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DEDICATION.

*The one dear life which, in all the on going of time, I shall
be allowed to live upon this planet, came to me
within the borders of the imperial state
of Texas. Whatever others
may say, shall I not, therefore, love her? - Well, I do; and
to Texas soil which fed me, to Texas air which
fanned my cheeks, to Texas skies which
smiled upon me, to Texas stars
whose fiery orbs searched
my soul, chased out the germs of slumber and bade me come
to them, this volume is affectionately dedicated by*

THE AUTHOR,

WORKS OF SUTTON E. GRIGGS.

“IMPERIUM IN IMPERIO”

“OVERSHADOWED”

“UNFETTERED”

“THE HINDERED HAND”

“THE ONE GREAT QUESTION”

“POINTING THE WAY”

“WISDOM'S CALL”

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

The skill and the courage, the daring and persistence, the heroism, resourcefulness and masterful genius displayed by the sons of the white South during their four years of bloody travel and shifting fortunes from Bull Run's battle ground, by the way of Shiloh, of Gettysburg, of Antietam and other fields of carnage, on and on, and on, to the dreary plains of hope-ending Appomattox, settled for all time to come the question of the innate capacity of the white South for great achievements.

It is well that the South has had this lesson of her greatness coming out of the Civil War, for, standing midway of the world's civic forests, with the world's most stupendous sociological problem strapped to her back, hedged in with briers, brambles and darkness, her ears beset with the harsh tones of the vicious, the false tones of the demagogues and the half tones of the timid, the lesson is needed that she may have the faith in her powers necessary for the performance of the great task that is hers and the nation's.

But there are other lessons of equal importance to be drawn from the outcome of this same war. The result of the war wholly unforeseen by the leaders

PREFACE.

of the South of that day, demonstrates that the white South with all of its acuteness of judgment is not by any means infallible, is not beyond the possibility of making grave mistakes. The result of the war also demonstrates that, with all of its power, the white South is yet not able to withstand the eternal drift of things, is not able to fight against the stars in their courses, is not able to thwart the purposes of the guiding hand of the universe however distasteful the pathway mapped out may be.

In view of the fact that the South *can* make mistakes and *can* be ordered by eternal forces to retrace her steps, an open ear should be ever kept attuned to catch dear wisdom's call. Such we feel our message herein given to be. Hence, the name it bears.

In "Wisdom's Call" we have striven to look at matters fundamentally, and feel that we have made a presentation which the white South can only reject or ignore at the cost of a silent, bloodless but costly struggle with eternal forces, which through the years will eat away her vitals.

Very respectfully,
SUTTON E. GRIGGS.

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WISDOM'S CALL.

CHAPTER I.

THE DANGER OF AN UNPROTECTED SPOT.

Small Things. We are living in a day in which great importance is being attached to what was once regarded as the small, inconsequential things of the universe, a day in which the greatest and wisest among men do not consider it beneath their dignity to take note of what such lowly beings as flies, mosquitoes and rats are doing. Since Pasteur unfolded to the world the germ theory of disease, and demonstrated the presence in the human frame of tiny creatures, too small to be detected by the keenest eye when unaided, creatures that feed upon and destroy the body, the minds of men have been very generally turned in the direction of small things. So small, so insignificant a thing as the house fly now stands charged with being a source through which typhoid fever germs are able to capture men and put them in

jeopardy of their lives. The sneaking chinch, small, timid and cowardly, daring not to leave its hiding place except under the cover of darkness, has at last been singled out as the agency by means of which the smallpox is spread abroad. Tuberculosis, the disease that vexes the soul of man, that has baffled the concentrated wisdom of the world and of the ages, is but the work of tiny germs of such size that hundreds of them can assemble upon the point of a needle without being visible to the naked eye. The discovery has been made that the bubonic plague, the terror of the nations of the earth, is transmitted from land to land by so humble a creature as a rat that hides in the hold of a ship as it sails from port to port. It is now well known that the epidemics of yellow fever which in times past disorganized the business of states and nations, and converted whole cities into one great funeral procession, were organized and conducted by such tiny beings as mosquitoes which flew from the swamps and carried the disease from man to man. The suffering yellow fever patient strained his dying eyes in search of some *far off* mysterious providence that was hurrying him to an untimely death, while just above his head the mosquitoes were chanting in an unknown tongue the full story of his infection and his impending dissolution.

There are some who seem to be of
Making the opinion that the complete adjust-
the Negro ment in the South of what is called the
Small. race question will immediately follow
 the repeal or annulment of the Fifteenth
 Amendment to the Constitution of the United

States. Their cry is, deprive the Negro of all political power; cause him to be absolutely helpless so far as affecting the situation one way or another is concerned; reduce him to the position of a governmental insect, and, they assert, our troubles will all be over. But small things, we have just seen, can give trouble. The fly does more harm than the eagle; the rat is more dangerous than the elephant; the chinch is far more to be feared than the lion. The Negro, though reduced to a position of utter helplessness will be the source of unending trouble to the white South and to the nation. We have no reference here to any possible injury the Negro might be able to inflict by means of such strength as he could muster. Very little, perhaps, as matters now stand, need be feared from that quarter. But it is the weakened position of the Negro, not his strength, that is to be feared. The putrid body of a dead man lying at the bottom of a reservoir can poison the water of a city and thus slay more people than if the man were alive, dashing wildly through the streets of that city firing on the right and on the left.

A Small Beginning. When in sixteen hundred and nineteen a handful of uncivilized and helpless aliens was incorporated as slaves into the economic life of Virginia, the great issues bound up in that act were hidden from the most astute minds of that day. Utterly weak were those Negroes; a condition more abject is hardly conceivable. And yet they were not without the power of doing harm. The system of slavery ramified the South, poured its noxious poison into

its life currents, marked its fertile fields for avoidance, transferred the seat of power to the northeast, north and northwest and finally became the bone of contention that provoked the most terrific war that the human family has thus far waged.

“Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!”

**Guardian-
ship
Theory.**

But the advocates of the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment hold that said proposed repeal would not weaken the Negro; hold that his position would be the stronger if he would but rest his case upon the sense of guardianship of his white neighbor, and not seek to have a voice of his own in the government. In fact there are some who seem fully convinced that the *ideal* situation for the South is one in which the Negro is granted protection in the matter of holding property, is granted the right of trial by jury, *but is denied all voice in the matter of conducting the affairs of state.* The contention is made that the occupying of this position on the part of the Negro is not necessarily incompatible with the according to him of full protection, and as proof that an element shorn of the right of participation in the government can still be amply protected, the favorable treatment of women and children, non-voting elements, is cited. An instant's reflection will convince one that it is quite an error to base conclusions as to what can be done for the Negro upon whatever degree of favorable treatment is accorded women and children. The known relationship of woman to the social side of man at once discloses the fact that even without citizenship she occupies a position of vantage that

in the very nature of things the Negro man can never occupy with relation to the white man. The mother, wife, sister, potential wife or sweetheart, the co-partner in the work of pro-creation—these have a thousand chances for protection to one that the Negro has as a simple contributor to the material side of civilization. The girl child is their woman in the embryo, and the boy a citizen in the embryo, and even the birds know how to protect their own *eggs* in preference to protecting the *fledglings* of others. In view of the fact therefore, that the white woman and child are intimately interwoven in the social and civic life of the white man the protection that is accorded them cannot be pointed to as an example of what could be expected for the Negro placed in a weakened position in the body politic.

**Better
Illustrations.**

Far better illustrations of what can be expected of the sense of guardianship, unsupported by other considerations, are the treatment accorded Negro women, who, where Negroes are disfranchised have no social ties linking them to any of the sovereign voters, and the status of the Negro child, who if a girl, is not a future social queen of the white race, or, if a boy, is not a future citizen where Negroes are denied the right to vote because of race. It is the universal plaint of the colored woman that she stands absolutely unprotected, that in the great majority of cases where an alleged offender against her honor is white she is laughed out of court, and further, that cases which would cause death were the racial connection of each party to the

situation reversed, are actually denied entrance into court.

As to the hold that the Negro child has upon the situation, we may readily judge from the mere fact that the desire in some quarters to have him grow up in ignorance prevents the more rapid growth in the South of a sentiment in favor of compulsory education. In short, the Negro child is so weak in reference to its enjoying its rights, that it is able through that weakness to keep the white child out of its rights. Here then, in the case of the Negro woman and child we have clear illustrations of what it means to be dependent upon a mere sense of guardianship.

To prove that the Negro can safely
Conditions rely upon the white man's sense of
Have guardianship, reference is sometimes
Changed. made to the protection that was often
 given the slave by his master. But
 that protection was born of a deeper motive than
 that of simple guardianship. The greatest of all mo-
 tives, self-interest, inspired the master to protect
 his slave. But now that the Negroes are free and
 there are no masters to guard their own interests
 by protecting their slaves, it is indeed poor reason-
 ing that would expect the same activity and the
 same results under the changed conditions. No,
 the protection accorded to the slave is not in any
 sense an indication of what would be the plight of
 the Negro resting wholly upon such sense of guard-
 ianship as might be developed in the white race.

Nature's Remedy. Nature's one great remedy for all situations threatening trouble is the instinct of self-preservation. That instinct is the only thing that can be relied upon to do full justice by the individual involved, that can be depended upon to be on the alert at all times and under all circumstances. Whenever this instinct is forbidden to work, the element thus situated is in a weakened condition in the body politic. A toothless dog is certain to have more stones thrown at him than is one that can growl and show a gleaming row of sharp protectors when occasion requires. Yes, the Negro, denied the right to participate in the government, is in a weakened position, and we shall now proceed to show the harm to the whole body politic, the entire governmental fabric by virtue of his occupying this position.

When the State Discriminates. We shall first consider the psychological developments, the effects upon the minds of men, that result from the course of the state in discriminating against the Negro, in putting him in a weakened condition. Where the Negro has the proper influences around him to guide him, his spirit will rise above and be unaffected by any course deemed unjust that the state may take, but to the unguided mind will come one of two conclusions. The victim of discrimination because of his race, will decide either that the state is right, that he *is* a being of a lower order—which conclusion robs him of his self-respect, or he will feel that the state is unjust, and bitterness will thereupon enter his

spirit. In both cases the state has prepared a congenial soil for the development of crime; for what better preparation can one have for a career of wrongdoing than a full supply of disrespect for oneself, or a spirit embittered through a sense of wrong done by organized society?

**The
White Man
Affected.**

But the psychological influence emanating from the attitude of the state reaches not only the Negroes, but the whites as well, only in a different way.

The white citizen feels that he must uphold the laws of the commonwealth and his mind begins to take on such form as is necessary for upholding the decrees of the state. Those who are set apart by discriminating laws as the dominant class develop the feeling of occupying a superior station. It is the nature of a man to double his sense of being wronged whenever this wrong arises from a creature pronouncedly beneath his level. Remember the groanings of the lion when kicked by the ass. It was the source of the kick that troubled him most. So when the state by discrimination bids the white citizen to look down on the Negro it is doubling the capacity of this white citizen to take offense. Wherever state discrimination exists it will be observed that the sensitiveness of the whites is quickened and that the sense of proportion as regards offenses committed by Negroes is destroyed. Here we have the philosophy of the mood that has sometimes led white men to kill Negroes who have seen fit to say to them yes, instead of yes, sir. With the situation so richly ripened for crime by the course of the state, the story of

the evolution that follows is very simple. The white men whose duty it is to arrest supposed offenders, enter upon their duties with their minds surcharged with the state's attitude. It is beneath the dignity of an officer to listen to a submerged unit as in his distress he seeks to harangue his way out of trouble, so, forth comes the club, and a bloody head follows. It is wholly beneath the dignity of an officer to chase a Negro, who is something less than a citizen, so a bullet is sent after the submerged unit that dares to flee, is sent if the charge is simply that of stealing a five-cent glass of milk or the failure to be at work, or yet again if the charge be only that the party, though unsuspected and unaccused of crime, had the hardihood to run when accosted. Cases of the type here mentioned could be cited until the soul would grow sick.

The white citizen, now mark you,
Negro's is more prone to find fault with the
Troubles Negro in an atmosphere of state dis-
Greater. crimination, and the Negro must meet
Power Less. this *increased* tendency to do him
 harm with a *decreased* power to ward
 off. When a mob of whites approaches a jail for a vic-
 tim belonging to the submerged class, the sheriff must
 choose between serving the men before him who will
 meet him at the polls on election day, and that class
 that can exercise no influence whatever on his destiny.
 Often the temptation to care for his future proves a
 potent influence with the sheriff and the member of
 the non-voting element is handed over to the voting
 element with the thought uppermost in mind that,

while the voting element is able to reward, the non-voting element is powerless to punish. So the situation logically paves the way for successful and unrebuked lynching.

The downward journey continues.

Down!

Down!

Perhaps the white man who formed part of a mob to kill a Negro, a little later takes the matter in hand individually and seeks to have his own private killing of a Negro. Perhaps he is himself killed. But the right of self-defense is not one of the sacred rights of the submerged class. Has not the butcher, the higher animal, the full right to kill the steer? And is not any steer which will not tamely submit to be killed a vicious animal? Thus the Negro, who kills a white man in self-defense, who kills righteously, being of the submerged class, is sometimes lynched or even burned at the stake for his exercise of the right of self-defense. These injustices that inevitably dog the footsteps of the submerged ones, cause heart-burnings and ranklings that so operate upon their spirits that the soil is the further prepared for an increased crop of crimes.

**Character
of Whites
Influenced.**

But the evils begotten by the weakened position of the Negro in the body politic are not by any means confined to the Negro race. It is a matter of common knowledge that it is now exceedingly difficult to convict a white man of murder even when his victim is a white man. For, the jurors that blunted their sense of the sacredness of hu-

man life when they freed the white man that murdered a Negro, have had no moral grindstone on which to resharpen that blunted sense in time to properly avenge the death of a white man who died at the hands of a white. Yes, the character acquired in dealing with the Negro is after all, character, a fixed part of a man, and will manifest itself in every walk of life.

The Southern white dailies are beginning to note the alarming number of crimes of murder and violence against white women on the part of their husbands that are being reported, and are tracing these crimes to the brutality begotten in the lawlessness practiced toward the Negroes. Hitherto the South has been heralded far and wide as the home of chivalrous regard for woman-kind. Not long since in one of our Southern cities a white man killed his wife in a most deliberate manner and without the semblance of just provocation. The estimate of the value of human life had sunk so low that the white people felt it their duty to call a mass-meeting to voice a demand for the punishment of the wife slayer, and one of the South's greatest newspapers, located in that city, began an editorial crusade calling for the man's punishment. Just think of that! Mass meetings and editorial proddings deemed necessary to secure the proper handling of a murder charge, the victim being a white woman of means and good standing! In this same city, a short time previously, a white man, with great deliberation, killed four un-

offending Negroes, remarking, as he coolly lighted his cigarette, that he expected the affair in which he had engaged would cost him a little law suit. This man was adjudged insane but walks the streets seemingly as sound in mind as any one needs be. Perhaps the wife murderer, seeing the ease with which this plea was entered and sustained, decided to commit his murder and escape on the same plea. Thus white women must live under the protection or lack of protection of whatever code is developed, even though the said code is developed in connection with the treatment of a submerged class.

**A Strain of
Brutality in
the Blood.**

Has it ever occurred to the white South that the presence of the Negro in their midst in a weakened position has in it the possibility of introducing a pronounced strain of brutality into the very blood of the white race? Such white men as brutalize their natures by their conduct toward Negroes must look to the white race for wives, and their offsprings are absorbed into the general body of the white race. The white race furnishes guards for Negro prisoners who sometimes shoot and kill their wards, and sometimes beat them to death. Policemen and constables, for one cause or another, find a way to slay a large number of Negroes annually. Then there is that vast army of white men who take part in the various lynchings. These men, as we have said, have white wives, and it is to the homes presided over by these white women that the husbands go, straight from their feasts of blood. In due time children are born unto them. Is there anything more certain than, that in due time a generation will

arrive possessing in a marked degree a strain of brutality?

Signs A Southern white man discussing the
Appear. increasing brutality of lynchings, said
 that the excesses were due to the fact
 that the best citizens were no longer
present at the lynchings to hold the more violent
and brutal in check. Is that the case, or is it
true that the mobs are now composed of young
men and boys, as is so often asserted, who have been
brought into the world since the prevalence of
lynchings in the South? Did those fathers who took
part in bloody orgies a few years ago imagine that
when they retired to rest in the early hours of the
morn that their spirits shed their bloody moods as
readily as their bodies got rid of their woolen coats?
Does the extra brutality of the mobs officered by
the newer generation prove that the fathers got rid
of the bloody taint as easily as was thought? Re-
cently a young Southern white man deliberately
threw scalding hot water upon his mother's back,
and injured her to such an extent that her life
was despaired of for a while. Was the father of this
boy at one time a member of a mob, and was
this boy born during his father's career as a
lyncher? Who knows?

To catch a further glimpse of what may be reason-
ably expected of this newer generation born since the
beginning of the reign of the mob in the South, read
the following news items typical of what may be
found in almost any day's paper. "Thornton, Ark.
—News has just reached here of one of the most

dastardly crimes that has ever occurred in the history of this county.——, son of a prominent farmer of Woodberry was shot and killed by his wife, to whom he was married less than a year ago. She was not satisfied with shooting him once but took three at him, and then cut his throat. Those who saw the corpse say it was the worst mangled one they had ever seen.”

Again: “Gainesville, Ga.—Because he remonstrated with his son-in-law when the latter’s children spoke disrespectfully to their mother the Rev. —— was hacked to pieces and killed with an axe by his son-in-law at the latter’s home.” Were the fathers of these two slayers members of mobs that tortured Negroes?

Quite recently the white people of Texas and those of Georgia heard from their penitentiaries and were greatly shocked over the disclosures. The brutality revealed staggered them. But even now the white South has no adequate conception of the terrible brutality that reigns throughout the prison life of the South! What the convict guards are doing is illustrated by the following newspaper account of an incident that can be duplicated almost anywhere in the prison life of the South: “One of the convicts said that he was standing close to Jamison when he was fired upon, and told of the killing in the following manner: ‘Mr. Reasonover came down the line with a stick in his hand and told Jamison to wake up. Jamison told him that he was working as hard as he knew how. Mr. Reasonover then struck Jamison and said that he had told him to wake up. Jamison

had his shovel in his hands, but not in such position that he could have struck Mr. Reasonover. Mr. Reasonover backed off about eight feet and pulled his pistol and shot.' It was shown that Jamison had shackles on his ankles when Reasonover shot him.

'This man had absolutely no excuse for shooting this convict,' said Judge Edington."

Again: "Columbia, S. C., ——. W——— S———, aged 22, was shot and instantly killed and Mrs. —— dangerously wounded in the latter's restaurant here this afternoon by —— ——, a convict guard, following a dispute over a bowl of soup." These things speak for themselves. The vast army of men engaging in these practices are also engaged in procreation and are having children born to themselves daily. Cannot a blind man see that it is only a matter of a few years before there will be a pronounced strain of brutality running through the entire life blood of the South?

And will not the brutal strain once admitted into the life of a people, show

Entire admitted into the life of a people, show
Life to be itself almost anywhere and everywhere?
Affected. If this strain ever fully comes to the white South, look for signs of it in a lack of reverence for aged men and women, in the existence of a marked indifference with reference to the welfare of children in general, in the increased insolence of children toward their parents, in the low estimate of the value of human life, in the revolting practices of mobs which rack their brains in search of every conceivable method of torture, in the failure of legislatures to provide, or officials to

enforce adequate laws against the crushing out of child life through employment in factories, in the efforts of sons and daughters in the full bloom of life to push their aged and infirm parents from the stage of existence ahead of the natural hour in those hidden ways made possible through the privacy of family life. Yes, if through that class that brutalizes itself on the Negro, the strain of brutality creeps through intermarriage into the entire life of the white South, look for the coming of the sad and shameful days here forecasted.

The loveliest flower of all the South-land has not been the velvety red rose, **Chivalry** nor the beautiful lily of the field, nor **Doomed.** yet the magnificent magnolia. No, the loveliest of Southern flowers has been the flower of chivalry, the tender regard for woman. When the strain of brutality comes, this flower is sure to die. An imitation thereof will no doubt be seen abroad in the land, but the genuine flower with all of its loveliness will be gone forever. Yes, yes, the weakened position of the Negro in the body politic causes the existence of a gap through which lawlessness and brutality enter and threaten with their awful virus the actual blood of the white South.

In yet another way the weakened position of the Negro is threatening **Anarchy** to poison the life of the whole South. **Headed** The pet aversion of the South is the **Southward.** anarchist, and its one great boast is that it has developed none of that brood. But is this true? There are two kinds of anarchists, the

believers in a land without organized government, and in violence as the proper means for the overthrow of organized society, and the philosophical anarchists, who, though believing in a land without organized government, yet would overthrow government only by changing the thinking of men. The one goal at which all anarchists are aiming is a condition of society in which there is no law governing men save the sentiment of the people as manifested on any given occasion. The anarchists, as stated, would attain this end by overturning in one way or another the laws now on the statute books, but is not the same end attained by the lifting of the spirit above the law? Has not the South done this very thing? Before you can move a race of thoughtful, civilized people, such as are the Southern white people, there must be formulated a satisfactory philosophy of things justifying the course to be pursued. What then is the philosophy that underlies the tolerance of lynchings? Here it is: Whenever the law does not meet the prevailing sentiment of the people, it is perfectly correct for men to do what the situation seems to them to demand. Let this code of ethics, formulated under whatever circumstances may be, become firmly rooted in the minds of the Southern whites, become a part of their religion, and it will finally be put to use by the poor as against the rich, by labor as against capital, by the public official who is elected to enforce the law, as against an element desiring the law's enforcement. The outbreak of "Night Riding" in Tennessee, Kentucky and portions of Indiana are but the

triumph of the feeling of lifting one's mind above the law as it stands, and the substitution there-for the law of one's mind. This is anarchy, only a quicker route than that being pursued by the avowed anarchists. There is no killing of officials, no voting to abolish governments; only the simple lifting of the spirit above the law, a thing first learned in dealing with the weakened Negro. So this is the port toward which we of the South are headed, the living above the law, therefore the living without law, therefore anarchy. So far as the Negro is concerned he feels already that he has entered that port, that he is being governed largely without law. But the Negro is standing upon the prow of a ship, on whose stern the white man stands. If the prow of the ship has entered the port of anarchy bear in mind that the winds are yet blowing and the stern will soon follow the prow into the port.

When, by and by, the work of long
Philosophical An- ages in building up a sentiment of
archist. reverence for law in the soul of
the white race has been undone,
when the philosophy of the anarchist
has been generally accepted throughout the South; that is, when men grow to feel that it is higher and wiser to look to their own bosoms for the law rather than to the statute books, when each unit has become a law unto itself, then will these philosophical anarchists, chosen as mayors, judges, legislators and governors feel free to discard their oaths, ignore the requirements of the law and the mandates of constitutions, and govern according to their own

notions of what is right and what is best. As an evidence of the fact that what is here asserted is not some idle dream, but a grim reality, note the following editorial utterance from a daily newspaper published in one of the South's most noted cities. Says that journal: "The head of the —— (naming its home city) municipal government it appears has undertaken to designate certain classes who shall be exempt from the ordinary operations of the law. It is a notorious fact that he has determined what laws shall be enforced, or at least what laws shall be ignored and nullified, but it is going a degree further when he makes a discrimination in those who shall be amenable to the laws restraints.

That the Mayor should issue individuals of certain classes exemptions from police control is a high handed and entirely unwarranted procedure, to say nothing of the immorality it involves or the purpose that probably induced it."

A law may be passed against gambling but a philosophical anarchist in the mayor's chair will allow the dens to flourish all around. Saloons may be abolished by law, but officials who are philosophical anarchists will permit the existence of a greater number than before they were voted out. In the day when the philosophical anarchist is holding sway, contracts will be let, not to the highest bidders but to favorites. The results of white primaries, even, will be announced in keeping with the desires of election officers and not in keeping with the ballots cast.

That the treatment accorded the Negro is to bear fruit in the direction of disorganizing the life of the whites of the South by means of the philosophy

developed is strikingly illustrated by the turmoil existing in the state of Tennessee. For months the daily newspapers cried out that a condition of political anarchy, unparalleled in the history of the state, existed. In the course of an article explaining the situation a newspaper correspondent of one of Tennessee's leading dailies said: "The fact is each faction is mortally afraid of the other. It must therefore be shown very clearly that there will be a square deal before anything will be done." The *Memphis News-Scimitar* one of the strongest and most ably edited journals in the state, speaking of this same turmoil, says editorially: "It might all be set at rest by agreeing that honesty shall be the rule of public life, and that our elections shall be held honestly, and the will of the people as expressed at the polls shall be the court of last resort.

But we must confess that we are a long way off from this."

A white man, the president of a college in the state, in speaking of the Tennessee situation said: "The trouble with us is that we are afraid to trust each other. We are suffering with a case of broken down conscience. We broke down our consciences in dealing with Negroes and now we fear to trust one another because we know each other."

There is only one way of escape for
Only the South. It must lift the Negro
One Way from his submerged position; there
of Escape. must be no points of necessary weakness. It was the undipped spot in the heel of the great Achilles through which he met his

death. Weakness anywhere in the body politic will assuredly invite aggression. Placing the Negro where it is the natural thing to mistreat him, simply means that he will be mistreated, and that there will come a disorganizing of the souls of those who do the mistreating. The suggestion that the Fifteenth Amendment be repealed is worse than idle. It would but further and inevitably invite the aggression that demoralizes. What the South needs is not a weaker spot, but a wall of uniform strength, with not a single gap through which lawlessness may spring unhindered, and begin to work havoc with everything in sight, attacking with equal vigor the things that invited it and those that did not.

**A Sup-
posed
Impedi-
ment.**

Whenever an effort is made to induce the dominant element of the white South to revise its attitude toward the Negro with regard to the suffrage the one retort of the past has been that political recognition for the Negro will mean that social intermingling between the two races will certainly follow. We have demonstrated, we think, how the weakness of the Negro in the body politic invites disease for the whole body, and any argument intended to influence the South to maintain, increase and perpetuate the weakness of this spot should certainly be subjected to the most careful scrutiny. How is this alleged breaking down of the social walls to happen? The white people have their churches, schools, newspapers, books and the fireside, agencies for the propagation of the doctrine of racial integrity. Does any

one pretend to say that the white people of the South with all these agencies in their hands are so constituted that the Negro race can vote its way into their social circles? But we need not theorize on these matters, for there are states in which the Negroes are accorded political rights where results may be studied. Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky have large Negro populations, accord the Negroes the suffrage on terms of equality with the whites, and, though the political party accredited with traditional friendship for the Negroes has from time to time been given control of those states, there has been no more breaking down of social lines than has been the case in Mississippi. The men who have come to the front as a result of the one party system that has obtained in the South, but who might not fare so well if the strenuous political conditions obtaining everywhere else in the English-speaking world were introduced, may continue to shout that the ballot in the hands of the Negro will mean a passport to the white man's parlor, but we are of the opinion that many of those who make this assertion for political effect are firmly of the opinion that all the voters of the world would not be able to vote the Negro into the Southern white man's parlor. The social life of the Southern white people is projected upon a plane far out of reach of the mere ballot.

The Two Are Distinct. Ex-President Eliot, of Harvard University, is of that political faith that now holds sway in the South, is highly esteemed in the South, and is the known sympathizer with it in its struggles. Hear

a word from him: "As to the ballot, it seems to me reasonable that an educational qualification should be required, and that the payment of the poll tax is also an expedient condition for exercising the suffrage; but whatever qualifications apply to the Negro should also apply to the white man. Political equality seems to me to have nothing whatever to do with what is called social equality; but I recognize that the Southern whites are not of this opinion. They believe that political equality may lead to social admixture, or at any rate, to an assertion on the part of Negroes of a right to social intercourse with white people. So far as I know, this belief among Southern whites finds no support in the practice of any nation, or part of a nation, in which a broad suffrage now obtains, and I regret its prevalence among Southern whites." In all candor, cannot the thought of social involvements be eliminated as a factor in this matter? Cannot the great race that overcame its belief in witches, ghosts and hobgoblins, grow to see that the Negro's ballot is not a magician's wand that will work the wonders ascribed to it, the wonder of establishing him in the social circles of the whites?

Permit a final word. A physician
A Final has an operation to perform on a person
Word. that has poison in his system. On
the physician's hand there is one
slight abrasion. Without gloves he goes about the
work of operating. Poison from the body of the
patient comes into contact with the physician's
blood at the point of the abrasion on his hand.

Blood poisoning sets in and the physician dies. He was sound at every point but one. The better South may continue its heroic struggles to rear men of courage and honor, may continue to send forth into life its quota of pure and noble women, but all these will not be able to prevent the lawlessness, which enters the life of the South by way of the unprotected Negro from eventually permeating all its veins and arteries, to the death of its fair name in the earth. Its brooks will babble on; its flowers will bloom on; its skies will beam down as beautifully as of old, as of old; the chirp of the happy cricket and the song of the mocking bird will be heard as in the past, but with all this it will be a new South. Anarchy, robed in a thin disguise, will sit upon the throne of government, and the eloquent, the brilliant, and the famous will lie wounded and dying in the gutters of the streets of the cities of the South, and men of high degree will be seen swinging in the dawn of beautiful mornings on the borders of fresh made lakes, much after the order of the weakened Negro, the unarmed picket whom Anarchy easily thrusts aside in her march to her Southern kingdom.

Let there be a uniform citizenship.

The True Solution. Let all men have all rights needed for self-protection. The sacred right of self-defense is as necessary to the moral health of a community as is the punishment for murder, and no one will or can be as alert for a man's protection as that man will be for himself. Therefore, let the Negro have the ballot as a means of defense against negligent officials. Only through

the Negro's ability to protect himself in the way common to civilized society, will he be removed from the situation as a harm-inviting point of weakness. Strengthening the Negro's position in the body politic is a far better policy for the final good of the South than is the proposed policy of having him a permanent point of weakness. Let all political parties North and South throw open their doors to qualified Negro voters as to all other citizens. Let the Negroes enter the several parties, each according to his conviction on questions presented. With the importance, prestige and power that will come with his being a factor in the government, the Negro will no longer be the point of weakness inviting assault, and the South, the nation and the cause of humanity will all be the gainers thereby.





II. A LUXURY OF GREAT PRICE.





CHAPTER II.

A LUXURY OF GREAT PRICE.

**The
Luxury.**

It is very evident that large numbers of white people in the South yet esteem it a high privilege, a sort of civic luxury to be permitted to thrust the law aside, dangle the body of a Negro from the end of a rope and fill the swaying form full of bullets. While they realize that the duly appointed administrators of the law can be relied upon to take the life of any Negro condemned to die, the simple death of the Negro is not what is wanted. They desire to have the supreme satisfaction of knowing that they had a direct, immediate, personal hand in the taking of the Negro's life. Demonstrate to those who feel thus, as much as you may, that lynching is not a necessity, you are met with the thought that it is a luxury and is to be indulged in as in the case of other luxuries.

**The Price
Paid for this
Luxury.**

Benjamin Franklin gave to the American people many little sayings which have helped them wonderfully, and one of his exhortations is that a man be careful not to pay too dear a price for his whistle. Let us now take up the price

that the South is paying for the luxury of lynching and see if it is not going contrary to Franklin's advice, see if it is not paying a million fold more for this alleged luxury than it is getting out of it. The state of South Carolina has ever been noted for her spirit of independence and her sense of strength. She it was who threatened nullification in the days of Andrew Jackson, and she the first a few years later to lead off in the experiment of walking out of the federal union. In the course of a speech delivered not long since upon the floor of the United States Senate the present senior Senator from that proud state asserted the utter helplessness of his state and section in matters of controversy with the rest of the nation, due to the fact that the South in point of population now constitutes but one-third of the government. He called attention to the fact that immigration was building up the population of the North and West at the rate of a million a year, causing the augmenting of the congressional strength of those sections equal to an annual gain of five congressmen from this source alone, a source from which the South is drawing practically no strength whatever. With the North and the West already constituting two-thirds of the national strength, and going forward by leaps and bounds through births and the influx of foreigners, while the South's increase is limited in the main to births within its borders, this Senator foresaw the constant and rapid dwindling of the relative strength of his section. The white people of the South have from time to time felicitated themselves upon the fact that they

have not been afflicted with the undesirable class of immigrants, but there has been immigration of millions of sober, thrifty, industrious foreigners who would have brought strength to the South in every way, immigrants fully able to purchase the cheaper lands of the South and enter upon self-sustaining careers. But why this avoidance of the South on the part of persons whose coming would be mutually advantageous? It has been due in large measure to the fact that the reputation of the mob has gone to the uttermost parts of the earth, and has created the impression that the southern section of the United States is nothing more nor less than a huge spot of blood; that red-handed murder walks our streets and promenades upon our highways, while justice, terror-stricken, has hidden herself in the deep recesses of some mountain cave. Whether justly or unjustly such is the reputation that the mob has given our bonnie Southland. Of course our editors and statesmen can explain that things are not so bad as they seem, but the news of bloodshed is telegraphed to many more places than are the carefully worded explanations as to what the killings did not mean.

Another form of damage done the South by the undue advertisement brought about by the actions of the mob is the conveying of the erroneous impression that the white women of the South are in constant danger of assault. It has been demonstrated by statistics that the white women of the South are relatively safer from such attacks than are

the white women of Chicago from the attacks of white men. The overwhelming mass of Negro men accord the white women of the South the utmost deference and respect, and the Negroes on the whole are every whit as ready to shield the women from harm as are the white men. They are the sons of their fathers. They are the sons of the men to whom the departing soldiers in the days of civil strife committed the care of their wives and daughters; the men who in every instance proved true to the sacred trust; who would have died to keep safe from harm the loved ones left in their charge. Here and there vile whiskey and a life of debauchery have evolved a Negro that has fallen so far from the common instincts of his race as to be guilty of the nameless crime, but he no more typifies his race, no more represents their overwhelmingly prevailing tendencies than Benedict Arnold can be said to be the normal type of the American revolutionist. The dust of the mob hides from view the sober faces of the *ninety and nine* faithful Negroes, while the flames of the burning pyre paint upon the sky the vicious likeness of the offending *one*; so that, men with wives and daughters, misjudging the situation, hesitate about turning their faces southward. Thus do false notions of the relative safety of the Southern white women check the growth of the South.

Let not any one deceive himself
Evils with the thought that the mob can be
Travel. maintained as an institution that af-
 fects Negroes and Negroes only. As
 to whether the South is at all to have a civilization

of law and order, even among its white citizens, depends upon its ability to give the Negro the protection of the law. No chain is stronger than its weakest link. The dog of lawlessness unleashed to torment and devour the Negro will not return to his kennel until he has also throttled the master of the house. There is a unity to the social consciousness. The public mind cannot tolerate a given state of things with regard to one segment of the population without having a growth, perhaps silent and unobserved, of a similar line of thinking with regard to things far removed from that which first called forth the line of action tolerated.

**Cabin and
Hotel
Connected.** The men who invented the mob to deal with the Negro little dreamed, perhaps, that it would ere long be summoned to service to regulate the affairs of a Reelfoot Lake. Let us recount a bit of history. 'Tis night; we hear the tramp of horses. Their riders, silent and masked, reverence for law overtopped in the soul are piloting them to a lonely log cabin in which a Negro resides. A few moments later they silently ride away leaving the swinging corpse of the black man that they have slain. Time wears on. The principle of adjusting grievances or fancied grievances by the methods of the midnight band is established, is tingling in their brains, is living in the thought of the social body ready for emergencies not originally placed on the programme. Time wears on. 'Tis night; we hear the tramp of horses. Their riders silent and masked, reverence for law overtopped in the soul, are piloting them to a lonely

log cabin—no, we are mistaken—this time it is to a prominent hotel. When, on the following morning, the state of Tennessee awoke it could hardly believe its eyes when it saw the bullet-pierced body of one of its first citizens, Capt. Quentin Rankin, dangling from the end of a rope after the order of an humble Negro.

To those who think that hiding behind logs, dodging bullets, fleeing through forests, wading through bogs and swamps, suffering the pangs of hunger and thirst, dreading the sight of man, are luxuries, the enjoyment of which can be wholly confined to friendless Negroes, we would say, "Ask the distinguished white man, the partner of Captain Rankin, Colonel Taylor, who made his escape from the banks of Reelfoot." Note how vigorously he shakes his head to let you know emphatically that the luxuries mentioned cannot be so confined, that they will eventually pass around.

The night rider, troubling the white people of the tobacco-growing regions of Kentucky and Tennessee and threatening the cotton growers of the South are but the reincarnation of the Ku Klux Klan, which was devised to handle the Negro. And note the fact that they made their appearance immediately upon the heels of the recent general laudation of the work and methods of the Klan.

Yes, in one way or another, the **Whole Social Body Affected.** social body in its entirety is certain to feel the effects of poison that it admits into any part of the body, be that part the sole of the foot or the crown of the head. It is of the highest importance that

those who shape the thought and policy of the South should hold ever and clearly in mind this fact of the unity of the social consciousness, the assured disposition on the part of society to use a faculty when once acquired upon whatever comes its way, regardless as to how far the matter in hand is removed from those things that gave rise to the development of the faculty. In the hope of illustrating still more fully this great truth we offer the examples that follow.

A few years ago many sincere friends of the Negro who planned for him the broadest Americanism and desired that his education parallel that of other Americans, grew somewhat alarmed at a kind of education which they feared would tend to set the colored man in a class apart from other Americans. To-day the Negro is not receiving a special brand of education, an education different to what other Americans are receiving, but it is due to the fact that the American mind, having acquired the habit of thinking in the groove in which the Negro was being educated, finally decided that what was good education for the Negro was likewise good for the white man, so that now the schools of the character discussed, that are operated for whites are far more numerous than those conducted for Negroes, who were the occasion of the inauguration of the system.

White Woman Barred by Negro. It is the very irony of fate that the Southern Negro, unwittingly enough, of course, blocks the pathway of the Southern white woman to the ballot box. Of all Anglo-Saxon self-governing commonwealths

the Southern states constitute the only section where women are wholly denied the right to vote, where not a breath of sentiment seems stirring in that direction. In Australia, New Zealand and several of the Northwestern states of the United States women have the full right of suffrage. In some of our Northern and Eastern states they have the suffrage to a limited extent, while in England they enjoy the right to vote in all elections save those involving seats in Parliament, and there are powerful influences at work to remove this one limitation. In Finland, a province of Russia, there are female members of the legislative body. In the sections of the world named the woman's suffrage movement has come forward upon the broad plea of the membership of women in the human family, holding that said membership constituted them the equals in point of rights of all other members. Claims for the political rights of the Negro have been projected upon this same basis of equal membership in the human family. In closing its ears to this plea made in behalf of the Negro, the dominant element of the white South attained that frame of mind that has created the peculiar phenomenon of one great English-speaking section existing in the twentieth

century with no woman's suffrage question with which to grapple. So here we have the attitude of the Southern white man toward the Negro so grooving his thoughts that it never occurs to him to enter save in a fixed, dogmatic way, upon the consideration of this question, which, more and more is engrossing the serious thought of the civilized world.

Thus do matters spread. Industrial
The Spread education, devised as a special need
Is Certain. for the colored youth, in a few years
 becomes the national fad for the white
 youth. The view of human rights adopted to restrain the Negro casts its shadow in such a manner that the Anglo-Saxon women of the world find no word of cheer coming from their Southern sisters as they carry on their world-wide struggle for the ballot. It is true that the dominant Southern thought may hold that such a state of affairs is ideal. Our only contention just here is that a wholly foreign matter, or the line of thought engendered by a wholly foreign matter, is the controlling influence in the situation. And so will the virus of the mob spread. It may take the form of night riding, as in the case of Captain Rankin, or it may distill its poisonous contempt for the forms of law into the hearts of individuals to such an extent that the street duel will be substituted for criminal and chancery courts by the men of eminence of the South. Laws against the manufacture and sale of liquor have been passed in the South over the strenuous opposition of thousands. This work can be largely nullified by the mob spirit,

the spirit of ignoring the recorded statute as the master, the regulator of the citizen's conduct.

As Americans we are optimistic; **Looking Ahead.** we *believe* in the future. Yet we do not *know* what she has in store for us.

The rich may grow richer, and the poor, poorer. Financial depression, such as we have never before known, may come. The pang of hunger may be felt in the land. Normal processes may be slow in setting matters aright. The distress cry of wife and babe may ring in the ears of the man already mad from gnawing hunger. We have no great standing army. In that dark hour, if the mob spirit is still in the air, woe be unto this nation. How easy it will be for a maddened shout to rally a host, if the spirit of lawlessness be present. As the hunger-crazed hordes sweep through the streets, with no reverence for law in their hearts, no gleaming bayonets to inspire them with dread, well may those who have plenty in that day turn pale with fear. If there is riot and pillage and a total obliteration of all regard for what the law has to say, there need be no surprise, for the seeds of such behavior were sown when the mob was permitted to trample the law under foot and wreak its vengeance on the Negro. England but recently entered upon such times of want and hunger as we have here pictured, and the deep ingrained reverence for law for which she has long been noted stood her in good stead.

Treatment of the Negro the Pivot. In view of the fact that whatever trend of thought, whatever warping of the spirit, whatever bent of character are developed in dealing with the Negro, are to become integral parts of the life of the South, well may it be held that after all the crucial, the testing point in Southern civilization, the pivot around which all else will turn will be its treatment of this weak element of its population. The lesson of the Bible account of the fall of man is not without force in this connection. The weal or woe of the whole human family is made to hinge upon the matter of eating or not eating an apple. This concept is true to life. A small soulless stone can derail a long line of passenger cars and send without warning hundreds of human beings, including the president of the road, into the presence of the Great Unknown. And so can the Negro, even in an inert state, become a determining factor in the life of the South. Will the future find the South with a well ordered civilization, affording soil and atmosphere for its highest self to unfold and expand? Has the South the ability, the strength in its soul to suppress the lynching of Negroes? The answer to the first question is summed up in, and dependent upon, the answer to the second. Ere it is too late, ere the habit of lawlessness becomes an ingrained racial trait to be handed down from sire to son, ere we behold the ugly fangs of the mob, grown sharp from gnawing the Negro, buried in the vitals of our civilization, having reached this goal in ways un-

dreamed of, ere, we say, it is too late, let the South rallying to the cry of pulpit and press, bench and bar, jurymen and sheriff, grapple resolutely with the mob even when its victim is a Negro. The complete dethronement of the mob is a crying need of the South.

Permit us to relate just here a dream
A Dream. that came to us in our waking hours.

It was the last day of the argument of the cases of those accused of killing ex-Senator Carmack, of Tennessee, and the Attorney General had just spoken the closing word for the prosecution.

All eyes in the crowded court-room now sought the face of the Judge, who, through his charge to the jury, was to take the next important step in the great trial.

Suddenly there was seen standing midway between the lawyers for the prosecution and defense a young man who at once began to address the Judge in a firm, clear, resonant voice, vibrant with deep emotion.

All eyes now turned toward this young man. "Who is he? When did he enter? I did not see him until he was standing where he is now. Where is his chair? He must have been sitting, else I would have seen him. What does he want?"

Such was the line of questioning and comment that ran through every mind in the court-room.

"May it please your honor, I have a word which I would like to offer before this case finally passes from before the people of this state," said the young man.

The Judge bent forward and looked intently at the stranger, feeling that it was no ordinary personage before him, and yet unable to account for the strange procedure.

"Which side of this case do you represent?" asked the Judge.

"May it please your honor, I wish it to be clearly understood that I am not to touch one way or another the merits of the case before you."

"Well," said the Judge, haltingly, "your remarks would hardly be pertinent at this stage of the proceedings, I fear."

"You, honored Judge, represent the state of Tennessee, a post of great honor and importance, but as between your judgment and mine you will have to surrender to me, for my post is more exalted than yours, and represents a superior jurisdiction.

"I am the attorney of the Cosmic forces, the forces that preside over the destinies of stars, of worlds, of men and things, the forces that determine the paths of storms, the outbursts of volcanoes, the rise and fall of nations, the forces that can crumple your proud state with as much ease as you can an empty egg shell."

The Judge and the whole audience were so thrilled with the young man's eloquence that they were most eager for him to proceed.

Turning to the audience, the young man continued: "He, into the manner of whose death you are assembled here to inquire, was called by you a great man, and, independent of the manner in which he met his death, you regard his going as a great loss.

“Without expressing my approval or disapproval of the manner in which his life was taken, leaving that matter wholly and absolutely with the jury, I have come simply to say that some one of his rank and station simply had to suffer violence, or else the whole system of jurisprudence of the Cosmic forces would have been upset, as I will presently make plain.

“There are two lines of procedure along which the Cosmic forces deal with the affairs of men. We allow those who constitute the governing forces of the earth to choose their own procedure, but after the choice is made we take charge of affairs and see to it that whatever happens to the lowly shall happen to the high.

“He who thinks that the great creative force which fashioned the universe, which, with infinite pains, put under the reign of law all matter ranging from the humble atom to the largest of the distant stars—he who thinks that this force upon reaching human society grew careless and failed to arrange laws by which society is to live, and through the violation of which it must suffer or die, is vastly mistaken. For, whether men find it out early or late, there is a law of human conduct as exacting as any law in the realm of matter, and every deed that is wrong whether committed by a man singly, or by a group of men acting in concert, or by organized society, carries along with it a penalty that follows with as much certainty as a man's shadow follows the man. Wrong and retribution are twin sisters, and wherever you see the former, know that somewhere near stands the latter.

“The Bible, which we have given you as your earthly guide states the matter thus: “Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.”

“Our eyes have been upon your Athens of the South for lo these many years. We saw and murmured not, when over yon bridge in lawless fashion you flung the form of a Negro and took from him his life.

“We saw, and murmured not, when officers of the law in your city chased a Negro youth into yon river, where in easy reach of men and boats you allowed him to drown as you would a common rat. We saw this, and as is our custom, said nothing.

“We recall the fact that one day a Negro, who had been fined five dollars for vagrancy, was trying to improve what he regarded as a good chance to get away, when one of your guards shot and killed him for which offense your guard was never tried.

“On numerous other occasions your officers have killed Negroes who were accused of no crime whatever, and said officers have not even been required to swear that they were telling the truth when they said they thought their victims were reaching for pistols.

“All of this we saw and murmured not, because it is our habit to allow men and nations to sow exactly as they please. But *we* take charge of the seed sown, and with all the exactness of omnipotence, we render back in our own way, what is sown.

“Thus, it was only a matter of time when the reaping of the great among you was to begin. And

the end is not yet. Remember the banks of Reelfoot where your Rankin so bravely met his end.

“Oh, bonnie Southland, home of birds and ever-blooming flowers, where the winds blow softly and the sun in peculiar beauty rolls to rest in the evening sky, surrender yourself if you will to the pastime of lynching a helpless, perhaps a depraved and besotted Negro, but know that through this one unprotected spot in your armor will come that insidious poison, disregard for the orderly processes of the law, which will ultimately send your noble Rankins and your brilliant Carmacks to untimely graves.”

As suddenly as he had appeared the attorney of the Cosmic forces vanished from the court-room and the great case was resumed. But the lesson that he taught upon the occasion of his brief visit is with us yet.





**III. THE NATIONAL POWER AS
AN ASSET.**





CHAPTER III.

THE NATIONAL POWER AS AN ASSET.

Some few years ago a Southern white **Individual** man was called into the service of the **Effort.** national government to render aid to the cause of his country in a matter, international in its scope and of the most far-reaching importance. As he argued his nation's cause before one of the most eminent tribunals the earth has ever known, his ready flashes of wit, his erudition and cogent reasoning made a most favorable impression upon the world's highest circles of thought. Upon his return to his Southern home with his international honors fresh upon him, he was duly banqueted by his fellow citizens who were keenly alive to the novelty of having one of their number attain unto international fame. In the course of his speech at this banquet he remarked that Southern men had all along been accomplishing all that might be reasonably expected of individuals, but conditions had been such that they could not harness the national power to their gifts, which attainment would have immeasurably increased their opportunities for usefulness.

Roosevelt Had a Lever. What a carnal weapon is to a man engaged in physical combat, high official station is to the man who would bring great things to pass. As matters now stand no citizen of the state of Georgia is handed the national power with which to demonstrate his usefulness to the world. Hence, had President Roosevelt, whose mother was a Georgian, been born and reared in that state he would, perhaps, have gone through life without the presidency of the United States as an instrument with which to demonstrate his great powers. Strong in himself, the exhibition of that strength so powerfully wielding the strength of the ninety millions of souls comprising the nation, will give him a place in history that would have been denied him had he lived and died the mere individual unpossessed of the national power. One of old asserted that he could move the world if but given a place where he might stand. Theodore Roosevelt was given as a lever the place of primacy in the world's greatest nation. The prestige of the presidency gave him the limelight of the world in which to stand. Standing in this limelight, using his official position as a lever, he moved the world; moved it to applause when he brought the Russo-Japanese war to a close; moved it when through diplomacy he performed that modern miracle of converting the potential Americo-Japanese war-cloud that hung brooding in our western sky into a beautiful white dove of peace. Without the national power, Mr. Roosevelt's work would have been that of an in-

dividual of large capacity; with it, what he has achieved will stand out as the work of a mighty nation, speaking, thundering, toiling through him.

It would indeed make for the uplift,
An Inspiring Force. the inspiration, the glory of the South could its sons and daughters be given the boon of dreaming hopefully that it is within the realm of possibilities for them some day to have the national power as an asset in revealing to the world and leaving on record for coming generations, the full fruitage of their souls. Desirous of knowing how many of the boys of her class were cherishing the hope of some day being President of the United States, a teacher took a vote on the question. All the boys save one testified by lifted hands that such a hope inspired them. The lad who had not so voted was asked why he did not cherish the ambition. The little fellow replied: "It ain't no use; I'm a Democrat."

In his heart the Southern lad of to-day is saying: "It ain't no use; I'm a Southerner." It would be a tonic, a stimulus indeed to have the hope of national and international fame revived in the South. It would serve to summon into the public service the master minds, the geniuses that wait only for suitable conditions to call them into full bloom. Washington, Jefferson, Marshall, Jackson and Calhoun are all products of the South, but they are of the past. The present day South has need of the quickening touch of men of to-day who are given the national power with which to do great things upon the earth. In this question is bound up the larger glory of the

South. It can but dwarf the spirits of its citizens to feel ever that they are in a sort of outlying province, doomed to serve in a nation whose larger glories and rewards are denied to them.

In turning its thoughts to the matter **What is in the Way.** of bringing its period of isolation, its condition of political exile to a close it is well for the South to meet squarely the question as to how far its attitude toward the Negro contributes to this state of affairs, and what, if any, modifications of that attitude can be safely and honorably made. Surely the prize is sufficiently great to warrant a patient consideration of the obstacles in the way. There are several factors which operate to withhold from the Southerner the national power as an asset. The one-party system of the South, the absence of real, genuine testing political battles, the comparative ease with which men of mediocre talents get and stay in the lead, cause the front ranks of Southern statesmanship (barring an accidental giant here and there) to be composed of men lacking in those qualities that can compel the admiration of the nation. The Negro is a factor in the situation. There are certain states in which the white population has been in the past almost evenly divided politically, and the South has had about an even chance to have those states vote with it. Dissatisfied with some conditions in the South the Negroes have gone in large numbers into some of these pivotal states and have lifted them clearly out of the doubtful column. Reference is here made to such states as Indiana, West Virginia and New

Jersey. Even states that were at one time certain to cast their votes with the South have been rendered debatable by the influx of Negro voters from further South. Missouri, Maryland and Kentucky are in this latter class.

The influences causing many colored people to leave the South are the fear of mob violence, lack of faith in the courts as the dispensers of even-handed justice, inadequate school facilities, laws aimed at disfranchisement unequally applied and the discomforts encountered in travel upon public conveyances. It would be a profitable investment for the South to study this exodus and remove every just cause of complaint. This would aid in keeping the Negroes in the South, and would cause such as did leave to carry with them a ground-work of sympathy for Southern aspirations.

Unprepared for World Duties. The attitude of the South toward the Negro is a factor in still another way. Our nation has become a world power, and must deal with men of every shade of complexion. There are the black Haytian, Liberian and Abyssinian; the brown Filipino and Japanese, and the yellow Chinaman. The Southerner who does not hesitate to proclaim his contempt for all complexions save the white, is deemed by the rest of the nation as spiritually unprepared to have charge of its foreign affairs as would be the case with a President. In sending men to the Philippines, to Cuba, to Panama, to handle delicate situations, it is regarded as a prime requisite for the envoy to be able in dealing with

questions of state to forget the complexions of the men with whom he has to deal.

Let us take the case of Congressman Hobson of Alabama. His contempt for the black man has spread until it now likewise embraces the brown man of Japan. Should our nation be inclined to go South in quest of a young man to whom to lend the national arm with which to display his soul, and its choice should fall upon the famous young Alabamian, we have no guarantee that he would not, when made President, bawl to the Haytian minister to go to the back door; no guarantee that he would not kick the Chinese minister down the steps and box the ears of the ambassador from Japan.

What is Asked. .The rest of the nation, which, with the help of the Negro, now shuts the South out of the national accord, which denies the national power as an asset for the Southern white man, asks, not that the South turn itself over to the control of an ignorant electorate, not that it lose its racial connection through amalgamation, but simply that, in matters pertaining to citizenship rights it deal with every man according to his individual merit and not according to the color of his skin. The potential glory of the South, imprisoned in the halls of the future, restlessly walking to and fro, anxious to be emancipated that it may fill the earth in behalf of the section it craves to serve, awaits with deep concern the final verdict of the South upon the proposition to have one law and one governmental practice for all men regardless of race or color or previous condition of servitude.



**IV. A BETTER SYSTEM FOR
MAKING MEN.**





CHAPTER IV.

A BETTER SYSTEM FOR MAKING MEN.

**Survival
of the
Fittest.**

The scientists tell us that throughout the realm of nature there has been one long, continuous struggle for existence, that in this struggle the weak have gone to the wall, leaving the earth to those that proved to be the fittest to meet the conditions that arose in the struggling. The species which now exist were made strong by means of this crucial struggle for existence through which they have passed. The necessity for traveling upon the water gave to the duck its webbed feet; burrowing beneath the surface of the soil gave unto the mole its nose of peculiar strength. The greatness of the United States is due in large measure to the fact that here, class distinctions have been abolished and the republic has been operated as a mammoth field whereon each individual has been made to battle against all comers, if he would enjoy the distinction of occupying first place. "Not by inheritance, nor yet by favor, but by prevailing over the best of his fellows shall a man wear the victor's crown," is the decree of America to her sons.

The game of football typifies the genius of the American nation. The team that would have itself proclaimed the champion of the football world must be the one that has arisen through a series of victories to the point where it gives successful battle to the team which has come up to meet it from the other side of the mount of struggle. Striving, battling in desperate contests with forces wholly unfettered and sent upon him to test his mettle to the uttermost, is the native air of the young collegian, as it is of his father also, toiling in the sterner realities of life.

The value of such an atmosphere of struggle is at once apparent. There is in man a reserve force that is only called forth by the strangely quickening power of a crisis. A psychologist has advanced the theory that every man carries within himself a well of reserve energy which he can only tap in times of dire extremity. All men who have been called upon to struggle supremely, who have encountered crises of overwhelming force can testify that there is strength to which the soul falls heir only in the time of peril. In the supreme moment of struggle, every atom of power is mustered into service, and verily it seems that a new being is on the scene in every way outclassing the old.

Preparation for battle demands the careful strengthening of weak points, the careful development of one's powers, the thorough discipline of one's self, the close study of an opponent, the eager search for possible weaknesses, eternal vigilance against sur-

prise from any quarter. Thus is the full man called into service.

Eliminating Weaklings. The political life of the North and West is projected on the plane here indicated. "Sure, I must fight if I would reign," must be the refrain of the man who would go to the front in those regions. He must win out in a contest within his own party and must then face the people, leading his party into battle against a strong opposing party. Thus must a man fight for his political life up to the last moment. It can readily be seen what splendid chances society has to get rid of weaklings that offer themselves for the public service.

South Declining. Time was when like conditions prevailed in the South, when two strong parties vied with each other for the mastery, and there were giants in those days. That the present one-party system of the South is not yielding as large a crop of able men as was formerly the case scarcely admits of doubt. Thoughtful men in the South are seeing as much and are beginning boldly to proclaim what they see. One of the most eminent thinkers among present day Southerners, the Hon. Hannis Taylor, says: "While the South still has many very able men at Washington, the comment is general that the one-party system is thinning their ranks every year." President Alderman of the University of Virginia, verily a leader of the intellectual life of the New South has given it as his opinion also that the South of to-day is not producing men of the calibre sent forth by her in former days.

In a wholly incidental way, yet with startling clearness, the progressive movement going on within the ranks of the Republican party has emphasized the truth of what these eminent Southerners have said. While the men from the South constitute the bulk of the opposition party whose function it is to lay bare the weak points in the policy of the party in control, yet it has been left to men within the Republican party to make the great, illuminating, convincing speeches that have caused the nation to open its eyes and think. Why did not Southern men gather up these arguments and hurl them with dynamic force into the ranks of the American people, compelling attention? The facts, the arguments were all there awaiting the master hand to gather them up. But this task was left to La Follette, Cummins, Dolliver, Beveridge, all members of the party in power, whereas such service was due from the opposition party, recruited mainly from the South.

Not only is the statesmanship at Washington being dwarfed, but the same tendency toward enfeeblement is seen in the brand of statesmanship that is being called into service at home. In commenting upon a Tennessee legislative body somewhat recently in session, *The Nashville American* in the course of a carefully argued editorial, had the following to say:

“The weekly press is almost unanimous in its condemnation of the late legislature. * * * As

we have said before, the general littleness of the body, its petty conduct in many instances, its trades and combinations, the autocratic methods of self-seeking members, the quarrels, the cheap declamations and intemperate and undignified and unwarrantable public denunciations by members who should have shown a better sense of dignity and decency, the dishonesty in juggling with bills, the unreliability of promises—the general record and conduct of the body marked it as unworthy of the state or the approval of the people. What man of established reputation would care to be known as a member of the legislature just adjourned?"

When the Hon. Wm. H. Taft was a younger man he was called to the South by his official duties, and while sojourning there he came into intimate contact with many of the South's giant minds which were bred in the great days preceding our Civil War and were the further quickened by those stirring times which tried men's souls. In later years Mr. Taft as a cabinet official was again brought in touch with the leadership of the South, and he could not but note the marked shrinkage in the brand of mentality that the South was putting forward. As from time to time Mr. Taft sat and conversed with some of the newer lights which the South had sent to Washington, his mind ran back to the days of her giants. Being a man of broad sympathies whose regard had been won by the many splendid social and mental qualities which he found the Southerners to possess, it gave him personal

sorrow to note the falling off in the mental equipment of the statesmanship being produced in the South. It was Mr. Taft's opinion that it was the change from the two-party system of the past to the one-party system of to-day that had dwarfed the political genius of the South and was substituting men of mediocre talents for the great minds of former days. Feeling thus with regard to the South and fearing that a solid South would be answered by a solid North until one of the political parties of the North might die and leave that section also in the hands of this same dwarfing one-party system, Mr. Taft decided that he would so conduct his presidential office as to secure, if possible, two strong political parties North and South, vying with each other for the control of affairs. He realized that in days of strenuous conflict there would be a premium on strong men, that both sides would seek for such, and that the result would be the pushing to the front of all that was great from all sections of the nation.

Nature's Habits. "But what about our white primaries? Do they not furnish ample room for our men to engage in the contests that breed great statesmen?"

Such are the questions which the white South will naturally ask, and we shall now proceed to demonstrate beyond the shadow of a doubt that the white primary system does not meet the demands of the Anglo-Saxon political genius. In view of the importance of this matter let us view it fundamentally. The tendency of nature everywhere is toward a

varied expression of the heart of things. Out yonder in the open field where the hand of man has done no planting we find the flower and the fern; among the fowls of the air we have the beautiful bird of song and the solemn, hooting owl; in the matter of the seasons, there is the summer's heat, and there is the winter's cold; in the realm of the emotions we have joy and sorrow; in literature, the realist and romantic; in philosophy, the epicurean and the stoic; in the constitution of the human family, the male and the female. The minds of men are not all cast in the same mould and they do not, therefore, approach subjects in the same way. Even when they have the same ends to attain they must approach them in different ways. Charles Lamb says that he can accept as true, the story to the effect that two men, who had never seen or heard of each other before, who had no grievances, real or fancied, against each other, met and proceeded instantly to pummel one another, each having perceived at the very first glance that the other was his born antagonist.

The Two Types. In order that the human family may be sure to move forward, nature grants unto it men of a progressive turn of mind, men eager to press forward. It is this type that we behold instituting reforms and inaugurating revolutions. But the human family can attempt to go forward at such a pace that it will lose much of permanent worth that it has acquired. Hence the need of conservatives. Conditions are by no means what they should be

unless there is opportunity for the full, unhampered development of the opposing orders of intellect. Our country stood sadly in need of those two great opposing statesmen, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. But for Jefferson, we might have had a centralized form of government which would have prevented the diversity in state governments and the free play of forces, essential factors in the glory of our country. On the other hand but for Hamilton we might have had an aggregation of states void of that degree of national power so needful for us in our efforts to play our rightful part in the affairs of the world. America is proud of her Nathaniel Hawthorne, the great romantic novelist, but she is also proud of Mr. William Dean Howells, her great realist. These men belonging to two schools of thought radically, fundamentally, irreconcilably different are both great ornaments to our literary life.

One of the most dangerous features about the "white primary" is its misleading name. It is not "white," **White Primary** is not a normal product of the white **Not White.** race. The white race stands for healthy division, not unwholesome congestion; for freedom of thought and expression; for an absolutely untrammelled field in which political plants may grow according as their respective natures require. By calling the primaries "white" the people of the South may be led to feel that they are having a white man's government. As we look out upon the world to-day, it must be conceded that a cramped

one-party political life is not the white man's method. The Germans, the French, the Russians, the English the Spanish—all great white nations, have more than the one political party. The South, politically speaking, is the one great group of white people that is politically one-eyed.

The narrowing of the South down to the one political party stifles that diversity of development in which nature so evidently glories and by means of which she accomplishes her tasks. It is not enough to throw open the doors of the "white primaries" and bid all white men enter. The mischief of the situation is in the fact that there is but the one political form provided for the situation, whereas one political form is no more adequate for the expression of Anglo-Saxon political genius than the fern is capable of showing all that nature can do in the way of flower making. Nature, who carefully and with wonderful exactitude arranges the human family into sexes, seeing to it that there is everywhere about an equal proportion of men and women born, also so shapes the minds of men that they will under normal conditions fall into different schools of thought in such proportion as is necessary for healthy development.

One Side Hampered. The suggestion may be offered that the defect here pointed out, the failure to provide for all orders of minds is practically cured by drawing no rigid line between the whites by allowing well nigh all the

whites who so desire to participate in the "white primaries." But this does not provide for the free and *untrammelled*—mark the emphasis, play of forces. The primary will be held under the auspices of the dominant party and will be called that party's primary. The great minds, assigned by the fiat of nature to lead the opposition, robbed of the power to develop a formidable following, must, upon entering the primary of the party to which they are opposed, remain very quiet, and content themselves with the simple function of casting their own ballots. For if they become too active they will be seized and cast out as strangers at the feast who have not on the wedding garments. It is readily seen, then, that when all is over the political field has not been threshed to the extent of its possibilities, as one side of the political genius of the race entered the primary lame, halt and blind and was required to speak in muffled tones. If Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, the two men whose opposing and yet blended thoughts gave us this nation that has Hamiltonian stability along with Jeffersonian freedom, had both lived in the South under present day conditions, and Jefferson's party had been the one overshadowing party, Hamilton would have been practically a nonentity, creeping into Jefferson's white primary with his one vote; and the commonwealth would not have gotten the great uplift resulting from the sifting of things to their very foundations by two great minds looking at things in ways that differ fundamentally. Hamilton's *activity* would have been the one thing needed to stir Jefferson to do his best, not Hamilton's one quiet vote. But Ham-

ilton could not have been active with any reasonable hope of success. His very activity would have been used against him. He would have been accused of coming into Jefferson's household as a stranger to seek to control the household as against the head of the house. Hence we can see that in the matter of furnishing an opportunity for the exercise of all sides of the political mind of the white race the "white primary" of the one dominant party is fatally and inherently defective. However strenuously the South may strive to have both schools of thought to thrive in the one camp it can have no more success than the keeper of a zoological garden who tries to make a fish feel at home in a well built bird's nest.

It has often been observed that the Democratic party as constituted to-day lacks cohesiveness, has not the faculty of attaining unto a sufficient oneness of thought to make it effective as a governing agency. Evidently the reason for this is that the South has but the one political home for the white man and men who are ordained of nature to oppose each other, radically, fundamentally, are forced to try to live together in this one home. What but an uneven journey can be expected when the mule, good in his place is hitched to a racing cart with the fleetest of race horses? Hitched together thus, neither the mule nor the horse can show his real worth.

We have cited elsewhere the fact that individuals have in themselves wells of reserve energy that are not called upon except when grave crises come. The same may be said of society. It too has a well of reserve energy upon which it draws only in trying times. There is always a considerable portion of the public that takes but little part in the preliminary skirmishes pertaining to civic affairs, knowing of no evil designs and presuming that all will go well without activity on its part. This group constitutes society's well of reserve energy. It sometimes happens that the few who do take part in the preliminary affairs are corrupted, or are misled, or exercise decidedly bad judgment. Where there are two parties, the reserve of the opposition party, seeing how the good people in the other party were caught napping, bestirs itself and sees to it that its party does not make a similar mistake. When the general election comes off, all the reserve forces go to the polls to defeat and teach the erring ones to be more careful in the future. But where only one party exists this reserve force merely shrugs its shoulders and proceeds to ratify the mistake at the polls. Thus it is that the South must jog along without the benefit of its reserve energy, against which mediocres and weaklings can hardly stand.

**Men or
Principles?**

Before the eyes of the world to-day there stands a living illustration of the harm wrought by the one-party white primary system, a widespread evil affecting gravely the South and the whole nation.

Former President Benjamin Harrison once said that the chief difference between the politics of the Latin republics of South America and of the United States is that the South Americans follow men, whereas the people of the United States follow principles. It was his opinion that this following of the fortunes of individuals was very largely responsible for the unrest and upheaval in these republics. To the mind of Mr. Harrison this disposition to follow principles and not men is one of the most valuable traits in our political life. But so far as the South is concerned the forces which have been at work in the past and are yet at work are utterly destroying this boasted and highly valued difference. The contests before the "white primaries" are in the great majority of cases purely contests between personalities and not between policies. The one, the *inevitable* effect of such conditions is to reduce the politics of the South almost wholly to the personal basis and to give the Southern mind the trend of deciding its course according to personal attachments. The able exposition of great issues is not the test of preferment, but the ability to muster a sufficient number of personal friends to secure the party nomination. In a contest of this kind a cordial handshake, a genial smile, a jolly disposition, the knowing by name of Dink Hopkins, Tom Sparrow and Mink Bivins are of far more consequence than possessing the brain of an Aristotle.

The *Nashville Banner*, edited by one of the most astute of Southern editors, **Mr. Bryan and the South.** said in the course of an editorial that the hold of Hon. William Jennings

Bryan upon the South was as much a fit subject for study for the psychologist as for the political observer. When we look into the matter of the allegiance of the white South to Mr. Bryan we do find much that is peculiar. Advocating principles wholly at variance with the practices of the dominant element of the South, silent for years upon the matter of the white South's attitude toward the Negro voter—the South's one great question—that section has nevertheless insisted upon Mr. Bryan's nomination for the presidency, has steadily cast her votes for him, and has just as steadily elected men to the Senate and House of Representatives who have with equal steadiness voted against some of Mr. Bryan's favorite policies. Such devotion to the personal fortunes of a man is perhaps without a parallel in the history of the politics of the English speaking race in modern times. When the sociologists of the future take up our era and study this phenomenon let them not fail to bear in mind that the absence of a normal political life in the South caused nearly all contests to be battles between personalities, caused the Southern mind to be thrown to the personal basis, which basis allows men's personalities to assume large proportions in their minds, to the exclusion of the consideration of separating principles. There are many thoughtful minds that contend that it is this personal

devotion to Mr. Bryan—not to his principles, but to him, that is the chief factor in the way of building up a strong opposition party in the nation. The personal politics of the South have about South Americanized it, save of course as to the armed revolutions of such frequent occurrence.

Pause to think what this means!

Endangers The vast interests of the South and of
Political the nation are subjected to the decrees
Efficiency. of a voting element that in the very
nature of things, is being trained by its
system of politics to move along the line of personal
attachments. The tendency fully acquired, pushes
forward and makes itself manifest when vast and
vital interests are involved. Of course it is hardly
to be feared that the tendency to follow men rather
than principles will at any time lead to a clash of arms
in our country as in South America, but the habit
of mind engendered by voting according to personal
attachments will however very materially impair
the political efficiency of any group that indulges it.
We shall now cite a case that will clearly illustrate
the vast importance of the point here made. Wm.
H. Seward was the personal choice of the majority
of the delegates to the convention that nominated
Abraham Lincoln for the presidency. Lincoln
often remarked jocularly, yet truthfully, that he
had the honor of being nominated by a convention
that wanted "the other fellow." When the dele-
gates became convinced that Seward, the man around
whom their affections were entwined would in all
likelihood meet defeat at the polls on account of the

antagonism of the then powerful "Know Nothing" element they agreed to drop him and accept Abraham Lincoln as a substitute. If these delegates had been operating along the lines of personal attachments Lincoln would not have been nominated and the nation would have been deprived of the services of this man of destiny, this giant soul who steered the nation through the stormy Civil War period, and steered himself eternally into the hearts of the people of the North and of the South alike. But for the fact that the *white* South has been largely twisted toward a basis of personal attachment is it not possible that it would have long since acted toward Mr. Bryan as the Northerners did toward Seward? Is it not a psychological fact that the one-party, "white primary," no issue policy of the South has at last sunk the South into the quagmire of personal attachments, to the serious impairment of its political efficiency? Let the white South think seriously on this matter.

As a striking illustration of the **Typical Campaign.** manner in which personal politics flourish and bear fruit under existing conditions in the South, we cite the following editorial from *The Nashville American*:

"The municipal campaign in Nashville this year, like so many in the past, does not seem to hinge upon the capabilities of those seeking office, but upon the power and ingenuity with which one candidate can assail the candidacy of his opponent or opponents. Once in a while a candidate may advance a suggestion looking to the city's material

welfare, but in the main the speeches are all devoted to the other fellow's failings or alleged failings.

What has this to do with municipal government?

Who cares a continental what one candidate thinks about another, or what one candidate says about another?

What have opinions of individuals to do with the expenditure of the million and seven hundred thousand dollars poured into the treasury every year by the taxpayers?

The American does not seek to decry candidates for municipal offices. It does not seek to hold them up before the public as a lot of incapables.

But in not one single speech delivered so far in the campaign has there been a semblance of suggestion that would help Nashville or encourage the hope of wise and economical government. On the contrary the campaign so far has been one of criticism of one or the other candidates by the opposing candidate.

One man works himself into a frenzy over law enforcement. His opponent, seizing the cue, endeavors to go him one better along the same line. Another candidate says his opponent, an officeholder, voted to give 'Steenth ward a sewer and voted against giving another ward needed improvements. The campaign is all personal. It is self-glorification on the one hand, and criticism on the other.

The real needs of the city are never touched. What will or will not be of advantage to the community which pays the salaries these candidates are all striving to reach is not of moment.

And strange and unaccountable as it may seem, the crowds which stand around the speaking booths

applaud personal attacks of the one candidate upon the other and at the same time hardly ever realize, after it is all over, that none of the speakers advanced a suggestion, idea or thought that made for betterment of the city government.

And *The American* is not interested in the success of a single candidate in this primary, but it does have a very great interest in Nashville. It would like very much to see men in the field, who could point out our shortcomings as a city and suggest wise and practicable remedies, men who know the city's needs and its resources, and who can show how to cut the cloth to suit the public pocket. There is no public advantage to accrue from crimination and re-crimination. Nothing tangible comes from this sort of campaigning. What the people should be told is whether A or B or C can give them proper government at the lowest possible expenditure. They want to know how their taxes can be reduced; how they are to get more streets and sewers and lights; how the police and fire service is to be improved. These are the things they are interested in, or should be interested in, not what Tom thinks of Harry or vice versa."

Nashville, Tennessee is the great
The educational center of the South, is
System. thought by many to be the most
cultured city below the Mason and
Dixon line, and yet we have the above lament from
its chief organ of opinion with regard to the childish
plane upon which the political life of the city is
projected. The fault is not with the candidates,

nor yet with the people, whom the paper chides for their tolerance of the style of campaigning indulged in, but with the system under which the South is seeking to move forward, which drags political life to the basis of personalities as surely as the law of gravitation drew that apple to the head of Sir Isaac Newton. This is the philosophy of the Southern situation and can be no more set aside than can be this same law of gravitation.

When politics descends to the simple level of a scramble for office on the basis of personal friendship, men of large minds then steer clear thereof. Big ships avoid shallow streams and great souls cannot be expected to take part in these personal scrambles. Thus we have another weakening influence of the situation, the driving of the larger minds away from civic affairs.

An editorial pertinent to the point here raised was published recently in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. It was headed "Just Suppose" and ran as follows:

"Over a thousand men went into and out of the Business Men's Club yesterday and took part in the election. The candidates themselves were active all day, and their friends were active, and interest was at white heat from daylight until sundown.

The leading citizens of Memphis took part in this election. Perhaps one-half of the taxable wealth of this city was represented by the voters.

Suppose the people of Memphis took as much interest in the election of candidates for political

offices as they do in the election of officers of the Business Men's Club. Then what?

Men of the highest character are on both tickets. Some are heavy taxpayers, and some are salaried men, but all are alert, keen and aggressive.

Just suppose that such men would offer for county, city and state offices. Suppose all voters were as active at the polls as at the Business Men's Club. Then, indeed, would we have in the state, county, and city, in the courts of law, in the legislature, effective men.

We talk about the influence in politics of the bad elements. The bad elements do influence politics greatly, but they are merely taking a hand because the good citizens themselves are indifferent or refuse to do the work."

But what more can be expected under the present system! Two strong healthy parties are needed. The South may lift its voice in loud lament over the failure of great minds to come to the front, may smite its breast, put on sack-cloth, and toss the ashes of sorrow upon its head, but things will move on as at present, move downward, downward, until the peanut politicians and the peanut minds and the peanut methods have made of the South, a paradise of mediocres, the place in which great minds cannot flourish, the one Dead Sea of the modern political world along whose shores no flower of political genius is allowed to thrive.

There was an element of the pathetic
Seeking to in the journeying of that Memphis,
Import Tenn., delegation to Washington, D. C.,
Greatness. to invite, to urge, to persuade the Hon.

Wm. Jennings Bryan to abandon his Nebraska home and come to Memphis. The white South boasts of the purity of its Anglo-Saxon blood, claims that it is the most truly Anglo-Saxon section of the American people. Why, then, with all of this richness of blood can it not manufacture great men rather than import them? Mr. Bryan refused to come to Memphis to reside. That city could offer to him political preferment, unswerving loyalty, social attentions galore, and an opportunity to earn millions of dollars, but under existing conditions it could not give the atmosphere that breeds greatness in men. Blessed is that man who is so situated that his environments call into service all that is great within him, and accursed is that man, whatever his food, raiment, or lineage whose environments issue no such call for the powers of his soul. Out in the great West where Mr. Bryan resides, men cannot hide behind party names, cannot be sure that the halo of some fond tradition will secure the ratification at the polls of all blunders however grave. Out there men must appeal to the judgment and consciences of their fellows, must be able to meet in fair and open fight men of opposing schools of thought, who have an equal chance to do battle for their convictions. It was upon this Darwinian field of political battle that Mr. Bryan grew to greatness. It was there that he was forced to draw upon every

drop of his well of reserve energy, knowing full well that not an inch of standing room would be accorded him except such as he conquered and held by the strength of his own soul. And, thus, when he was asked to leave and come to a land where the one-party practice was slowly but surely murdering the political genius of the Anglo-Saxon race, he answered, No.

We hear much of the havoc being wrought in the South by the boll weevil, how it bores into the boll and saps the life out of the plant, but it is far less dangerous to the South and to the nation than the insect of personal politics that creeps into the minds of men and eats away that consideration of great questions that has hitherto wrought mightily in the upbuilding of Anglo-Saxon institutions. In a very direct manner the welfare of the entire nation is bound up in this matter of producing statesmen in the South. Let us suppose that the processes which we have outlined become general throughout the South and the small minds worm themselves to the front and secure seats in the House of Representatives. Though they fall far short of representing the South at its best, by the same methods used to get to the front they can manage to stay there. The Congressmen from other sections are tried first in their own primaries, and later in a general election, and a sifting, and eliminating process is constantly going on, but these men from the South escape the second fiery test at least and have the greater chance to remain. By the mere lapse of time they are car-

ried forward to seniority on the great committees which really shape legislation. Finally in the course of time, the rest of the nation unwilling to continue one party in power for too long a period summons the opposition party to take over the reins of government. The men from the South who have come to the front and remained there after the manner described, by virtue of their long stay are made chairmen of the important committees and thus assume charge of the affairs of the nation. Some, who have become known to the people of their respective states through their long sojourn in the House of Representatives, are sent to the United States Senate and there have still greater influence in the matter of regulating the affairs of the nation. So, here we have the products of the one-eyed political system of the South, men who have never been subjected to the severe tests of which society is capable, placed in charge of the affairs of the richest nation on the earth. Truly, truly has the nation a vast interest in the methods that obtain in the matter of choosing her rulers. For, so surely as the rivers run to the sea, the mediocres that are allowed to flourish and crowd into the background the able minds of the South will one day come to power in the nation and work whatever harm is to be expected of weakness exalted to the place rightly due to the man of strength.

Great of the injury wrought and the dangers to be apprehended because
Tasks of the present political conditions
Needed. in the South. The political isolation

of the South, its constant ignoring at the ballot box of those issues that are dividing the people of the rest of the country, has left national affairs to the care of other sections. This means that so far as its larger political life is concerned, the South has abdicated its seat on the throne of the government and has become like unto a governed province. It is no light thing for a great people to be shorn of the privilege of dealing with the larger affairs of its existence. Likening the Anglo-Saxon mind unto a tree whose fruit is a sadly needed food for mankind, let the South deny it sufficient soil in which to sink its roots; deny it skies in which to shoot its branches, and unfold its buds; deny it sunlight and rain upon which it may feed, and it will shrivel, become barren, become the hiss and by-word of the hungry sons of men who come looking for fruit thereon, but find none.

Behold the fate of the Jews! They **Why the** lost their independence, had no great **Jews Erred.** affairs of state with which to deal, and therefore gave themselves up to sharp disputations on small matters. They developed such a passion for things of small moment that the coming of Christ, the great seer, found them utterly unprepared to receive Him. If they had had the larger affairs of their national life with which to deal, a means for the expansion of the mind and the racial soul; if they had not had their vision narrowed by the poring over the minutiae of the ceremonial law and the inconsequential traditions of the elders, it might have been that they would have escaped the odium

attached to the slaying of the Christ, an odium that has clung to them throughout the ages as a veritable body of death.

Georgia Pays Penalty. If a system is maintained in the South which hems in and slays the strong minds, and pushes the small ones to the front, the people, led by small, warped minds will ultimately grow narrow of soul, blind to the demands of the higher life; and in some mad moment they may do that which will stain their name throughout eternity. Look at imperial Georgia! Not being a factor in national affairs, she failed to furnish a field broad enough for the mind of one of her sons. Lacking great national issues that would interest a people inclined to vote the one way regardless of the issues involved, this son of Georgia decided to put saddle and bridle upon the primitive passion of racial hate and on this ride to glory. His campaign against the Negro served to generate the atmospheric condition that caused the storm clouds of racial feeling to burst upon the proud city of Atlanta and wash away the city's good name which thousands of true men and women had been years in building.

In The Hands of The Few. Another baneful effect of the one-party system is the fact that under its operation only a small proportion of the citizens, even among the whites takes part in governmental affairs.

A glance at the returns from the regular elections or from the "white primaries" where matters are really

settled reveals this fact. But if the few who do take part in elections furnish good government the question might be asked as to what harm, after all, comes of the non-participation of those who have evidently surrendered a vital interest in civic affairs. Much harm in every way as will presently appear! Nature has not placed in the hands of man a chart of the earth, nor of the souls of his fellowmen that discloses just where she has deposited her richest treasures or bestowed her choicest mental and spiritual gifts to men. Thus it is that man has been left to stumble upon silver, gold, diamonds, radium, brilliance of intellect, greatness of soul in most unexpected quarters. In California, at whose borders the voracious, land-swallowing Pacific just happened to halt we find rich deposits of gold, while carelessly rolled in the mud of far away South Africa we get our most beautiful diamonds. Out of little Greece came the world-filling mind of Aristotle; out of little Corsica came the mighty Napoleon; out of the solitude of Kentucky woodlands, came the human giant Abraham Lincoln; out of the manger in humble Bethlehem came the immortal Christ of God. In view of the fact that we know not where nature has planted the divine fire of genius, they indeed sin against humanity who institute systems that lull great sections of the human family to sleep.

In trying to escape evils of one character, lo, they who have brought to pass the condition of affairs that has put the millions of the South to sleep and left matters in the hands of the few, have

Sleeping Hosts.

rushed into the crushing embrace of another great evil.

Think of the millions of whites of the South who never go to the polls; look upon this vast, sleeping army and consider how much of genius, what transcendent powers that will not be called into service nature has without doubt deposited in the camps of these sleepers. Grave problems are bearing down upon the modern world to vex its heart sorely. Who knows but that in this great sleeping army of the Southern whites there may be nature's grant of power to some soul or souls which, properly harnessed could move the modern world to its goal. The cry of the age for great souls would undoubtedly find somewhat of an answer from the ranks of these sleeping hosts.

“Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid

Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;
 Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed
 Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre, * * *
 Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
 Some Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood.”

It should be the one great dream of society to furnish conditions for the flowering of those powers that cause men to be able to add to the comfort, the delight, the glory of the human family for all time. Alas, then, for those conditions in the South that put such great numbers to sleep.

The evil sustained is not confined to
Other the possible loss of transcendent
Lines statesmanship. When the man of
Affected. public affairs goes to sleep he takes to
 bed with him the poet, the sculptor,

the artist, the man of letters. Observe that contemporaneous with great rulers and great epochs, have been the great poets of the world. It was statesmanship manifested in the lives of strong characters that quickened the mind and imagination of Shakespeare and equipped it for its loftiest flights. It was a Victorian jubilee, the commemoration of a great reign, that fired the soul of Kipling and enabled it to sing so appealingly of the

“God of our fathers known of old,
 Lord of our far flung battle line
 Beneath whose awful hand we hold
 Dominion over palm and pine!”

Let the mind but scan the world's great literature and note how often it is the deed of the man dealing with the affairs of state that awakens the genius of the poet. It is not enough to have merely a democracy in name, a theoretical government of the people by the people. To get the benefit of the quickening power of a democracy the people must take part in the management of their affairs.

We have shown elsewhere how that

Arouse the absence of strenuous political
The contests works against the summoning
Sleepers. to the front of the reserve powers of
 the mind; how that the “white pri-
 maries” being wholly within the one household, do not furnish room for the development of men to represent fully the two opposing schools of thought, a division that has played such a vital part in pushing forward Anglo-Saxon political life; how that the

loss of the national power as an asset is losing to the South its ability to multiply the influence of its choice minds and to enlarge the aspirations of its youths. Now, add to these weakening influences the further consideration, that so much of its civic genius goes to waste through slumber brought on as herein pointed out, we clearly see what a dreary prospect is held out to the South moving along present lines. The people of Florida have awakened to the fact that immense fortunes are lurking in the everglades, only awaiting the hand that will draw off the waters. The hitherto barren lands of the western wilderness are being reclaimed, called into service, and are now blossoming and blooming as the rose. Oh, statesmen of America, what are swamps and deserts compared to the great areas of sleeping and unused men?

Holy Writ informs us that "there is a **Mistaken.** way which seemeth right unto a man but the end thereof are the ways of death." Over and over again in the history of the world has the truth of this assertion been demonstrated. The ancient Greeks, a people of strong mentality cherished the belief that their glory rested upon the maintenance of the autonomy of the several Greek states. The men who advocated this idea succeeded in thoroughly fastening it upon the minds of the Greeks; but they caused the fading of the glory which they sought to sustain. For, the jealous guarding of the autonomy of the several states prevented the growth of a strong federation, which, like the coming together of the early English

kingdoms, would have secured a permanent place among the great nations of the earth. As the devotion of the Greeks to the notion of autonomy proved to be the undoing of the Greeks, so will the reliance of the white South upon the one-party, "white primary" system continue to bring to pass its decay in genuine political power.

Son of the white South, withdraw
The Course that frown directed toward your fellow
To Take. who would think his own political
thought; encourage the two-party
system regardless of your political affiliations; if
needs be lead off in the work of emancipating your
section from the thralldom of the one-party idea.
It may be that this service rendered by you, this
saving of your section from political death may be
your crown of eternal glory. Let the word go forth
in all the South that each man is to think and express
his own political thought, that divisions of opinion
are to be encouraged rather than discountenanced,
that no form of social ostracism is to be visited upon
a man because of his political convictions, that politi-
cal differences are not to be carried into the business
life of the community, that the press of the South as
a patriotic duty is henceforth to give ample attention
to the sound contentions of opposition parties.
Under such conditions the genius of Thomas Jeffer-
son and of the other great giants of the South will no
longer object to reincarnation and will cheerfully
come back to dwell in the bosoms of the youths of
the South of to-day, thus ensuring the grandeur of
the times in which we live.

But there is no condition of human affairs but that can be turned to some one's individual profit. When the angry sea marched upon and slew thousands of Galveston's citizens its receding waves were fast followed by ghouls who robbed the unburied dead. The wind from which absolutely no one derives what he terms good must indeed be an ill one. The winter cold that invades the cabins of the shivering poor and carries death, brings with it bags of gold for the dealers in fuel. This thought, clearly borne in mind should prepare us for what is now to follow. Upon a somewhat recent occasion, which for the moment attracted national attention, one of the beneficiaries of the one-party system, the governor of one of the Southern states, let fly on the wings of the Associated Press his arguments against the proposed policy of President Taft looking toward the building up in the South of an opposition party that would keep watch on, and render more careful the party in power, to the end that the South might have the means at hand for expressing its real views on the great economic questions dividing the nation, and for forcing the selection of its strongest sons to maintain in the arena of thought the real views of their respective states.

The governor to whom allusion is here made stated that he was opposed to the division of the whites of the South for fear that in case of such division the Negroes would prove to be the balance of power, to the great detriment of

the South. In view of the fact that freedom of political thought is an absolute necessity for the South that cannot be dispensed with except at a tremendous cost, it behooves it to walk up to the objection here raised by this governor to decide whether it is a genuine menace, whose existence justifies the continued huddling of the South in the one political party, or, on the other hand, is a scare crow, frightful in appearance but absolutely harmless withal. A glance at Negro nature and the circumstances surrounding the race will go to show that the Negro vote instead of being a menace to the South can become one of its most helpful assets. Being mainly of the industrial class whose prosperity is bound up intimately with the prosperity of the community, the Negroes would be sure to keep a keen look out and could be relied upon to discover helpful policies by means of that peculiar sharpening of the vision that comes in the school of stern necessity. On one occasion a certain Southern city was in the grasp of a railway monopoly and the only hope of redemption seemed to lie in having the city to vote substantial aid to a movement that sought another outlet. There was a sufficiently large satisfied class among the whites to prevent the securing of the required three-fourth vote from the white race in favor of the proposed aid. The Negroes were appealed to, and seeing clearly and at once the great benefit to the industrial class of the proposed move, they supported the proposition in such numbers as to make up for the more than one-fourth defection of the whites. The whole city now rejoices in what the Negro vote made possible.

**The
Negro's
Choice.**

Not only does the Negro's situation naturally constitute him the ally of the policies that make for prosperous conditions but it also makes him the chief seeker for the nobler type of men to hold the reins of government. As there are flies that hunt for sores in which to deposit their eggs and vultures that delight in carrion which they may consume, there is an element of whites that will not hesitate to take advantage of the position of the Negro and most brutally maltreat him. In view of this fact the Negroes follow with the utmost interest the various campaigns waged in the South and ardently hope that the men of nobler type will win the day. Moreover the Negro's judgment of the qualities of mind and heart of the various grades of white men is very good. It is interesting to know that the Negroes have their white neighbors clearly classified and any one proposing to have dealings with them can find out before hand almost to the utmost detail just what to expect. The terrible shadow of a possible annihilation that has hung like a pall over the Negro race has caused an enforced study of the white man that makes the Negro a good judge of that race. This claim that the Negro is an excellent judge of the character of white men need not jar even those who doubt the full development of the race at the present time, for be it remembered that children are often better judges of the character of some people than the older ones are, which accounts for the fact that the judgment of children so often determines the status of family

friends. A certain well known Southern novelist in one of his stories pictures the unerring judgment of an aged Negro servant who could read the character of the whites so well that he became the accepted guide of the family in doubtful cases and could seal the doom of a would-be acquaintance by an ominous shake of his woolly head.

An important consideration to be borne in mind is the fact that the **Chasm Can be Bridged.** Negro race is not by nature revengeful, thus making it possible to close the gap between the white and colored people far more easily than the long drawn out political war between the two races would seem to indicate. We submit, here is a situation that offers a good soil for the controlling forces of the South to cultivate with the full assurance that every natural element points to a harvest of beneficial results. Should the white people of the South see fit to discountenance the talk about the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment and proceed to address themselves to the task of establishing a working relationship with the worthy element of Negroes it would be readily seen that the majority sense of the Negroes would be in substantial accord with the majority sense of the whites. Where such was found not to be the case a campaign of education would certainly bring about the desired results. It is to be observed that the religious divisions among the whites have parallel divisions among the Negroes, and in all probability political divisions among the whites would mean corresponding divisions among the Negroes, so that the efforts of the whites to

divide and strive strenuously to arrive at the best results would not be nullified by the solid massing and blind voting of the Negroes.

The Northern Negro and the South. The wise handling of the Negro vote of the South would have a salutary effect upon the national interests of the South. When in the course of events it has seemed to be the time for the opposition party in the North to come into power, when there has been a decided tendency on the part of the majority sense of the whites of the North to make a shift in the control of affairs, fear of the South on the part of the Negro voters of the North has caused them to be slow in taking such steps as would give the South national power. A careful analysis of the vote in many elections will disclose the fact that the control of the House of Representatives, and of the electoral college has several times been lodged in the hands that favored economic policies out of harmony with the South's desires through the Negro vote solidified by fear of the whites of the South.

Ground For an Alliance. The Negroes of the North are not on the whole toilers in the factories. At present they are largely denied work as factory hands. They do not therefore come immediately within that group of laborers that are supposed to be protected by the tariff as now levied. Their economic interests, whatever they are, would seem to be in line with those of the consumers rather than those

of the manufacturers. It is generally held that the predominant interests of the South are those of the consumer, hence the consuming Negro of the North would seem to be the natural ally of the Southern consumer. But an unfriendly attitude toward the Negro voter of the South serves to alienate the Negro voter of the North and causes the South to pay millions of tribute annually that might be retained at home. It seems to be generally conceded that the tariff might be much lower than what it is without injury to the country, and a friendly spirit between the whites of the South and the Negroes of the nation would perhaps long since have given enough Congressmen favorable to the consumer's viewpoint to have insured the desired result.

**The
Amend-
ment
Secure.** Those who refuse to grapple with the question of trying to find a working basis with the worthy Negro in political matters, who prefer to continue the policy of slowly murdering, through the one-party system, the political genius of the South in the hope that time will bring about the abrogation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the constitution, are hardly wise. President Taft, representing the conservative thought of the nation, the element that believes more in evolution and development than in legislation as an adjusting force, says that the Fifteenth Amendment never will be repealed and ought not to be repealed. Those influences in the North which have uniformly pleaded for the largest sympathy and trust for the

South, which strenuously opposed federal interference in the matter of enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment are still insistent that the amendment abide in the federal constitution as the ideal toward which the nation is to work. These particular forces have the ascendancy in the nation to-day. They urge that the task of squaring the life of the South with the federal constitution be left to the better element of Southern whites, and they differ from those who would enforce the amendment only as to the best method to finally attain the end of having that amendment represent the actual conduct of the nation. To obtain the abrogation of the Fifteenth Amendment would involve the absolute overturning of the ideals of the North and the West, a total revulsion against democracy in general, the flowering in those sections of the caste spirit. The arguments needed to overturn the amendment would have to be fundamental in character and would carry down far more than the Negro. No such general upsetting of ideals may be expected. The general drift is all the other way. Nor need it be expected that the Supreme Court of the United States will run counter to the ideals of the nation as reflected in the constitution and in the enlightened public sentiment of the day. Thus it is that the white South is destined to a long dreary wait if it is to sit by the nation's highway waiting for its ideals to be overturned.

Roll Call of the Future. During this period will the mediocre have so fixed his spirit upon the South as to have fully snuffed out its political genius, leaving it, like Greece, the attenuated shadow of its former self?

Shall the South inherit all and bequeath nothing? From across the waters there have come out of the ancestral home of the Anglo-Saxon, Burke and Pitt, Fox and Disraeli, and hosts of others to inspire the youth of to-day. Out of the loins of the South of the past sprang Washington and Jefferson, Marshall, Jackson and Calhoun, fixed stars in the firmament of American statesmanship. But all of this is the output of the blood of the past. Shall the South of to-day not add to the galaxy? In the roll call of the future, when our decade is reached and the names of our contributions to the ranks of the immortals are called for, will there be an oppressive silence to last throughout the eternal ages? Shall we have no great names to keep our section and our era alive in history? It is not enough for the whites of the South simply to fill the House of Representatives and the Senate at Washington with "just anybody," for the togas of intellectual giants may be tightly wrapped about the bodies of intellectual pigmies.

The South should divide; should have strenuous battlefields which will summon to the front all the latent qualities of mind and soul. The Negroes are no necessary menace. Their majority sense can be appealed to in such a way as to yield a rich harvest to the common good. The cry of the hour, so far as the higher interests of the South are concerned is

this, is simply this:

“Give us men to match our mountains,
Give us men to match our plains,
Men with empires in their purpose
And new eras in their brains.”

Let the white people of the South meet half-way the efforts of the worthy Negroes to influence the political thought of their race that the better elements of the two races may be found working healthily for the common good. Such a consummation is indeed immeasurably better than the delivery of the throat of the political genius of the South into the hands of the strangling one-party system which according to the South's highest thought, leaves that genius, bleeding, gasping, dying upon the threshold of the period of the world's greatest enlightenment.



**V. THE PRESERVATION OF THE
TWO RACES.**





CHAPTER V.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE TWO RACES.

**Their
Methods
Differ.**

The various races of mankind, whether considered from the standpoint of the units that compose them or as aggregations, present marked contrasts in their respective methods of handling the grave questions that from time to time present themselves to them for adjustment. Often the methods of one race are directly opposite to those of another; methods that are in high repute in one race are utterly despised by another. When a Frenchman feels that his honor has been gravely reflected upon he forthwith challenges the author of the alleged insult to a duel, with swords as the weapons to be used in the fight, whereas a "Greenlander, who is aggrieved by another has his remedy in what is called a singing combat. He composes a satirical poem and challenges his antagonist to a satirical duel in face of the tribe. He who has the last word wins the trial."

**The
Irish.**

As an illustration of the wide gulf that can separate the respective methods employed by races when acting as aggregations, we call attention to the wide difference between the methods employed by the Irish and those employed by the Japanese. An Irishman who in our day has attained unto an international reputation as a writer and student of Irish affairs once said in the columns of the New York *Independent* that the Irish people would never obtain Home Rule for their country by means of a resort to arms, giving as a basis for his assertion the alleged fact that the Irish people were so lacking in the quality of secretiveness that their leaders did not dare to adopt the plan of storing away arms from year to year, by which means alone they could hope to secure the equipment necessary to successfully cope with England upon the field of battle. He asserted that the secret preparations which were carried on by the Boers in South Africa, which finally enabled that small body of people to surprise the world and put England to the supreme test could not have been carried on among Irishmen because of the impulsive, out-spoken, non-secretive trait in Irish character. As a result of the alleged presence of this trait in Irish character, the Irish leaders, so says our authority, have settled upon agitation as the fixed method of striving to advance Ireland's interests; and thus the Irish seek to keep the world stirred by their continuous outcry. So Ireland is

the world's

“* * * infant crying in the night,
An infant crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry.”

But it cannot be denied that the Irish by their chosen method have been able to push forward their cause very materially.

**The Jap-
anese.** The very opposite of the Irish as pictured by this eminent Irishman are the Japanese who *are* a secretive people. Knowing themselves to possess this trait, and knowing how much they could make it count in their favor, the Japanese were willing to engage in that life and death struggle with the Russians. One talkative, indiscreet Jap located in the inner circle of Japanese affairs could have affected very easily the whole course of the Russo-Japanese war. If a bare hint as to Japan's initial move had but drifted out of those inner circles the Russians would have been prepared for that night attack made before the issuance of the declaration of war, which attack carried disaster to the Russian navy and gave to Japan immediate mastery of the seas bordering the seat of trouble. Without this mastery Japan would have been woefully handicapped in the matter of transporting her soldiers across the waters to the scene of conflict.

Not only was secretiveness a factor in this initial move, but it played its part throughout the entire struggle. With the whole world asking with bated breath as to the whereabouts of Togo's fleet, not one word of enlightenment came out of the

silent East until the news flashed the world around that the wily Japanese admiral had waylaid and annihilated the last great branch of the Russian navy. Here we have a marked contrast, the Irish discarding secrecy altogether, while the Japanese relied upon it as the pivot around which their policy and their destiny revolved.

The white people of the South are **The Anglo-Saxon Temperament.** well pleased with their Anglo-Saxon temperament, the mental and spiritual constitution of their racial soul. They rejoice in the fact that there is written in the blood of the Anglo-Saxon race those elements which have permitted the flowering of the great civilization of that race. This blood has proven susceptible of sustaining a civilization based upon love of country, deep reverence for woman, love of home, hatred of tyranny, freedom of the individual, the inviolability of the plighted word, the faculty for dropping all internal differences and presenting a united front to a common foe. With it, blood is thicker than water. It does not swap horses when crossing a stream. Not for a thousand years perhaps has the race voted an administration out of power during a war. It has a proven capacity for social efficiency, for the successful conduct of great governmental affairs with millions of free men working together without being in each other's way. This blood harbors a "restless discontented, burning, striving energy" that insures the onward march of its civilization in spite of all obstacles of whatever nature thrust athwart its pathway. This

blood has shown the capacity to draw within the range of its consciousness the unborn of that race, an influence steady and deepening its statesmanship, causing it to seek to plan for things that can endure as long as earth itself.

Napoleon Bonaparte, perhaps the **Napoleon's** greatest single product of the Celtic **Tribute.** temperament paid a glowing tribute to the Anglo-Saxon temperament. These two temperaments, the Anglo-Saxon and the Celtic, had met in the shock of battle, had grappled in a contest that tested their racial souls to the uttermost. At the close of this memorable struggle the greatest out-put of the rival Celtic temperament Napoleon Bonaparte spoke thus of the Anglo-Saxon temperament: "Had I been in 1811 the choice of the English as I was of the French, I might have lost the battle of Waterloo without losing a vote in the legislature or a soldier from my ranks."

If we may go to the realm of the **Blending** lower animals we will find there a **Bloods.** striking illustration of the change that can be wrought in a temperament when there is a mingling of different bloods. Let us take the case of the bird dog, and note how he was produced. The hound possesses a keen sense of smell and by that means is able to trace birds for a huntsman. But the hound has one marked defect as a hunter of birds; he cannot refrain from making a noise. His yelping scatters the covey. How to utilize the hound's sense of smell and yet be

rid of his loud yelping was the problem of the huntsman. The bull dog has no marked capacity for tracing scents but he can be silent when occasion demands it. The hound and the bull dog when mated produced the bird dog, who comes upon the scene with the hounds keen sense of smell and the bull dog's capacity for silence. Here we have a striking case of the modifying of temperament through the union of bloods.

Herbert Spencer, called upon to give his opinion on the question of the intermarriage on a large scale of the people of Japan with foreigners in their midst, upon being assured that what he said would not be credited to him until after his death, stated that he did not regard such marriages as being best for the Japanese as they would tend to produce a new people and thus destroy that valuable asset of the statesmen, racial self-knowledge, the knowledge as to about what Japanese character could be reasonably expected to do under given circumstances.

Prof. Giddings in his analysis of the American population thinks that he sees traces in American life and character of the bloods of the various peoples in about the proportion of the infusions of their several bloods. In his opinion the American national character can be analyzed about as follows:

“The prevailing English 33 1-3 per cent; the prevailing Irish, 29 per cent; the prevailing Scotch, 19 per cent.”

Negro and Anglo-Saxon. The Negroes constitute about a third of the population of the South and should they be absorbed into the white race the temperament of that race in the South would become approximately 33 1-3 per cent Negro. Now this is what the Southern white man does not want. So well pleased are the Southern whites with their Anglo-Saxon temperament that they absolutely refuse to harbor for a moment any thought of amending their temperament by the drawing in of Negro blood. With eyes open to the Negro's past, and in full view of the present plight of that race in all the lands of earth where it is found, fearing that the incorporation of Negro blood into their veins would in the end bring unto them the woes that have thus far seemed to follow Negro blood they recoil at the very thought of a Negro blood infusion.

Prizing most highly their full membership in the great white race of the world, desiring to go on looking at life and facing its problems in the good old Anglo-Saxon way, they have grimly set their souls against any amendment to the fundamental bent of their natures, and are determined to keep undimmed their white complexion, the physical badge of membership in the white race. And the problem of keeping Negro blood out of the veins of the white race is the paramount problem with the Southern white man, and to it all other questions, whether economic, political or social are made to yield.

Hard Task Ahead. The difficulties in the way of carrying out the desires of the white South are great, so great that there are those who hold that the desire is unattainable.

Says Prof. Lydston of the Medical department of the University of Illinois, himself thoroughly pro-Southern and anti-amalgamationist: "The question of the cross-breeding of white and black like Banquo's ghost, is one that will not down. Legislate and moralize as we may, we can never erect barriers that will confine the stream of black blood to its own channel. So long as human passions are what they are—and we can never hope to subvert them to American ideas of altruism—the black and white streams will intermingle. It is not possible that a distinctly black race, comprising millions, can survive in the midst of a larger community of whites. There are more than two million mixed bloods now; what will the next century show? It is not possible for a stream of white blood to flow on, year in and year out, side by side with a stream of black blood—or, rather, surrounding the latter on all sides—without becoming contaminated by it. Struggle as we may, a gradual blending of the two streams is inevitable."

Some Difficulties. Among the difficulties in the way may be cited the likeableness of the Negro. The claim of the Southern white man that he is the Negro's best friend has this much of a basis of fact, he has the stronger personal liking for the Negro, who has a more lovable personality than his facial

expression indicates. This liking of the Southern white man for the Negro is what doubles the size of the problem before him. When the Negro woman was yet fresh from uncivilized Africa; before she had become an adept at attiring herself after the fashion of civilized women; when her speech was still broken and her mind a blank, even then her humble cabin became the home of offsprings that bespoke a marked interest in her on the part of a scion of the white race. A goodly part of this attracting force operating upon the white man is perhaps the law of the attraction of opposites, the force that catches hold of all discordant elements in the social body and patiently moulds them into a homogeneous mass. The suction forces that are reaching out to draw all elements into the great American melting pot which is to bring forth the composite American, make unauthorized forays into Negro life in keeping with their tendency to blend all elements into a common type.

But the greatest obstacle in the way
A Grievous Blunder. of maintaining the separateness of the blood of the two races is perhaps a fundamental error on the part of the white South as to the best method of attaining the end sought. It is one of the peculiarities of life that men so often accomplish the very opposite of that at which they are aiming. The leaders of the Jews lifted Christ to the cross with the view to blotting his name from the memory of men. They simply made it impossible for the human family ever to forget the Christ. South Carolina felt that

passing an ordinance of secession would make slavery secure; it paved the way for immediate emancipation. There has arisen in the South a set of men who have proclaimed themselves the special guardians of the purity of Anglo-Saxon blood, and they bestir themselves in season and out of season in search of ways and means to make sure that Negro blood does not flow across the line into the veins of the white race. Permit us to demonstrate how that this element constitutes the greatest of all the forces working for the mixing of the blood of the two races. As the question is grave and should be treated fundamentally, bear with us, though for a time it may appear that we have left the subject. We shall return.

As we contemplate the workings of nature, one of the most striking facts that everywhere presents itself for our consideration is the diligence with which she seeks to equip her creatures so that they will be fully able to meet whatever conditions of life are to confront them. Observe how the strawberry, the grain of corn, and the hickory nut differ among themselves. Nature, seeing that the career of the strawberry was to come to a close while the weather is yet warm, gave to it no covering. The grain of corn, having a longer journey to pursue, being very likely to encounter one Jack Frost ere the close of its pilgrimage, was duly provided with a shuck for a shield. After the fading and the falling of the leaves, after the summer and autumn have bidden the earth adieu and left it in the clasp of

winter, cold and biting, the hickory nut is still to be found on hand. In preparation for this, nature gave to the nut its thick hard covering to protect the life germ within from the adverse weather conditions through which it was destined to pass. In whatever direction we turn, whether it be to look at the tail of the beaver equipped to handle the mud out of which its home is to be constructed, or to observe the bag of ink given to the scuttle fish to discharge in such a manner as to muddy the waters and thus blind its pursuers until it has made good its escape—in whatever direction we turn, we stand in awe at the infinite wisdom and consummate skill with which nature prepares its creatures for whatever environments they are to encounter.

The late Prof. Thos. H. Huxley, the eminent English philosopher and naturalist, whose scholarship is universally conceded, has advanced and ably championed the theory that it was this motherly care on the part of nature of which we have been speaking, that induced her to give to the Negro race its wooly hair and dark complexion. It is Mr. Huxley's contention that the human family began its existence white throughout, that a section of this white race, retreating before floods and freshly-made seas, due to the sinking of large sections of the earth, kept wandering until it at last landed in Africa. Upon the entrance of the whites into Africa in these prehistoric times, nature, according to Prof. Huxley's theory, made two discoveries of vital importance. She found the land infested

with yellow fever germs that bade fair to exterminate this white race now resident in Africa. She also discovered that woolly hair and a black complexion rendered persons possessing them practically immune from the ravages of the yellow fever germs; so with all the marvelous skill at her command she set about the task of ridding that portion of the human family residing in the germ-infested land of smooth hair and the light complexion, and proceeded to equip it with the characteristics necessary for its salvation.

The scientists tell us that whenever **Natural Selection.** nature has changes that she desires to make, she watches for any slight tendencies in the desired direction; that she so shapes the mating instincts of her creatures that the aforementioned tendencies are preserved and augmented from generation to generation. For example, if there appeared in this African white race a girl with slight tendencies toward wooliness of hair and swarthy complexion, and a boy with like characteristics, nature would incline the two to love each other, nature's object being to increase this wooliness and swarthy complexion in the next generation. By everywhere bending the instinct of marrying in this direction, nature would be able year by year to increase the wooliness of hair and swarthy complexion, until she had finally developed a black race fully able to bid defiance to yellow fever germs. Here we have the theory of one of the most eminent of English scientists setting forth how that in all probability, nature took charge

of a white race and gradually converted it into a black one, without having a single black face with which to begin.

Just here a decidedly interesting question for Southern statesmanship arises, to wit: Can, and will this same nature which took a white race, and through the process of years, converted it into one wholly black, now take this black race and change it back to white?

Let us take up first the question as to whether nature can retrace her steps. A study of what has transpired, and what exists to-day in many quarters of the animal kingdom proclaims the fact that nature has the power not only to make but to unmake as well. Nature gave to a certain fish as splendid a set of eyes as she had in stock. This fish elected to wander into Kentucky's Mammoth Cave, and made this home, and the home of his seed after him. Perceiving that there was no need of eyes in this dark cave nature withdrew her grant of eyes, so that now the fishes of Mammoth Cave are born totally blind. Scientists tell us that within the body of the whale there are relics of what were formerly hip bones. In the long, long ago, whales, they tell us, walked on the land. Gradually they took to the sea, and as gradually nature withdrew her grant of legs and substituted therefor a powerful tail with which the whale might steer and defend itself in the sea. These instances are sufficient to indicate the ability of nature to retrace her steps should she so desire.

Will The next question to be answered
She? is, as to whether nature *will* exercise
 this power to whiten the Negro race.

Under normal conditions nature would not so do. She has no time to waste. All her moods are serious. Normally she desires for species to reproduce their kind, and she steps in to cause a new type to appear and the old type to disappear only when environments imperatively demand such a course. But nature forgets none of her creatures, not even the slimy snail. To-day she looks down upon her dark creatures in America to learn what is to be their lot. If there is to be no future for the black face; if life is to be one long drawn out groaning of the spirit; if the black man as he toils and struggles upward is to feel for every step he takes, the leathern scourge upon his back, and to hear the hiss of hate in his ear; if, to the end of time, he is to hew the wood, draw the water, and be denied the larger joys of life; if at no time the sun of hope is to dawn and chase out of his face the thousand years of gloom that are written there, then nature who intervened to stay the ravages of yellow fever germs, may feel inclined to step in and recast the race to meet the conditions encountered in a color-hating land.

Let us now observe the tactics which
Nature Re- nature could employ to cause the Negro
tracing race in America to be finally lifted
Her Steps. from the cauldron of color prejudice.

It will be recalled that it is Mr. Huxley's contention that nature, beginning in Africa without a single black face seized upon every slight

advance toward the black complexion, preserved it and transmitted it in augmented form, on and on until a thoroughly black race was developed. But in the work of retracing her steps if she so desires, nature has a far better start. As a result of conditions existing in the days of slavery numerous persons are to be found who have light complexions but are classed as Negroes. Nature ever keeps under her jurisdiction the marital instinct which fact has begotten the aphorism, "There is no accounting for tastes." Taking charge of the marrying within the Negro race, nature can see to it that the dark man and the dark woman take no marked interest in each other. It can incline the dark man to admire the woman of light complexion, and can prepare that woman to return the affections of the dark man. The same can be done for the dark woman and the man of light complexion. By regulating marriages on this wise, nature can see to it that the thoroughly dark complexion is eliminated. When a child is born in a family where there is one parent dark, nature can see to it that its tastes run in the direction of the lighter complexion, and that child's marriage can be so shaped as to continue the race toward the lighter complexion instead of returning in the direction of the darker parent.

The process here outlined can go on until no one will be able to tell just where the Negro race ends and the white race begins. The next step would be the blending of the two races and the blood of the millions of Negroes of the South

would at last find itself flowing in the veins of the white race!

Nature Al- The fact of the matter is the process
ready at of making the Negro race lighter by
Work. the character of the marriages within
 the race has been going on until hun-
 dreds of thousands of Negroes are
 now to be found who can pass over into the white
 race by the simple expedient of changing their resi-
 dence. Here then is an army of persons whose ranks
 are being recruited every day ready for the word of
 command to disappear into the white race carry-
 ing their Negro blood with them.

To Stay Left to itself the Negro race is amply
or Leave. able to hold this element within its
 own ranks by the sheer charm of life
 within the race. For, the race has
 beauty in great variety, has the gift of song
 and oratory, is fun-loving and convivial, possess-
 ing the social instincts to a marked degree. Thus
 it can furnish a full measure of the joys of
 earth to all who will abide within its borders. As
 Mr. Ray Stannard Baker points out, the Negroes,
 situated even as they now are, extract more of
 joy from life than do the whites of the South.
 For the element of the light complexion, then, to
 develop a controlling desire to leave the Negro race
 there must come a powerful pressure from the out-
 side. Now that is just what a certain element in
 the South, represented by such men as Messrs. Till-
 man, Dixon, Vardaman, Smith, Watson and Heflin
 is doing, supplying this pressure. It is said that

rats will desert a sinking ship. If the Negro ship is to be loaded with ignorance, with political serfdom, with exclusion from America's higher life, and, thus loaded, is to be made to sink in the waters of despair, then will it indeed be hard to keep these hundreds of thousands of Negroes of the light complexion aboard the sinking vessel. The dispersion of this blood throughout the white race will not be sudden, but long continued and of ever increasing volume. The recent wave of racial feeling has certainly started a slight movement in that direction. We have personal knowledge of several persons of the light complexion who were living contented lives in the Negro race until this powerful wave came and bore them into the white race. Two of these individuals hail from Mr. Vardaman's own state, Mississippi, but have now gone North. We know of still others who are studying the signs of the times, who are ready to leave the race when out of the western sky there creeps the dark shadow that brings the sad message that the sun of hope the Negro race has set forever and a day. On one occasion we asked a dark young man from Mississippi as to why dark young men seemed to choose the young women of light complexion for wives. He said: "Mr. Vardaman tells us that as Negroes we shall never have the full privileges of citizenship in this country and we think that the sooner we get away from the black complexion the better. I guess I too shall marry a girl with a light complexion." It is true that one swallow does not make a summer but it is also true that straws show which way the wind is blowing. Men do not follow a corpse beyond a graveyard. A disfranchised,

proscribed, brow-beaten, murdered element, an element from which lynching material may be drawn with impunity will seek to escape from the fiery furnace through being lost in the ranks of those of the more favored hue, while a kindly treated Negro element, invested with the full privileges of men and women will tend to abide as it is, indefinitely.

When we stop to consider the fact that **Nemesis?** a possible infusion of Negro blood is the one great dread of the white South, being regarded by it as a most direful calamity, does it not cause one to reflect upon the distance the human race is from perfect wisdom, when he sees the white South singling out for special honor, for good salaries, for marked social attentions the very men, who, more than all other influences combined are driving the maternal instinct and the forces of evolution to the side of lightening the Negro's complexion, and are furnishing the nearly white Negro with reasons for debating as to whether it is wise to continue in the Negro race? The white South can well bear in mind that this terrible racial jangle, racking to the nerves and annoying to the very marrow of the bones may one day grow to sound to the Negroes of the light complexion as an insistent, though unconscious message from the white race saying:

“Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest.”

In the event that the violent Southerner, who would keep the Negro black by slamming the door of hope in his face and heaping coals of fire upon his

head, wakes up to find that these very fires have in some way finally removed the kinks from that wooly hair and burned up the cells out of which the coloring fluids came to darken the Negro's face, let him not be amazed at what he has unwittingly done, for it will not be by any means the first time in history that men have accomplished the opposite of what they planned. If the hundreds of thousands of Negroes who are nearly white, and the millions to be made like unto them that are to come trooping after, ever decide to take up their home in the white race and, in the years to come modify or add to the fundamental bent of the white race in the South, may the white South summon from their tombs, Messrs. Tillman, Vardaman and company and say unto them, "Behold the fruits of your labors."

Will the white South see all this, or has Nemesis blinded her to the true philosophy of the situation so that she (Nemesis,) charged with the execution of the law of retribution may, by a flank movement, and through the back door of the white race, bear into that race as much Negro blood as the white race has sent into the Negro race?

The writer would not have the reader
A Personal feel, because of anything herein said,
Word. that we are an advocate of the disappearance of the dark complexion, for such is not the case. We have sought to demonstrate not what we desired to take place, but what nature herself could do and might be influenced to do, regardless of the wishes of those who favor the retention of the dark complexion. We believe in the Negro,

in the majesty of his patient soul, in the brilliancy of the future that awaits him as a distinct branch of the human family. We believe that he is but waiting his call to the center of the stage whence he will pour forth in inimitable sweetness and surpassing grandeur his special message from the many-sided heart of the Great Creator. We especially protest against the disappearance of the American Negro as a Negro. Who knows but that he is being evolved as the special guide of the host of the dark millions across the waters? With the loss of color might go the loss of special feeling of kinship. Feeling we cannot view with equanimity the forces at work tending to whiten the race.

We live in the hope that the entire
The Wiser white population of the South will see
Way. that a full and hearty recognition of
worthy aspirations on the part of the
Negro is most in harmony with its cherished ideals.
We live in the hope that the spiritual war between
the two races in the South will cease, and that the
white people of the South will take the lead in asking
the nation that the Negro be given a man's chance
as a Negro. We live in the hope that the future
will reveal the white man and the black man jointly
working for the glory of the South, for the honor of
each, for the good of the nation, for the uplift of the
submerged millions of the colored world, for the ad-
vancement of the entire human family, for the glory
of the one God that made us all.



**VI. SOUTHERN STATESMANSHIP
AND THE NEGRO WOMAN.**





CHAPTER VI.

SOUTHERN STATESMANSHIP AND THE NEGRO WOMAN.

**Colored
Woman
a Factor.** In the work of maintaining the
separateness of the two races the white
people cannot ignore the Negro woman
as a factor in the situation and still
hope to succeed in attaining the goal of
their ambition. In view of the clearly established
fact that an abundance of white men are to be
found who have no aversion to entering the Negro
race and establishing what practically amounts to
marital relationship, it is very evident that if the
colored woman should lose her self-respect, should
fall a victim in any general way, to the pressure di-
rected against her there would come into being a
vast army of mulattoes, who by judicious inter-
marrying could so whiten the Negro race that
their descendants could easily pass for white. If
the colored woman but so decreed the dark com-
plexion would vanish from American life, and with
its going, the border line between the two races
would no longer be visible, and the long fought
and much dreaded amalgamation would be an

accomplished fact. In the work, therefore, of keeping out of the Anglo-Saxon race the blood of the Negro it must be kept clearly in mind that the colored woman can be either the most valuable ally or the most deadly foe of the dreams of the white South.

In view of the importance of the colored woman as a factor in the situation it is pertinent to inquire into her status under the existing order of things in the South. The colored women of purest life report that the atmosphere in which they and their daughters are forced to move is anything but wholesome; that, however correct their bearing white men do not hesitate to smite their ears with improper suggestions; that the world has no conception of the boldness of the address of the white men, who knowing that the social life of the two races is divided into two currents which never mingle, have no fear of the sting of the social power. It is indeed appalling to listen to the accounts of experiences related by many of the truest and best of the race.

An incident that was reported to the writer by his brother will, perhaps, throw some light upon the charge brought by colored women of character. This brother, at the time in question a lad working in a clothing store, was standing near two of the male white clerks one day while one of the clerks was advising the other to abandon his associations with white women, and as a matter of economy, to ally himself with a colored woman until such a time as he might see fit to marry. The young man who was thus advised replied that he did not know how to

proceed, could not tell just which colored woman to approach.

"Stand in front of the store and ask just any of them that pass until you come to the right one," was the response. The young man followed the advice.

Let it be understood that the charge of the colored women is not by any means against the whole body of Southern white men. On the contrary they are careful to state that there are white men whose conduct toward them is ideal, who treat them as considerately as any woman of honor could be treated. But the complaint is that such white men as have evil in their hearts have no regard whatever for the sensibilities of the purest colored woman and make her life miserable by their frequent, wanton insults.

An Illustration. An incident which throws an interesting sidelight upon the status of the colored woman in some sections of the South was reported to the writer a few days since by a thoroughly reliable person who was in a position to be sure of his facts. A colored woman had purchased some goods from a white man on the installment plan. Having gotten somewhat behind in her payments, the white collector ordered her to have his money for him on a given day. This the woman failed to do and the collector thereupon began to beat her. She ran out of her house into the store of a colored man, begging the storekeeper for protection. This was given her, and the white man was pushed out of doors. A telephone call was sent by the colored man for the patrol wagon. When the policeman arrived he at once put the colored

woman under arrest, and while he was leading her to the patrol wagon the collector began to assault her again by kicking her, whereupon the colored man once more intervened. The colored woman was put into the patrol wagon and carried to the jail. The assaulting collector rode with the driver for a short distance, then got down and went about his business. It is very apparent to the dullest mind that a man who would feel free to thus beat a colored woman would also feel free, if so inclined, to address a colored woman in any manner that might suit his fancy.

A factor inevitably tending toward the whitening of the Negro race, and therefore toward the ultimate blending of the two races, is the denying to the colored woman the protection of the colored man. As the white man of the South is the sentinel that stands guard over the white woman and resents anything that savors of social attention on the part of the Negro man, so the Negro man is the natural sentinel that would stand guard over the Negro woman.

In the matter of dealing with improper advances of the libertines among the whites, the colored woman feels absolutely unprotected. If when improperly approached, she sees fit to call a colored man to resent the insult for her, one of two results usually follows. Either the white man kills the Negro, and is at once set free, or the Negro kills or injures the white man and is forthwith lynched or sent to prison. Colored women

know the danger to which colored men are exposed and as a consequence they hesitate about calling in their male relatives even where such seem sadly needed. A mother may see clearly the designs on her daughter by a white man, and the child might be saved if there were some one to warn the would-be-betrayer to desist. But as before stated the mother hesitates to summon her husband or her son to what she regards as certain death or imprisonment if he but speaks for the child in peril. What is here asserted is no mere theory or idle supposition, as the graves of many colored men in the South eloquently testify.

By way of illustration we shall cite **Cases.** just a few typical cases. A white man having improperly accosted a colored girl, she reported his conduct to her brother. The young man armed himself, went to the white man's home, called him out and told him to treat his sister with respect. This was at night. The next morning the white man, armed with a shot gun, went to the place where the colored man was working, called him out, and shot him down, killing him instantly. The slayer of this Negro who only sought to shield his sister was no more punished than if he had slain a mad dog. The newspaper account of the killing rather commended him for his course. A white man who had designs on a colored girl living on his farm with her widowed mother and brother, came to the conclusion that the girl's brother was in the way of the accomplishment of his purpose, and he thereupon ordered the lad to leave. The boy, desiring to be near his sister for her protection,

refused to go. The two met and fought, the colored boy severely injuring the white man. The boy was conveyed to jail and steps were taken to have him lynched. The sheriff, talking to a colored man with a very light complexion thinking that he was white, told of the projected lynching. Led by this man a delegation of colored men interceded with the Governor to save the lad's life, but all to no avail. The mob came on schedule time as forecasted by the sheriff and the lad was duly lynched. Yes, in many an humble cemetery in the South there lies the body of a Negro, his neck broken, a hundred bullets having dropped from his frame to the coffin floor as the flesh decayed. If there be a recording angel whose duty it is to write epitaphs for heroic souls whose deeds are unsung by the poets of earth, over these graves he shall write: "His crime was that, in the heart of the modern home of chivalry, the South, he was lynched and mutilated because he sought as best he knew how to defend himself from a murderous onslaught from one whom he had asked to desist from sinister designs on the family honor."

Elsewhere in these pages we discuss the danger of an unprotected spot, showing how that one weak spot, serving as a gateway could and would admit evils, which once in, would disport themselves throughout the length and breadth of the social body. It has been our observation as we have traveled through the South that wherever the Negro has lost all connection with the ballot and therefore his connection and influence with the governing power, white men all the more freely take up their

abode with Negro women. Those, therefore, who cry out for the weakening of the Negro man in the body politic are preparing the one needed point of weakness where the white man may enter the Negro race, and through his offsprings prepare for the journey of Negro blood into the veins of the whites.

When soldiers are to land to take possession of a new country, warships take up their positions within firing range, and under the protection of their guns the soldiers take possession of the conquered territory. Under the protection of the mob which Southern statesmanship has thus far failed to suppress, white men are daily invading the Negro race and making efforts that tend in the direction of undoing all that Southern statesmanship is planning for the future. When the white South leaves the colored woman in the open, bereft of an atmosphere of respect, denied the supporting arm of the Negro man, subjected to the unhampered play of whatever influences may be brought to bear upon her, it would seem to be small cause for wonder if white men of evil design succeeded in finding the weak creatures of the race who join with them in providing offsprings whose very presence in the world lessens the color gap between the races. Everytime the white South fails to punish the white assassin who slays the Negro that warned him to discontinue his efforts to beguile his daughter, every time a mob lynches a Negro who slays in pure self-defense the white man who, angered at being told to desist from his evil designs, seeks the Negro's

destruction, just that much progress is made toward the amalgamation which the white South most bitterly abhors, which the Negro, anxious for the perpetuity of his own class, laments.

The question very pertinently arises
The Courts and the Colored Woman. just here as to what protection the colored woman finds in the courts of the South. Often, so often, the colored mother of unquestioned respectability is unable to even get a hearing in court when she desires to lay bare a wrong done her very young daughter by a white man. The writer has personal knowledge of several respectable colored mothers who were unable to bring to judgment white men who had grievously sinned against their daughters of tender years. If, perchance, a colored woman who has been wronged by a white man succeeds in getting her case in court, the opposition lawyer so lacerates her feelings, so stabs her in every corner of an already wounded heart that she regrets the day that she so much as heard of a court room.

But the plight of the colored woman,
Sadder Still. the indispensable ally of the white South in the matter of maintaining the separateness of the blood of the two races is far more pitiable than we have thus far depicted. Not only is this ally the subject of wanton insult because of her fear that the mob will wreak vengeance upon the male that she might summon to her protection; not only does she encounter ridi-

cule and contempt when she tries to go to court but it may also be said that the white man who aspires to a relationship with her that means and can only mean in its larger consequences the whitening of the Negro race and the ultimate blending of the blood of the two races, has it in his power to utilize the mob to wreak vengeance upon her for daring to repulse his advances. Of course he could not openly avow such a basis for his grievance and gain support from the more respectable classes, but he could easily put forward some other ground for complaint, and, as a mob is not a judicial body that carefully sifts statements and searches for motives, he could in this way wreak vengeance upon the colored woman.

Permit us just here to cite a case
Woman that will clearly illustrate how the mob
Terrorized. can be called into action to chastise
the colored woman because of her hav-
ing repulsed the advances of a white man. There
lived in one of the smaller towns of the South a
mulatto woman of high standing among both the
white and colored people. Her husband enjoyed
the good will of the whites to a marked degree and
mainly through their influence held the position of
principal of the colored school of the town. One
day the colored woman in question had occasion to
enter a white man's clothing store for the purpose
of making a few purchases. The proprietor waited
on her and while so doing sought to converse with
her in a familiar sort of way, calling her flatly by her
given name. She had heard that he had said that he
was desirous of the friendship of some nice-looking

colored woman, and perceived that he was trying to lay the foundation for improper advances toward her. When he leaned over to talk to her in an offensive manner, she said, "I would rather that you would not talk to me at all. Just sell me the goods and let me go." That afternoon the white man accosted this woman's husband and told him that he must send his wife to him to apologize or else he would wreak vengeance upon him. Later, on hearing that the colored woman had said that she would never again set foot in his store this white man went to her place of business, ordered her to cease all criticism of himself, insisted that she had to pay his store another visit, and threatened to organize a midnight mob for the purpose of taking her out at night and severely whipping her. The affair between this white man and colored woman became known to the whites of the town and he succeeded in lining up the white people on his side by stating that the trouble was wholly due to the desire of this woman to be called Mrs. Had the mob been formed the rallying cry, of course, would have been to keep a "smart" colored woman in her place, whereas she would have been receiving punishment for not having become the mother, perhaps, of a child which under the circumstances would have been so light of complexion as to be able to easily carry its share of Negro blood into the white race.

In a certain community in one of our
Preacher Driven Out. Southern states some Negro girls who had been led astray by white men listened to a sermon from the Negro pastor, which caused them to discard their alliances.

Their white companions insisted upon knowing the cause of their change of attitude and were told that the minister had shown them the error of their way. Straightway these young men formed a mob, assaulted the minister and drove him from the community, threatening to kill him if he returned. And throughout many a section of the South the menace of the mob hangs over the pulpit offering death to any Negro minister who cries out against a course that inevitably leads to the disappearance of the Negro race through its final absorption into the white race.

Is it White statesmen of the South, look,
Wise? if but for a moment, at what a situation confronts you! Here you are searching for every influence, every device to keep the two races apart. All of your devices will be absolutely worthless without racial chastity on the part of the colored woman. Suppose, as in New Orleans, you erect screens on the street cars to separate the races. The absence of racial chastity on the part of the colored woman could render your screens useless by giving to you a progeny that could come from behind those screens. Is it, therefore wise in you, is it in keeping with the dictates of enlightened self-interest for you to suffer your most needed ally to stand out in her present unprotected state?

The White But one will say "We know that the
Woman and mob sometimes kills innocent Ne-
The Mob. groes, decreases values, is frequently invoked to deal with minor offenses, and for aught we know may operate to

the disadvantage of the colored woman, but it is needed now and then to be used for the protection of the white woman, and therefore must be preserved even if it is diverted from time to time from the main purpose for which it is retained." Far from aiding the white woman the mob works injury to her cause. Its methods often arouse the germs of evil in the bosoms of depraved Negroes and the result is an increase of the very offense of which complaint is made. He is not a wise friend to the white woman who indulges in practices that brutalize and inflame the minds of beings by whom she is surrounded and among whom she must move. The interests of the white woman call for a decrease in savagery, not its increase. Nor is this stubborn fact altered in the slightest by the other fact that the white mob has it in its power to kill with torture every savage that appears, for all the torture inflicted can not recall from the victim her horrible experiences. Why then cause an increase of victims by increasing savagery? No, the mob is no help to the cause of the white woman.

On the contrary the white woman's **White Wom-** most vital interests are bound up in
an's True the matter of protecting the colored
Interests. woman. Whenever a white man takes
up his abode in the Negro race in mari-
tal relationship it is some white woman's loss. He
either fails to wed a white woman or if wedded, so
divides his attention as to be far removed from
what would be termed an ideal husband. Thousands
of unwedded white women in the South have been

cut short of their possible mates through the departure of white men into the Negro race. Moreover many a distempered white husband is such toward his wife because of his Negro affiliations. A white woman in one of our Southern cities remarked to a Negro woman with whom she was on friendly terms that she could always tell when her husband was paying attention to a colored woman by the unpleasantness that he brought home during those periods. In appraising the equity of the white woman in this matter, we cannot leave out the depth of chagrin, the utter humiliation that many of them are made to endure by virtue of the fact that their husbands are rearing families in both races. By virtue, then, of the equity of the white woman in this matter, her interests lie in the direction of those things calculated to make it more difficult for the white man to seek to enter the Negro race.

Not only has the white woman an equity in this matter, but great power as well. The one great need of the situation is an atmosphere of respect for the colored woman. Where that is lacking all the evils complained of are sure to abound, but with the coming of respect, will come a desire for the protection of the colored woman. The white woman's opportunity is to be found in her control of the fire-side and the social realm where she can foster an atmosphere of respect. As the white mother buckles down to the task of so fashioning the heart of her offspring that he will be imbued with the unyielding ambition to hand over to posterity an unmixed

White Woman's Help.

Anglo-Saxondom, may it be hers to succeed in planting deep in the bosoms of her sons a feeling of respect for the colored woman, and with the restraining influence of respect as a factor in the situation the misalliances will assuredly be fewer in number.

As we view the matter, every interest of the white race, if its one passionate dream of an unmixed race is to be fulfilled calls for the protection of the Negro woman. She should be encouraged to speak out. The courts of the land should be thrown wide for her protection. She should not be left alone in her struggle to save her daughter from the wooer of the other race. The mob should be suppressed. The entire white South looking out for the ultimate purity of its own blood should in every way possible sound the slogan that the colored woman must have as sacred an atmosphere to surround her and her daughters as the best civilization affords. The colored woman is entitled to respect and protection in her own right, but if such a plea should fall on deaf ears surely the white South's own interests will be heard as they too cry aloud for the protection of the colored woman.



**VII. HOW TO KEEP THE COLORED
RACE FROM BEING A BURDEN.**





CHAPTER VII.

HOW TO KEEP THE COLORED RACE FROM BEING A BURDEN.

“Why kill the hen that lays the golden egg? Since the Negroes who are sent to the penitentiaries in the South by the thousands annually are so farmed out that they produce a handsome revenue for the state treasuries why should cool-headed business men of the white race be concerned about reducing the number of Negro criminals? Ought sensible men shed tears when, people of their own volition, break the law and are thenceforth put to work in such a manner as to reduce the tax rate?” But is the Negro criminal a hen laying a golden egg? When all the facts are in, is the criminal in reality an asset, a paying institution?

Much depends upon what those who are now shaping the destiny of the South think on this subject. The first step toward a life of crime is a life of idleness. Crime and steady employment are sometimes found in each other's company, but as

a rule they are not very good mates. In order that he may have ample time and the very best opportunities to plan and to execute his crimes, the man who decides to follow a life of crime, usually withdraws himself from honorable gainful occupations. Being unemployed he can move about at will and is under no obligations to account to any one as to his whereabouts. His incoming and outgoing are not subject to the supervision of an employer. This idleness on the part of the criminal class, the idleness which precedes incarceration and is of an extensive and ever-present character, subtracts just that much from the stock of useful things that should be produced by the human race in its efforts to maintain itself. For the world to fare well, it requires the world to take care of the world; else some one is pulling a double load. When some are drones, it can only mean more toil for the toilers. Multiply what is reasonably expected of the average man, by the number of idle, uncaught criminals now roaming the earth and you have the enormous loss that society is sustaining through their failure to engage in honorable pursuits. Even those criminals now in prison and at work, must have charged against them the periods of idleness and consequent loss to society that preceded their capture and incarceration.

Not only does society suffer a negative loss through the failure of those gravitating toward the prisons to be producers, but the loss is also positive in that the criminals, though not at work eat food and wear clothes produced by others, and are thus a drain on others. In the loss sustained by

society must also be figured the damage to and destruction of property involved in thievery and burglary and the disarrangement of values caused by the abstraction of property from its rightful owners and its transfers to the hands of others. But by far the greatest source of expense is that incurred by the state in providing means for the apprehension and conviction of the criminals. To cope with the army of non-producing criminals there must be another army composed of non-producing guardians of the peace. What this second army might produce for the good of the world is lost, and their task is that of conserving what others produce, which is a direct tax upon the production of the others. Yes, charge to the accounts of the criminal the cost of the entire police system and detective agencies, the salaries of sheriffs, deputies, constables, jailers, judges, court clerks, prison wardens, guards, the fees of jurors, the cost of jails, penitentiaries and criminal court-buildings, and the expense of feeding and clothing the inmates of penal institutions. When the cost of the criminal as here briefly outlined is placed over against the pittances that reach the state treasuries from the hands of the prison management, it can be seen that the criminal is a tremendous drain upon society. So great is the disparity between what the criminal costs and what he brings that those who would retain him as an asset are not even so wise as those proverbial characters who deem it good business to rob Peter to pay Paul; for in this case, Paul, the state treasury, does not get a tithe of what is taken out of the pockets of Peter,

the people, because of the existence of the criminal class.

Such is the cost of the criminal in general. Let us glance now at the special opportunities of the Negro criminal to pile up costs on society. Since the day on which Nathan stood before David to tell him of a wrong that had been committed in the latter's kingdom, (and before that day as well) men have had a habit of viewing the sins of others with a greater degree of horror than that with which they contemplate their own. As sin draws nigh to a man's own door, through some magic process it sheds a portion of its hideousness, so that the man simply laments in himself that which he violently denounces in others. Thus the white people of the South have an extra vial of wrath for the Negro criminal, and this criminal has it in his power to uncork this extra vial. It is the function of civilization to lull to sleep the primitive passions of men; to keep securely tethered those powerful giants of wickedness yet found in the human bosom; to give to mankind a life of law and order. Through toil and sorrow and the untimely death of countless thousands a measure of social order has been evolved, the giant passions subdued. But the perpetration of some peculiarly revolting crime by a Negro often gives these giants an inspiration that enables them to break their bands and make wild rushes through earth. Once upon a rampage, they batter down the fabric of the law, trample under foot the most sacred usages of civilization, and clearly reveal how much

of the savage and of the beast yet lurks in the heart of man.

But the capacity of the Negro criminal to work harm is wider still. Following the perpetration of a heinous crime on the part of the Negro there often comes the shrinkage of good will toward the Negro race on the part of the whites, perhaps because the environing influences of the race failed, for some cause, to prevent the evolution of the offending criminal. On the other hand, the Negroes do not take kindly to the fact the accused was not allowed an opportunity of being heard in open court in his own defense, and was denied handling according to the terms of the law. Thus the Negro criminal, condemned by both races, nevertheless becomes the entering wedge to drive the two races further and further apart, and to sunder the spirit of accord without which chaos will reign in the land.

Ravages of the Mob. Bearing in mind the fact that the Negro criminal has it in his power to summon the mob, we must follow the trail of his cost by following the pathway of the mob. The mob lowers the opinion of mankind as to the ability of the communities furnishing it to conduct a civilization of law and order. At present the South has urgent need within its borders of more substantial families and of vast sums of foreign capital to develop its resources. But, when men from afar hear of the work of the mob, they hesitate about bringing their families, about coming themselves and about investing their money. Marvelous as has been the

material development of the South in recent years, it is nevertheless true that the mob has kept millions and billions out of the South through the lawless handling of the Negro criminal, who could have been better handled and without the resulting loss. When we reflect upon the harm, the vast incalculable harm that a Negro criminal under existing conditions, is capable of doing, it should be the prayer of us all that an influence may be brought from some source to remove him as a factor from the life of the community.

We come now to the consideration of a few factors in the development of Negro criminals, such factors as come within the purview of those dealing with the affairs of state. Statistics of homicides in the United States disclose the startling fact that the greatest slayers of men in the country are Negroes, whose victims are usually their fellow Negroes. The question very naturally arises as to how the Negroes are becoming affected in so marked a manner by the impulse to kill. The usual victim of a mob is a Negro. The concern of a mother for the life of her child is proverbial, and the Negro mother grows to regard the mob as the greatest menace to the life of her offspring. Every time, therefore, a mob is formed the Negro mother engages in a spiritual conflict with it. While the mob, hot on the trail of an accused Negro is peering behind logs, groping through dense woods, scouring the entire country with the avowed purpose of taking the life of the suspected Negro the moment

he is caught, there surges through the minds of Negro mothers who know of the hunt doubt as to the guilt of the pursued. Often they feel that the Negro who is being trailed is innocent and that his pursuers are murderers. In the absence of a trial and conviction, the prisoner is given the benefit of the doubt. The mob process therefore throws the sympathy of the Negro mother on the side of the accused. The maternal instinct always causes her to have murderous thoughts with regard to the lynchers, and in this way the instinct of killing is imparted to an unborn babe soon to enter the world. When we stop to reflect that child-bearing in the human family is constantly going on, who can begin to compute the number of murderers, at that time unborn, made by every foray of a mob? The Negro mother, forced to bear children in an atmosphere of murder in which offsprings like unto her own are the chief sufferers, her spirit torn and distracted, has but small chance to bring her child into the world well equipped. A colored mother, who had passed her days of maternity, once remarked: "I thank God that my days of becoming a mother are gone. I tremble to think of what a boy of mine might become in view of the feelings stirred within me by the mob." The various states are adopting the policy of bringing the prisoners that are to be executed to the state prisons, where private executions can take place, and this is an admission of the demoralizing effects of publicity in connection with the taking of human life. The mob in its mad gallop from one end of the

country to the other will drop its homicidal germs at every door, especially the door of the colored mother. The Negro criminal is no friend to the South nor to the nation. Why, oh why then, does the South, and sometimes certain sections of the North provide an atmosphere, charged and surcharged with murder, to surround and completely envelop the Negro mothers who cannot help but write what they feel on the souls of their unborn babes? With the mobs preparing thousands of babes to enter the world as criminals, with these criminal babes growing to manhood, shocking humanity and affording the occasion for thousands of whites to be law-trampers and life-takers where, indeed, is the end? The South should arise in its might and put down the mob as the arch-breeder of criminals.

We shall now address ourselves to **Negroes of Distinction Needed.** another factor bearing upon the production of the Negro criminal. In the days of slavery in the South the Negro of distinction was regarded as both a needless and dangerous factor in the situation. A man of distinction serves as a rallying point for the masses of men. The gaining of attention must precede leadership. The fact that Saul was head and neck above his fellows, and therefore attracted attention wherever he went, helped to qualify him for the kingship of the Jews in the time of their search for a head for their proposed kingdom. David's distinction came from a source other than that of height, but it was distinction, nevertheless. As the Negro of distinction might have served as a rallying

point for the slaves, pains were taken to see to it that there should be no Negro of distinction. Here we have the basis of the original unpopularity of the idea of having a Negro towering above his fellows. But the white South, whether as a whole it at present so sees the matter or not, now needs the Negro of distinction, needs him badly. Since the external restraints, the close espionage, the whip and the lash of slavery are gone something must be found within the Negro to take their place. An internal monitor is needed as a guide and help for his soul.

The white people have bedecked their skies everywhere with beckoning stars to appeal to their youths.

What Helps White Boys. There are the alderman, the mayor, the legislator, the governor, the judge, the Congressman, the diplomat and the President standing in long array saying to the white youth: "Be decent, keep your record clear, then pick your place in this line of men who have been honored by their fellows." What a great asset this is for the white race! How much it aids it in saving its boys from downward careers! The mothers have arguments with which to ply the hearts of their boys when they would go wrong. In this connection let us now read the story of the rise of Col. James Gordon of Mississippi whose brief stay in the United States Senate brought him national fame.

"I will tell how I came to be a United States Senator. I started when I was five years old. It took me a long while to get here, and I found it a

very rugged road to travel; but I did get here. When I was a little chap about five years of age—I will tell you a story, and you may tell your children, and you old fellows may tell your grandchildren—I received as a present something like a map on pasteboard. It had this great Capitol as a picture at the top of it and squares with numbers on them. Those numbers represented all the passions that had escaped from Pandora's box. That map had marked on it all the temptations that would befall a youth coming up. It had a little teetotem, as it was called in octagon shape, and it had numbers on it up to eight, on which to spin. My mother used to take me to her side. If you should spin the teetotem and it went over the mark and got on a bad place in the square, that would be one of the bad passions; but if it escaped all those, and the teetotem got on the great Capitol of the United States, you would be in the United States Senate. I saw a great big fellow sitting up there in that stand. I wanted to know of Ma, if I would get there; and, God helping me, I got there yesterday. (Laughter.) She told me that if I would lead a clean life and form no bad habits I would be sure to get there. She never told a story in her life, and so I knew it would come true. In all my life, Senators, that thing has stuck to me, and every time I wanted to do wrong I saw one of those passions on that board, and that board has stood before my eyes from that day until to-day, though I have never made it public until now. I thought this was the place to do it."

Door of Hope. The problem of the colored mother of the South and of the nation is: "What, Oh, what can I say to my boy to bid him hope?" When she considers the whirlpools of evil all around him, ready to lure and suck him under, her heart cries out for some strong word of hope that she may shout to him and cause him to be forever alert and steer his vessel in the middle of the stream. Even if the mother is able to rise above unpromising signs of the times, and impart hope where there seems no ground for hope, the day is to come when the youth will be able to observe and draw conclusions for himself. Many a Negro lad, inspired by his mother, has begun his upward journey with a rush. But, finding the world hostile to his aspirations because of his color, he has often become hopeless, aimless, has sunk lower, lower, lower until it required a judge, jury, sheriff, prison warden and guard to manage him, whereas, but for the death of hope, he would have been his own keeper. It would indeed be an immense saving, a paying investment if the South would enter upon a policy of judiciously honoring deserving colored men in the various communities that they might serve as sources of inspiration for the millions that are to make choice as to whether they are to be a benefit or a tax to society. Those men who, out of dislike for the Negro, or for what they regard as good cause, would deny him all opportunities for preferment, in reality work against those who pay the taxes in that they break down that upward look on the part of thousands, and increase the burdens of the state through the resultant

criminality that ultimately follows. Looked at purely from a standpoint of dollars and cents, ignoring for the moment all higher considerations, the profound discouragement of the Negro, at present the chief labor of the South, would be the greatest financial tax that could be laid upon the South. Men labor, not so much for the love of work, nor yet so much for themselves, perhaps, but for what lies beyond the work, and the better future that awaits their children. But, when there is nothing beyond the day of toil, when men can see no glimmer of hope for their children—

What the Much has been said in derogation of
Amend- the adoption of the Fifteenth Amend-
ment Did. ment to the Constitution of the United
 States, and the extravagance of the
 reconstruction governments is cited as evidence of
 the alleged unwisdom of that action.

In the days of their ignorance, when their hearts were warm with gratitude for deliverance from slavery, when their former masters were holding aloof and refusing to treat with them in their new role of citizenship, it is true that the Negroes trusted their cause in the hands of many unworthy white men who acted shamefully, and brought reproach upon the Negro-supported regime; but when all the losses sustained in this unfortunate period have been added together and thrown over against the quickened spirit of the Negro race, the upward impulse, the fever of progress, begotten by the conferring of the right to vote; when, as the years roll by, it is more and more revealed, how much more of a

burden an unaspiring people is than one properly awake, it will then be seen that the action of the nation was worth all of its painful cost. It was no small thing to be suddenly lifted from the position of field hand to that of a sovereign voter in the earth's greatest republic, and the psychological effect was tremendous. The ability of the Negro race to withstand all the jars that have come since that day, and yet look hopefully toward the future is beyond doubt due in large measure to the impregnation begotten by the conferring of that great boon. Just think what might have been! No desire for education. No ambition to establish home life. No interest in the children. Eating, drinking, carousing, lewdness. A wholesale leap into the cauldron of consuming vices. Laziness, filth, a sliding back into barbarism. All these things might have been, and, indeed, there were those who predicted that this result would follow emancipation. But the ballot came, and with it the girding of the spirit of the race to meet the duties imposed. In an effort to rise to the dignity of the occasion the Negro got on his feet spiritually.

Oh, men of the white South, go back
How the to your boyhood days! Know you
White man not how you arose; how often your
Rises. minds wandered, your feet, perhaps,
 began to stray? Know you not what
 mighty forces bombarded your hearts and sought to
 deposit there the poison that would have made for
 an evil life? Know you not that amid all the stren-
 uous times of your young souls that it was hope, only

hope, that kept your feet from going too far afield, that aided you to keep the path that has led you up to renown? The Negro youth is human. He must have his ambition quickened; must have goals for which to strive; must have incentives to nerve him to breast unyieldingly the waves of temptations that dash against him; must hear a sound up yonder in the heavens of hope so charming as to drown the cry of the baser passions arising from the depth and imploring him to descend.

That Negro playmate of yours who romped and wrestled and played marbles with you; who cheered you with his sunny laugh and the genial warmth of his nature; who, alas as a man committed that awful crime, which shocked the world and brought down upon his head the wrath of multitudes that wrecked your law in seeking to be rid of him—that man might have been so different if the white South had not denied to him all hope of rising in the sphere of civic duty! Let the white South in every community take up the matter of judiciously honoring worthy colored men.

An The Hon. Wm. H. Taft, trusting to
Appeal. the goodness of heart of the white
 South, while insisting upon the justice
 of giving recognition to worthy Negroes, yet left the matter to the white South, expressing the hope that with the approval of that element of the population, the needs of the Negro in this direction may ultimately be met in a larger degree than was formerly the case. May it come to pass that the white South shall fully realize that the Negro

criminal is an awful incubus, and that the human heart of the Negro is subject to the law of the human family and can only be handled successfully by dealing with it as other human hearts are dealt with. Give unto the Negro full opportunity to plant beacon lights in the form of Negroes of distinction who can serve to guide the oncoming Negro into the upward way.

The Negro constitutes a part of the state, is part of the social body that makes necessary the work of administration. Let him have a part of the civil administrative functions to aid his racial life as the whites use them to aid their racial life. Let not the white South absorb all of the administrative functions those created by virtue of the presence of the Negroes and those created by the presence of the whites, and leave the Negro youth to the darkness and despair that brings riot to the soul and crime to the door of society.



**VIII. THE WHITE MAN'S EQUITY
IN NEGRO EDUCATION.**





CHAPTER VIII.

THE WHITE MAN'S EQUITY IN NEGRO EDUCATION.

Skeptical Europe. The European mind is of an inquiring turn, very much disposed to examine with great care reputed happenings that are ascribed to supernatural agencies. While Asia is the birthplace of all the great religions, Europe has furnished all the great criticisms of them. Peter preaching to Jews, children of Asia, proclaimed the resurrection of Christ from the dead, and at the close of his sermon had three thousand persons asking for baptism. Paul, preaching to Greeks—Europeans, was making progress it seems, until he mentioned the resurrection, whereupon the Greek mind revolted, mocked him and called for further explanation. Prying is the abiding mood of the European mind, and it demands a look at the foundation stones of its temple of faith, even though the priest thereof stands in the doorway threatening death, and asserting that the proposed look at the foundation will assuredly over-turn the temple. Sacred veils are ruthlessly torn from the face of every

mystery that comes its way if an eager, searching, never tiring human mind can accomplish that end. It was a mind whose roots ran back to Europe that decided to be no longer mystified by the flashing of the lightnings of the heavens, and sent a kite to play the part of a detective in the upper realms and bring back to earth the hitherto awe-inspiring secret of the skies. It was the mind that sprang out of Europe that resented the efforts of the north and south poles to dwell perpetually in a maze of mystery, and thus it was that boats and balloons, dogs and men, hunger, cold and death were pressed into service in an effort to see and to know what are these alleged poles. To Europe we trace the mind that through electricity has made man swifter than the horse, stronger than the lion; that gazed into the air and, watching the birds, discovered the secret of aerial flight and robbed the lordly eagle of his kingship of the skies.

Is there a personal God? Is the Bible His inspired word, and as such free from all error? Was Christ divine, the very son of God? Did He perform the miracles ascribed to Him? Did Christ in body rise from the dead? Is the soul of man immortal? These are the questions which have engaged the serious thought of modern Europe, and of America, the child of Europe. In England and New England there has been a vigorous questioning of all that pertains to the supernatural found in the Christian religion, but the South has been comparatively free from all such questionings. No higher critics there; no heresy trials; no bickerings with any of the claims

of the supernatural made for Christ by the New Testament writers or by himself. The South is the stronghold, the unapproachable citadel of orthodoxy. Why this great difference between the South and other groups of people of European descent? What great transforming influence has been at work to dig in the mind of the white man of the South a capacity for faith in supernatural things equal to that of the Asiatic mind? Bombs of criticism are exploding under the ancient faith in other lands; the thunderings of the guns of the South are heard only in defense of that faith.

We shall now see how this solidarity
The Cause. of the white South has been brought about. The mind of the African, like unto that of the Asiatic is capable of profound, unquestioning religious belief. Into the African's believing heart with its ocean-like capacity for faith the Christian religion was poured and he accepted it in its entirety. The scriptural accounts of the signs, the wonders, the miracles, did not repel him but rather served to enchant his warm imagination and draw him nearer in reverent awe. Yes, at the foot of the cross the African bowed his head, lifted his unquestioning eyes to the face of the loving, bleeding, dying Christ and gave over to His cause every nook and corner of his mind and heart. The children of the white South were turned over to the care of the African women who were most thoroughly saturated with a belief in, and a love for, all that is contained in the Bible.

These African women told the white children of God, of the devil, of hell and its lurid flames, of the signs and wonders of the Bible; told of those things by means of the solemn look, the quavering voice, the subdued whisper of awé; told the children with that impressiveness which can be found only where there is full faith on the part of him who tells. Generation after generation of white children passed through this crucible. It is *thus* that the mind of the white South has been so wrought upon that it now has the capacity to absorb the teachings of the Bible concerning supernatural occurrences while other minds of European extraction are "storm swept and tempest tossed."

Here is a matter of the deepest
What it possible significance, fraught with a
Means. lesson so very plain that he who runs
 may read. Nothing strikes deeper
 than the fundamental religious bent of the mind of a
 race, and yet we here have this bent of the white
 South taken in charge and affected in a way that
 attracts the marked attention of the world; for the
 orthodoxy of the South is known and spoken of by
 all men. Out of the great fact here cited there
 comes a lesson of the utmost clearness, that the
 white people of the South cannot afford for their
 own sakes to be indifferent to the kind of life that
 flourishes near them. If white people sprang into
 the world fully matured the matter might not be so
 serious; but whatever the attainments of the race,
 each generation has to come into the world absolutely

ignorant, and grow to maturity inhaling whatever atmosphere is given it. And the lives of men must ever speak of what their souls inhale.

The mere drawing of the line in social matters does not in any degree solve the problem here indicated, for, even in the absence of social contact the life of the Negro race can and does affect that of the whites powerfully. The white people of the South will assert that their parlors are as free from the influence of Negro slum life as from the influence of those who dwell in far away Bombay. But is this indeed the case? A few years ago Negro song writers conceived the idea of reducing the philosophy and the experiences of Negro slum life to writing and embodying them in song. These rag time products were sung in the theatres, placed on the music stands, and soon were heard, coming from the lips of white boys and young men whether at work or play, and floating from the music rooms of the whites. So great became the craze for this rag time product that music lovers began to fear for the future of classical music, and the National Association of American Musicians felt impelled to begin a propaganda against rag time music. Thus we see that the total absence of the Negro from the white man's parlor did not prevent his exercising an influence on that parlor. The simple fact of the matter is that no human device can be constructed which can prevent the infiltration of the Negro spirit into the life of the white race.

Other Changes Wrought. It has been said that the Southern white man's love for the joke and his habit of taking time, whatever the business in hand, to hear or tell a good joke are traceable to his contact with the fun-loving Negro nature.

The Negro is said to be an emotional being. In commenting upon the emotional character of the Democratic national convention held in St. Louis a few years ago a trained observer who was reporting for the newspapers said in the course of his account that such an emotional convention could not have been held anywhere save in a Southern city. More recently the Confederate veterans made such a display of emotion over Gen. Grant, the son of the man who led the Union cause to final victory, that a leading Southern journal felt called upon in ironical vein to hold the emotional outburst up to ridicule, remarking that on no occasion had the old leaders and heroes of the South been accorded such a demonstration.

Are The Whites Being Transformed? Is the emotional nature of the Negro writing itself in the soul of the Southern white man? Glance at the Southern white man's lynching habit. When we consider the fact that the white man of the South has the judge, the jury and the police system in his charge and can therefore do all the legal hanging that he desires; when, along with this fact we put the evils of lynchings—the blunting of the sense of justice by the lynching of innocent persons, a thing of frequent occurrence;

the imparting of the impulse of murder to the unborn babes of Negro mothers who are so often mentally in mortal combat with the mob; the inflaming of the baser passions of the lower elements, to the destruction in their savage breasts of that kindly feeling which would restrain them from crime where fear of punishment would fail; the frightening away from the South of capital; the checking of desirable immigration; when, we say, the evils of lynching are considered along with the fact that no *necessity* for *lynchings* exists, we are led to ask the question: Does the white man lynch because he is becoming so emotional that he cannot control himself? Would it not be the very irony of fate for the Negroes to have unconsciously imparted to the white people that emotional nature which in themselves has been wont to explode mainly in religious fervor, but which in the whites explodes in the lynching of Negroes?

Im- At the recent session of the national
parting Democratic convention, (the con-
Super- vention in which representative
stitions. Southern thought gathers more largely
 than in any other) midnight on Thurs-
 day night came with the presidential
 nomination still to be made before adjournment.
 A delegate climbed to the clock and turned back the
 hands so that the convention might proceed with its
 business unmolested by the thought that it was
 transacting business on Friday. This was a small
 incident, but how much did it signify? To what
 extent has the faculty for superstitious beliefs, found

in the masses of the Negro race, written itself into the natures of the Southern whites? In the Bessemer Alabama mines, the superstition obtains among the Negro miners to the effect that it is the most unlucky thing in the world for a woman to go into the mines, and it is said that the white officials and employees connected with the mines have become very largely imbued with the same superstitious belief. Shortly after having learned of the superstition concerning the going of women into the mines, the writer had occasion to go into the mining district where the superstition is said to prevail. Meeting a colored man who was a miner of that district we asked him about the existence of the superstition and then put to him the following question: "Do the white men connected with the mines fear the entering of women into the mines?"

With not the faintest hint of the theory that was at work in our mind, and without an instant's hesitation, the young man said: "The foreign white men such as Scotchmen and Frenchmen who work in the mines do not have the superstition but the native white men, the Southerners, do."

Not long since a Southern educator
Result of an Investi- instituted an investigation of a certain
gation. Southern university to find out to
 what extent the students, all white,
 were superstitious. The following
 summary of his findings appeared in one of the
 leading daily newspapers of the state of Mississippi:

"One boy, for example, expressed his firm belief that if he picked his teeth with a splinter taken from

a tree that had been struck by lightning, he would never have the toothache. A number believed that hair cut at the time of the new moon would grow better than at any other time, while many expressed their opinion that if they dropped the kitchen dish rag they would soon have company. Others held that the man who carried a potato in his pocket would never have rheumatism, while a large number believed that when a dog howled a death in the family was impending. There were others as grotesque and as absurd as these.

The amazing thing about the whole affair was that so many of the students believed in these superstitions. Some 875 students were examined, and of this number forty-five per cent believed in superstitions which number some 3,000. Perhaps even a larger percentage of the students believed in some superstitions, or at least partly believed in them. Not half the men were free from some belief in signs and omens. These are facts that admit of no dispute."

In the course of an Editorial headed **Direct** "Superstition," *The Memphis Commercial Appeal*, among other things had the following to say: "It is useless to discuss the many superstitions of the day. We find them on the street, at the ball game, in the theater, in fact, everywhere we go. * * * How many of our older generation of the South, who once had an old black mammy, can forget how they used to sit, huddled up, as they listened to blood-curdling stories of giants and witches? Can they forget how

they crept between the sheets at night and pulled the cover over their head fearing to see some awful creature creep from the shadow of the darkness.

Superstition was dreadful but delightful then. We shuddered and cold chills trembled down our back, but we wanted to hear the same story again and even to the last we were disappointed because we could see no ghost, although we imagined we would see one every time that darkness came."

We recognize the fact that the human family as a whole is more or less superstitious, but the Southern white man has something like a double portion and the above citation indicates plainly that he owes his marked development along this line to the Negro race.

In view of the fact that the Negroes
Negro's are going to impress whatever of soul
Soul Will they have on the white race, and
Be Felt. ultimately upon the world, it behooves
 the white man to see to it that the
 influences under which the Negroes are to live are
 the most wholesome. If the Negroes are left to
 grow up in ignorance, in superstition, in vice; if they
 are allowed to become a dismal swamp in which
 deadly poisons are generated, the products of their
 souls will float out therefrom and make themselves
 felt on the spirits of the whites in ways that none of
 us can now see. Perhaps the poisoning will be slow
 and insidious, and will stand revealed only when it
 is too late to avoid its baneful consequences.

**Earth and
Moon Point
a Moral.**

In the heavens above us, nature has hung the plainest sort of a hint. We are now being told that the earth in the far distant past saw fit to capture the moon, to drag it out of its own orbit and to force it to accompany the earth in her journeyings around the sun. While the conquering earth has profoundly influenced the destiny of the moon, the captive moon has likewise greatly influenced life upon the earth. Withdraw moonlight from the earth and think of what would have to be withdrawn from song and story; think of the ebb and flow of the tides that must cease; think of the blendings of hearts under the benign influence of the moon's rays that must be cancelled.

'Tis true, 'tis very true, that the earth captured the moon, but it is not less true that the moon has affected the earth. In the first verse of the first chapter of the first book of fate, it is written, plainly, solemnly written, that in whatever proportion the civilization and the soul of the white man do not make over the Negro, to that extent will the Negro make over that civilization and that soul.

The Negro is so closely interwoven with the industrial life of the South, is so manifestly its present prop that all thought of withdrawing from him as a solution of the problem here raised, is out of the question. Moreover, the more the Negroes are left to themselves the more opportunity there is for them to flower out of harmony with the civilization of the other elements of the population. Education is the one remedy.

Having seen how the Negro, left in **Value of** ignorance and superstition, can provide **Education.** an atmosphere that will discolor the soul of the white race, let us briefly glance at the good which the Negro race, well educated, can do. When culture begins to take hold of the mind there arises a desire to look well. Cheap, tawdry things lose their charm. The educated Negro helps the dealer in fine fabrics. Education brings the habit of reflection. The educated colored man begins to reflect touching the question of paying rent. Seeing that the renter pays for the place in which he dwells, the Negro who has been taught to think decides to buy a home. Here is work for the lawyer who must prepare the abstract and draw up the deed. The one-room cabin does not suit the taste of a man with a broad outlook, so, when a house is to be constructed there is work on hand for the architect. Paint must go on the building, the floor must have carpets and the walls must have paper. These things must be manufactured, transported and sold, hence here is work for the manufacturer, the railroad and the merchant. A piano must enter the home, music must be purchased, hence the music house is patronized. In the course of one's training, distant cities have been read about, the wonders of the world, have been discussed, so, travel becomes a necessity. At this point the railway magnate and the stockholder come in for their share of profits from the educated man. Having been introduced to the affairs of mankind in general through education, the mind is imbued with a desire to keep pace with

the march of events, so the magazine and the daily paper become necessities. Here the writer and the editor draw their toll. The poet with his song, the artist with his painting, the sculptor with his statuary, the man of letters with his books find the open door at the home of the man of culture. For the wants herein described, funds are necessary. So the educated man has powerful incentives to keep at work or, in some honorable way to keep others at work so that he may attain the desires of his heart. Go to centers where the fever of education and progress have taken hold of a people and there you will find a steady set of toilers and a minimum of idleness.

The white man's great need of having an educated Negro race could hardly be more forcibly demonstrated than by referring to the anti-tuberculosis crusade. The chief reliance of the civilized world for stamping out the great white scourge is upon the dissemination of knowledge through the printed page. The men who in their laboratories work out the causes of the spread of the disease invoke the aid of printers' ink to give their findings to the world. Let us suppose that the Southern whites read this literature, become thoroughly aroused and determine to be rid of the disease. How can they hope to stamp it out without the aid of the Negroes who seem more susceptible to it than the whites? If the Negroes keep the germs in the community the whites will be sure to inhale a goodly portion of them.

Thus the work of the whites in defending themselves against the plague can hardly be said to be half accomplished until the Negroes have also been aroused. But if the Negroes are uneducated, have no inclination for reading, how are they to be reached by means of the printed page?

When the tuberculosis exhibit was in Nashville, Tenn., a few years ago, and the entire white population was aroused, those directly concerned in the management of the exhibit were sorely disappointed, and somewhat puzzled as well, over the fact that the Negro masses took such slight interest in what was being done. They realized that Nashville was by no means saved from the scourge until the Negroes were aroused. The simple fact of the matter was the Negro masses had not read of the exhibit, and thousands of them did not know that it was in the city. These masses who did not read can harbor tuberculosis germs as splendidly as the most cultured person in the world, and the means should be on hands for reaching them.

What is here said with reference to the impediments in the way of the success of the anti-tuberculosis crusade can be applied with equal force to whatever reforms the South may desire to effect, whether it be to suppress the typhoid fever through the driving out of the fly, or to be rid of the boll weevil, or to emancipate the South financially through the diversification of crops and the consequent retention at home of the millions now needlessly sent out of the borders of that section. Until the enlightened element of the white South has devised a means of

speaking to the Negroes, of informing them of such readjustments as are necessary, that section will fall far below its possibilities and abide in evils of which it could so easily be rid. Education paves the way for this much needed speaking.

We are now to call attention to another consideration of transcendent importance calling for the education of the Negroes. It is a well known fact that mutual knowledge begets a better understanding between peoples. A governor of Massachusetts speaking to a New Orleans audience of Southern whites said that if the North had understood the South as well before the time of the Civil War as it now does, that there would not have been any war between the sections. The fact that ignorance is largely the groundwork of dislike between individuals is strikingly illustrated by the following dialogue, given from memory, which took place between Charles Lamb and his friend:

“I hate that man” said one, referring to a man that they saw. “Hate him! Why you don’t even know him,” said the other. “Know him! of course I don’t know him. How could I hate him if I knew him,” was the rejoinder.

The white South has issued a decree, against which the Negro as a race lift no voice of protest, to the effect that two races are not to commingle in social matters. This means that the great assuager of troublous conditions the world over, the social influence, is not to be allowed to stretch forth its wand over the tangle of the races.

This very absence of social contact renders it necessary for the races to discover some other way of understanding each other better. Cannot literature become this bond of union? Cannot white men and women picture the inner life of the white South, and through these books give the Negroes a sympathy and knowledge of the whites? Cannot Negroes be developed to mirror the life of their race, and thus make it better understood by the whites? Cannot the millions of whites and Negroes be led to exchange visits in this way? This mutual knowledge will make for peace and good will. But this can only be reached through the higher culture of the Negro race.





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IX. THE SPIRIT OF A PEOPLE.







CHAPTER IX.

THE SPIRIT OF A PEOPLE.

Physical Environ-ments. It is a matter of common knowledge that the environments of a people, the forces of nature, such as the soil, the sea and the sun, the animal and the vegetable life all have their influence in shaping the habits, temperament and character, and therefore the destiny of that people. A familiar yet striking illustration of the powerful influence of environment upon the fortunes of respective peoples is the fact that the invigorating climate of the Temperate zone has given to the men thereof a zest for the duties of life which enables them to become the rulers of those who dwell in the Torrid zone where men's energies are sapped by the fierce rays of a blazing sun. A man sitting astride the equator, with a tropical sun beating upon his head, would perhaps hardly have the energy to read, much less to write a "Paradise Lost."

Political Environ-ments. Another formative, environing influence operating strongly upon a people is the question of the relationship of that people toward its neighbor. The mental attitude that the neighbor

causes to be assumed enters into the formation of racial or national character. In order for the various German kingdoms to become susceptible of being gathered into one great central empire certain well defined characteristics had to be developed in the minds of the German people. Bismarck is credited with having effected this union, but he was simply able to make good use of the spirit of cohesiveness which the proximity of the French and the constant menace of a possible French invasion engendered in German character.

We wish now to invite serious
A Look attention to the potentialities of the
Back- Southern Negro in his capacity as an
ward. environing influence. We do not at
 all here refer to what he may do as a
 conscious or active agent in influencing the character
 of the white South but to what his mere presence
 will accomplish in the way of shaping its spiritual
 destiny. Before, however, proceeding to show how
 the Negro of to-day is affecting the thought life of
 the South let us hark back to former times and get a
 glimpse of the manner in which as a silent human
 environment, he was a vital factor in bringing to
 pass a happening of tremendous import to the South
 and the entire nation. As the years go rushing on,
 carrying with them, further and further into the hazy
 regions of the past the riot of bitter feelings born of
 the turmoil and strife incident to the waging of the
 Civil War, as the Northerner and the Southerner now
 meet, fraternize and discover in each other so many
 admirable traits, so many points in common, the

wonder increases on each side as to how they ever got so far apart as to drench their common country with the precious blood handed down to them from an ancestry that laid equal claims to both of them.

It cannot be said that this war was the outcome of Abolitionist influence, for the Abolitionists were a comparatively small group very much depised even in the North, and lacked the commanding influence necessary to precipitate the great struggle. The strength of their hold upon the public mind may be measured by such incidents as the dragging of William Lloyd Garrison, the greatest of all Abolitionists, through the streets of Boston with a rope around his neck, and the murder of Lovejoy by an infuriated mob bent upon suppressing the agitation of the abolition of slavery. Nor yet can it be said that the business men of the North brought on the war. They shrank from it, for they foresaw the coming of privateers on the order of the Alabama that would terribly cripple their business by sweeping their commerce from the seas. The masses of the North did not call for the war. Their outbursts against the Abolitionists show rather plainly where they were. Of course the Negroes were in no position to conduct a propaganda and arouse the nation to arms.

There was but the one way for the
How it war to come at the time that it did and
Happened. that was for the Southern white people
 to make a miscalculation as to what
 would be the outcome of the war, and upon the
 strength of this miscalculation to proceed to take

such action as would invite a conflict. We shall now see how they were led to make the miscalculation. It has been said that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playgrounds of Eton, that at that school the English lads, who afterwards became soldiers, acquired those characteristics which served them so well when called upon to face in battle array the hosts of the great Napoleon. With equal truth it may be said that the Civil War was a gift of the nation from the playgrounds of the slave plantations of the South. The Southern white child reared among its father's slaves became thoroughly saturated with the spirit of mastery. Its frown brought obedience; a lick directed at a Negro companion however well aimed, brought no lick in return. There was, under the circumstances, no escape from the development of that child's mind the conception that it was born to rule, and that it was the sacred duty of all opposition to fade before its frown. The white child which as a youth had sent twenty Negro lads scurrying through the woods, when grown to manhood felt that he could handle at least five Yankees by himself. It was another case of a David's success with a bear and a lion influencing him to believe that he could handle Goliath. Wise men in the South saw the utter hopelessness of the struggle and pleaded with the people to refrain from taking the fatal step, but all to no avail. The playground had done its work too well. The yielding, non-resisting Negro had so charged the spirit of the Southern white with the idea of mastery that he hesitated not for a moment to rush into a struggle in which he was overwhelmed with numbers, robbed

of his possessions and for a season placed in charge of his former slaves. Where in all of human history has there been a case of a greater miscalculation than that which the white South made, and to what may it be ascribed, but to the fact that the Negro was the Southern white child's environment and furnished food for the development of an exaggerated notion of its prowess, without which notion the Civil War would never have been invited?

Not only did the yielding Negro as an
Prolonged environing influence bring on the
The war, but as such an influence he pro-
Struggle. longed the struggle and made it the
 more bloody. One of the facts that
stands out most conspicuously with reference to the Civil War is the facility with which the South furnished its armies with splendid commanders. The institution of slavery had given to the Southerners the habit of command. The Northerners, going to the war out of an industrial democracy, had to acquire step by step, the art of handling men, whereas with the Southerner it was often an inheritance, handed down from father to son and accentuated through the constant exercise of lordship over slaves. When therefore, we behold the Southern commanders marshalling their poorly equipped battle lines against their better fed, better equipped and far more numerous foes; as we see the skill of these Confederate officers as commanders of men making up for the disparity of numbers; as we think of the length of the titanic struggle and glance around at the hundreds of thousands of graves, we must

admit the importance of the part played by the Negro as a silent human environment when as a slave he furnished the material upon which the white South developed and sharpened its instinct for the exercise of executive ability in the matter of handling men.

**Affecting
Spirits.** So much for the past. But the Negro is still here as a silent enviroing influence of great importance as will presently appear. It is very evident to all observers that while the South has in it men and women of an intensely vigorous spirit who have builded a new and prosperous empire upon the ruins of the former South which the war so largely destroyed, there are also present in its life millions of dull, unaspiring, listless, spiritless whites who plan no great things for themselves nor yet for their children after them.

Philanthropists, sociologists and sundry classes of men and women have made a study of this un-aspiring element of whites in an effort to account for its utter lack of spirit. Let us join them in the search.

One of the great, all pervasive forces **What Spurs
Men On.** at work in the hearts of men, causing them to exert themselves, is the desire to attain unto a sense of station, to reach that state of mind where they can feel that they are something when compared with something else, that they are beyond some point which all men would be glad to pass. The effort of the child to stand at the head of its class, the quest of the student of maturer years for degrees, the strivings of rich men for

greater wealth, are but variations of the universal search of man for a sense of station. The failure of many of the children of the rich and the powerful to develop into successful men and women is due to the fact that, finding ready to hand that which gives them a sense of station, they miss the quickening influence of the spirit of a desire to acquire such. Conceiving that they are *already* something they feel no inclination to put forth efforts *to become* something. Unlike the Apostle Paul they do not forget but rather remember the things that are behind, hence do not press forward to the mark of the high calling.

That A thing to be avoided as one would
Which a deadly poison is any influence which
Stifles. begets a degree of self-satisfaction
 that is benumbing to the spirit, that
 robs one of the motive power that calls
 his powers into action. Successful fathers, for this reason, have before them the task of preventing their own successes from constituting a full measure of soul satisfaction for their children.

Solomon assures us that "Pride goeth before destruction and an haughty spirit before a fall." This is true because pride is but another name for self-satisfaction, and self-satisfaction means stagnation, which in turn means spiritual lifelessness, death. Hence the fall of the man of a haughty spirit.

Spiritual The Southern white people find
Barriers themselves living side by side with a
Erected. race which they do not desire to see
 blended with their own. In order
 that there may be no fusing of

the races they feel it incumbent upon themselves to keep strengthened the spiritual barriers between the two races. For the furtherance of this end there has been a careful cultivation of certain modes of thought with regard to the Negro race. The more refined and cultivated among the whites confine their efforts to the cultivation of the thought that there is a *difference* between the races and rely upon the stressing of the fact of difference to keep each race in a distinct sphere. This thought of difference is what is used in the matter of having girls and boys move in different spheres. The editor of the New York *Independent*, Mr. William Hayes Ward, an uncompromising champion of the rights of the Negro, in setting forth his attitude toward the intermarriage of the two races, stated that he would not desire a child of his to marry a Negro, and stated that he would base his objections to his child, not on the ground of superiority, but upon that of difference. When the question of Japanese immigration was up for discussion in Congress a distinguished Congressman from the South asserted that the influx of Japanese was opposed, not because they were inferior, but because they were different from the American people.

But some of the white people of the South, especially a certain type of politicians, have seen fit to make use of the thought of superiority as an aid to the thought of difference. The backward element among the whites has it sung into

Wrong Method Employed.

their ears that the mere fact of their being white is a tremendous thing of itself. When the illiterate white man is made to feel, not only that he is not a Negro, but that the mere fact that he is not, is of itself something great, a sort of inexhaustible capital stock on which he may do business indefinitely he thenceforth has his sense of station. But this ready to hand sense of station is far, far from what this illiterate white man needs. He has remained in the valley of his ignorance while his more favored Anglo-Saxon brother, from the top of the mountain range has been grappling with world, and other-world problems. What the derelict so sadly needs is the whip and the spur to his soul, the impregnation of his spirit with those dim but all powerful yearnings which move men to be up and doing. We know of no greater wrong that has been done the illiterate, the backward whites than this going among them of politicians who have sought their votes by making them hug themselves in benumbing self-satisfaction over the tremendous fact that they are not Negroes. If the teachers of these backward whites had but insisted upon the fact of difference between the races, leaving to each man the problem of working to acquire his own individual sense of station, of superiority, the spirits of the backward ones might have escaped the blight that comes from feasting upon imputed attributes, unearned personally.

Coddling The Anglo-Saxon race was not
No Aid. coddled by Fate into its present greatness. On the contrary, she has urged it forward with her frown. Pretending

to despise the breed, Fate pushed it out of Lower Germany into the sea and at length allowed it to gain a precarious foothold upon the shores of Great Britain. Throughout its history the Anglo-Saxon race has been made to fight in an open field for every slight advance. On the other hand, Fate, acting as though she loved the African, lulled him to sleep under the bamboo tree, poured his lap full of food that he might eat when he awoke, and return immediately to his slumbers. In the meanwhile she was scourging other races and causing them to leave the African far behind. Is this process to be reversed in the South? Is Fate permitting the white man to weaken and coddle his own, that the Negro may have the opportunity through the strength that comes from suffering to regain the ground lost through residing in over-indulgent Africa?

The most picturesque, the most **Harmful** forceful figure of the English speaking **to Whites.** world to-day, in fact the most pregnant personality of our times, is that of ex-President Theodore Roosevelt. When he sought to dissipate the ill feeling engendered against him in the South because of a certain now famous dinner, he issued a card through Judge Jones of Alabama in which among other things he gave his grounds for opposing such of the constitutions of the Southern States as discriminated in favor of illiterate whites. He asserted that he regarded such a course as an injustice to these whites. Was Mr. Roosevelt right? In the practice of discriminating in favor of

the white man, does there not lurk harm for the spirit of the white race? Let us here quote the words of the late Chancellor Hill, of the University of Georgia: "The thing which the South cannot afford in its relation to the Negro race is injustice; all history teaches that injustice injures and deteriorates the individual or nation that practices it, while on the other hand, it develops and strengthens the race upon which it is inflicted."

Free Yet The white people of the South out-
Not Free. number the Negroes and hold the
 political power in their own hands.

Our form of government permits a large measure of local self government. The Supreme Court and the Congress of the United States have ever been slow to interfere with the white South in the matter of the adjustment of the relations between the races, not exercising such powers as clearly belong to them under the constitution. In view of these facts the white people of the South are largely free to build up whatever sort of system they may desire. But be it known unto them that the *High Court of Things Eternal* has decreed that all systems of caste shall finally wither the souls of the men that institute them; that an unjust deed eventually breeds and hands back an unjust heart; that, in so far as the white people of the South, by legislative enactment or in the execution of the laws, practice discrimination supposedly in the white man's favor, and seek to lift him from the sphere of the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, to that extent they shall write lethargy, stupor, distemper in the hearts of millions of their kind.

One morning as we were scanning a daily paper issued in one of the larger of our Southern cities, we found printed at the head of the editorial column a prayer, the essence of which, in part, was as follows: "May it be granted unto the good people of our great state that no sinister influence come over them to pervert the noble spirit that has all along been theirs."

The editor who breathed this prayer had a vision of the evils that could come to his state through the transforming of the spirit of the people. He realized that the fertile soil and delightful climate would not suffice to make life attractive if the people lost the flavor of the kind of spirit needed to make a people truly glorious. If the spirit of the people is wrong it cannot possibly yield any of the finer fruits of the soul which alone make life worthy of the pain and sorrow essential to carrying forward the work of the world. He, therefore, who aspires for leadership, or is singled out by the people and marked for a guide, should have it as his first and most sacred care to stand guard over the spirit of the people whom he would serve. With the eye of an eagle he should watch for whatever would maim, pervert, deform the spirit of the people which is the one reliance for weaving a wreath of glory that will wear well in the eyesight of worthy men, now and hereafter. While the medical profession is busy trying to give new life by purging the system of the hookworm, may the doctors of the body politic purge the government of all discrimination calculated to breed a far more deadening stupor in the soul of the white race.

Spiritual Restlessness A Vital Need. In view of the mighty deeds done in the various climes of earth in the years that have gone; in view of the strenuous strivings of men of every kindred, tribe and tongue in this great age of the world, if the white South would hold its own, would develop a social body able to compete with the North, with France, with England and with Germany, it must have that spiritual restlessness, that burning discontent which located in the bosom of the units of the Anglo-Saxon race has heretofore pushed that race forward into its present position of world-wide influence. But it cannot have the presence of this mighty influence, *cannot* have it, so long as there hangs over Southern skies the dark shadow of discrimination distilling its poisonous dews over the souls of men, giving unto them a sense of satisfaction, intense in nature, causing millions to sit down spiritually, and quietly take their ease when they should be on the alert grappling with the great problems of human society.



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