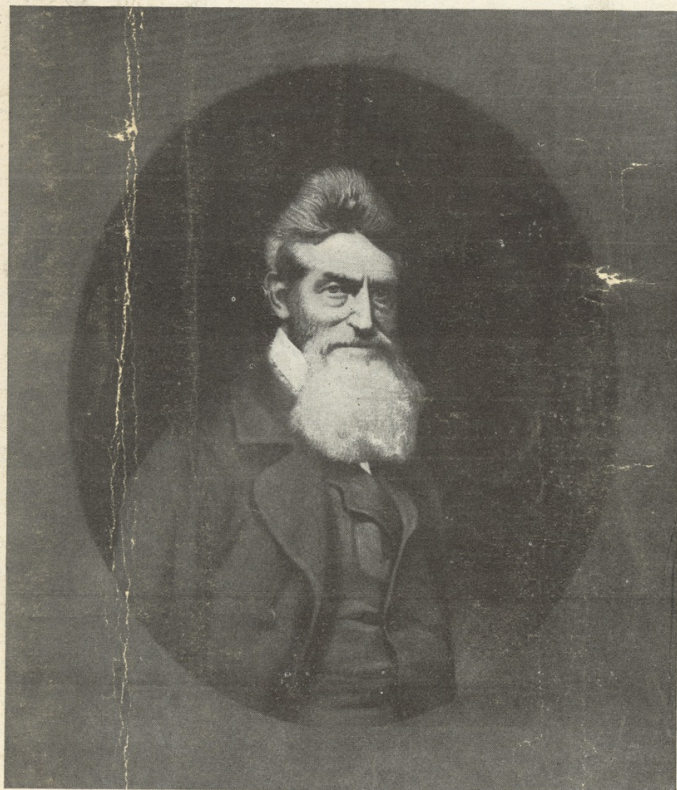




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# The Horizon

A JOURNAL OF THE COLOR LINE



JOHN BROWN

Vol. V

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1909

No. 2

*December*

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# THE HORIZON

A JOURNAL OF THE COLOR LINE

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Under the patronage of the Niagara Movement

Edited by  
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS  
assisted by  
L. M. HERSHAW  
and  
F. H. M. MURRAY

## "SEEKING THE SELDOM SORT"

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Front Cover—JOHN BROWN—from the steel engraving by William Sartain, owned by the Niagara Movement.

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# THE HORIZON

Vol. V

WASHINGTON, D. C.—DECEMBER, 1909

No. 2

## The Over-Look

Editorial Opinion

by W. E. BURGARDT DuBOIS  
and the Assistant Editors

### John Brown and Christmas.

This is Christmas time and the time of John Brown. On the second of this month he was crucified, on the 8th he was buried and on the 25th, fifty years later let him rise from the dead in every Negro-American home. Jesus Christ came not to bring peace but a sword. So did John Brown. Jesus Christ gave his life as a sacrifice for the lowly. So did John Brown. Both these mighty spirits were failures: they owned no real estate, had no money, kept no bank accounts and received no homage. Of both these souls it was said and still is said:

"He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

"Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.

"But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed.

"All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all."

### The Color Line.

After you draw the Color Line where have you drawn it? You never know. The Constitution of the New South African Union confines voting to "persons of European de-

scend." What does that mean? No one knows. Does it include the Hon. H. C. Hull, Treasurer of the Transvaal? Everybody knows that both Dr. Hull and his wife are mulattoes or quadroons. Does it include the 500,000 "colored" people of Cape Colony? Does it include the thousands of Boers who have Negro blood? No one knows.

### Principles.

The Eminent Philanthropist entered the suburban street car and appropriated the best seat. Then he looked about and spied Me.

"My Friend," he said, after greetings, "My dark and dear Friend, you are impatient. You are Over-Anxious and Ultra-Sensitive. Suppose your Rights are at times invaded, suppose you are not treated as you think you deserve—what of it? Look up, look out, look forward! Give up your right to Vote, don't insist on entrance to Theatres and Concerts, don't crowd into the Best Streets, be glad of Caste Schools all these are little things; Seek the greater; enjoy God's bounty in sun, air and beauty. Forget your Rights, do your Duty, don't complain, suffer and wait, let the abstract principle go and seize the concrete present advantage,—"

Here the conductor reaches his grimy paw for a second fare. The Eminent Philanthropist withers him with a glance.

"I have already paid, Sir—as I was saying—what? Two fares for this short distance? A new rule? Well Sir, it is an outrage. I'll not pay it—do you hear, Sir? *I'll not pay it.* It is deception, theft, highway robbery. Impatient? It is time to get impatient with these grasping stealing corporations. Moreover, Sir, I demand more respect from you—your tone is insolent. I'm *not* sensitive but I am a gentleman and demand the treatment of one. *Very well,*



I *will* get off. I stand upon my Rights, Sir! Damn the nickel, I don't care a rap for it—its the Principle, Sir, the *Principle*." And the Eminent Philanthropist got off and walked.

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#### Constructive Work.

The White Man looked contemptuously down upon the Black Leader who smiled back affably. "Get out of here," yelled the White Man as he kicked the Black Leader down stairs and tossed a quarter after him. The Black Leader pirouetted and bumped and rolled until he landed sprawling in the dirt. The dark and watching crowd were breathless, and one of them grasped his club and bared his arm. Slowly the Black Leader arose and his Eager Supporter assiduously brushed off his pants. Then the Black Leader squared his shoulders and looked about him. He cleared his throat and the throng hung upon his word breathless, eager, while the one man clutched his club tighter.

"My friends," said the Black Leader, "the world demands constructive work: it dislikes pessimists. I want to call your attention to the fact that this White gem'man — I mean gentleman— did *not* kick me nearly as hard as he might have: again he wore soft kid boots, and finally I landed in the dirt and not on the asphalt. Moreover," continued the Black Leader as he stooped in the dust, "I am twenty-five cents in." And he walked thoughtfully away, amid the frantic plaudits of the crowd. Except one man. He dropped his club and whispered;

"My God!"

---

#### Women.

The signs of awakening womanhood in the world to-day are legion. The best novelists are women. Some of the keenest essayists and graceful writers of verse are women. Women are among the greatest leaders of Social Reforms, and at last in England they are fighting, literally fighting, for their political rights. Of course there are fools a plenty to tell them they don't need the ballot and to feed them the ancient taffy about homes and babies. How natural it is that the *Outlook* of the Philistines should with one hand rub the "nigger's" nose

in the dirt and with the other slap women into prostitution, the while piously rolling its eyes to God and increasing its circulation. But this is the second forward coming of the women and beneath it is a ground swell that none can long resist. The second forward coming of black men is not far off when the hypnotism of present bribery and ring rule falls.

---

#### General Howard.

General Howard was a singular psychological study. Of his perfect sincerity none could doubt. His sacrifices for the causes he loved, among them that of the Negro in America, were great and on the whole effective. Yet he fell short of the world's expectations in many ways, chiefly because such tremendous responsibilities were thrust upon him. If he had been a world genius his opportunity to serve mankind would have been the greatest of the 19th century. Think of the chance of dictating the fortunes of four million freedmen and their employers after a social catyclusm: suppose the tremendous experiment of Freedmen's Bureau had been, not a partial, but a conspicuous success? To be sure such success demanded almost superhuman power and Howard was very human, weakly human. He felt his weakness and became, therefore, intensely religious with an orthodoxy altogether too simple and child-like to be true. He is gone. The Negro race mourns a friend and benefactor and the nation mourns an honest man, whose honor is that he always tried to do his whole duty and whose only fault, if fault it could be called, was a natural capacity that fell far short of his opportunities.

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#### Mr. Taft.

Every time a man begins to sacrifice principles in order to curry favor with people who know they are wrong, he essays a thankless task. The distance between right and wrong is infinite, but the step from one wrong to more wrong is slight and this all mischievous men know and emphasize. Mr. Taft has promised the South an unfair thing which flatly contradicts every tried rule of civil service: viz., to



appoint men to office not because of their fitness for the duties of the office but in accordance with the personal prejudices of a part of their neighbors, even when those prejudices are the least defensible among civilized men. In South Carolina where most men are black, the *News and Courier* rejoices over six new appointments all "white men" and mostly "Democrats." Yet is the South satisfied? No sirree! Mr. F. D. Winston of North Carolina calmly slaps the President's other cheek and kicks him. He tells him to mind his own business and announces that the South is enraged over the one unequivocal thing which Mr. Taft has said on the race problem—the Maryland letter.

*Facilis descensus Averno, sed—*

#### Consistency.

Listen to Bernard Shaw's defense of Hall Caine's "White Prophet":

"It is lucky for the officials that the English are not logical; for the first half of the official story is that the Egyptians are such abject slaves and cowards that England had to rescue them from the most horrible oppression by Ismail, and could make soldiers of them only by giving them English officers; and the second half is that they are so desperately ferocious, bloody-minded and implacable, that at a word of encouragement from an English novelist, they will rise and sweep the Occupation into the Nile after ravishing all the white women and massacring all the white men. But nobody sees the incoherence. As the first half shows the Englishman as magnificently superior, and the second as dauntlessly brave, he does not notice that they flatly contradict one another."

Does not this sound strangely familiar? The Negroes of the South are such "abject slaves and cowards" they can make no progress save under white leadership and tutelage which shows the Southern white "magnificently superior." Also the Negroes are so desperate, ferocious, bloody-minded and implacable" that unless Mr. Taft pardons the lyncher of Chattanooga all white women are lost. Which shows the "dauntless bravery" of them that keep the Negroes down!

#### The Party of the Minimum.

A recent article in a Western religious journal suggests what seems to be a fitting description and name for one of the larger "parties" into which our race—in America—is divided. We say, in America, because, except in this country (and perhaps also in Liberia) there hardly exists, certainly there does not flourish, a race party which openly professes and endeavors to practice such tenets and policies as would justify us in calling it the Party of the Minimum.

It is not merely that the leaders of this party, in common with most or all of us, are obliged to accept and put up with humiliations and curtailed opportunities, but these leaders refuse to protest and never even ask for more than a bare minimum in all those matters which constitute the chief desire and concern of other races and classes—wherever unfortunately there is sufficient cause on the one hand and sufficient intelligence on the other to develop race- or class-consciousness.

Whether we consider political and civil rights or educational opportunity and equipment, or indeed any of the prerogatives usually held to be inherent in manhood—the leaders of this party are satisfied with a continually diminishing and in many cases an actually vanishing minimum. They waive all "rights" and renounce all claims to any sort of "equality." Indeed those words never pass their lips—they are *tapu*.

Their creed is exemplified by the words of one of their leaders (to the dining room boss when on a Pullman car): "Whenever you are ready for me (that is, after all the White people are served) let me know."

Yes, we repeat: the name seems to fit—The Party of the Minimum.

F. H. M. M.

One should be something of a fanatic. How can he take on the requisite indignant airs, and browbeat and scathe the opposition, when he himself is not thoroughly convinced?

W. H. Bishop.



## *The Out-Look*

Digest of the Daily and Periodical Press  
by L. M. HERSHAW

### **Organized Labor and Industrial Education.**

November 11, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Toronto, Canada, John Mitchell, chairman of the special committee on industrial education, presented a report which favors

the establishment of schools in connection with the public school system, at which pupils between the ages of 14 and 16 may be taught the principles of the trades, not necessarily in separate buildings, but in separate schools adapted to this particular education, and by competent and trained teachers. The course of instruction in such a school should be English, mathematics and drawing, shop instruction for particular trades, and for each trade represented, physical and biological science applicable to the trade, and a sound system of economics including and emphasizing the philosophy of collective bargaining. This will serve to prepare the pupil for more advanced subject, and in addition to disclose his capacity for a specific vocation.

Another part of the report says that organized labor's position regarding the injustices of narrow and prescribed training in selected trades, by both private and public instruction, and the flooding of the labor market with half-trained mechanics for the purpose of exploitation, is perfectly tenable, and the well founded belief in the viciousness of such practices an deconsequent condemnation is well-nigh unassailable.

This report is of special interest and is deserving of careful reading and study. Attention can be called here but to two points: First, the course of study is broad enough to comprehend training not only for industry but also for citizenship or democracy. The laboring white man is not content with the training which fits him to become only a skilled laborer; he looks beyond the labor to the conditions which surround it, to the society in which he labors, to the wealth which his labors produces, and to his just and equitable share of the product of that labor. In this connection it may be observed that the study of economics has no place in the curricula of Hampton and Tuskegee and the other industrial schools for the Negro. Industrial

education for the Negro is restricted to the single object of making him an efficient laborer for the enrichment of other people, while denying him a voice in the determination of the conditions under which he shall labor, the hours of labor, the wages of labor, and all the other social interests which are the concern of a true democracy. A difference as great as this between the education of the white laborers and the Negro laborers is sure to result in dividing labor into two classes separated by the color line, and to create competition, diversities of interests, animosities and conflicts such as the late Georgia railroad strike illustrates.

The second point calling for notice is "the injustices of narrow and prescribed training in selected trades" and "the flooding of the labor market with half-trained mechanics for the purpose of exploitation."

In no spirit of unkindness it may safely be asserted that the words above quoted are a faithful description of the work being done in Negro industrial schools. Study their catalogues keeping steadily in view what organized labor expects of industrial education and what the technical and industrial schools for other people are doing, and the conclusion is inevitable that our youth are receiving only "narrow and prescribed training in selected trades." A careful survey of the arguments used for the industrial training of the Negro leads to the conclusion that such training is "for the purpose of exploitation." The superintendent of education of one of the great missionary societies carrying on the work of education among Negroes, and who is an expert in education familiar with all our schools, has recently delivered himself of the opinion that our two leading industrial schools are but the "merest makeshifts."

### **Disfranchisement Again?**

It seems that another attempt to disfranchise the Negro is to be made in Maryland. Governor Crothers in an interview in the Baltimore *Sun* says he will advocate the resubmission of the disfranchisement amendment defeated November 2. He says:

Those who favored the adoption of the amendment



are only too anxious to re-enlist in the old war. They will never give up the fight until the proposition is adopted and made a part of the organic law of the state.

William L. Marbury who was one of the leading advocates of the late amendment has a new plan of eliminating the Negro vote, which is "to disfranchise the bulk of the Negroes by means solely of a property qualification clause, the grandfather clause and educational test being dropped entirely." He would provide in plain language that persons of African descent should furnish evidence of the ownership of property to be entitled to register and vote.

"The white race began at the bottom with very limited suffrage," is his contention. "At first only very large property holders could vote, then the smaller property holders, freeholders and then tenantry, then men who paid a certain amount of rent and finally the universal white man's suffrage. That is the history, generally speaking, of the white race in regard to its acquisition of its rights of suffrage and the assumption of the full responsibility of citizenship. The grant of universal suffrage to the white man was made only after years of trial, education, debate and cautious consideration."

Some of the papers in the South do not take kindly to a re-opening of the question in Maryland. The *Memphis Commercial Appeal* says:

It is fortunate that this issue did not effect the legislative contest and result in turning the general assembly over to the Republicans. If Democratic leaders continue to play this kind of politics they will make a Republican state of Maryland. With four whites to every negro in the state, it is absurd to say that the colored man and brother cannot be kept in his place. If four white men can't eliminate one negro, then they deserve nothing better than to have negro domination thrust upon them. Let us hope that we shall hear no more of this absurd issue in Maryland, which is overwhelmingly a white man's state.

#### Senator Cullom's Proposal.

An expression of opinion on Southern political conditions by Senator Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois appeared in the daily papers of Nov. 8. Two versions of this expression were printed; one appeared in most of the papers and the other in the Chicago papers only.

The common version, among other things, contained these expressions:

"Eliminate the negro from politics in the South,

give that section of the country an exclusively white ballot or a franchise which shall mean absolute and unequivocal white supremacy in the management of its whole affairs and there's not a State below the Mason and Dixon's line which will not be found in the Republican column of the electoral college.

"How can you blame communities like South Carolina and Mississippi, for instance, for voting the Democratic ticket when in some sections the proportion of colored population is ten blacks to one white? It is in communities like those that the white people are afraid.

"Now, mind you," Mr. Cullom went on, "I do not necessarily mean that I favor the total disfranchisement of the negro."

The Illinois version from the *Chicago Record-Herald* was in part as follows:

"Eliminate the negro question in the South and the states of that section will participate in a scramble into the Republican column.

"For years the negro has been injected as the factor in the political equation which has kept the South solidly Democratic. However desirable it may be to wipe out the last vestige of a Democratic stronghold, I want to state without qualification that I heartily favor the Constitution and our laws conferring political and civil rights upon the negro. I voted for the constitutional amendment conferring political rights and also for the civil rights act.

"I believe that the people of the South have been unfortunate in the way they have handled the negro question. They have held up negro domination as a bugaboo to frighten themselves and have continued to vote the Democratic ticket, under the banner of white supremacy, deliberately disregarding their own best interests. It is not for me to attempt to advise them how to solve their problem.

"The negro in the southern states should as fully enjoy all his political and civil rights as his brethren in the northern states."

The common version is the one that has been accepted as the true one, and editorial comment has been upon it.

The concluding paragraph of an editorial in the *Charleston News-Courier* is this:

But, quite aside from the political aspect of the case, Senator Cullom can begin no more constructive statesmanship than to influence his party to take a broad view of the negro question and to assist in eliminating it permanently from the political arena. The good results to follow such a course cannot be stated. They would be broader than party or sectional interest. The nation would be put into a position to achieve its full greatness and prosperity. The negro question should have no place in American politics.

The *Pittsburg Dispatch* said:

We think that there are still people who regard



democratic justice and ordinary truth as of more importance than gaining electoral votes.

We can find some palliation for the Southerner who from inherited preconceptions, and under the pressure of what all must admit to be an exasperating problem, is led to advocate this travesty on justice and democracy. But a Republican Senator who avows a readiness to purchase Southern electoral votes by throwing life-long Republican principles to the winds classes himself beyond hope of redemption.

The New York *Times* compares Senator Cullom's proposal for an alliance between the protected interests of the North and the votes of the Southern States to the "Holy Alliance formed after the restoration of the Bourbons in France to stifle the republics of South America," and then proceeds:

He is a little indefinite and cautious, but his meaning and desire are clear enough. In an interview published on Monday he outlined the happy state of things that would ensue if, and when, the Southern States should become Republican and protectionist in return for the permission to disfranchise their negro voters. What is lacking in this arrangement to parallel the Holy Alliance? Liberty is to be suppressed, privilege for a minority is to be established. The oligarchy of protected and monopolistic interests is to receive control of the power of taxation to promote its selfish ends—the very essence of aristocratic privilege—and this organization is to be extended to the South, where abandonment of Democratic principles is to be rewarded by the wholesale disfranchisement of the colored voters.

The New Orleans *States* makes this comment:

But there is not the least danger of the South and the Republican party uniting on the basis of the "deal" proposed. If such a combination were made, it would be sure to cut both ways because the Republican party would lose a large portion of the North which is already getting away from the protection idea and demanding with growing insistence such a revision of the tariff rates as will lower the cost of living to the masses of the people. Therefore, all things considered, if the Republican politicians hope to make the South a prop for the tottering system of high protection that system is sure to experience a hard fall.

Most of the comments on Senator Cullom's views are based on the doctrine of expediency but the following from the New Bedford, Mass., *Standard* is not of that kind:

For years—more years than Senator Cullom has lived—subtle American politicians have been trying to put the Negro question out of sight; to eliminate the Negro, as they are fond of putting it in these latter days. How well—or how poorly—they have suc-

ceeded, is written, sometimes in letters of black, sometimes in letters of red, on almost every page of the nation's history. They have failed, they always will fail—not because of irreconcilable fanatics, not because the Negro is a black man and the Caucasian a white man, not because of the persistence of racial prejudice; but because they forget justice. And forgetting justice to ensure a protective tariff will always be as disastrous to the white man as to the black man.

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#### Brownsville Court of Inquiry.

The following chronology for the year 1909 is given in the Brownsville case:

Act to correct the records etc., approved March 3.

Order of War Department appointing court of inquiry, April 7th.

First meeting of court of inquiry, May 4th.

Court of inquiry adopts rules of procedure, May 10th.

Court reports intention to study sworn statements heretofore made and proceed to Brownsville, Texas, Oct., 26th.

Court reports that by November 21st, it will have completed the consideration of the evidence in the form of letters, reports, affidavits and testimony heretofore given; that after November 21st, it will be ready to receive new evidence; that on November 15th, it will adjourn to meet at Brownsville, afterwards to resume sessions at Washington; that the court has endeavored to locate the 165 discharged men, has established communication with 82, of which 76 wish to appear before the court as witnesses and 6 do not wish to appear, Nov., 8.

The court expects to complete its work and submit its final report not later than April 7th, 1910.

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#### The Chattanooga Contempt Case.

The Supreme Court of the United States has finally brought to a close the proceedings against Sheriff Shipp and others of Chattanooga, Tennessee, who were in contempt of court in connection with the lynching of Edw. Johnson in 1906, by imposing jail sentences of sixty and ninety days. In commenting on the incident the New Orleans *States* says:

The effect of this act of arbitrary despotism is



bound to be calamitous to the South. One who is familiar with conditions as they are in the South will understand what the result of this will be. It is our deliberate judgment that the action of the Supreme Court in this single case will do more to promote and encourage crime in the South than anything that the combined forces of vice and crime could possibly accomplish within a twelvemonth.

The incident emphasizes the fact that our Federal judiciary is rapidly getting too far removed from the people. In the fact of decisions such as these it seems proper to reverse our maxims occasionally and to give some attention to the necessity of impressing upon courts a wholesome respect for the authority and power of the people.

The Wheeling, W. Va. *Intelligencer* says :

It would be well if the Supreme Court would define exactly how far it thinks a sheriff or other officer should go in protecting a prisoner against a mob. Suppose a sheriff knew that resistance would be hopeless and would end only in the death of himself and those under him and the ultimate lynching of the negro anyhow. What good does it do to fight an invincible foe? Would the court expect a sheriff "to go the limit" under such circumstances? Would he be justified in "going the limit"? Has any man the moral right to sacrifice his own life uselessly? These are questions which we imagine would be difficult for even a great court to answer. Therefore, we sympathize with Sheriff Shipp. His position was embarrassing, to say the least.

The New Orleans *Picayune* says :

The great court, which is the arbiter and standard of all law in the Union, sought the lynchers, but being unable to discover them, arrested the sheriff on the ground that he had failed to protect the prisoner, who was officially in his charge, and held him for contempt with the other parties.

The sheriff may be thankful that he was not held as an accomplice in the murder of the negro, and he has got off with a lighter sentence than was expected.

#### Negro Semi-Centennial

It is proposed to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1913 by holding an exposition which shall show the progress of the Negro since 1863. The present movement was sanctioned by the National Negro Business League at the Louisville meeting in August last. There is a good deal to be said in this connection on the subject of the appropriation of other people's ideas, but the time is not ripe. It suffices now to chronicle the following facts: 1. The Negro State Fair of South Carolina was held at Batesburg, November 8th, the officers being

Richard Carroll, President; Z. E. Walker, Superintendent; and A. Robertson, Secretary. 2. The Colored State Fair of North Carolina was held at Raleigh October 26, E. J. Young, President. 3. The Georgia State Agricultural and Industrial Association held its fourth (?) Annual Fair at Macon, November 11th, R. R. Wright, President. At this last named fair, Bishop Smith spoke complimentarily of President R. R. Wright as the originator of the present movement to hold an exposition to commemorate the Semi-Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. Thos. E. Miller, president of the South Carolina Colored Agricultural College endorsed Bishop Smith's views and president N. B. Young, of the Florida A. and M. College offered the following resolution :

Whereas there is a growing public opinion in this country that the American Negro resident in the United States should celebrate in some substantial way the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation proclamation,

Resolved, That R. R. Wright, president of the Georgia State Agricultural and Industrial Association be authorized to appoint a provisional committee of not more than ten to consider the advisability of holding a semi-centennial exposition in 1913, said committee to be empowered to take whatever action in the matter deemed wise.

#### THE BUSINESS LEAGUE'S EXPOSITION.

The President of the National Negro Business League has appointed a commission to formulate plans for the exposition proposed by that organization. This commission will attract attention because of the omission from its membership of the men who have acquired experience in conducting state fairs that have illustrated the progress of the race. Much might be said as to this, but the time is not ripe.

#### PRESS COMMENTS ON SEMI-CENTENIAL EXPOSITION.

The New York *Times* deals with the matter rather cautiously. It calls attention to the fact the "very day Mr. Washington broached the subject to the President, the Supreme Court of the State of Iowa decided that a business concern licensed under the State laws has the right to refuse to serve a Negro. It is folly to say that the decision was made



irrespective of the color of the complainant." The *Times* concludes thus:

How will it benefit the negro? If the answer, reached after mature deliberation, is affirmative, let us have the exposition, and let us all work to make it as successful as possible. It will be unique and have a greater underlying significance than any other industrial exposition ever planned.

The Buffalo, N. Y., *Commercial* says:

Booker T. Washington is trying to get up an exposition under the direction of colored people, in 1913. It is a very effective way of getting rid of a lot of money.

The Louisville, Ky. *Post* says:

The educational value of an Exposition is admitted, but no one can witness the expenditures for the organization of an Exposition and the operating expenses without wishing that the money thus employed for a temporary purpose were invested in permanent institutions; in schools, colleges, hospitals and workshops.

An Exposition such as indicated by Dr. Booker Washington would involve the investment of several million dollars in addition to the operating expenses.

#### John Brown and Robert E. Lee.

Fifty years ago (December 2nd, 1859) the name of John Brown was inscribed on the roll of those who suffered under Pontius Pilate. He whom John Brown worshipped said, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." The hero of Harper's Ferry laid down his life for those whose condition made it impossible at the time that they should know, much less measure at its worth, the sacrifice he made for them. Fifty years after the event this people, though deeply grateful for his deeds and memory, cannot honor his name if they would without incurring the charge of stirring up feeling between the races. The officer who captured John Brown, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert E. Lee, subsequently became an armed insurgent against the authority of his country and for four years baffled its mightiest army. Lee's statue now stands in the Capitol, while "John Brown's body lies mouldering" in a neglected grave at North Elba, New York. Virginia placed the bronze statue of Robert E. Lee in the Capitol. May not Kansas place the statue of John Brown there as the symbol of a completely re-united country?

## The In-Look

Digest of the Negro-American Press

by F. H. M. MURRAY

Try me; for a new soul has come into my breast and I should feel ashamed not to dare anything which I can do.—Perseus.

Since nearly all the more important race publications in what may be called the magazine class are now quarterlies, enumeration of articles of note therein will not be made every month.

#### An Explanation.

Thanksgiving week the *Washington American* dished up for us a sort of Witches' Brew—a half column comment on THE HORIZON—which while in the main of an agreeable taste had some pucker in it. One spoonful:

In his article "The Race Press" Mr. Murray shows an inexcusable prejudice which certainly unfits him for a place in polite journalism. He expresses his opinion of the *Washington American* as a newspaper, which is certainly a right that belongs to him. In this he shows no bias whatever. But in speaking of several other papers he conveniently evades expressing his opinion of their value as newspapers, but discusses the personalities of their editors.

The *American* then goes on to accuse the editor of this department of "undoubted journalistic ability" and with being "breezy and agreeable" personally though "consumed by a blind and blighting prejudice"—but gives no other specification than the above.

Now what were we to do? For the fact is, the *American* does not take the public into its confidence and disclose the name of its editor or editors—may be Mephistopheles himself for all we know.

#### Lost in the "woulds"

In the race press we have seen the text of some of the principal addresses—or the addresses of the principal personages—at the



Lyon-Scott banquet in Washington on the night of November 17th.

The interest of course centers in the address of the chief guest of honor, Hon. Ernest Lyon, Minister to Liberia.

Considering the occasion, Mr. Lyon's address was distinctly disappointing. Analyzing it—as published in the *Baltimore Afro-American Ledger*—we find that only in two places did he come near to saying anything informing. At one point he stated that Liberia urgently needed three things: "Money, men and a settled boundary." Then proceeding in true Pilduzerian style he asserted that "the first is the guarantee of the second" but failed to indicate how we might assist her to secure the third, or indeed how to obtain the first.

Near the end of his address he approached the chief matter of concern, "What can the colored people in the United States do to assist in saving Liberia?" "Much," he answered, with delicious succinctness.

Later on he elucidated his "much" a little, using the concatenated form of expression that we find in "The House that Jack Built." We quote:

If the leaders of the race *would get behind* a movement such as outlined by Dr. Booker T. Washington, which appeared sometime ago, etc., they *would arouse* such a wave of influence that *would turn* public attention to Liberia that *would* no doubt *incline* Congress to regard with favor any remedial measure [that *would be*] *proposed* by those who have authority to do so.

There you are. Mr. Washington is willing to endorse beforehand "ANY measure" and we should get behind Him and—but why go further? Don't you catch the odor of the bilge water from the Ship of State?

#### Crime Among Negroes.

Prof. Kelly Miller's address (Southern Workman, Sept.) on "Crime among Negroes" has been widely published and commented upon in the race press and also in the daily press. It contains much that is good. Unfortunately, it also contains sentences and statements that are capable of use or of easy distortion to our hurt.

For example:

The one essential fact, so far as the Negro is con-

cerned, is that twelve per cent of the population contributed thirty-two per cent of the crimes.

Again:

Now the fact is that the Negro has a criminal record about three times as great as his numbers entitle him to.

Prof. Miller, it is true, largely explains away the ugliness and misleading of these and other of his statements—shows indeed that they are not "facts" at all—if you follow him far enough and closely enough. But many people fail—some purposely—to do that.

He knocks the props from under the "statistics" that he himself has apparently leaned upon, and from which he derived his percentages, thus:

If we follow statistics, we find that the white people in Mississippi are angels of grace as compared with the white people of Massachusetts. In Massachusetts there are 5,477 whites in prison; in Mississippi only 114.... There are probably no more white prisoners in Massachusetts than there ought to be, but no man in his senses, not even Governor Vardaman, will claim that only 114 white persons in Mississippi should be "in durance vile." By parity of reason it is fair to say that probably in the South the number of Negro prisoners is a just measure of Negro crime, but the number of white prisoners fall immensely below the number of white offenders against the law.

Even here he has put it much too hard on the Negro, for everybody else knows—and certainly the Professor's recent experience (since he made that address) in being arrested and carried to the lock-up (thus swelling the race's "criminal record") for no crime at all, should teach *him*—that the number of Negro arrests, or even prisoners is not a "just measure" of "Negro crime."

#### Called Off

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the martyrdom of John Brown was not as generally observed as it should have been by our people. The race press records, however, several memorial celebrations, the one in Boston being especially noteworthy, rivalling if not excelling the great Garrison Centennial in 1905.

So far as we have observed none of the celebrations have been initiated by, or actively supported by, any persons connected with the "Tuskegee interests," although Mr. Washington, in a sudden fit of race patriotism about



two years ago issued a proclamation calling on "his people" to celebrate the event. What called them off?

### Contributed Articles.

#### A Correspondence.

From a white professor in a Southern University:

Prof. W. E. B. Dubois,  
Atlanta, University.

Dear Sir:—

I have just read the tragedy which you call "The Souls of Black Folk," and I cannot refrain from writing to tell you how profoundly it has affected me. It is faint praise—but even the pure English was very refreshing in this day of slovenliness.

The pathetic part of the whole thing is what you stress repeatedly—that the control of the South is not in the hands of its best people. The problem is the problem of the lower class whites, and the more enlightened are utterly powerless. I have long grieved over your own position, and wished that there could be some alleviation, and known that there could be none. I have, however, wanted you to know that my skirts at least are clean. I have never wittingly wronged one of your race in any way. I have never defrauded one of them of money, I have never insulted one of them, I have never given even a slight to one of them. I have been careful to train my children to respect their feelings in every way, and have punished them for offenses in this respect which I should else have passed over. And I have been able to be of service to many of them in more ways than in the matter of money. The principal of the city schools here has had regular teaching from me in both Latin and German, and I have been able also to help others. Of course I voted against disfranchisement.

This is a very small thing, but your book has put me on the defensive. These things I have done and left undone, and yet my whole training and environment have been such that I cannot break away from the other things of which you complain—I should not use the word, because the book is notably free from complaint. You, in turn, must look as leniently as you can on feelings which have been made part of us, and we must labor together, in all ways, to lighten the gloom. And with it all rest assured that many of us feel most deeply the pathos of your own position.

Yours very truly,

The answer:

My dear Sir:

I have read your very kindly letter again and again with increasing interest and sympathy. I

have taken the liberty to read it to some of my friends and they have been both moved and encouraged. I thank you for your frank words and I want to say two things in answer to them which I trust will not sound ungracious. First, whenever an aristocracy allows a mob to rule the fault is not with the mob; and secondly, Comrade, you and I can never be satisfied with sitting down before a great human problem and saying nothing can be done. We must do something. That is the reason we are on Earth.

Again thanking you for your kind words, I beg to remain

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DUBOIS

## Championship Foot Ball Among Colleges

by

Prof. E. B. HENDERSON

of Washington, D. C., General Manager of the  
Inter-Scholastic Athletic Association

Some notable games of football took place between the big four colored colleges of the Middle Atlantic States. The football teams of Hampton, Shaw, Lincoln and Howard University upheld their traditions of old on the gridiron. Howard University possessed the most formidable eleven in its history; travelled thru the season with an uncrossed goal line and handily trimmed its opponents of the big four.

Early in the season Howard defeated Hampton, later trounced Shaw by a score of 17 to 0, and took Lincoln in camp by the count of 5 to 0. Hampton defeated Lincoln a few days after that team's memorable battle on the Howard Campus. Shaw's team was battered to pieces by Howard's powerful back-field trio and lost; but at Lincoln it downed the "sons of the orange and blue." Lincoln's coaches underrated the Raleigh school team, and, in the endeavor to save men for Howard in the early part of the game, allowed a touchdown and failed later to score.

Gray and Terry of Howard are players whose calibre is equalled by but a half dozen players in the country. Gray's remarkable defensive work and the grand offensive playing of Terry were the strong factors in making Howard a winner.

The season has been free from serious casualties and teams have played in excellent physical condition. From a racial standpoint the lessening amount of quibbling, clean playing, and up-to-date business like management in regard to guarantees offered are signs of progress which place colored schools on a footing with the big colleges elsewhere.

A feature which I hope soon to see eradicated is the employing of officials of another race when competent and impartial ones are among our own race. The games between Howard and Hampton of the two



past seasons have borne witness to the folly of using incompetent white officials. It is a great deal better to pay the expenses of competent colored officials from some state remote from the influences of either contending party than to pay white officials their expenses and a sum of ten to thirty dollars for a day's work, simply in the hope that such officials are likely to be impartial.

ALL-COLLEGE TEAM FOR THIS SECTION

Right End .. . . .	Lawrence...	Howard
Right Tackle.....	Branch.....	Lincoln
Right Guard.....	Hymans.....	Hampton
Center.....	Moore.....	Howard
Left End .. . . .	Morris.....	Lincoln
Left Tackle.....	Durrah .. . . .	Howard
Left Guard .. . . .	Strudwick.....	Shaw
Right Half Back. . . .	Gray.....	Howard
Left Half Back.....	Terry.....	Howard
Full Back. . . . .	Allen.....	Howard
Quarter Back .. . . .	Brown.. . . .	Howard

**BOOKS & PERIODICALS**

During the your 1909 ninety-eight separate pieces of literature treated of the Negro-American. Of these twenty were books. Of the books four are of unusual interest, viz :

- Southern South, by A. B. Hart. \$1.50, Appleton.
- Basis of Ascendency, by E. G. Murphy. \$1.50, Longmans.
- Christian Reconstruction in the South, by H. P. Douglass. \$1.50, Pilgrim press.
- Southerner, by N. Worth. \$1.20, Doubleday.

Of the other books two are reprints of former editions. The other fourteen are :

- Solid South and the Afro-American race problem, by C. F. Adams, Jr., 23 Court Street, Boston.
- Spirit of the South, by W. W. Harney. \$1.50, R. G. Badger.
- Grant Vernon; a Boston boy's adventures in Louisiana, by E. B. Stanton. \$1.00, Roxburgh pub.
- South in the building of the nation. 12v, \$60. Southern hist. pub. soc., Richmond, Va.
- Negro American Family, W. E. B. DuBois, ed., Pa. 75c, Atlanta University press, Atlanta, Ga.
- Upward Path; the evolution of a race, by M. Helm. 50c, Young People's Missionary Movement.
- Seeking the best: dedicated to the Negro youth, by O. M. Shackelford. \$1.00, Hudson.
- Virginia's attitude toward slavery and secession, by B. B. Munford. \$2.00, Longmans.
- John Brown, by W. E. B. Dubois. \$1.25, Jacobs.
- Black Bishop, by Crowther, Samuel Adjal, J. Page. \$2.00, Revell.
- Dred Scott case, by E. W. R. Ewing. Legal and historical status of the Dred Scott decision. \$3, Cobden pub. co., Washington, D. C.

- Negro problem: Abraham Lincoln's solution, by W. P. Pickett. \$2.50, Putnam.
- Out of the darkness, by J. W. Grant. \$1.10, National Bapt.
- Bright side of Memphis, by G. P. Hamilton. \$2.50 Memphis, Tenn.

There were fifteen pamphlets of importance published. Two of these are notable :

- Public taxation and Negro schools, by C. L. Coon, Cheyney, Pa.
- Self help in Negro education, by R. R. Wright, Cheyney, Pa.

The other thirteen are :

- Needs of the South, by S. E. Griggs. pa. 10c, Orion pub. co.
- South and Mr. Taft, by Silas McBee, New York
- Our inheritance, by A. Withers. 50c, Elmhurst, Cal.
- Conference for education in the South. Proceedings of the twelfth conference, New York.
- Negro problem (Bibliography), R. H. Edwards. ed. Pa. 10c, Madison, Wis.
- Separate or "Jim Crow" car laws, by R. H. Boyd. Pa. 25c, National Bapt.
- Race question in a new light, by S. E. Griggs. Pa. 15c, National Bapt.
- Equality of rights for all citizens, black and white alike, by F. J. Grimke. 15c, Washington, D. C.
- Progress and development of the colored people of our nation, by F. J. Grimke. 10c, Washington, D. C.
- From Darkness to light: the story of Negro progress, by M. Helm. 50c, pa. 30c, Revell.
- Ideas on education, by S.C. Armstrong, Hampton, Va.

There have been as far as the available records go sixty-three articles in the larger national periodicals as follows :

<i>Outlook</i> .....	18
<i>Nation</i> .....	8
<i>Independent</i> .....	7
<i>World's Work</i> .....	5
<i>Annals of the American Academy</i> ...	4
<i>Survey</i> .....	3
<i>Harper's Weekly</i> .....	3
<i>Atlantic</i> .....	2
<i>Spirit of Missions</i> .....	2
<i>McClure's</i> .....	2
<i>Hampton's</i> .....	2
<i>Review of Reviews</i> .....	1
<i>Political Science Quarterly</i> .....	1
<i>American Magazine</i> .....	1
<i>Delineator</i> .. . . .	1
<i>Current Literature</i> .....	1
<i>American Journal of Sociology</i> .....	1
<i>Everybody's</i> .....	1
<i>Yale Review</i> .....	1
<i>Educational Review</i> .....	1
<i>Science</i> .....	1
<i>North American Review</i> .....	1



Twenty-one of these articles were editorial or staff writers' comments. Ten others were signed by Mr. Booker T. Washington. Three articles were by Harris Dickson, a Mississippi white Lawyer, three were by W. E. B. DuBois, and two by M. N. Work. Only four colored writers' names appear. This of course takes no account of church papers, and distinctively Negro periodicals.

The five most notable articles were :

Black and white in the South, by W. Archer. McClure, July.  
Heart of the race problem, by Q. Ewing. Atlantic, March.  
Race problems in America, by F. Boas. Science, May 28.  
Ultimate race problem, by K. Miller. Atlantic, April.  
Conflict of color: the World to-day and how color divides it, by L. P. Weale. World's Work, September.

The others are :

Achievements of Negroes, by B. T. Washington. Independent, September 30.  
Free Negro in slavery days, by B. T. Washington. Outlook, September 18.  
Law and order and the Negro, by B. T. Washington. Outlook, November 6.  
Long in Darke, by W. E. B. DuBois. Independent, October 21.  
Negro disfranchisement and the Negro in business, by B. T. Washington. Outlook, October 9.  
Negro in a democracy, by R. S. Baker. Independent, September 9.  
Vampire of the South, by M. H. Carter. McClure, September 18.  
Brownsville again. Outlook, December 26, 1908.  
Exit Brownsville. Outlook, March 6.  
Commencement at Hampton, by a Spectator. Outlook, May 15.  
Negro races, by J. Dowd. Review. Political Science Quarterly, December, 1908.  
Who pays the Negroes' school bill. World's Work, July.  
Negro in Africa and America. Outlook, May 29.  
Story of the Negro, by B. T. Washington. Outlook, September 4.  
Aunt 'Liza, one of the slaves who stayed, by L. Finch. American Magazine, February.  
Breaking away of mammy: story, by V. F. Boyle. Delineator, February.  
Definite progress among Negroes. Outlook, July 31.  
Liberty, equality and fraternity limited. Independent, June 10.  
Lincoln and the Negro, by M. P. Andrews. Nation, March 18. World's Work, April.  
National committee on the Negro, by W. E. B. DuBois. Survey, June 12.  
Negro in Africa and America. Outlook, May 29.  
Negro mine laborer; central Appalachian coal field, by G. T. Surface. Annals of the American Academy, March.  
Race prejudice, by E. L. C. Morse. Nation, March 17.

Science and human brotherhood, by W. E. Walling. Independent, June 17.

Science of race-hatred. Nation, July 8.

Berean school of Philadelphia and the industrial efficiency of the Negro, by M. Anderson. Annals of the American Academy, January.

Relation of industrial education to national progress, by B. T. Washington. Annals of the American Academy, January.

Rural industrial school. Nation, April 22.

Self-help among the Negroes, by M. N. Work. Survey, August 7.

Church and the Negroes, by S. H. Bishop. Spirit of Missions, March.

Past and present among the Negroes of Southern Virginia, by J. S. Russell. Spirit of Missions, April.

Negroes of Pittsburg, by H. A. Tucker. Charities, January 2.

Banquo's ghost of American politics. Current Literature, July.

Cheerful journey through Mississippi, by B. T. Washington. World's Work, February.

Forced labor in America and the Alabama contract law. Outlook, December 19.

Georgia Negroes and their fifty millions of savings, by W. E. B. DuBois, il. World's Work, May.

Georgia race strike. Harper's Weekly, June 12.

Georgia railroad strike. Outlook, June 5.

Georgia strike arbitration. Harper's Weekly July 3.

Nearing a solution. Outlook, December 19.

Negro labor and the boll weevil, by A. H. Stone. Annals of the American Academy, March.

Negro problem in foreign eyes. Nation, Feb. 18.

New South. Outlook, July 17.

Notable Negro journey, by W. S. Dodd. Independent, April 22.

Pap Singleton, the Moses of the colored Exodus, by W. L. Fleming. American Journal of Sociology, July.

Patriarch's progeny, by H. Dickson. May.

President, the south and the Negro, by J. C. Hemphill. Harper's Weekly, January 9.

Report of friendly relations, by B. T. Washington. May 1.

South and the Negro, by S. G. Fisher. April 1.

Strange preference. Independent, April 8.

Studies in the American race problem, by A. H. Stone. Yale Review, August.

Race factor in education, by V. McCaughey. Educational Review, September.

Lincoln-Douglass debates and their application to present problems, by H. Taylor. February.

Negro's life in slavery, by B. T. Washington. Outlook, September 11.

Short course for farmers, by M. N. Work. Outlook, April 17.

Heart of a class problem. Nation, March 18.

The Unknowable Negro, by Harris Dickson. Hampton's, June.



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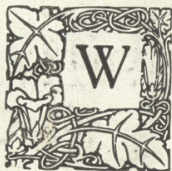
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Rev. REVERDY G. RANSOM

*From his Semi-Centennial Oration,  
Boston, Dec. 2, '09*