholders sought to reconcile Christianity and slavery and hoped to gain easement of conscience by such complacent reconciliation. The Christian church today is vainly deluding itself with a frantic endeavor

to reconcile Christian duty with racial caste. But the chasm between the races cannot be bridged by a structure resting upon such an insecure foundation. The folly is as apparent as it would be to build upon the shifting sands instead of enduring rock, or substitute coils of smoke for bands of iron.

And yet we hope that somehow there is an imminent moral economy in human affairs. The World War has brought together all peoples of all lands and this incidental contact has of itself aroused a consciousness of brotherhood and moral unity. It is now, in this period of reconstruction, that there comes the psychological moment for the Christian religion to quicken this conscience into a keener sense of spiritual kinship and an intenser appreciation of the oneness of human nature and human needs. Will the church give the teachings of Jesus a chance to function, or will it adhere to the conception of that sundown disciple of Jesus who held the unity of the flesh to be greater than the unity of the spirit? Christianity must justify its claim of being the world religion by meeting the needs of the world at this critical time. But the one dominant purpose of the teachings of Jesus is to promote peace on earth and good will among men as was proclaimed by angelic heraldry on the night of His birth.

The dominant note in Christianity is brother-hood, without restrictions or reservations. If a brother of the flesh should impose upon his less fortunate kinsmen fixed boundaries beyond which he dared not go, the proffer would be rejected with scorn. The fate of Ananias who openly allowed full acceptance of Christian platform, but cherished secret reservations, should stand as a solemn warning to all who would imitate his example.

Programs grow out of principles. The one depends upon the shifting emergencies of the circumstances and conditions, and the other abides forever. The constructive program of interracial and racial relations must be based upon principles above enunciated. No other foundation can be laid than the one that is laid. If the fundamentals of our platform are so based, we need have little concern about planks and provisions which must, of necessity, be adapted to the existence of time, place and condition.

In the construction of our platform, let us bear in mind: First, it is a universal principle that all peoples who must perforce dwell together find a *modus vivendi* and accommodate themselves to it. Indeed, this is true of the animals of the forest. The moving picture camera set up in the heart of Africa faithfully

portrays the *modus vivendi* among the denizens of the jungle. In a region where there is but one water hole in a radius of many miles, the elephant, the lion, the tiger, the goat, the fox, the jackal, the fierce animals and the mild ones, all use this common fountain. They come and go with as much orderliness and decorum as prevails at a well-ordered breakfast table. We may, therefore, rely upon the inherent propensity towards human adjustment and face the race situation without fear and trembling.

In the second place, there can be but one ethical standard to be applied to human beings, irrespective of race or color. The laws of science are absolutely uniform in their operation. The force of gravitation takes no heed of distinctions among men, and so the ethical laws admit of no variation to accommodate racial arrogance or pretension. It would be as disastrous to treat the two races by different moral formulas as it would be to adopt a double standard of weights and measures. The physician who would treat the Negro patient afflicted with the same ailment by a different method than that applied to a white patient would violate the integrity of his profession. The merchant who would mete out his goods to Negro customers by one yard stick and to his white customers by another would very soon acquire

the deserved reputation of dishonesty. The merchant, the physician, the druggist, the lawyer, the business man, the man of practical affairs find that they must apply one invariable formula to white and black alike or stultify their own conscience and dishonor their profession. The Christian can do no less.

In the third place, the Negro is a human being and is endowed with all the potential faculties and powers of humanity, albeit he may be belated and retarded in their development and exercise. The white people at present represent the advanced section of the human family and are trustees of human culture and civilization, a trust vouchsafed to them not for themselves alone or for their sons and daughters after the flesh, but for all the children of men. Those who entered the vineyard at the eleventh hour were received on terms of compensatory equality with those who had borne the heat and burden of the day. Other men have labored and we have entered into their labors.

With these fundamental propositions in mind we may approach the question of race coöperation with assurance that our efforts will be not in vain. It is not necessary that men should agree on all issues in order that they may work effectively together for certain definitely understood objects which promote the common good.

Men differing widely in religion may work together in politics, and those with diverse political views may be of the same household of faith.

There are certain general advantages which apply to both races alike and numerous ills which afflict them both. Character, intelligence, industry, thrift, economy are virtues of universal value. There need be no apprehension that as the Negro advances in the scale of excellence he will become more menacing to the white race. But vice is a menace to virtue, disease to health, ignorance to intelligence, and degradation is a menace to the decorum and decencies of life. The germs of disease gnaw with equal avidity at the vitals of white and black alike, and have an unobstructed passage from one to the other. Ignorance, sloth, inefficiency, moral turpitude, by whatever element manifested, impair the standard and tone of the community in which they prevail. The two races should coöperate to the fullest extent to wipe out the evils and promote the good measures which are universal in their scope and application.

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." Pity and need make universal appeal in the human heart. The Negro makes the greatest demand upon social endeavor, because for

the present his need is greatest and a Good Samaritan will rise up to bind his wound and soothe his bleeding heart. The very presence of the Negro, with his wide circle of needs, is indeed a benediction to the people among whom his lot has been cast. It will serve to free them from that pharasaical hauteur which vaunts itself - "I thank the Lord that I am not as other men."

Indeed, the Negro's presence, with his needs, imperfections and delinquencies growing out of his state, should lead those who are more fortunate, not to harden their hearts against his lot, but to increase their feeling for human awakening and improvement. Let both races, through their best representatives, join hand and heart in this field of human service, the Negro placing strength upon the Ten Commandments and the white man upon the Golden Rule. And if we do not succeed in solving the race problem, we will accomplish that which is to us of infinitely more importance - we will have done our duty.

## **Chapter 16: The Negro's Place in the Labor Struggle**

## **Chapter 16: The Negro's Place in the Labor Struggle**

## **Chapter XVI: The Negro's Place in the Labor Struggle**

The battle for bread and the adjustment of races constitute the two great world problems of our day. Each complicates the other. Settle the battle for bread, and the race problem would still survive. Adjust the race problem, and the battle for bread would continue to rage. In the United States today we have the two problems operating simultaneously. The resultant and significance of the outcome are as interesting as any other social phenomena with which we have to deal.

The strike is on; common sense is off. Labor and capital are at it again. The issue is as old as human greed. It is with us always. Half the energy of the human race has been wasted in friction instead of being conserved by co-operation for useful ends.

It seems as if it must needs be so. The offense must needs come, notwithstanding the woe and misery which follow in its train. How long will mankind waste their while in strife and exhaust their might for that which satisfieth

not? The universality of senseless strife among men is the amplest proof of the theory of evolution. Nature is red in tooth and claw. Man is an animal in all of his lower propensities, responding but slowly to the light of reason. No one can accept with full satisfaction the one definition that man is a rational animal, after the awful experience of the last eight years of irrational strife which engulfed the human race. Not a single intellectual, moral or spiritual principle has been advanced by this universal deluge of blood and tears. The wanton waste of tens of millions of lives and hundreds of billions of material substance, convicts the human race of utter irrationality. Had half of this wasted energy and destroyed values been utilized in constructive advantage, ignorance, misery and want could have been banished from the face of the earth.

But man learns his lesson slowly. The winding stair of progress slopes gradually upward. The lesson of yesterday we ignore today, and forget tomorrow.

Labor and capital will fight it out until by extermination or mutual exhaustion, they learn the folly of strife. By senseless antagonism, they fill the land with misery and want; by harmony of action they might bring peace, plenty and prosperity. Labor and capital now stand

opposed to each other in hostile camps, each vowing its own advantage at the expense of the other. The selfish end obscures the common weal. The terms labor and capital suggest contrasted significance, like friend and foe, each ready to fly at the face of the other on slightest provocation. They should stand as complementary designations, like bow and arrow, man and wife, where each is essential to the proper functioning of the other. If capital or labor should win, where were the victory? Capital is labor in the passive voice. Labor is capital in the present tense; without labor, capital is useless. Without capital, labor is impotent. Without the two hundred thousand laborers of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the billion dollar capital would be nugatory and dead. Without the capital, the laborers would be in idleness and want. They are complementary factors of the same product. Production is the end in view; capital and labor are the means employed. They are equally indispensable instruments. The divisive issue grows out of the distribution of profit. It is too much to hope that this issue will be satisfactorily settled until selfishness can be still further reduced as a controlling element of human motive. The present strike will shortly be settled on the basis of compromise and temporary

conciliation. But the roots of discord remain for the future. The buds will resprout as long as there is life in the roots. The issue would have become acute long before now had not the World War shunted attention in another direction of foreign profiteering. Both labor and capital fattened so grossly on the common booty that they, for the moment, forgot their mutual antagonisms.

But, now that the industrial and economic flush of the war is over, and the profits of production are gravitating to the normal level, the age-old issue recurs. One of these days, in the sweet by and by, when reason and common sense shall have gained sway as the monitors of human motive, then

capital and labor will cooperate in friendly unison like the right and left hands of the human body. Until then, we may expect constant recurrence of destructive collisions, and more and more perfect adjustment as the outcome of recurrent shocks.

The industrial world may be divided into three classes: (1) Those who work with the ten fingers of two hands, (2) those who work with three fingers of one hand, and (3) those who work with the brain. The function of the industrial secretariat, which merely records the work of the hand toilers and registers the will of the brain workers, is secondary and intermediate. Those engaged in the primary tasks

of mental and muscular effort are divided into wide-apart camps. The mental workers have fortified themselves behind the breastworks of capital. The muscular laborer must rely upon his bodily strength. The one uses the mailed fist, the other the bare hand.

Where does the Negro stand in this nationwide, yea world-wide issue between capital and labor? Logic aligns him with labor, but good sense arrays him on the side of capital. The race issue frustrates all of the conclusions of logic. The Negro is essentially a manual worker and, therefore, is vitally concerned in whatever advantages may accrue to the toiling world. He shares in every concession wrested from capital by the militant demands of labor. But the issue between the white and colored workman is sharper than that between capital and labor. Capital, white labor and the Negro constitute the eternal triangle of the industrial world.

The Negro was brought to this country because it was thought that his animal and mechanical powers could be easily exploited for the benefit of his white captor. It was deemed the prerogative of any white man to exploit the Negro for his economic benefit. It is hard for the white race today to rid itself of this traditional conceit. The Negro is regarded as the ordained workman, the surplus fruitage of

whose labor should inure to the advantage of the overlord. In a similar way capital looks upon all labor as an agency to swell the magnitude of its own profit. If there were no surplus productivity of labor, the capitalists would have no need of him. The workman who consumes as much as he produces is an unprofitable servant. The Negro is regarded as a field of double exploitation. He shares the estimate of capital towards all labor heightened by the world-wide and age-old conceit that it is the white man's prerogative to profit at the expense of the darker races of men.

The fact that the Negro constitutes only a small fraction of the labor fund of the nation greatly complicates the question of industrial and racial adjustment. All caste and class systems in the world rest fundamentally upon the stratification of labor. If there were Negroes enough to man the lower levels of industry and to do all of the rougher forms of work, their industrial subordination would be simple and easy. But it is plainly impossible to maintain any permanent separation of peoples who must perform the same tasks at the same time with the same compensation. There are not enough Negroes to fill the quota of any of the great lines of industry, and, consequently the number must be supplemented by white men. If all Negroes were domestic servants and all domestic servants

were Negroes, the line of racial and industrial cleavage would be clear. But in New York City there are only 150,000 Negroes out of a total population of 5,000,000. If every Negro man, woman and child were engaged in domestic service in that city, the number would be insufficient to fill the quota of the menial calling. The Negroes are unevenly distributed throughout the whole nation and scattered through the whole field of employment in the catalogue of listed occupations. Even in the South the Negro constitutes but one-third of the population, and forms only a fractional part of the manual labor of that section. The attempt to force occupational separation of the races under such circumstances becomes impossible. The democratic idea will not sanction the suggestion that the

line of demarcation be maintained by awarding the Negro lower wage for the same work as his white competitor. In South Africa, it is said that a native receives twenty-five cents for painting the upper half of the pole, and a white man a dollar for painting the lower half.

The capitalist has but one dominating motive, the production and sale of goods. The race or color of the producer counts but little. The work is listed with material assets as an instrument of production. A good engine and a good engineer are equally essential factors in

the process of transportation. Manhood and mechanism are merged. There is little margin of favor between the white and black workman except as reflected in productive efficiency. There is no personal closeness or intimacy of contact between employer and employee. Race prejudice finds no room for manifestation. The capitalist is prone to a kind and generous attitude toward the black workman. The Negro is acceptable to him according to his merit and efficiency merely as a tool of production. There is also involved in this attitude the thought that, on the whole, the Negro may be a little cheaper than the white man, and is more easily manipulated.

The source of friction arises between the black and white workmen assigned to the same task at the same time. This implies racial equality which wounds the white man's sense of pride. If the capitalist shows race prejudice in his operations, it is merely the reflected attitude of the white workman. The colored man who applies at the office for skilled employment meets with one unvarying response from the employer: "I have no objection, but all of my white workmen will quit if I assign you a place among them."

In all the leading lines of industry the white workmen organize and either shut out the Negro or shunt him aside in separate lines with a lower

level of dignity and compensation. The bricklayer must be white, the hod carrier may be black. The Negro may, indeed, bring the brick to the scaffold, but should he dare adjust it in its place on the wall, the white man would throw down his trowel with indignant protest.

In so far as the labor unions recognize the Negro, they are forced to do so by the attitude of capital. It seems easier to them to handle the black competitor through the union than to have him as a standing menace on the outside. The regulations of labor unions, however fair they may seem on their face, always work to the disadvantage of the Negro in practical applications. What boots the Negro carpenter to have a union card in his hand if the white workmen refuse to work with him. There is no practical advantage to the Negro in maintaining the same level of wages at the same craft, if at the same time the black man is not permitted to enter upon that craft?

The capitalist stands for an open shop which gives to every man the unhindered right to work according to his ability and skill. In this proposition the capitalist and the Negro are as one.

The political revolution in the South grew out of the conflict between white and black labor. The Southern aristocrat who had no doubt or misgivings as to the superiority of his status, stood ready to form political alliance

with the Negro on the basis of the amended constitution. So declared Wade Hampton of South Carolina. "Not so!" shouted Ben Tillman. "This would put the Negro and the poor white laboring man on the same level, with the old aristocrats as the overlords of both." Under Tillman's leadership, the reins of power were snatched from aristocrat and Negro, and the laboring white man so manipulated the machinery of government as to keep the Negro workman in the subordinate place. It is essentially the labor problem which keeps the Negro from the franchise in the South.

The Negro is the weaker industrial vessel. He has not as yet the developed capacity to organize and conduct enterprises under his own initiative. Growing indications in this direction are interesting and encouraging, but not of sufficient magnitude to affect the general status of things. He must look

to the white man for employment. The poor white man has nothing he wants. His dependency is wholly upon the capitalistic class.

The employing classes have been wonderfully helpful to the Negro by way of generous philanthropic contributions. They have built his schools and colleges and made the betterment of the race possible. Whenever a sharp issue is drawn between those who have, and those who have not, the Negro's instinct aligns him with

wealth and power. It is also true that the capitalistic element at present possesses the culture and moral restraint in dealing with the Negro which the white workman misses. There is nothing in the white working class to which the Negro can appeal. They are the ones who lynch, and burn and torture him. He looks to the upper element for respect of law and order and the appeal to conscience.

But the laborers outnumber the capitalists more than ten to one, and under spur of the democratic ideal must in the long run gain the essential ends for which they strive. White labor in the South has already asserted its political power. Will it not also shortly assert its dominancy in the North and West, and indeed, in the nation? If the colored race aligns itself with capital, and refuses to help win the common battle of labor, how will it fare with him in the hour of triumph?

Sufficient unto today is the industrial wisdom thereof. The Negro would rather risk the ills he has than fly to those he knows not of. Here again the laws of logic fail to apply. The Negro has an instinct for expediency. His quick-witted African instinct will enable him to catch the manners living as they rise. But his present-day wisdom, heedless of logical consistency, says to the industrial overlord: "Surely the captain may depend on me."

## **Chapter 17: Christianity and Backward Races**

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### **Chapter XVII: Christianity and Backward Races**

We read in a recent issue of the *New York Times*: "Mr. Mark O. Prentiss, special representative of the American Near East Relief, said that Nouredin Pasha, second in command of the Nationalist Army, told him that Turkey was through with all missionaries, including Americans, and it was going to be 'Turkey for the Turks.' If the Americans wanted to help Turkey, Nouredin advised, they could send technical men, but no more missionaries." This is as sad a comment on the failure of modern day interpretation and application of the Christian religion to assuage political and racial animosities as one has heard in recent days. But this is by no means an isolated instance. India is saying to the Western world: "Give us Christ, but not the kind of Christianity that you practice."

The World War and its selfish aftermath have robbed the missionary of the magic of His mission. How can the disciples of the Prince of Peace deluge the world with blood and tears for the purposes of greed and gain? For three

years the Christian nations of the earth have been wrangling over the division of the spoils of war. The pious people who on a Sunday recite the commandment which says: "Thou shalt not kill," go straight down from the house of God breathing out hatred and slaughter against their fellowmen. The inconsistency of the Christian is discrediting the teachings of Christ. The professed disciples frustrate and bring to naught the gospel of the Master.

In our own country, the white Christian is causing his black brother to stumble. The Negro no longer respects the white man's pretensions to Christianity. A religion that cannot cross the color line will not meet the needs of the world. The despised man will not take a religion that must be handed to him with the left hand across the great divide. Christ said to His disciples: "Where I go, there ye may be also." The white Christian says to his black co-religionist: "So far and no farther." It is a

psychological impossibility for a self-thinking mind to accept the religious teaching of the overlord who denies him the right to vote, makes him ride in Jim Crow cars, shuts him out from hotels, deprives him of a part in the government which he is taxed to support, and refuses him the right to work on a level with his powers and preparation. A religion which stultifies

the soul cannot save it. For what is the value of a stultified soul even though it be saved?

I believe profoundly in the saving power of religion. But the saddest experience which worries my soul is to see the educated young Negro of this day and generation repudiate religion because the un-Christianlike attitude of his white professing Christian causeth him to offend. I can only urge upon the intelligencia of the race to adopt a deeper philosophy. Christianity does not belong to the white race. Because this race violates its spirit and essence is no valid reason for the Negro to repudiate it. You would not discredit the multiplication table because some unscrupulous business firm manipulated it to your disadvantage in a shady business transaction. Then why discredit or decry Christianity because the white man fails to live up to the level of its requirements? I make no universal indictment of the white race. There doubtless be some who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of racial idolatry. A righteous man might have been found in Sodom, had Lot possessed the sportsmanship to push the process of elimination far enough.

The apostasy of the white man gives the Negro the moral advantage of exemplifying the value of the Christian virtues and graces, at a time when such exemplification is a consummation

devoutly to be wished. The race problem, of which the black man bears the brunt, cannot be solved by science, or politics, or trade or economics. If there is any solvent it must be looked for in religion. Though all men should repudiate Christianity, yet should not the Negro. To him indeed it is the power of God unto salvation. The old hymn runs: "What sinners value I resign." But with the Negro it should rather be: "What the white man resigns, I value."

The Turk is perfectly willing to accept the science and technical skill of the European, but not his religion with its assumptions of racial arrogance and inescapable differences. This again is the attitude of the backward world. It seeks to gain the efficiency and technical skill of the European, but eschews its racial arrogance which seems to run too deep to be effaced even by religion.

But it was not ever thus. It is not necessarily so. The good missionaries of God who came to the Southland immediately after the war were received in fullest confidence by the people whom they came to benefit. They were regarded as elder brothers who were willing to undergo any sacrifice to lift the younger brothers to the level to which a more propitious fortune had lifted them. The same faith and

confidence still obtains in scattered instances.

Is Christianity incompatible with race prejudice? This constitutes the most fraughted and the most fateful query that can be put to mankind today. The poise of the world, the moral and social unity of mankind, hang on the answer. This query was once put to the Jew. He answered in the negative, and the scepter passed to the Gentiles. It is now put to the white race. Its fate as a permanent world influence hinges on the answer to the ancient query.

Bernard Shaw, the eccentric Irish philosopher demands that Christianity be given a chance. The deviltry of human nature has never given the doctrine of the Nazarene a fair chance to function in the affairs of the world.

We believe that Christ will yet triumph over caste, and will yet bring peace on earth and good will among men. As the Jew failed to exemplify this world function of Christianity, the opportunity was passed on to the Gentiles. If they fail, it may be transferred to the Negro. Will he then be any more obedient to the heavenly opportunity than those whom he now denounces for their lamentable failure?

## Chapter 18: Tagore

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## Chapter XVIII: Tagore

The *Literary Digest*, during the summer of 1922, contained a very interesting account of the advice which Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the famous Hindu poet, gave to an English missionary in India. This native philosopher urged the British evangelist to lay aside all presumption of superiority and to identify himself with the natives in habits and in love. He then proceeded to give this sound advice: "If you have in you pride of race, pride of sect and pride of personal superiority strong, there is no use trying to do good to others. They will reject your gift, or even if they accept it, they will not be morally benefited by it. You have repeatedly stated that your standard of living is not likely to be different from that of the natives, but one thing I ask of you: 'Will you be able to make yourself one of those whom you call natives?'"

"But when a man tries to usurp God's place and assumes the rôle of giver of gifts, and does not come as merely a purveyor of God's love, then it is all vanity."

The situation in India is in every particular

on a parallel with that of the Negro in the United States. The good missionaries who came South immediately after the Civil War exhibited little or nothing of the hauteur of racial superiority. They came in the simple spirit of love and human service. If the Negro, by reason of age-long suppression, stood in need of reclamation, they came to him in the level spirit of helpfulness as a more favored to a less fortunate brother. The response on part of the black beneficiary was spontaneous and immediate. The service proffered in simple sincerity was accepted with child-like reverence and devotion. The grateful heart of the unsophisticated Negro endowed the good missionaries from the North, not with race superiority, but with angelic excellence. The heart of man always responds to the heart of man when the appeal is genuine and direct. But when artifice enters, the heart never responds. The early missionaries inspired the race with the impulse to better ways and the nobler modes of life. The Negro can never repay the debt of gratitude he owes these devoted servants of God who did the Master's work in the Master's spirit.

But with the lapse of time, the race consciousness began to assert itself. Race distinction began to be insisted on. The superiority of the white man must be assumed as a condition precedent to all things else. All of the artificial

barriers of the Southern white man must be respected and observed by the Northerner who came to work among colored folk. Service to the Negro was hypothecated on social distinction.

The weakening of the results at once became apparent. Where there is a lack of complete mental and moral freedom between pupil and teacher the lesson can never be adequately taught. The spirit of the teacher must meet the spirit of the taught. A Negro mathematician could not teach the multiplication table to white pupils in Atlanta, Ga., because there could be no meeting of the minds.

The southern white man has acted upon the assumption from the beginning. He holds the Negro in contempt, and therefore does not deem himself qualified to become his teacher, because he would not put himself on his plane.

It may be said that no particular class of individuals is responsible for this change for the worse in public sentiment. The South has set up a social régime and compels all white men and women to conform to it. The Negro is kept in his assigned place by the stern hand of compulsion. The white

worker could not, if he would, relate himself to his field as he was wont to do in former days. The white bishop over a Negro conference in Georgia does not dare or does not deign to sit in at the same table with the people whom he serves. His usefulness can

only be partial and limited. A bishop who cannot mingle with his people is a poor representative of the Head of the church who came eating and drinking with publicans and sinners.

The Negro school and college is laboring under the heavy handicap of racial assumption. A gift that is handed down is never so acceptable as one that is handed out. The most helpful hand is the one stretched out on the horizontal, and not on the incline.

The white man has, indeed, brought good gifts. He has built schools and colleges and organized and operated helpful agencies for the general welfare of the race. Many of them in days gone by have given themselves in devoted service.

And yet, the words of Tagore are suggestive and significant. The moral advantage of a gift does not depend upon its munificence, but upon the spirit of him that gives and of him that receives.

All of this serves to remind us that the Negro problem in the United States is not an isolated thing apart from the whole human equation. The relations of the whiter races to the darker ones constitute one vast problem with local and national complexities and variations. But there underlies it all one common thread of human kinship which arrogance cannot destroy, and prudence should not ignore.

## **Chapter 19: Lloyd George on Methodism**

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## **Chapter XIX: Lloyd George on Methodism**

Lloyd George, the wily Welshman and crafty statesman, has been suing for the good graces of America. As premier of Great Britain, he acknowledges the debt which his country incurred on account of the World War. Since the overthrow of his cabinet, he has given himself to philosophical speculation in quest of a moral offset for material values. In a recent notable address, he declares that America derived more in permanent advantage from England through Whitefield and Wesley than England gained from us through the gigantic loans advanced to enable her to fight the central powers. This leads to the idea of a common divisor of values belonging to different categories. The highest services to mankind cannot be compensated in terms of monetary units. We cannot reckon the service of Abraham Lincoln to the nation nor of Frederick Douglass to the Negro by the standard coin of the realm. Spiritual and moral contributions transcend economic achievements. All other manifestation

of power shall vanish away; faith, hope and charity alone survive. Solomon was reputed to be the richest man in the world of his day, and yet his wealth does not interest a single human being. He was also considered the wisest man of his time. That wisdom is the eternal possession of mankind. Moses, Buddha, Jesus and Mahomet command the faith and obedience of all mankind through their moral and spiritual accomplishments.

Lloyd George affirms that it was Whitefield and Wesley that led America to participate in the World War, and that they will yet lead this nation to enter into the League of Nations. This is an unexpected tribute to the permanent influence of moral and spiritual impressions. It was John Wesley and George Whitefield who planted and promoted the Methodist church on the American continent. The nation is still urged forward by the moral impulse of that movement. When Methodism was first brought to America, it had to confront an interesting psychological situation. Existing modes of

worship tended to repress the emotions rather than give them free scope and play. People of a lower level of culture always seek the easiest outlet for pent-up feelings. The ministry of Methodism came to the great mass of country folk who sought for dramatic portrayal of

spiritual manifestations. The song, the shout, the groan, the prayer meeting, the class meeting, the revival and the camp meeting met the requirements and answered the needs of existing conditions. The impression made was deep and abiding. The people then appear to have risen several degrees higher in the scale of culture since that day. Modes of worship have been modified in greater conformity to this social progress. The groaning and shouting at camp meeting and revival are heard no more. But the influence of those earlier days survives as an unconscious influence that counts for national righteousness. The Methodist Church, in all of its differentiated bodies, constitutes the largest branch of the Protestant church of America. On all great questions of national concern it is found on the side of sound national policy. No amount of money consideration can pay for such a heritage as this.

In the same connection Lloyd George also alluded to the priceless value of the services contributed to America by Roger Williams, who planted the Baptist church in the wilderness of the New World. The appeal of Roger Williams met response by the same social grade. The methods were very similar to those of the Methodists with vital doctrinal differences. These two branches of the Christian church constitute

not only the numerical bulk, but the moral backbone of the Christian church of America. They constitute the church of the common people, the proletariat, where we must always look for the moral stamina of a nation. Imagine if you can the moral vacuum that would have existed had these great arms of the Christian church not been in operation during our national history.

What has been said so far applies to these churches as a whole. But when we limit the application to the Negro contingent the stress of emphasis should be doubled. Roger Williams, Wesley and Whitefield are indeed the great benefactors of the Negro race. The question is often raised why the Negro takes to the Baptist and Methodist churches so much more readily than to any other modes of worship. The answer is easily rendered. These churches, especially in the earlier day, made the easiest appeal to the people of a given level of culture. The appeal must be dramatic, the response spectacular. Emotion is the dominant element in any religion. A religion without passion is a religion without power. An illiterate and unenlightened people cannot express their pent-up emotions in the refined and recondite fashion of the elect and the elite. The joy of service, devotion to duty, the inner revelry of the soul are too abstract for their simple concrete experiences. The song, the shout, the groan, the bodily contortions are more immediate and manifest.

As the people advance in culture and inner understanding, it will not become necessary to change their religious adherence. The dignity and decorousness of the mode keeps pace with the intellectual and social advancement of the people. The Salvation Army today is supplying the place once occupied by the Methodist and Baptist churches. The method shifts to suit varying conditions. The moral and spiritual good abides forever.

The suggestion of Lloyd George contains a most valuable lesson for the American people on the midst of their rush after the God of Mammon. Doubly valuable is the lesson to the Negro, that the highest values in life consist in moral and spiritual excellence and are beyond money and beyond price.

## **Chapter 20: The Order of Melchisedech**

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## **Chapter XX: The Order of Melchisedech**

Richard Henry Boyd and Elias Camp Morris, respective leaders of rival factions of Negro Baptists, have recently passed from work to reward, within a few days of each other. These two great leaders typify and embody the spirit and the work of the priesthood which has developed the Negro church during the past half century. They were born in the midst of slavery, with no advantage of early education, and came to manhood about the time of the Emancipation Proclamation.

They both possessed native energy of mind and vigor of spirit. They came upon the scene of action at a time when the demand of the moral and spiritual vineyard could not wait upon the slow process of the schools. They picked up fragments of knowledge and bits of information and consecrated them to the great task of human betterment. The situation was urgent. The demands were immediate. Millions of human beings were pining for the saving knowledge of truth. The ignorant cannot be made intelligent, the vicious cannot be made virtuous, corruption cannot take on incorruptibility, crudeness cannot be clothed with decorum in a moment in the twinkling of an eye. The work of social, moral and spiritual regeneration must be applied to existing human conditions, just as they are without one plea. Just after emancipation, when the entire fabric of social life had been upset, a serious situation impended. The dead must be buried, lovers must be united in holy wedlock according to the Christian ritual, infants must be baptized, forms of public worship must be established and maintained, churches must be built and manned, the religious estate must be organized and ordered. God, Himself, was impatient. He could not wait upon the slow process of the school and the seminary for an educated and enlightened priesthood. The field was ripe unto the harvest.

Then up rose Boyd and Morris, with thousands of their compeers, from cornfield and plowhandle responding with deepest sincerity of soul, "Here am I, send me." There sprung up a spontaneous priesthood after the manner of Melchisedech. They grew up as a tender plant, and as a root out of dry ground. They heard the voice and heeded the Macedonian cry. They were not disobedient to the heavenly

vision. God placed the heavenly treasure in earthen vessels.

Some would say that they were unlettered men, but theirs was the kind of ignorance that God winks at and utilizes. The dynamic feature of knowledge is not found in books, but in the spirit and will to do. The more intelligent Negro ministry today may well indulge the contemplation, whether God was not able to use the ignorance of the elders to greater advantage in promoting the cause of His kingdom than He is now making of the high literary intelligence of their successors. The spirit is more than the letter. The will will find a way. "Who so doeth My will shall know the doctrine." But those who know the doctrine do not always do the will. Boyd and Morris possessed the spirit of service and devotion, and a requisite degree of the letter was vouchsafed them. The Apostles were crude, unlettered men. But they received power and understanding by coming in touch with the source of all power. Education cannot give capacity, but merely facilitates its development and expression.

Boyd and Morris possessed moral enthusiasm, and hitched their energies to a great cause. Consecration to a noble purpose quickly develops the best powers and possibilities. There is today a lamentable lag in the effective powers

of the Negro intelligencia. Our educational opportunities are expanding, facilities are multiplying, thousands of our young men are being educated in the highest terms of the technical letter. But the impotency of the letter is painfully apparent. This is because their moral energies are not released, and geared up with the machinery of great social tasks. The spirit of Boyd and Morris will rise up and condemn this generation. The spirit without the letter is more effective than the letter without the spirit.

Speaking typically of our illustrious dead, it might be said that they found millions of the race who, like sheep, were scattered abroad without a shepherd, and brought them into the fold. They built up a communion of over three million souls. Their work in the promotion of the Kingdom of God has not been paralleled anywhere in the world during the past two generations. The noblest ambitions of the thousands of Baptist priests that follow them might well be to carry on and carry out and carry up the great religious estate which they have inherited from their spiritual fathers.

By means of the microscopic criticism it might be easy to discover great faults and serious imperfections in the lives of these two great leaders. The cynic delights in exploiting the faults and foibles of the great. Let him find flaws who will; I prefer to magnify the virtues of imperfect humanity.

The splitting asunder of a great Christian estate over a paltry property dispute is deeply to be deplored. These men were rivals. Neither spared the other in the heat of the controversy. The whole Baptist denomination was aligned in hostile camps contending with as much heat and bitterness as was consistent with Christian charity and grace. May this controversy end at the graves of its leaders. Great men often accomplish more in their death than by their lives. So may it be with Boyd and Morris.

Three million Negro Baptists welded into one compact militant body under intelligent and consecrated leadership would constitute our greatest agency for social, moral and spiritual betterment.

Boyd and Morris, though divided in heated contention, were essentially alike in origin, opportunity, power and purpose. They have wrought well. They have exploited to the full the talents with which they were endowed. They have earned the gratitude of three million Baptists and of ten million Negroes.

"Their bones are dust, their good swords rust,  
Their souls are with the saints, we trust."

## **Chapter 21: The College Bred Negro and the Church**

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## **Chapter XXI: The College Bred Negro and the Church**

The collegian of this day and generation is not spiritually minded. He gives little or no attention to things that look God-wards. We live in a material age. The basic principle of our civilization is metallic. Charles Darwin gave a shock to the religious world from which it has not yet recovered. The church has not yet assimilated and absorbed the scientific diet. All religious systems must institutionalize the state of knowledge current at the time of their establishment. As science advances, ancient scientific truth becomes present error. The conflict between science and religion becomes inevitable. As always happens, the church first combats, then tolerates, and finally accepts a newly discovered scientific truth. The old bottle often cracks in its endeavor to hold new wine. Such has been the case with the theory of evolution. The new impulse contributed by Darwin has dominated the thought and opinion of the thinking people of the world for half a century.

It has met not only with universal acceptance, but with enthusiastic acclaim throughout the world. The church, being more cautious and hesitant, has lagged in the rear, which has caused the college man to assume an attitude of intellectual disdain and moral indifference. The whole religious world today is in the throes of theological transition. The old truth must be restated in terms of the present-day thought and knowledge. This task should challenge the highest energies and enthusiasm of the college man.

It was unfortunate that the Negro was brought into the intellectual arena at the time of this raging controversy, when science seems to be gaining the upper hand. The intellectual and spiritual life of the race is based upon the everlasting foundation - "In the beginning, God." The Negro mind is characterized by a deep spiritual nature and lively mode of manifestation. But the seductive influence of modern teaching and its material exploitation have served to swerve him from the line of spiritual interest which clearly marks the destiny of the race.

The Christian ministry offers the best field for the outlet of Negro capacity and genius. The pulpit constitutes the most attractive leadership of the Negro masses, not only in matters

moral and spiritual, but within the wider scope of social activities. At least one-third of our college output should recruit the ranks of the ministry in the various denominations. The Baptist and Methodist churches, which count their adherents by the millions, furnish a field for the high-talented, high-minded and high-souled young men to administer and perfect these great moral and spiritual estates. The cry goes out to the Negro collegian with more than Macedonian urgency.

It is needless to plead that white college men are turning away from the ministry into the more alluring secular and material pursuits. Where conditions are different, comparisons are odious. The pulpit today offers no such relative opportunity to white youth as it does to youth of Negro blood. Secular pursuits have less relative attraction and rewards. Graduates of Yale, Harvard and Princeton a hundred years ago rushed into the ministry not merely because of the fact that the ministry of that day furnished the most alluring remunerative and attractive field for the outlet of their talent and training. The educated Negro of today stands where the white collegians stood a century ago with reference to the appealing and imperative field of service.

But, alas, alas, the apathy is appalling! I

have peculiar opportunity to study and understand the attitude of college youth toward the Christian ministry. In the junior college of Howard University there are about five hundred young men, about three hundred of whom have indicated medicine for their chosen profession. Not a half dozen have indicated the ministry. I daresay that a somewhat similar proportion runs throughout our colleges and universities. In the high schools the disposition toward the ministry is equally appalling and disappointing. Of the large graduating classes from the Washington, Baltimore and St. Louis high schools, as well as the young men in the high school of Philadelphia, New York and Chicago and other well-equipped secondary institutions of learning, few indeed are they who show any inclination or give any indication toward the sacerdotal office.

What is to be the future of the Negro church and of our great religious denominations unless leadership is assumed by the best mind and heart and conscience of the race? The pulpit must keep in advance of the people, else the people will repudiate the pulpit. We can rely to a certain extent upon the spontaneity of spiritual power. Those who are moved by the spirit always have and always will manifest a certain degree of intelligence and practical energy.

The Negro church, so far, has been built up mainly by men who had not had the fullest opportunity of preparation and culture. If they were ignorant of the technical letter, it was the kind of ignorance that God winks at, and utilizes. But He will not wink at ignorance in this day and generation, nor yet will He utilize it to promote his spiritual estate. God always uses the best instrumentalities at His command, and unless the Negro church in the coming generation shall be manned and commanded by educated men fully abreast of the knowledge and culture of the day, great will be our condemnation and the curse will fall on our heads.

The theological opinion of the world is becoming more and more liberalized. The college man need no longer hesitate concerning the ministry because of old theological exactions which compromised his intellectual integrity. The one great task before the Negro college world is to infuse into the rising

generation of educated youth the wisdom and necessity of dedicating their lives to the great task of moral and spiritual leadership, in the name of God, humanity and the race.

## **Chapter 22: The Sport of the Ghouls**

## **Chapter 22: The Sport of the Ghouls**

## **Chapter XXII: The Sport of the Ghouls**

The maxim of Alexander Pope,

"Virtuous and vicious every man must be,  
None in the extreme, but each in the degree,"

expresses a doctrine which is as true of nations as of individuals. Every nation has its characteristic vices as well as its virtues. The German kultur would reach the attainment of efficiency through ruthlessness of method. England attains her political aims with a bland and complaisant pharaseeism. The seductive hedonism of France renders her the most attractive state in Europe. The democratic ideal of America is tainted with a disregard for law, the only foundation upon which a democracy can endure. She is impelled by a wild and reckless intrepidity of spirit.

"That bids her make the laws she flouts -  
That bids her flout the laws she makes."

The United States has the largest percentage of murders and homicides and the lowest average of legal executions of any civilized institution on the face of the earth. Ex-President, now Chief-Justice Taft, in a notable address some years ago, stated that there had been 131,951 murders and homicides in the United States between 1885 and 1908, and only 2,286 legal executions. In 1912, there were 9,152 homicides and only 145 executions.

Lawlessness is universally deplored as America's overshadowing national sin. In partial explanation of this deplorable state of things, it might be said that in a new country where the self-assertive Saxon was confronted by two primitive races, his personal authority was subject to little or no legal restraint. His word was law, and his judgment the final source of appeal. It was the imperialism of race that destroyed the Indian and enslaved the Negro. The spirit of self-sufficiency of judgment in dealing with primitive races survives long after evoking conditions have passed away.

Lynching is a peculiar American institution. This country has contributed a new word to the English language. The term, itself, is said to be derived from a Virginia slaveholder named Lynch who was in the habit of taking the law into his own hands in dealing with runaway slaves and white outlaws who sought shelter in the Dismal Swamp. Mr. Lynch is said to have contributed

the name to Lynchburg, Va. The word has come to mean the infliction of summary punishment without due process of law. But the process is so generally applied to the Negro offender that it has grown to connote a mode of racial punishment.

Since the beginning of time, when the feelings have been wrought to fever heat, and the sensibilities outraged by some flagrant offense, men have resorted to condign punishment under spur of the inflamed passion of the moment. When the primitive instincts are aroused, the mob is impatient of judge and jury. Appeal to passion renders swifter vindication than the court of reason. Lord Bacon speaks of vengeance as a kind of wild justice. This is a primitive method of procedure where the baser impulse gains the upper hand over the better judgment. The ape and tiger die slowly. Wild justice yields reluctantly to the orderly process of civilized procedure.

The practice of lynching is apt to be manifested on the frontiers of civilization where a lower culture is brought into contact with a higher. The sons of God are prone to wreak summary vengeance upon the children of men who dare dispute their higher prerogative. The flaming sword of wrath still guards the forbidden fruit from the excluded aspirant of

lower degree. Race hatred is the cause of most human outrages. The massacre of Armenian by Turk, pogroms of the Poles against the Jews, and lynching of Negroes in America grow out of the same basal instinct.

In most cases the outbreak between races takes on the form of mass assault and is inspired by political, religious or economic motive. Race riots, a somewhat new phase of race conflict in America, partakes largely of this nature. In case of lynching, the mob forms around an individual who is alleged to have committed some flagrant offense, and proceeds to execute the offender without waiting for the formal sanction of the court of law.

Violence is usually limited to the individual offender and does not involve wholesale slaughter. While the Negro is the usual victim of lynching, he is by no means the only one. During the thirty years, 1889-1918, there were 702 white men lynched in the United States. A larger number of white men were lynched in America than in all the rest of the civilized world. When the evil passion has once been aroused, it is impossible to limit its viciousness to any one race or class. The iniquities visited upon the Negro today will be meted out to the white man tomorrow. The evil inherent in race contact consists in a double standard of dealing.

The methods devised for special application to the inferior race will inevitably tend to the demoralization of all. Water seeks its lowest level. So evil practice always tends to gravitate to the lowest ethical standard.

It is interesting to inquire why lynching is almost wholly limited to the United States of America. The self-reliant spirit of democracy, especially in pioneer communities, makes the individual feel that, in the final analysis, he is a law unto himself. The individual and not the social conscience becomes the immediate guide. The self-responsible individual or group that feels that its sensibilities have been ruthlessly outraged, justifies itself in wreaking summary vengeance upon the offender, especially when he falls outside the pale of its own race and class. In the anti-slavery controversy, those who went on the side of liberty often appealed to what they called the higher law, which took precedence over the law of the land. This is a dangerous doctrine, to be indulged only in case of extreme moral emergencies. If it is allowed to become the practice of individuals or groups not accustomed to exercise rigid-self-restraint, it is sure to lead to gross abuse. In a democracy such ultra procedure is apt to be indulged either for good or ill.

Each Southern plantation constituted a jurisdiction

within itself where the owner was juror, judge and executioner. He possessed the power of life and death over his slaves. His influence over public sentiment was so powerful that his will and judgment became the law of the community. The slaveholders were to the manor born, and felt that they rightfully exercised the power of life and death over their slaves for the good of society. When the master murdered his slave, he was considered the chief loser. The community felt little concern. The constraint of conscience and the restraint of self-interest tended to reduce the practice to a minimum under the old régime of master and slave. But the slaveholders constituted a relatively small proportion of the white population of the South. Not one in ten of the white population of the Southern states belonged in this class. The poor whites who were unable to own slaves were held in a degree of contempt and disesteem scarcely above the level of the blacks. They were subject to the direction and control of the aristocratic class, and were as amenable to their personal and public

authority as slaves themselves. Their color, which preëmpted them from forced servitude, was the principal advantage which they enjoyed. They naturally developed a hatred for the Negroes who were their indirect industrial rivals, and felt that,

as white men, they were required to live on a higher level than the blacks, and as freemen they could not enter into competition with the slave labor.

After the emancipation of the Negro and the overthrow of the reconstruction régime in the South, the non-slaveholding whites, for the first time, gained consciousness of their political power. Animosity against the old aristocratic white element was scarcely less vehement than their venom against the Negro. The voice of the new man became dominant in the state. They drove the slaveholding oligarchy from power and took the reins of government into their own hands. Public feeling was lashed into fury against the Negro. Lynching was urged as a suitable mode of punishment whenever the black man threatened or jeopardized the prerogative of the white race. The late Senator Benjamin R. Tillman was the mouthpiece and oracle of this ruthless program. It is noticeable that under slavery lynchings were rare and almost unheard of. Under the reconstruction government they were infrequent. The practice rose simultaneously with the rise of the non-slaveholding whites to power in the states.

A people who begin their existence with violent protest against authority to which they were once subject are apt to carry the protestant spirit beyond the limit of its original intendment. The Protestant religion will reach its logical goal when all ecclesiastical authority is abolished over the individual conscience and judgment. The Boston Tea Party embodied the spirit of disregard for law as much as a mob of lynchers. If it is rejoined that the Puritan lawbreakers were impelled by patriotic motives which rose above the law, so the mob might retort that its hasty passion is also promoting immediate or ultimate social aims. The lawless habit acquired for some worthy purpose seeks exercise on unworthy objects when that purpose has been subserved. It is to be hoped that the democracies which are achieved by more orderly and regular procedure will escape this evil concomitant.

The term "social equality" has come to signify the deadline of relationship between the races. Any semblance of attempt on part of the Negro to cross this deadline in the South is vested with summary punishment. Every white man feels that he bears a racial commission to act in the emergency. His acts, however outrageous, will be sure to meet with public favor, if he can show that they were committed in the name and at the behest of social equality. The phrase has taken on frenzied meaning. It has

become the tocsin and rallying cry of the white supremacy propaganda. Men worship and bow down at its shrine as a heathen before his graven god. No crime is too heinous to be committed at its dictation. That the races must be kept apart is the gospel of the South, more sacred than Holy Writ. There is no provision of the sacred Scripture that may not be violated to attain this great objective. Any act on the part of an individual or group of individuals which tends to this end is justified in public opinion.

Lynching is sought to be justified on the ground of assault on white women by colored men. But it is not the crime so much as the color of the criminal that provokes the punishment. The assault of a Negro on a white woman arouses all of the passion and animosity of the white race. It is easier to inflame public opinion over the color of the criminal than over the nature of the crime. Social intimacy and physical mixture of the races must be prevented at all hazards, is the philosophy of those who justify lynching.

Race hatred and lynching do not heed the obvious facts and formulas of logic. The mixture of the races has already taken place on a gigantic scale. The presence of three million

mulattoes indicates clearly that the danger of intermixture does not come through assault of the black male upon the white female. The result will be just as effective through the lust of the white male after the black female. The fact of mixed progeny is stubborn and persistent. The laws of biology care nothing for the social creeds of the day. It makes little or no difference how mixed progeny is produced. The essential thing is the product, not the process.

Lynching of Negroes does not involve risk of danger, nor does it evoke the manly qualities of courage or daring. It is a safe pastime which appeals to the coward and the bully. There is a total lack of the zest of sportsmanship. A mob of five hundred men armed to the teeth wreaking vengeance on a defenseless Negro already in custody of the law does not present an heroic spectacle. The complacent sheriff is easily "overpowered" and renders the keys for the asking. The culprit is spirited away to be strung up to the limb of a tree. His body is riddled with bullets and ticketed with a placard to remind all Negroes of the superiority of the white race. In the South a white man is rarely ever punished for killing a Negro. Of the thousands of homicides and murders of black men during the past fifty years, instances of legal execution may be counted on the fingers of one's hand. The white man in the South, either as an individual, or as part of the mob, may kill a Negro with all but absolute impunity. Lynching is apt to continue until the participant is made to pay the penalty for his part in the murderous pact. Men will override the law at their convenience when they can do so with impunity. Salutory fear of the law is persuasive to obedience of law.

Although lynchings occur most frequently in the South, they are by no means confined to that section. They have occurred in all but six states of the United States. They are not limited by geographical boundaries or lines of latitude.

The following table indicates the number of white and colored persons lynched in the United States from 1889 to 1920:

Year	Total	White	Colored
1889	175	80	95
1890	91	3	88
1891	194	67	127
1892	226	71	155
1893	153	39	114
1894	182	54	128
1895	178	68	110
1896	125	46	79
1897	162	38	124
1898	127	24	103
1899	109	22	87
1900	101	12	89
1901	135	27	108
1902	94	10	84
1903	104	17	87
1904	86	7	79
1905	65	5	60
1906	68	4	64
1907	62	3	59
1908	100	8	92

1909	89	14	75
1910	90	10	80
1911	71	8	63
1912	64	3	61
1913	48	1	47
1914	54	5	49
1915	96	43	53
1916	58	7	51
1917	50	2	48
1918	67	4	63
1919	83	6	77
1920	65	8	57
	3372	716	2656

The one hopeful indication of the table is the gradual diminution with the years.

#### Number of Persons Lynched -By States of the United States, 1889-1920

Maine	1
New Hampshire	0
Vermont	0
Massachusetts	0
Rhode Island	0
Connecticut	0
New York	3
New Jersey	1
Pennsylvania	4
Ohio	13
Indiana	19
Illinois	24
Michigan	4
Wisconsin	4
Minnesota	7
Iowa	8
Missouri	84
North Dakota	2
South Dakota	13
Nebraska	17
Kansas	24
Delaware	1
Maryland	17
Virginia	79
Alaska	4
West Virginia	32

North Carolina	59
South Carolina	124
Georgia	415
Florida	196
Kentucky	170
Tennessee	198
Alabama	290
Mississippi	392
Arkansas	225
Louisiana	321
Oklahoma	99
Texas	348
Montana	23
Idaho	11
Wyoming	34
Colorado	20
New Mexico	13
Arizona	8
Utah	0
Nevada	4
Washington	16
Oregon	4
California	26
Places Unknown	11

This table shows how widespread the evil practice is distributed throughout the whole area. There are 2,953 counties in the states of the United States, with an approximate average area of 1,000 square miles. If these lynchings were equally distributed over the whole territory, there would be something like 1 lynching in each county during the past thirty years.

Women and girls have not escaped the blood-thirsty vengeance of the American mob. The following table shows the number of lynchings of the female sex distributed by state and color from 1889 to 1918:

#### Women and Girls Lynched -By States, 1889-1918

	Total	White	Colored
United States	61	11	50
Alabama	..	..	7
Arkansas	..	..	5
Florida	..	..	2
Georgia	..	..	5
Kentucky	1	1	3
Louisiana	1	1	.
Mississippi	1	1	11

Nebraska	1	..
North Carolina	1	..
Oklahoma	..	2
South Carolina	..	4
Tennessee	2	1
Texas	3	6
Virginia	1	..

It will be seen that white women as well as colored women have not escaped mob fury.

Of 3,224 of these cases of lynchings the causes or alleged causes are as follows:

Number of Persons Lynched, by Offenses Charged and by Colob, 1889-1918

Only 19 per cent of the lynchings of Negroes were on account of allegation of rape, and 9.4 per cent for attack upon women. It must always be borne in mind that the offenses were only alleged. In few cases have they been proved by a court of competent jurisdiction. In numerous instances mistaken identity has been established after the victim has been dispatched to his doom. Hundreds have met their fate with the protestation of innocence on their dying lips.

Effort has been made to besmirch the Negro race by branding it with evil reputation. Lynching has sought justification because of the alleged lecherous propensity of the Negro race.

And yet not one case of lynching in five can even plead allegation of rape in justification. The Negro in Africa, South America and the West Indies is not afflicted with such evil propensity. During the days of the Civil War, when the master left his family in charge of the slaves, not one case of violated honor is on record.

White men commit assault on women all over the world. The criminal statistics of every European state show its due quota of cases of rape and assault upon women. In 1910 there were committed to prison in the United States 1,082 white men and 380 Negroes on the charge of rape. All of which goes to prove that lynching is not due to any "usual crime" or to any peculiar evil racial characteristic, but to the prevalent disposition to disregard law and orderly procedure where the Negro commits an offense against the white race.

The cruelty and barbarity of lynchings are indescribable for horror and atrocity. When we contemplate the deep damnation of the taking off of helpless victims, we question the efficacy of civilization to assuage the innate savagery of human nature. Victims have been drowned, hanged, shot, burned alive, beaten to death, dismembered while thousands gloated over their groanings with ghoulish glee. Women with child have been disemboweled in the public gaze. The United States enjoys the evil distinction

of being the only civilized nation of the earth whose people take delight in the burning and torturing of human beings. Nowhere else in the civilized world do men, women and children dance with glee and fight for ghastly souvenirs of quivering human flesh, and mock with laughter the dying groans of the helpless victim which sicken the air while the flickering flames of the funeral pyre light up the midnight sky with their dismal glare.

But the United States is seriously conscious of the evil reputation which lynching imposes upon the nation. And yet it cannot plead exculpation on the ground that only the evil-minded few perpetrate and participate in this evil. Any nation is held justly accountable for the characteristic conduct of its citizens. The practice is too widespread in time and space to plead national irresponsibility. The nation commits what it permits. The American people, when clothed in their right mind and

speaking with their true voice denounce the evil practice in every mood and tense of condemnation. They hope and pray that the reproach might be rolled away. When the nation would assume the asserted place as moral monitor among the nations of the earth, and condemn other people for their sins, it must face the age-old retort: "Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye."

President Wilson, in his deep chagrin, found that the practice of lynching in America belied or belittled his high-minded assumption of moral responsibility and leadership among the nations of mankind. In the midst of a war for democracy his people were discrediting at home the ideals which he was proclaiming abroad. In July 1918 he issued a proclamation to the American people on the evils of mob action, which was both an indictment and an appeal:

My Fellow Countrymen:

I take the liberty of addressing you upon a subject which so vitally affects the honor of the nation and the very character and integrity of our institutions that I trust you will think me justified in speaking very plainly about it.

There have been many lynchings, and every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice. No man who loves America, no man who really cares for her fame and honor and character, or who is truly loyal to her institutions can justify mob action while the courts of justice are open and the governments of the States and the nation are ready and able to do their duty.

We are at this very moment fighting lawless passion. We proudly claim to be the champions of democracy. If we really are, in deed and truth, let us see to it that we do not discredit

our own. I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives it any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer, and does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and right than the words of her statesmen or the sacrifices of her heroic boys in the trenches can do to make suffering people believe her to be their saviour. How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples if we disgrace our own by proving that it is after all, no protection to the weak. Every mob contributes to German lies about the United States what her most gifted liars cannot improve upon by way of calumny. They can at least say that such things cannot happen in Germany except in time of revolution, when law is swept away.

Woodrow Wilson.

July 25, 1918.

But in spite of the President's proclamation there were 83 lynchings in 1919, 65 in 1920, and over 60 in 1921. The conscience of the nation is pricked to the core. All of America's resourcefulness must be asserted to exterminate this national disgrace lest the home of freedom in the Western World lose its boasted reputation as the land of liberty, and become known among nations as the land of lynchers.

## **Chapter 23: Abraham Lincoln -A Moral Genius**

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## **Chapter XXIII: Abraham Lincoln -A Moral Genius**

The Emancipation Proclamation was issued September 22, 1862, to take effect four months thereafter. This was the date of the autumnal equinox and marked the transition stage of the Negro race from bondage to freedom. H. G. Wells selects the great Emancipator as one of the six great names of human history. The Church of the Ascension of New York City has carved in that structure the statues of the illustrious men who have contributed most to the progress of Christianity during each of the intervening one hundred years of Christian history. Abraham Lincoln was chosen to

represent the nineteenth century. The Emancipation Proclamation represents the crowning act of his life. When all else shall have been forgotten, this document will survive with the eternal freshness of perennial youth.

He sprang up as a root out of dry ground. Who shall declare his generation. When we looked on his visage there was neither form nor comeliness that we should desire him. We did

deem him stricken of God and afflicted. He was cut out of the land of the living that the land might live. He made intercessions for us and gave his life as a ransom for many; and with his stripes we are healed.

Abraham Lincoln is the one commanding moral genius that has risen out of the Western World. Material attainment, intellectual shrewdness and political talent have engrossed the chief energies of this hemisphere and even the Christian Church on this continent deteriorates toward the lower level of things concrete and material. The anti-slavery agitation produced a spasm of national virtue; but like a hasty spark it scarcely survived the attrition which produced it. John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, and Charles Sumner were filled with moral indignation against a specific wrong. But Lincoln's moral sense was instinctive and all-embracing. His reaction against wrong was not born of the heated issues of the passing hour. His moral understanding was instinctive, his ethical knowledge intuitive. "If slavery is not wrong, then nothing is wrong." This moral proposition is as clear, concise and convincing as any axiom of Euclid.

When but a bearded youth, he saw a man's body at auction in the slave market in New Orleans, his moral nature instinctively revolted.

His ejaculation was spontaneous and prophetic: "By God, if I ever get a chance to hit this thing, I will hit it hard." And, by God, he did hit it hard thirty years later in the Emancipation Proclamation. This immortal document was formulated in his soul forty years before it was proclaimed. Whence came his love of right and hatred of wrong? It was not transmitted through inheritance or caught from the prevailing culture absorbed from his crude environment, but like every other good and perfect gift, it came from above.

Abraham Lincoln walked and talked with God. All genius is characterized by loneliness and isolation. It shuts itself up in the nutshell, like Hamlet, and yet deems itself master of infinite space. Genius is always lonely amidst a multitude and must withdraw itself to the desert place apart. It finds satisfaction in seclusion and solace in solitude. In default of human companionship, it seeks association and communion with a higher source from which it sprang. Genius communicates through the ordinary channels of companionship only that which the average man can appreciate and understand. Lincoln was lonely in the midst of his cabinet. His closest friends and advisers understood that they must stay here while he went yonder. He vouchsafed to them only as much of his secret as was appropriate to their understanding.

Immediately after the battle of Antietam, it is said that, with hands behind his back, he walked up and down the cabinet room, oblivious of the presence of his advisers, and indulged in inner groanings of the spirit too deep for vocal utterance. But finally he ejaculated: "I promised God, I promised God, I promised God that if He would give me victory at Antietam, I would do this thing." The Emancipation Proclamation was a covenant made in Heaven. It was submitted to the cabinet for its information only as a vow registered on high. After receiving the sanction of Heaven on this Proclamation, he no more thought of submitting it to the council of his advisers than Moses dreamed of submitting the Ten Commandments to the approval of the host which he led.

Behold a man without animosity or bitterness of soul! He had no special loves and no particular hatreds. He freed the Negro without loving him and subdued the South without hating it. "With charity for all and malice toward none," was the moral axiom upon which his mind moved. His

devotion surpassed the ordinary human understanding. Others knew in part and understood in part and loved in part; he comprehended the whole. His contemporaries

thought in fractions, he in integers. He was the only one in forty millions who understood that the whole was greater than any of its parts. No local prejudices or sectional asperities could warp him from this axiomatic truth. The sure knowledge of the sage, the moral sense of the saint and the practical wisdom of the statesman were his.

The hasty social surgeons advised immediate abolition of slavery as the cancerous malady of the national body. They would amputate the afflicted member and leave the body maimed for life, but Abraham Lincoln understood the philosophy of the greatest of all thinkers: "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee," but not for the sake of the cutting off and the casting away, but only because it is better that one member should perish than that the whole body be destroyed. No skillful surgeon will operate upon a patient until his body is built up to the point of endurance and resistance where it will withstand the shock of the operation.

"Free the slave and free him now!" cried the inflamed anti-slavery advocate. Because he delayed and hesitated, they accused him of indifference and cowardice. But they only saw in part and prophesied in part. Abraham Lincoln foresaw the outcome as a whole. What profit

would have been an abortive attempt to free the Negro if the Union had been destroyed? "If I can save the Union by retaining slavery, I will do it." "If I can save the Union by destroying slavery, I will do it." "If I can save the Union part slave and part free, I will do it."

These were the utterances of a sagacious and far-seeing statesmanship. But immediately his moral genius asserted itself and forced him to register the impulse of his soul: "And yet I wish that all men might be free." The moment he discovered that the national body had developed the moral resistance to withstand the shock, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. He knew as none other when the psychological moment had arrived. The Proclamation was issued with a timeliness of intuitive wisdom, not too soon, nor yet too late.

The Negro race is accustomed to celebrate the first of January as the date of their deliverance, but the great word was issued on the 22d of September, and marked the beginning of all that we are and all that we hope to be on the American continent. Let every Negro, with unalloyed devotion and reverence of spirit, bow in honor of the name of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator who freed the Negro and saved the nation.

## **Chapter 24: Jubilee and Jazz**

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## **Chapter XXIV: Jubilee and Jazz**

The Year of Jubilee was a Jewish Institution whose fiftieth anniversary was to be observed with the liberation of Hebrew slaves, the restoration of alienated lands to their rightful owners and a general evening up of things political, economic and social. The suggestion was easily applicable and readily borrowed to suit the situation and circumstances of the Negro race in America at the time of emancipation. The nation had been saved, a race had been freed, a new order of things was about to be ushered in. The trumpet blast of triumph proclaimed throughout the land liberty to all the inhabitants thereof. The nation sang with a new meaning: "The Year of Jubilee Has Come."

The only present-day survival of this new ardor of feeling and of the ancient phraseology in terms of which it was expressed is to be found in connection with Negro music. The whole motive, movement and meaning of the spiritual outcome of this epoch is best typified

and preserved in the title: "The Fisk Jubilee Singers." The founders of Fisk University at Nashville, Tenn., unconsciously built a phrasal monument to their endeavor which will outlast the institution of learning which they established for the uplift and enlightenment of the down-trodden and oppressed.

The early missionaries to the Southland during and immediately after the Civil War were motivated by deep religious consecration and zeal for humanity. They had been told that the Negro did not possess the higher attributes of human nature, and there was nothing in him that would respond to the higher human appeal. But their faith triumphed over skepticism. Belief in God compels acceptance of the corollary, belief in man. Faith is its own foundation where evidence is wanting, but tangible proof and concrete demonstration double its validity and divests it of all semblance of doubt. The Northern missionaries were keenly on the lookout for the manifestation of those human qualities that would justify their faith and vindicate their devotion in the eyes of a doubting world. Then their ear first caught the melodic suggestion, their joy knew no bound. It was but the smothered soul of a race striving for expression through weird wailings and plaintive lamentation like that of the captured Jews who

wept under the willow tree by the waters of Babylon. Only this newly heard voice possessed a tempo, timbre and soul melting pathos never heard before. They quickly recognized that there had been discovered a new vein of musical and spiritual wealth. It needed only to be heard to be appreciated. It immediately moved the heart, stirred the imagination and melted the eyes to tears. What was to be done with this treasure-trove?

There inheres in Yankee genius and ingenuity an almost uncanny cunning. It never fails to see and to seize the main chance. It operates with unflinching certainty in any field to which it may be applied. It adapts its method of operation to the requirements of the situation whether dealing with things material, social or spiritual. "Go to," they said, with a practical ingenuity hardly less admirable than their religious zeal, "let us transmute his wonderful manifestation into material dividends to promote the good work to which we have set our hands." It was felt that the exploitation of this melodious gift of the Negro would not only prove serviceable to the race, but it was good also for soothing the sin-sick soul of the nation.

The authorities of Fisk University at Nashville, Tenn., took the lead in this propaganda. The Fisk Jubilee Singers were organized,

through which the voice of the Negro carried its own meaning and mission to the nation, and indeed to the world. The new song gushed from the heart as the trill from the throat of the bird. The nation listened with moistened eyes. Kings and queens heard it and wept. The response was spontaneous and immediate. The civilized world was easily persuaded to a sympathetic and generous attitude towards a people who cried out of the depth of their distress. "The Fisk Jubilee Hall" stands today as a reminder of the substantial response evoked by this appeal. Other institutions were also in the field. The foundation of many a Negro school and college was laid on the basis of the jubilee music. These bespeak better things for the Negro race.

But the early missionaries and school marmes exploited only one feature of the Negro's emotional endowment. The spirituality of the Negro's song not only convinced the nation of the worthiness of the object of their sacrifice and devotion, but also proved profitable to their enterprise. We naturally extol the things which we prefer and by which we profit, and are prone to deny or ignore the things which frustrate our aims. The early missionaries were of the Puritan temperament and mold of mind. They, naturally enough, sought to create the

Negro in their own image. They portrayed to the North only that phase of his life that tended to produce the type they had in mind. They observed a sagacious silence or maintained a prudent ignorance concerning another mode of manifestation by which the Negro expressed his wild

ejaculations of joy and secular excitation when free from every care and anxiety that besets the serious soul. And yet jazz is as obvious a mode of Negro expression as its jubilee counterpart. The one represents his serious religious mode, the other his idle, carefree, irresponsible indulgence in rapturous and riotous frivolities. The jubilee is lugubrious and long drawn out with a minor undertone; the jazz is mirthful, hilarious, snatchy, catchy, quick and lively. You find the one in the Negro camp-meeting, the other in his dance hall. The one is as old as the other. The "Mobile Buck" and "Jump, Jim Crow" antedate "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" and "Steal Away to Jesus." They are but different tunes played on the same harp. No Negro ever has to learn either. They are a part of his physical and psychological coefficient. No attenuation of blood can destroy its power and charm. It is just as apparent in the albicant chorus of a Negro show as in a back woods dance in Alabama. Education cannot destroy it but only raise it to a

higher power of expression. We listen for it in Harry Burleigh and Roland Hayes the same as in the untutored choir of a Baptist church.

The jazz was later in receiving recognition than the jubilee because of the different method of exploitation. The missionaries had the Negro tell his own story in his own voice. The fork-faced minstrels of the earlier days essayed to portray the jazz phase of the Negro life by means of alien impersonalization. A Negro performance without the Negro performer is at best a tepid substitute. No one race can portray the soul of another. Roman tears will not moisten British eyes. The white man is a colorless misfit whether he attempts jubilee or jazz. We always prefer the original to the substitute. The one is a play; the other a performance.

The Negro is at present becoming his own interpreter both as to jubilee and jazz. Negro authors are putting a new emphasis and meaning in both. After two generations of constant singing, the jubilee songs have still the moving and melting power of the earlier years. The musical authorities of Europe tell us over and over again that we have not yet begun to explore the possibilities of the musical endowment of the transplanted race. The Negro is becoming educated in musical art and technique.

Some Negro genius may yet arise who will weave this rare and rich musical material into artistic form, and thus put a new song in the mouth of the world and a new tune in its heart.

In the meantime the jazz is all the rage. The capitals of the Old World are running wild over the power and spell of the jazz; the feet of the nation are flying to the quick tempo and hesitancy of its movement; the small boy whistles it on the streets; the Italian grinds it from his organ to the delight of the rabble; the Victrola plays it in the parlor; the theater and concert halls resound with the popular craze; the Negro orchestra thrills the fashionable ballroom with the inimitable witchery of its catchy airs.

Jubilee melodies furnish the only genuine contribution that the American continent has yet made to the spiritual literature of mankind. The jazz contributes to the delight of the nation and the world in their gayer hours and lighter mood as nothing else can do.

## **Chapter 25: Pessimism of the Negro**

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## **Chapter XXV: Pessimism of the Negro**

The Negro poet, Fenton Johnson, ejaculates:

"It is better to die than to grow up and find out that you are colored."

Here is the epitome of pessimistic philosophy in a nutshell. Race prejudice is a fact which the Negro did not create and which he cannot control. He may indeed modify its malignity or mitigate its intensity by wise and sensible procedure. But lachrymose lamentations will avail him nothing. Shall

he yield up the ghost as the coward does in the face of unfavorable fate? Or shall he meet the outward pressure of circumstances with the inner resistance of soul. The inane critic of creation makes a sorry spectacle in face of cosmic law. The physical coward flees before testing the adequacy of his strength against opposing obstacle. He sees lions in the way and trembles without determining whether or not they are chained. The moral coward is more despicable. He makes an unconditional surrender of the soul. When one surrenders his will he paralyzes his energies

and enfeebles his whole nature. The nerveless prophet lies supinely under the juniper tree and wails over the awryness of the world. The militant prophet commands the chariots of God and the house of fire. Pessimism never righted a wrong or remedied an evil since the beginning of sin. Screaming against the facts of the Universe is the pastime of the indolent and craven. The earth spins on its axis and moves about the sun, heedless of the wry faces of the little pessimist whose wails are as impotent as the hooting of the midnight owl which doth to the moon complain.

The pessimist is apt to be a moral and intellectual dyspeptic. He has gorged himself with raw theories which cause mental indigestion. One ounce of faith will cure the severest case of pessimism. One dose of courage will banish the most malignant type of despair. If you have faith as large as a grain of mustard seed, you can say to the mountains of race prejudice, "Be ye plucked up by the roots and cast into the sea," and it shall be so. No one who has faith in humanity can ever despair of the possibilities of man. Faith banishes despondency as the sun the mist. Why surrender the high prerogatives of manhood to the arrogance of race? What boots it to blot the Negro out of existence and to shut off his seed from the land of the

living? What human or divine end can be served thereby? Suicide is the one sin that shall never be forgiven. If our poet desires to die in order to terminate his own line and escape the hardships of his color it is his personal prerogative so to do. The one commendable act in the record of the life of Judas Iscariot is that "he went out and hanged himself." But would to God that the poet had taken the decisive step before penning these fatal words. The race might well have rejoiced at the riddance. But the viciousness of evil doctrine consists in its suggestiveness, especially to those of weak will and feeble spirit.

Unfortunately, Fenton Johnson does not stand alone. His brand of moral imbecility is widespread and contagious. The race abounds in weak-souled pessimists without faith, hope or courage, ashamed of their kind and of their own progeny. They live without hope and die without issue. They are even devoid of that salutary cowardice of conscience which makes them think rather of the ills they have than face the far-flung consequences of personal or social suicide.

Race suicide discredits the Creator and defeats the ends of creation. Man alone possesses this power. He is the only biological pervert who thwarts his own existence. "Multiply, replenish

the earth, and subdue it," is the first and final command of all created things in the animal and vegetable world. The struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest are the result of the endeavor of plant and animal to carry out this high decree. Man alone gives up the ghost and seeks surcease from suffering by self-sterility. What a reflection upon the God who made him and gave him dominion over earth and air and sea and all that in them is!

O! that there might be breathed anew in the nostrils of the Negro that primeval breath of Godhood. The Negro must believe that he is the son of God and heir and joint heir to the divine patrimony. The rights of humanity are alienable, of which no human creature can be divested by reason of race, color, condition, creed or clime. Although recognition may be withheld and privilege denied for the while, they can never be effaced or taken away. Only the craven soul can hypothecate his divine birth-right.

"Though ye have lain among the pots yet shall ye be as doves with wings of silver and feathers of yellow gold."

Let the Negro reread Milton's "Paradise Lost" and study closely the character of his imaginary Satan, who is but the embodiment of the tough tenacious Teutonic spirit.

"The mind is its own palace,  
And of itself can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

All is not lost if the mind is not lost. The unconquerable will always finds hope in despondency and resolution in despair. If there can only be injected into the mind of the Negro this much of the spirit of Milton's devil, we shall never again listen to a pessimistic wail counseling supine yielding to an unfavorable fate. That would be an infamy beneath the deepest downfall under the compulsion of supernal power. Satan's counsel to his overthrown hosts applies with special pertinency to the Negro of today.

## **Chapter 27: Awake, Arise or Be Forever Fallen**

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## **Chapter XXVI: Awake, Arise, or be Forever Fallen**

Weakness of will is the Negro's besetting sin. In the intellectual and sentimental features of mind he is neither deficient nor inferior as compared with the highest established standards. But his present backward status is due to volitional enfeeblement. The strongest appeal should be made to apply to the point of greatest weakness. Then away with the counsel in prose or rhyme, which tends to compound this weakness of will.

This world of ours is full of iniquity and inequality. The progress of two thousand years of Christian grace has not sufficed to banish injustice and wrong. The rich and the poor, the strong and the feeble, the wise and the simple, the white and the non-white peoples of the earth are yoked together in unequal contest. But we are not left without hope. The arbitrament of triumph does not consist in the mightiness of might, but in the righteousness of right. This is the one divine event to which the whole creation

moves. Herein lies the Negro's protective device and defensive philosophy.

Endurance is the dominant virtue that crowns the apex of the pyramid of human strivings. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. All things in this life and in the life to be are reserved to him that overcometh.

In the meantime let us pray that Fenton Johnson, for the excited moment, was inebriated with the delirium of poetic fantasy; but that in his soberer mood he will recant his evil utterance, and apologize for the insult to God who made him and to the race which must bear the brunt of his inanity.

THE END