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APRIL, 1909.

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By a Monrovia

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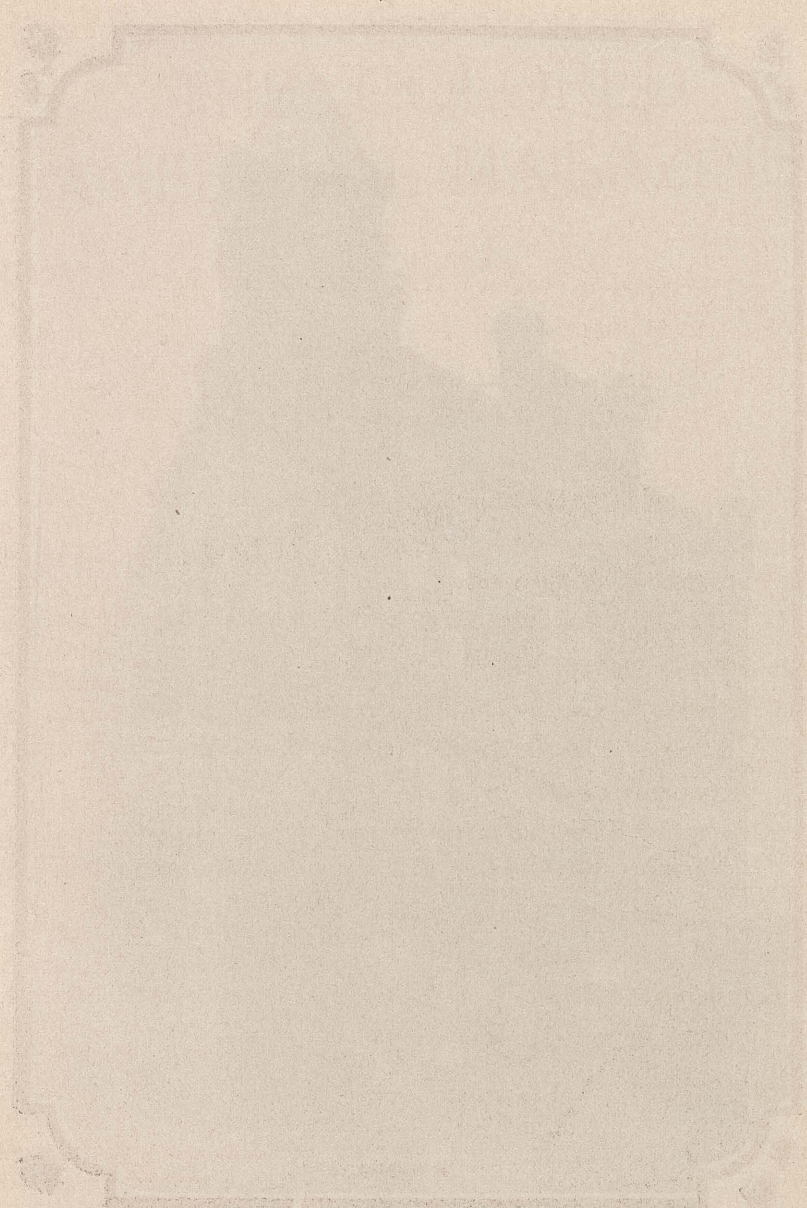
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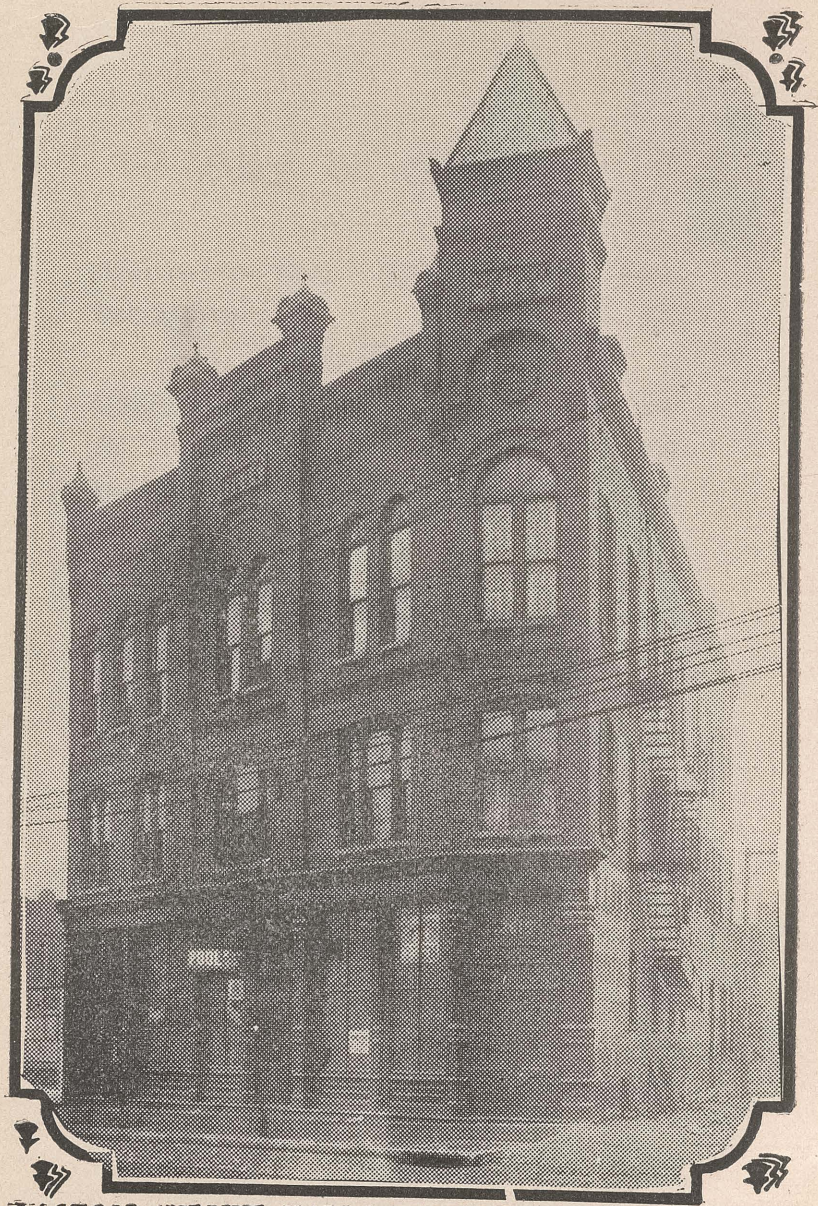
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THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE

VOL. XVI.

APRIL, 1909

NO 4

THE MONTH

The past month has been an unusual month in that it was the month of the inauguration, but only usual as goes the month of the change of National American administrations. The inauguration of the administration of Taft, the twenty-sixth President of the United States, has quite filled the public eye since the Ides of March, yet never, perhaps, has there been less clamor and glamour in the laying down of executive office than that attending the passing into private life of that great and strenuous American, Theodore Roosevelt. An apparent state of ennui and of waiting has occupied the public mind during the entire month. Not brilliancy, but transition, is the term with which we may characterize the state of affairs—political, industrial and even social—from which at this writing we seem to be emerging. The spell of gloom cast upon the inauguration festivities by the blizzard is just now being shaken off. Industrial conditions have

had to stand and wait for the revision of the tariff. And as Congress wades nearer the end of its change of schedules, the vise-like grip upon business is being relaxed and we are being drawn closer to the promised wave of prosperity. So slight has been the political change attending the exchange of captains of the Ship of State that the only political excitement during the month has been that caused by the ripples of agitation, manufactured in various quarters. In no quarter has this agitation been more noticeable than among Negroes.

THE NEGRO AND THE SOUTH

President Taft has laid plans so deep and calculating as to be obscure, for the winning of a heartier cooperation upon the part of the Southland. His seems to be the sympathetic stand of a constructive statesman toward that large and important section of this country lagging in industry, backward in intelligence, playing small part in the nation's activities be-

cause in large measure of its blind and bitter race prejudice. Taft accordingly announced, whether wisely or unwisely we will not pass judgment, that he would not fly in the face of that sentiment in appointing Negroes to office. On the other hand he announced his intention of encouraging the Negro race by appointing distinguished Negroes to office. More than that he declared himself to be free from race prejudice. Both the Negro and the South have been thus encouraged in their state of political truce, with the South apparently more jubilant and reliant upon the President. Something quite akin to gloom came over the Negro when Taft appointed a Northern sojourner in the South to the place of Collector Crum of Charleston, who had resigned a few days earlier to save the administration initial embarrassment and controversy with the protesting Carolinians.

In the last fortnight, however, the race has been recuperating from its blues by reason of the reported appointment of Register of Lands, Walter L. Cohen, of New Orleans, and his selection, with Emile Kuntz, the white Louisiana leader, to reorganize the Republican party in the Pelican State. A delegation of Mississippi Negroes, headed by Charles Banks of Bayou, also called upon the President and came away greatly reassured. Bishop Gaines of Atlanta, on leaving the White House a few days earlier, announced the President's message to Negroes to be, to wait and not worry.

The Negroes of Maryland have begun the fight in dead earnest against the disfranchising amendment to be voted on

this Fall. The Negroes of the State, under the leadership of honest and able beloved leaders of Baltimore, are being organized in every county. With the outspoken stand of the administration against the bald and bold race issue; with Cardinal Gibbons, prelate of the Catholic Church in America against it; with the Republican party (white) of the State against it because of the vital question of self preservation which it presents; with Maryland's colored preachers and women entering the fight, Maryland Negroes feel they are going to make their State the dead line of Disfranchisement.

BEARDING THE LIONS

One of the most noteworthy and significant events of the month was the epoch-making tour of Booker T. Washington through the State of South Carolina during the week beginning March 14. Similar to his memorable trip through Mississippi, the State of Vardaman, last Fall, the Tuskegee leader bearded the South Carolina, Negro-hating lions in their own den. In all the larger cities of the State, including Charleston and Columbia, Dr. Washington addressed packed audiences of black and white people at the smaller stations of his route. From the rear platform of his Pullman car he addressed thousands of his own and the opposite race. He was accorded nothing less than a State-wide ovation, being welcomed by mayors and city officials, a respectful white press, bands of music, crowds of flag-waving Negro school children, and delegations of enthusiastic and prosperous Negroes. Exhorting his people everywhere to greater business industry and worthiness, and counseling peace and

fair play to whites and blacks, all agree that his trip has meant much benefit to the State and her races.

The tour was in charge of that powerful and respected Columbia leader, Dr. Richard Carroll. Those in the immediate party of Dr. Washington were: Dr. Booker T. Washington, Mr. Emmett J. Scott, Private Secretary to Dr. Washington; Dr. J. A. Kenney, Resident Physician and Surgeon-in-charge at Tuskegee Institute; Major R. R. Moten, commandant of cadets at Hampton and member of the Trustee Board of Jeanes Fund; Mr. W. T. B. Williams, Hampton, Va., Field Agent of Slater Fund; Mr. J. H. Washington, Superintendent of Industries at Tuskegee Institute; Dr. R. E. Park, of Boston, a magazine writer and literateur; Bishop George W. Clinton, Charlotte, N. C., Bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Church; R. W. Thompson and Charles Stewart, newspaper correspondents, and Mr. Nathan Hunt, stenographer to Dr. Washington.

THE BROWNSVILLE FINALE

An admirable selection of retired army officers was made about the middle of the month by the administration, to go over the Brownsville case and restore the innocent of the discharged Negro soldiers to the army. The board, as announced by Secretary of War Dickinson, is, perhaps, the highest in point of ability and rank that has been formed from the army in many years. The officers are: Lieut.-Gen. S. B. M. Young; Major-Gen. J. P. Sanger; Brig.-Gen. Theodore Schwan, Brig.-Gen. Butler D. Price, and Brig.-

Gen. John M. Wilson. Capt. Charles R. Howland, Twenty-first Infantry, has been appointed recorder.

In this connection, the splendid testimonial being tendered ex-Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, must be mentioned. In Washington on the first of last month, more than two thousand Negroes tendered him a mammoth reception and beautiful loving cup. Negroes in Philadelphia and St. Paul have followed, in warm testimonials of their gratitude for the long and bitter fight he waged for justice to the "Black Battalion."

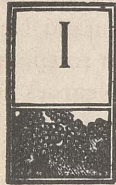
CRAZY SNAKE, ETC.

Among the other affairs of national import touching the month of winds was the exaggerated engagements of outlaw Negroes and half-breeds under Crazy Snake against the civil authorities. Instead of twenty-four Negroes losing their lives on the warpath, but three were killed. Crazy Snake is still at large and the actual, underlying whole truth and reason of the outbreak, we are quite sure, has not been told to the world.

Mrs. C. M. Johnson, of Ottumwa, Iowa, whose story of an assault by a Negro came near precipitating a lynching some days before, confessed on March 9 her mistake, that it was only a dream during a sick spell. The case recalled the more disastrous lie of Mrs. Hallam, which brought on the Springfield, Ill., riot last August. The Negro Elks of Boston succeeded splendidly during the first week of the month in killing the Crone Bill which was directed against the legitimacy of their organization.

A Personal Review of Roosevelt

By JOHN C. DANCY, Recorder of Deeds,

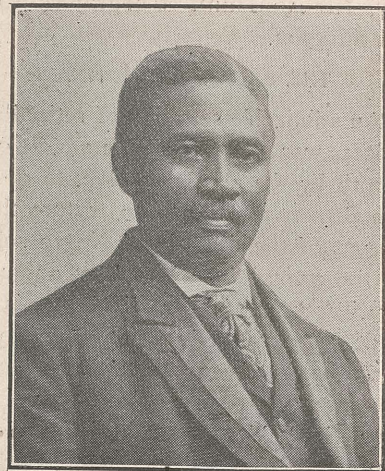


FIRST met Mr. Roosevelt at the National Republican Convention, held at Chicago in 1884. There was a great fight on between the followers of Blaine, Arthur, Edmunds, Logan and other candidate for the Presidency.

At a crisis during the early stages of the convention, it seemed that the result of the contest hinged, in a measure at least, upon who would be chairman of the convention. Young Roosevelt, then a promising and rising leader in New York politics, and member of the State Legislature, was opposing Mr. Blaine's candidacy, as was Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts, also a member of the State Legislature. Mr. Lodge placed in nomination for the vice-chairmanship of the National Convention, Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, in a brief but telling speech. As quick as a flash Mr. Roosevelt was on his feet to second the nomination. His reasons for his selection were clear and forcible and the speech well timed, so that Mr. Lynch was elected, defeating Senator Powell Clayton, of Arkansas. I discovered then and there that here was a young man broad enough to support a fellowman worthy of place, regardless of his race identity—and he did it without ostentation, and with an evident pride and satisfaction. Mr. Blaine was nominated

for the Presidency, however, and two of his staunchest supporters were these two young men, who opposed his nomination, but cheerfully supported his candidacy for election, thereby showing their faith in party principles and their belief in party regularity when party nominations are fairly and honestly made.

Mr. Roosevelt was a Civil Service Commissioner during one of the Cleveland administrations, and his best service was rendered in trying to prevent discriminations in appointments after the civil service tests had been met and submitted to by the numerous applicants. He sought to have the merit system apply absolutely,



JOHN C. DANCY

but found it difficult to enforce the rule, certainly in quarters where it was not at all popular. He never lowered his colors, however, during his gallant fight, although realizing fully that the odds were against him, a large majority of those then in authority resolutely opposing the appointment of colored men to clerical places—a large proportion of colored clerks going out of the service by frequent discharges simply because they were colored.

Mr. Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the first term of President McKinley. He played a distinguished part in planning the naval campaign which resulted in the destruction of the Spanish fleet by Dewey and the surrender of Manila by the Spaniards. All the world knows of his organization of the "Rough Riders," and his gallant and spectacular charge and rout of the Spaniards at San Juan Hill, backed by the famous "Black Regiment." He showed in this fight, as he has shown in all his strenuous life work, that he possesses a courage unsurpassed by any living American.

Before Mr. Roosevelt made the Crum appointment I had the honor of a lengthy personal interview with him. He had become very favorably impressed with Dr. Crum, whom he had just met at Charleston at the Exposition. Dr. Crum was in charge of one of the departments of the exposition. The leading people of both races there had sounded Crum's praises everywhere. The President had made up his mind to appoint him Collector of Customs. He asked my opinion of him, after first asking if I knew

him. I was glad of the opportunity to join in the chorus of commendation. The appointment was not made at once; but somehow it leaked out that such a thing was contemplated. Then it was that the fight was begun at Charleston against the proposed appointment, and later by Senator Tillman and others. After the appointment was made it was hung up for a full two years, the President absolutely refusing to listen to any sort of compromise, or under any circumstances to withdraw the nomination. Pressure of every possible sort was brought to bear in favor of Dr. Crum and he was finally confirmed. It was one of the bravest and sincerest fights ever made in behalf of a colored man, and the high character and ability of Dr. Crum was one of the strongest weapons used in his defense. The able official he has proved has fully justified the President's attitude and grandly vindicated his course.

Chagrined and defeated, Senator Tillman declared that the President simply appointed Crum to humiliate the South, and would not dare make such an appointment in the North. The President promptly accepted the challenge and appointed Charles W. Anderson Collector of Internal Revenue in New York, William H. Lewis, Assistant District Attorney in Massachusetts, and S. Laing Williams Assistant District Attorney in Illinois. All these appointments made good our contention that President Roosevelt possesses a courage rarely seen in American politics—the courage to do what his judgment dictates, even though he may be wrong at the time in the doing.

The whole country is acquainted with



COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT

the Indianolo, Miss., postoffice affair. The President went the limit in ferreting out the facts in that deplorable outrage. He stood faithfully by that little woman, the postmistress, and promised to throw every possible safeguard around her to protect her in the full performance of her duties

and the exercise of her rights. But she became so wrought up by the threats and indignities shown her, that she resigned. Then the President rose equal to his great office and the powers conferred on him—and abolished the postoffice, thus indicating his love of fair play, and his de-

testation of injustice and mob rule.

It was in the early stages of his first term that President Roosevelt announced the broad doctrine that "the door of hope must not be closed to the Negro." It was shortly afterwards that he emphasized that doctrine by declaring in favor of "all men up and no men down." In other words he seeks to encourage hope and ambition in every American without regard to his race, creed or color. He reiterated the same doctrine a few days ago, when he addressed the Young Men's Christian Association on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone of their new building in Washington.

He is broad in his sympathies and his humanities. He will help any cause that appeals to him, and he takes special delight in relieving distress wherever he finds it. He has personally pensioned an old colored man who has lived with him for years, and he said to me once, in the presence of Bishop Hood, that this old man was "the purest soul I ever knew." Like Henry George, he "believes in men." Greatness to him is colorless, and this is why he sets such store by Booker T. Washington. He realizes his worth and delights to profit by his views and suggestions. It is quite as much what the man represents as the man himself, that impresses the President.

No unprejudiced mind denies his broad statesmanship. He has had to do with pretty nearly every question, National and international, that has required adjustment during his term of office. It has been the marvel among men how he has mastered and handled

these great problems, but he has—and in every case this nation has come out honorably, and in no case has her pride been humbled by the exactions or triumphs of a foreign power. He has been the chief apostle of peace in all the world, and was given the Noble Prize for his successful efforts in conciliating belligerent governments when war seemed well-nigh inevitable. And yet he believes that war can be best prevented by preparedness for it.

It has been said "Theodore Roosevelt is no politician," and if the word politician be used in the common, everyday sense, then perhaps he isn't, and never will be. But if the word be used in the broader and more worthy sense, then he is not only a wise, but also a farsighted politician—brave, strong and clean. His great strength is due to the fact that he is close to the people. He knows their inmost thoughts. As Seward said of Clay, "He holds the keys to the hearts of his countrymen." This is why he received the largest popular majority of any man who ever ran for the Presidency. He has political acumen far beyond the ordinary. He watches the changing tides and guides his conduct by the best opinions that are presented, studiously avoiding the dangerous and the destructive. He puts himself in touch with all opinion and then culls out the best and sanest and utilizes them to his own profit, and the profit of the cause which appeals strongest to him. In this way he does not guess, but he knows—knows by contact, by association, by exchange of views, by valuable suggestion. In this way he has won his own battles

for the nobler things of life, and in this way also he plans the battles of his friends who have helped him and whom he helps.

His political foresight and shrewdness is best seen in his support of William H. Taft for the Presidency. He has around him in the Cabinet some of the strongest men in the country, including Secretary Root and Secretary Cortelyou. He has always been very close to both of them. He was also a good friend of Vice-President Fairbanks, Senator Knox, Gov. Hughes and Speaker Cannon. But he candidly believed that Secretary Taft was the best equipped man in the whole country to succeed himself, besides being in full sympathy with his policies. He set out to nominate him. It was charged that no President had ever before attempted to name his own successor. Mr. Taft was attacked right and left because he was the choice of the President. The fight waxed hot and when the convention met, Mr. Taft was triumphantly nominated. Then Democracy took up the same cry, which by that time had lost its pith and point, and Mr. Taft was elected by a tremendous majority. The wisdom, prescience and audacity of the President in selecting as his choice and standing by the candidacy of Mr. Taft

is everywhere admitted now. Everybody concedes that the President really did the nation a service by helping to place at its head so well equipped and well poised a statesman and patriot as President-elect W. H. Taft.

The State of New York helped the suggestion of the President—if the public press is to be believed—and renominated Gov. Hughes. This action aroused in his favor all the moral elements of New York, the churches, and the leaders in intellect and public interest, and he was triumphantly re-elected. Besides it gave the National Republican party the opportunity to have Mr. Hughes deliver one of the finest and ablest speeches of the campaign at Youngstown, O., and follow it up with many similar addresses in the Middle West and New York State.

When I was appointed to the office I now hold by President Roosevelt, his "send off" to me was one of the most cheering any appointee ever received from any President. After congratulating me upon my good fortune in securing the place, he wound up by remarking: "If you do not make good, I will wring your head off." I modestly assured him that I would try at least to retain my head.



The Liberian Crisis

By WALTER F. WALKER, of Monrovia.



ON February 11th, in Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, there was serious danger of a hostile demonstration on the part of the British soldiers employed in the barracks of the Liberian Frontier Force. Late in the afternoon about 75 or 100 of these soldiers marched in from the barracks, passed the Executive Mansion on to the Arsenal to procure arms. This had been fortunately guarded on the first rumors of the uprising, so the march of the soldiers was here interrupted by both the police and guards. After a few menacing exhibitions by the soldiers on the waterside, when it seemed that a clash between them and the citizens was eminent, also in the vicinity of the Mansion, they quietly withdrew from the city.

This sudden change of front on the part of the soldiers served only to disquiet the officials of the government, so the militia, which fortunately was having its quarterly drill in the city on that day, was given orders by President Arthur Barclay to be properly armed for defense and held until further orders. For three days the city has been practically under martial law, as there are at this present writing more than 500 troops within the city on duty.

On the first day of the disturbance the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, the American Minister, Ernest Lyon, fearing

that serious trouble might ensue, called a conference of the foreign representatives to see what steps should be taken. It was decided that guards should be asked for and that proclamations should be issued to all foreigners to repair to their respective consulates should any open hostilities occur. The British Consul-General, Brathwaite Wallis, was absent from this conference on account of an engagement with an officer of the English gunboat which was in the harbor.

The Legislature, in session assembled 1907-1908, upon the recommendation of the President of the Republic, passed an act creating a frontier force. This was in conformity with the demands of France and England that Liberia must police her frontier or her independence could no longer be guaranteed by these nations. Their complaint was that the hostile tribes of Liberia made continual raids on their territory and that such wanton plunder, destruction of property and loss of lives should be stopped. Liberia felt her inability to furnish men capable of creating and managing such a force, so it was voted that European officers should be procured to manage and drill the soldiers. Accordingly, President Barclay secured the services, with the consent of the British Government, of Major R. Mackay Cadell, an officer who had seen much service in

South Africa, and two other British officers. The amount appropriated for this purpose was not to exceed \$60,000 annually. The act also provided that only Liberian subjects should be enlisted as soldiers. However, it seems that the President allowed about a dozen Sierra Leone drill sergeants to be employed.

Major Cadell violated the act as passed by the Legislature as well as his first direct orders in that he enlisted a large number of British subjects as soldiers. When this news reached the President, the major was called before the cabinet and questioned. He emphatically denied that any British subjects were employed other than the drill sergeants allowed. Later investigation proved that Cadell had wilfully misrepresented the case and had deluded the President. The citizens became more and more alarmed over the situation and insisted that Cadell be dismissed along with the other Britishers. When the Legislature convened an act was passed disbanding the frontier force as it then stood and dismissing Cadell. Cadell was alone asked to prepare a statement of his account connected with the barracks. Instead of specifying he simply sent a statement for a lump sum for so many pounds sterling. This bill was not accepted and, perhaps, will not be paid until it is itemized, which is the only proper manner in which it should be presented.

Major Cadell would not comply with the act of disbandment, and further, refused to turn over the barracks to the proper Liberian officers when requested to do so. How a military man, and at the same time a Liberian officer, could

refuse to obey such orders is a mystery to all here.

All this is a background to the fracas of the 11th. The immediate cause of the disturbance, however, was a threat on the part of the soldiers that if they were not paid the full amount of money due them at a certain time, by February 12th at 9 a. m., they would march into the city and do bodily harm to the President and create a general disturbance. The major wrote a letter to the President apprising him of the intentions of the soldiers, saying that he was sorry for such unrest and that he was trying to master the situation, but felt that it would be a difficult proposition. Cadell's sympathy was with the soldiers in their grievances and he felt that they would be justified in some sort of demonstration.

The situation was mysterious as well as critical. It is said by all who are in a position to know, that this is really the gravest crisis that Liberia has ever faced. There have been occasions for greater hostilities, but at no time did so much hang on cool-headed diplomacy and statesmanship. One hasty action on the part of Liberia and the government would now be entangled in an international mesh from which it never would extract itself. Notwithstanding the fact that the provocation was sufficient to cause the government to resort to arms, yet it maintained its equilibrium in this most critical and pivotal period.

I say the situation was mysterious. Here was a military officer, a Britisher, commanding British and Liberian soldiers with absolute power over them, and yet not able to control them. How

75 or 100 unarmed soldiers can walk out of barracks in broad daylight, without permission, parade through the streets, while the commanding officer was on the ground, is more than the average, to say nothing of a military man can understand. Surely Cadell could have prevented the demonstration had he wanted to do so. To add to the mystery, a British gunboat had been in the harbor all during the disturbance. British gunboats are not in the habit of paying visits to Monrovia.

Amid all this uproar the British Consul-General remained calm. The American Minister, Ernest Lyon, and the German Consul, Hans Freitag, issued proclamations to the Americans and Germans to refrain from any participation and to repair to their respective consulates should any outbreaks occur. The British Consul-General made no such proclamation. He did, however, offer the government assistance, which for obvious reasons was courteously declined. The whole affair seemed a premeditated bluff on the part of the British authorities to provoke the Liberian government to attack and kill British subjects, thus giving a pretext to England for coming into the country. This everyone believes to be the true version of the situation.

President Barclay and the Secretary of State, F. E. R. Johnson, stood firm in their determination to take over the barracks. Early Friday morning, the 12th, the Liberian militia marched to the barracks with orders to ask Cadell to turn over affairs and to dismiss the British soldiers. This he absolutely refused to do. The President then dispatched an

ultimatum to the British Consul-General saying that they were determined to take the barracks that day and that he should request Major Cadell and all British subjects to immediately evacuate. This seemed like business. Accordingly Cadell and all his men were requested to leave the barracks without further parley, to which prompt heed was paid.

The barracks are now in the hands of the Liberian government under the temporary command of Major Isaac Moort. Never were the citizens more stirred up over any event than on this occasion. Old men and young men promptly shouldered their guns to protect what was unquestionably their right. For three days the city has been intensely aroused and justly infuriated over this unwarranted provocation. The general opinion here is that the British Consul-General and Major Cadell are in harmony with each other and that this event was to goad Liberia to perpetrate some deed to justify British intervention on the ground of protecting British life and property. Happily for Liberia that she saw the game and played it to her advantage. When Major Cadell turned over the barracks they were found to be so strongly fortified that the Liberian military officials declare that it would have been almost impossible to have taken them by force. Evidently Cadell was preparing for an emergency. The barracks had been turned into a fort, and it appears that Cadell never intended to relinquish his authority.

Nations like France and England, and especially the latter, ought not to be allowed to bluff and bully a weak nation

like Liberia simply because it is weak. If for no other reason than to prevent further injustices being heaped upon this small republic, it would be a great blessing should the United States speak unequivocally in behalf of Liberia. Long live Liberia!

At the mailing of this, on the 16th, the atmosphere is somewhat clarified, but the situation is not altogether normal. Nearly all the militia has been withdrawn. The gunboat is still in the harbor. The battle now is one of diplomacy with the chances in Liberia's favor.

The Race's Press Must Point the Way

By J. M. HENDERSON, M.D.



THE election is a thing of the past. The President has declared in clearest terms his firm belief in the constitutional amendments, has professed to be utterly free from race prejudice of any sort, and to crown it all has declared his determination to keep his oath as President of the whole Nation. No one can doubt the sincere man who utters such words; no one can doubt but that he will unwaveringly as the President be true to his highest manhood, and, therefore, no matter how it might wound petty vanity or cut across the selfish interests of individuals or classes, who is there that can complain at what the President has expressed as his policy concerning the appointment of Negroes to office in the South?

The wisest thing is for the race to accept with confidence the man, the President, and his policies, and for four years work steadfastly along the lines thus indicated. There never was a period in the career of the race when responsibilities

so grave and so far-reaching rested upon the race press. Will it measure up? It certainly will in spite of the fact that there is very little in present conditions to afford hope that it will. Let us consider some of the conditions.

The greatest work that those who labor for the race during the next four years can do is to bring home to even the most darken minds an appreciation of the door and the path to the door which the President has pointed out to those of the race who would take their place unchallenged, but welcome among all other citizens. This must be done largely by the race press, but the race press all told does not reach, directly or indirectly, more than three hundred thousand of the race. What of the rest of the ten millions? Many of these millions read no paper of any sort, others only know what the papers say from what they pick up in the lounging places of country and city and in gossip here and there.

That class of the race which reads the papers and which is in touch with the spirit of the times and able to appreciate

actual conditions is, as a class, remote from the rest of the race in the sense of being a useful medium of sympathetic communication. Then, again, but a very small proportion of the race papers are sufficiently well edited to be of much service.

Some will say, why not the ministry take up the work and lend its powerful aid? It is true that the church reaches the majority of the race in a way, but think of the way. Without going into details it is enough to say, in order for the pulpit to be of real and sound service in this matter it is first necessary that synods, conventions, conferences and all religious gatherings which assemble any considerable number of preachers should devote a part of the time to the task of inculcating a more or less thorough, broad and uniform appreciation of conditions, needs and purposes into the minds, hearts and souls of the preachers

and also influence each one to subscribe for and read some sound secular paper of the race. If this course is followed, to the race press will be joined powerful allies, and then the secret orders should be enlisted in the same service. Every means by which the truth of the hour can be brought home to the common people should be employed from to-day steadily on and on so long as the path is open and the door attainable.

With rare exceptions there is little to induce men and women, of adequate ability for the task, to undertake newspaper work. A strong rally to the support of our best journals and the number of them will multiple with amazing rapidity. My part of the work at present will be that of trying to bring these truths to the candid and careful attention of those who, if they take it up, can perform the work needed.

CONSOLATION

THE little flower has faded
 And withered in a day,
 Its precious gem has fallen
 Amid the golden spray;
 Its beauties shine resplendent
 Beyond the vale of tears;
 Forget all earthly sorrows
 And quiet all thy fears.

—Frank Myrtle

Negro Education

By J. SILAS HARRIS, Principal Charles Sumner School, Kansas City

THAT training which does not fit our youth for existing conditions records a deficit in the economy of education. The time was when the fundamentals were so thoroughly taught that the average youth emerging from our schools could sustain himself in the struggle of life, but in this age of fads, fancies, aimless and shiftless teaching, he is, upon his graduation, a total shipwreck upon the mighty ocean of human endeavor.

Following closely upon the heels of his emancipation, nearly a half century ago, schools were established in Missouri for the education of the Negro, and so eager were they to learn that it was not an unusual sight to see full grown men and women on the streets—books under arm—wending their way to the schoolhouse. In those good old days there was no need of truant officers, for the pupils were seldom absent and never tardy. The sound of the bell found them gathered about the school anxiously waiting for the beginning of their day's task. White men and women, most of whom were woefully unfitted for the work, were in charge of these schools, only to be succeeded later on by Negro teachers, no better prepared to lay the foundation upon which the education of an infant race was to be built. So it may readily be seen that we had a bad beginning, and

the highway of civilization, this early training has had much to do with many of the failures charged against the race, and may have, in a measure, been the most fruitful source of that much discussed and universally misunderstood question, known as the Negro Problem.

Flung into the realms of freedom, amidst a gigantic Civil War, without the slightest preparation for the new order of things, initiated in the mysteries and duties of citizenship by men and women so ill-suited to instruct and lead, it is indeed a marvel that he has succeeded as well as he has.

At heart the Negro is not bad, and I offer in evidence as to the truthfulness of this statement his record during three centuries of slavery. If he has made mistakes, committed crime, if he has been shiftless, lazy and indolent, and even at times a menace to society, I do not hesitate to charge it all to our system of education. I use the term education in its broadest sense, holding the home in part responsible for the proper training and future well-being of the child.

Missouri is a great State, and her wonderful resources are almost without limit. Her schools, colleges and universities, ranking with the best in the United States, are the especial pride of her people; her citizens are reckoned among the most thrifty, intelligent, pro-

gressive and law-abiding in the nation. Hence her Negroes should be among the foremost of their race in America.

The Negro parent of yesterday, and I might say of to-day, were and are just as kind and loving, just as solicitous as to the future of their children as have been the parents of any race in any age of the world; yet his method of government has played havoc with those whom they most loved.

Coming so recently from a cruel bondage, he had a horror of those rules and laws by which he himself had been reared, and sought by their elimination in the household to make more pleasant the lives of his children. In many instances he went to the other extreme in the liberality of his government only to see his fondest hopes shattered by the reckless career of his young hopeful. He spared the rod because it brought to his mind vivid recollections of the past, and strenuously objected to its use in the school-room, as many a teacher can testify.

He had no literary training and depended almost entirely upon the statements of his child as to its advancement in and worth of the school attended. Himself the product of a hard task master, he assigned no daily work to be performed by his children, hence the streets, alleys and other objectional places claimed much of their time, in which they learned lessons that could never be unlearned in school.

Many a time I have seen a good old mother bending over a wash tub humming a familiar hymn or a feeble father struggling beneath the weight of a hod, who, when asked the reason for their

constant toil, replied: "To educate their children so that when they grew to manhood and womanhood they would not have to do manual labor for a living." The whole world knows the result; these children upon leaving the parental roof would do no work, becoming life members in that greatest of all organizations among young Afro-Americans, known as the Sons and Daughters of Rest, a society whose rules are never violated and whose creed is never questioned. To retard the growth of this organization is a duty that belongs largely to the school-room. Can we by a continuation of the present system bring about this longed for change? What is wrong with our schools of to-day? If you could have gone into the Negro schools of yesterday and witnessed the efforts of the Negro child to learn, and that of the Negro teacher to instruct, I am sure that the scene presented to your view would have been one never to be forgotten; one that the brush of a Rubens or Raphael would have immortalized, entitled "The blind leading the blind." In that day as well as in this, it was the highest ambition of the teacher to teach and the pupil to study *big* subjects, subjects of which the former knew but little and the latter no ability to grasp.

This laudable but premature ambition on the part of teacher and pupil has been the source of untold misery to the Negro youth of this State. Go into any hamlet, village or town in Missouri whose resources are hardly adequate for the maintenance of a respectable and well regulated primary school, and you will find, whether its school has one or a

half dozen teachers, a full fledged high school, in which the children, who cannot speak English, studying Latin; having a meager knowledge of arithmetic, are found pursuing algebra and geometry; racking their brains over rhetoric and possessing no knowledge of English grammar; digging into the records of ancient Greece and Rome, but unable to name the first President of their country; studying domestic science under the direction of a teacher who could not prepare a decent meal, and carpentry taught by men unable to drive a nail and as a result of this kind of teaching, hundreds of young men and women are yearly turned loose upon the cold charities of the world, believing that they are prepared for the conflict that awaits all alike, only to find too soon that if they would succeed they must begin anew their education, a resolution rarely made and seldom carried out.

Just now the Negro youth needs to know *less* of Latin substantives and Greek verbs and *more* of the practical economies of life. He needs to be taught

that the liberty guaranteed him under the Constitution does not mean a *license* to overrun the rights of others. He needs to be taught that *labor* is not degrading and *toil* a common heritage of mankind. He needs to be taught that a useful trade is far more preferable than a starving profession, and that the Negro carpenter is more of a necessity than the Negro lawyer. He needs to be taught that thrift, economy, patience and perseverance have been the means by which nations have risen to power and fame and that if he would rise he, too, must follow in their footsteps.

To accomplish this great work, we need strong men and strong women, men and women whose love for their race is greater than their love of salary. We need men and women who will not separate themselves from the race, but, on the contrary, be a part thereof, devoting their best energies for the uplift of all. With these we will have better schools from which we will send forth better men and better women, thereby giving us better citizens.



Alabama Penny Savings Bank

One of the foremost Negro banking institutions of this country is the Alabama Penny Savings and Loan Company of Birmingham, Ala. No Negro bank in this country has showed a more healthy and consistent growth than this pioneer banking institution, founded and fathered by the dean of Negro bankers, W. R. Pettiford.

At a recent stockholders' meeting of the Alabama Penny Savings and Loan Company plans were made to increase the capital stock of the company to \$100,000. A called meeting was held on March 5, 1909, to complete the details of the plan and put it into effect.

This institution, which is the oldest of its kind among Negroes in the country, has enjoyed unusual prosperity since its organization, passing through panics, strikes and fires unscathed. It has been the means of educating a large portion of the Negroes of Jefferson County in the principles of economy, thrift and savings. The result may be seen in the many beautiful homes and the lucrative businesses, owned and operated by Negroes in the city. The increase of the capital stock of this company offers an exceptional opportunity for the thrifty Negro to invest his idle money, as the institution has been able to declare a good dividend each year of its existence, the dividend for 1908 being six per cent.

The capital stock of this institution has been \$25,000, but the continued increase

of business has made it necessary that it be increased so as to be able to hold its own in the business world and the officers have decided to increase the stock to the larger figure, which will enable the bank to be of more service to the general public. This institution has at all times had level-headed, conservative business men at its head to guide its destinies and to them is due much credit for its long life of usefulness which will now take on a wider scope with a greater power in the community and the whole State. The management having shown its ability to carry on a banking business with a small capital and having at all times had the full confidence of the Negro populace as well as that of the whites and the best wishes and assurance of any aid necessary at all times from the largest white institutions in its home city, is now ready to enter a broader field of usefulness. W. R. Pettiford, the president and founder of this bank, has done quite a deal of good throughout the country in lending his assistance to the organization of similar institutions, as well as at all times being found taking a leading part in any movement looking to the development of the Negro along the lines of thrift and usefulness.

Mr. B. H. Hudson, cashier of this institution, is a seasoned business man, and to him is left the direct management of the bank, and this work he has done and continues to do in a manner that meets

the satisfaction of the many patrons of the bank. Mr. Hudson is undoubtedly the leading Negro banking man in the South, and perhaps in the United States, and much credit is due him for the personal management of the pioneer institution of its kind in this country.

Those who control this institution are doing well their part toward the elevation and education of the masses of the race, and that their efforts are appreciated is manifested by the great number of depositors they have on their books. May they long be spared to continue this good

work and enter broader fields is the wish of your correspondent.

The officers of the Alabama Penny Savings and Loan Company, so splendidly located in their office building at 217 North 18th Street, are: W. R. Pettiford, president; W. W. Cox, vice-president; B. H. Hudson, cashier; Peter F. Clarke, note teller. Board of directors—W. R. Pettiford, B. H. Hudson, W. W. Hadnott, Peter F. Clarke, Simon Dinkins, U. G. Mason, M. D., Rev. T. W. Walker, D. D., W. W. Cox, P. M. Edwards and J. O. Diffay.

JIM CROW CAR

Hey! stop dat Cyar! I's boun' ter cotch her!
 I done waited on dis track,
 Wid de mis'ry in ma back,
 Till I's mighty nigh ter drop;—
 An' dey ain't er one'll stop!

Say! mister, please ter "slow up," won't yer?
 An' I'll "ketch on" bes I can.
 Reckon dese ole laigs done ran
 Dey las' race:—but they ain't los'!—
 Yass, I got ma nickel, Boss.

Whew! hyar he! knot all up an' twis'ed:
 Scuse me, I done los' ma haid
 Wid ma bref—I'm beat plum daid!
 Lemme sot down, mister,—what?
 "Ain't no seats?" Dey is, er lot.

Eh! "Niggers ain't 'lowed in de trolleys,
 Cep'n da, behin' dat bar?"
 Fence' off lak de beas'es are!
 Even shet off f'um de po'
 Dutty "white trash," nex de do'!

Stop! mister, lemme git off, please sir:
 "Walk?" Yass, ef I's blin' an' lame
 Ruther den sot *da*, an' shame
 Wid sech low *onnatchel* sight
 White folks what ain't actin'—white!

ROSALIE M. JONAS, in *The American Magazine*
 (April).

Negro Taxes in Virginia

By GEORGE ST. JULIAN STEPHENS



THE author of this correspondence recently compiled for one of the Richmond afternoon dailies, statistics from the annual report of the State Auditor of Public Accounts for the fiscal year ending September 3, 1908, relative to the amount of real and personal property owned by the Negroes of the State, the amount of taxes assessed, etc. These figures made a showing which surprised many, for as a holder of real estate and personal property he shows up as a very important factor.

To begin with: Of the nearly twenty-five million acres of land in the State, the Negro owns 1,464,043 acres, a trifle less than one-sixteenth of the entire acreage. This land is valued at \$6,239,605. The buildings and improvements are valued at \$3,937,919, making a total value of \$10,177,524.

There are one hundred counties in the State and the Negro owns property in every county but two. In one of these, there is not a single Negro resident of any age or sex. In the other county, there were but three Negro residents according to the last census. The total value of town lots owned is \$1,105,302. Improvements on these are valued at \$1,978,720, making a total value of \$3,084,022. In twenty-five of the one

hundred counties Negroes own no town lots.

There are nineteen cities in the State, and the Negro owns property in every one of them. The value of the lots is \$1,927,621; the improvements are valued at \$3,618,722, making a total of \$5,546,343. Richmond takes the lead in values, lots being valued at \$656,513 and buildings at \$1,259,644, a total of \$1,916,157.

The grand total value of farms, town and city lots is \$18,807,889.

This total does not include the value of church properties, Young Men's Christian Association properties, private schools, cemeteries, hospitals, asylums, and the other eleemosynary institutions not listed for taxation, which would run the total values up fully eight millions more. Incidentally, it might be stated here that in hundreds of instances, especially in the cities, there is much property owned by Negroes in the white residential sections, which is listed on the assessors' books as "white."

It is hard to get at the actual value of personal property owned by any individual, for we are all tax-dodgers and invariably value our household goods, jewelry, farming implements, vehicles, live stock, etc., at about one-third their actual value, when the tax assessor is around. The Negro is no exception to this almost human failing.

But notwithstanding this, his personal property in the country districts is assessed at \$5,824,205, and in the cities at \$996,242, a total of \$6,820,447. In the matter of personal property, Richmond Negroes take the lead, the value being \$469,955. This total of personalty does not include the furnishings, libraries, appliances, etc., owned by the churches, schools, eleemosynary institutions, hospitals, etc., which are not listed for taxation, and which would run the values up a couple of millions more.

The grand total of personalty and realty owned by the Negroes is \$25,628,336, to which, if the values of property not listed be added would run the total up, in round numbers, to \$35,000,000. Richmond's total assessed Negro values is \$2,386,112. The total amount of tax assessed for the year 1908, on real estate, capitation tax, personal property and income for Negroes, was \$282,579.85. Of this amount, Richmond Negroes were assessed \$22,028.44.

The Negroes operate eight banks in the State—four in Richmond, and one each in Norfolk, Hampton, Newport News and Stainton. These banks are

chartered at \$295,000, one of which has a paid-in capital stock of \$100,000. The tax paid the State by these banks was \$980.73.

There are five Negro insurance companies in the State, paying sick benefits and straight life policies. Four have headquarters in Richmond and one in Norfolk. These companies, besides having on deposit with the State Treasurer a \$10,000 guarantee deposit each, paid into the coffers of the State in license taxes, taxes on premiums, assessments, etc., \$5,092.54. In addition to these five insurance companies there are the True Reformers, Pythians, St. Luke (two branches), Samaritans and Fishermen, which have an endowment feature and are required to pay a special tax.

Besides these taxes a vast amount of revenue is paid into the treasury for licenses of every conceivable nature, the Negro bearing his share proportionate to that of any other class of taxpayers.

With these facts before the public, it can be readily seen that Virginia Negro is not a great burden to his State, for he is a producer, a property holder and a taxpayer.



Wanted: A Negro Hospital in New York City

By DR. E. ELLIOTT RAWLINS



IN 1900 the Negro population of New York City was 65,984; judging by the increase in Negroes in this city from 1890 to 1900, which was 23,000 the Negro population of New York City to-day should be about 85,000.

Practicing medicine in New York City there are about twenty-five Negro physicians, all bright, earnest and zealous men of science.

These statistics are necessary as a preliminary to the statements which follow, for two of the prerequisites of a hospital are people enough who are likely to become patients, and physicians enough who are capable to act as a working staff. These two essentials are, as you see, not lacking in New York City; there are enough Negroes, and a full supply of Negro physicians.

The need, therefore, of a Negro hospital in New York City is imperative; there are many reasons for this. First and foremost, the physician's skill in medicine and surgery depends largely upon his experience and work that he obtains in the every day hospital attendance. Cases of necessity go to a hospital which cases very seldom confront a private physician in his office. Skill in surgery and can only be obtained by personal performance of operations, and such

operations, in the large majority of cases, can only be done in the hospital.

That being so, are not the Negro physicians of New York City handicapped? After graduation and while they are in active practice, the white physicians see the imperative need for hospital work; they therefore connect themselves with some hospital, and become one of the attending and working staff; and thus they keep up with the ever advancing science of medicine. It is not so with the Negro physicians of New York City. In the hospitals of the city, Negro physicians (try as they do), have not as yet been privileged to practice in the clinics, or become members of the hospital staff; his advancement because of this ostracism and prejudice, is hindered. Negro physicians have felt this injustice keenly, and are now recognizing the ill effects in not having a hospital of their own in which they might and could advance to that high degree, which is the privilege of their white fellow practitioners.

Secondly, Negro patients in the white hospitals quite frequently are subject of extreme discrimination. An argument often given why there is no need for a Negro hospital in New York City is that Negroes who are sick can find admission and treatment in any hospital of the city. In a theoretical way that is so. This country is called the "Home of the brave

and the land of the free." Quite often Negroes cannot so believe it; in like manner the beautiful statement, so often seen over the portals of the white hospitals, "For patients, regardless of race, creed or color," is frequently only the inducement to catch the bequests of the "stewards of wealth," and the beautiful sentiment is nothing more than a sounding brass and tingling cymbal, where the Negro patient is concerned. These are truths which every physician of color knows, and which too many Negro patients experience.

The time has come to act. These evils

against Negro physicians and Negro patients of New York City can only be overcome by the establishment of a Negro hospital. The Negro public and the Negro physicians must awake from their slumber and sleep. The time is ripe to act. Other cities have seen these evils and have acted. Philadelphia has its beautiful Negro hospital, Chicago is proud of its Negro hospital and school for nurses, but where is New York? Come, Negroes of New York, many evils can be overcome, and pride and profit can be yours with the establishment of a Negro hospital.

PALESTINE

KATHERINE LEE BATES, in *The Independent*.

First View of the Holy Land.

Faint in the pearly dawn, a silver line
It gleamed upon the sea; our hearts were there
Before our vision, your dear heart and mine,
And every face about us was a prayer.

At Bethlehem.

A Russian pilgrim fell with gesture wild
Before the manger; while in circuit shy
A sweet young mother kissed the walls and smiled
And softly sang a Syrian lullaby.

At Nazareth.

A little Child, a Joy-of-Heart, with eyes
Unsearchable, he grew in Nazareth,
His daily speech so innocently wise
That all the town went telling: "Jesus saith."

At Gethsemane.

There is a sighing in the pallid sprays
Of these old olives, as if still they kept
Their pitying watch, in Nature's faithful ways,
As on that night when the disciples slept.

At Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft
His Love had gathered thee beneath its wings
And thou wouldst not!—Love crucified aloft
On Calvary, enthroned the King of Kings.

At Calvary.

O Death, where is thy victory over Love?
Thy worst, the cross of torture, crown of scorn,
Love took and made exceeding joy thereof,
Illimitable joy of Easter morn.



Sky Pilots of Our Colored Troops



THE conference held now some months ago in Manila, Philippine Islands, by the chaplains of the four Negro regiments in the regular army, has been the occasion of much personal compliment to them. Their getting together at the time of the military manoeuvres in the Islands was the first time we have known the four Negro chaplains to be together and it is not likely that this unique assembly will be possible soon again. They discussed with much profit at that time the moral, social and intellectual life of the black boys in blue. Leslie's Weekly has felicitously called these able and admirable soldier chaplains the Sky Pilots of Our Colored Troops. Concerning the achievements and high service of these chaplains an interesting volume might well be written. It is given to us to record only in outline their biographies.

Chaplain William T. Anderson, D.D., was born in Texas, August 20, 1859. He attended school at Wilberforce, graduated from Howard University, Washington, D. C., and Cleveland Homeopathic Medical College, Cleveland, Ohio. He has pastored a number of the leading congregations of the A. M. E. Church and was appointed to the army from St. John's Church, Cleveland, Ohio, August 16, 1897. He joined the Tenth Cavalry at Fort Assiniboine, Montana. His

work on the field during the war with Spain brought much praise from brother officers, and his work as School Inspector and Chief of the Sanitary Department of Manzanillo, Cuba, received special mention in the reports of the Inspector General of that department, and from his commanding officer. These special commendations after serving ten years as Captain brought him the rank of Major to which he was promoted in August, 1907. Major Anderson, in addition to his duties as Chaplain at the brigade post of Fort William McKinley, is in charge of the United States morgue down in the city of Manila. This is one of the most responsible posts held by any chaplain in the army to-day. This is a high compliment to the ability of Chaplain Anderson personally, as well as to the race of which he is a member.

The United States morgue has charge of all the soldiers who die in these Islands. The records of the morgue show that from the occupation of the islands to the present time there have been nearly eight thousand deaths among soldiers, officers, marines, scouts, civilian employes and members of officers' families. It is also a part of the duty of this office to ship the remains of soldiers and officers dying in the Philippines to the United States.

Chaplain George W. Prioleau, D. D., was born a slave in Charleston, S. C.,

May 15, 1856. He was educated in the public schools of his native city, Cardoza Military Academy, Clafln University and Wilberforce University. He was a member of the Columbia, S. C., Conference, Ohio and North Ohio conferences of the A. M. E. Church.

He was profesor of Pastoral Theology and Homiletics in Payne Theological Seminary, Wilberforce University, from 1889 to 1895, when he was appointed Chaplain of the Ninth Cavalry and joined his regiment at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. When the war with Spain was declared he was detailed on special recruiting service for his regiment, which prevented him from seeing service in Cuba. Chaplain Prioleau is stationed at Camp McGrath, Batangas, and is on his second tour of duty in the Philippine Islands, and is highly spoken of by the officers of his regiment.

First Lieutenant Washington W. E. Gladden, S. T. B., was born in the State of South Carolina, June 23, 1866, and was appointed to the chaplaincy of the Twenty-fourth Infantry May 21, 1906, from Colorado. He was educated at Western College, Mocon, Mo., from which he graduated both in the departments of science and theology. Chap-

lain Gladden, after pastoring several Baptist Churches in Kansas, went to Colorado Springs, Colorado, where he built up a large congregation and a handsome Baptist Church edifice. He was pastor of this church when appointed to the army. He succeeded in the Philippines splendidly and is now stationed at Madison Barracks, New York, where he is doing good work for his regiment and race.

First Lieutenant Oscar J. W. Scott, D. D., was born at Gallipolis, Ohio, July 31, 1867, attended the public schools of that city, the Columbus Business College and the Defiance Normal College. He graduated from the classical department, Ohio Wesleyan University, Drew Theological Seminary, and the Theological and Oratorical departments, University of Denver. Chaplain Scott pastored the following A. M. E. churches: Delaware, Ohio, Madison, N. J., Shorter Chapel, Denver, Allen Chapel, Kansas City, Mo., and Metropolitan Church, Washington, D. C. He was appointed to the Twenty-fifth Infantry April 17, 1907. The Twenty-fifth Infantry is now stationed in Mindanao, Philippine Islands, the home of the warlike Moros.



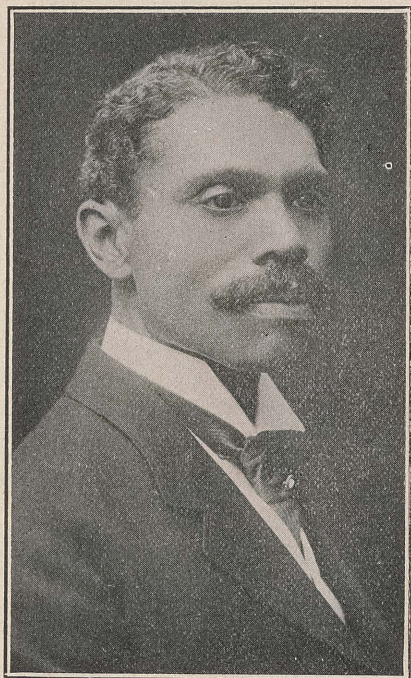


NEGRO CHAPLAINS OF UNITED STATES ARMY

Reading from left to right seated are Chaplain Anderson and Chaplain Prioieau, standing Chaplains Scott and Gladden.

AFFAIRS AT WASHINGTON

By RALPH W. TYLER



RALPH W. TYLER

POSSIBLY there never was a delegation of Negroes representing so much of the material progress of the race to visit Washington equal to the Mississippi delegation that called on President Taft the first of April. They came all the way from Mississippi to meet and confer with the

President. In this delegation was Charles Banks, head of the Bank of Mound Bayou at Mount Bayou; I. T. Montgomery, the founder of that thriving Negro city, Mound Bayou; Dr. P. W. Howard, J. W. Strauther, head of the Delta Savings Bank at Greenville; W. E. Mollison, head of the Lincoln Savings Bank at Vicksburg; Wesley Creighton, successful business man; Dr. W. A. Attaway, and others. Three of these men are at the head of banks whose aggregate resources amount to nearly \$200,000. The men who made up this Mississippi delegation are not office seekers—you could not hand one of them an office. They are business men, captains of finance, the type of colored men doing so much for race uplift.

And speaking about banking institutions recalls to mind that the Negroes of Mississippi are setting the pace for promoting, financing and managing banking institutions. There are in Mississippi to-day eleven Negro banks with resources aggregating over a half million of dollars. When it is considered that these banks are all officered and conducted by Negroes, and that Negroes own the stock of the same, it dawns upon one that the progress of the race is even more than marvelous, if that be possible.

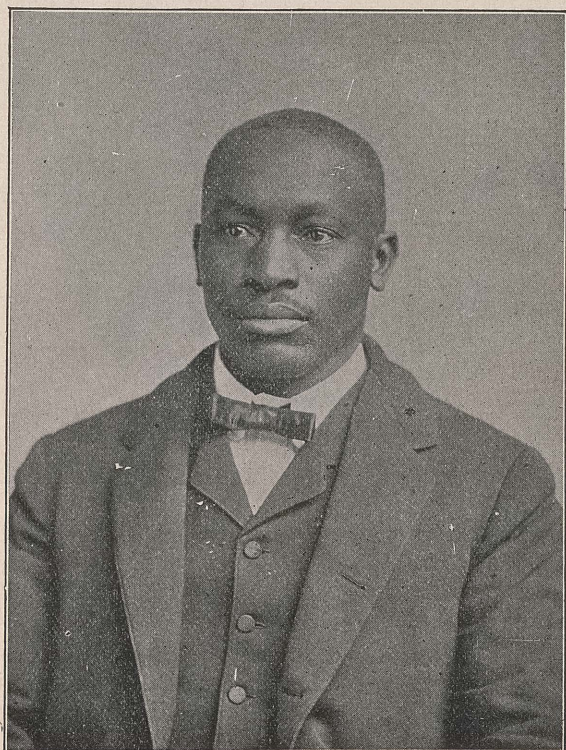
Mississippi has never had a real bank failure among the Negro banks. And

during the panic of 1907, when many banks throughout the country were suspending specie payments, and many were going down, these Negro banks, with but two exceptions, continued their specie payments, uninterrupted, and not one went down in the financial crash. This speaks volumes for these Negroes who are managing these Mississippi banks, and it speaks highly for the stability of the race.

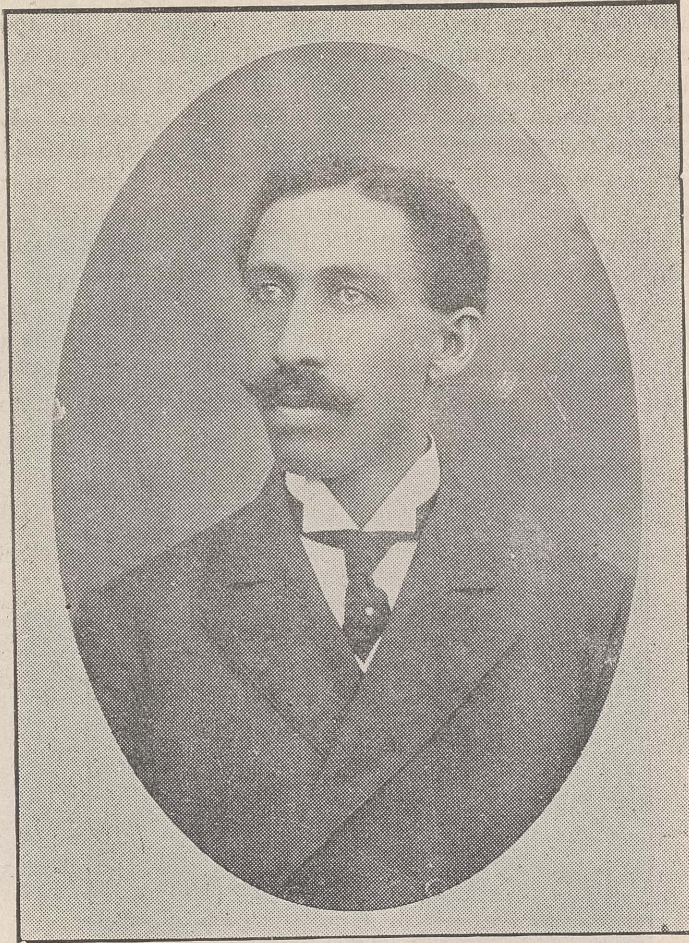
Some idea of how these Negro banks have progressed may be gained from this. In 1904 they had resources aggregating

but \$50,000; in 1905 their resources had jumped to \$95,000; in 1906 it had reached \$140,000 in 1907 it totaled \$360,000, and in 1908 had reached the beautiful figure of \$750,000. When 1909 shall have passed into history it is quite probable that it will chalk up on the score board of Race Progress ONE MILLION DOLLARS as the total resources of the Negro banks of Mississippi.

These Negro bankers, unlike their white brothers, had no bank presidents, cashiers, tellers and bookkeepers with years of practical training, to call into



CHARLES BANKS, of the Bank of Mound Bayou.



S. D. REDMOND, of the American Savings Bank, Jackson, Miss.

their institutions, but their officers and employees were untried men, men who possessed nothing but integrity, ability, stick-to-itiveness and grit. They were men who were faithful to a trust.

With such a showing made by Negro bankers how can the race despair? What reason have we to give up the fight sim-

ply because race prejudice is stalking abroad? If race prejudice is resulting in such a splendid showing for the race, along financial lines, it is apparent that it is not an unmixed evil, unfair and brutal as race prejudice is.

The success that has been attained by these Negro banks of Mississippi consti-

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tutes a splendid and interesting chapter in the economic progress of the race. These banks are distributed in several towns of the Delta State. At Vicksburg is the Lincoln Savings Bank under the management of W. E. Mollison; and the Union Savings Bank under the management of T. G. Ewing; at Indianola the Delta Penny Savings Bank, managed by W. W. Cox; at Jackson, the American Savings Bank, directed by S. D. Redmond, and the Southern Bank, managed by L. K. Atwood; at Yazoo, H. H. King directs the People's Savings Bank; at Columbus is the Penny Savings Bank with W. I. Mitchell at the head; at Mound Bayou, Charles Banks presides over the destiny of the successful Bank of Mound Bayou; at Natchez, Dr. J. B. Banks successfully manages the Bluff City Savings Bank; at Greenville is the Delta Savings Bank managed by John W. Strauther, and at Hattiesburg Dr. J. H. Howard manages the Magic Savings Bank.

Surely this is a splendid showing for the race, and especially for those of the race in Mississippi.

* * *

Washington has many bright, clever and interesting women, and many beautiful women. In fact it is the regular abode of beautiful women. Many of these clever women not only grace and dominate the social circles, but they devote much time and money to the many colored charity institutions that abound in Washington. There are, perhaps, more clever women, more talented and brilliant women of color at Washington than in any other city on the globe, and more



MRS. BETTIE FRANCIS

who dispense sweet charity.

Prominent in the social world and charity work at Washington is Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Mrs. John R. Francis, Sr., and Mrs. Daniel Murray. These three women are quite dissimilar in their temperament, figure and face, but all three are voted clever and interesting matrons, and handsome matrons, too. While they are dissimilar in a few points they are decidedly similar in their desire for race uplift along every possible line. All three are charming hostesses. In fact, Madame de Stale never presided over her salon with more grace than these three matrons preside over social affairs at their homes.

And all three are public-spirited women, quite as well versed in affairs of state and as well informed on all public questions as many men. Much more so



MRS MARY CHURCH TERRELL

than the average man. Although they would not admit it—public or quasi-public woman would—they are very much of and in society. Yet with all their social duties, and the time they devote to sweet charity, they seem to find ample time to manage their homes in such style as to

make them eligible for location in the famous "Spotless Town."

These three matrons, considering their cleverness and their activities along every line that makes for race progress may be said to approach as near the ideal woman as one can find.



MRS. DANIEL MURRAY

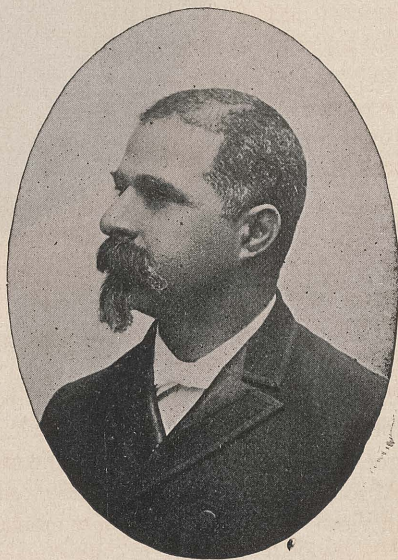
* * *

Walter L. Cohen, Register of the Land Office at New Orleans, spent several days in Washington the past month. Cohen is one of the most resourceful, tenacious and indefatigable leaders we have in the South. He is one of those men who never stop for pleasure when there is work to be done. Many men who come to Washington, are so carried away with the beauties of the city, with the entertainments that are prepared for them, and with those famous dinners and "sours" that Gray serves, that they forget what they came for. Not so with Walter Cohen. He will miss the most splendid meal, and decline the most delicious "sour" to prosecute the work for which

he came. And, it is said, Walter was quite successful. He did things. He accomplished something.

* * *

Mr. Emmett J. Scott spent several days in Washington during the early part of April, familiarizing himself with documents and reports at the State Department bearing on the Republic of Liberia. Mr. Scott's selection for this commission was in every way a wise selection. He is not only a man of great ability, though extremely modest with it, but he is an intensely earnest man, and a man who can be depended upon to be faithful to every trust. And his is a trust. He goes to look into the condition of that benighted black republic that is just now struggling for existence. Upon the report of this commission much will depend. It may



WALTER L. COHEN

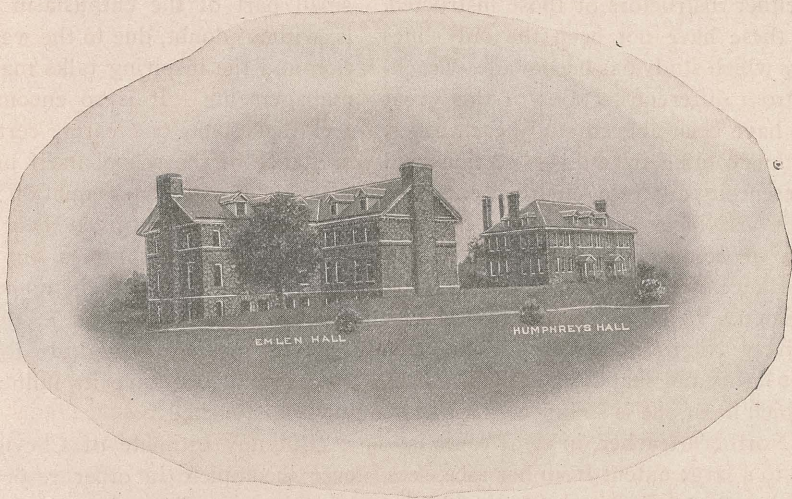


EMMETT J. SCOTT

mean American intervention or it may mean hands off for America. Mr. Scott goes with no selfish interests to conserve. Absolutely unsullied, with only one aim in view—to conserve the best interests of

his own government and the government of Liberia, it may be depended upon that he will return full of honors, and with a reputation established that will serve him well in years to come.





The Cheyney Summer School



THE following account gives a good idea of the nature of the Cheyney work and influence. It is written by Cecelia H. Holloway, teacher in the Colored Normal Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Orangesburg, S. C., formerly a teacher at Kowaliga, Alabama.

"The Cheyney Summer School has ended, but this can never be said of the great inspiration, the impetus to further study, the enthusiasm that has been kindled through efforts then and there put forth. No one can estimate the extent for good to which influences here set in motion shall attain, and no one whose high privilege it has been to be present during these four weeks has failed to feel these silent influences at work upon his

own heart and mind whose heart has not burned within him with the earnest desire to fulfill the command of "go tell thy brother." Thus the work at Cheyney has grown, because it fulfills a real need and a very imperative need of the Southern teacher. It is a place for actual study. It kindles the teacher's enthusiasm and brings her to a realization of the importance of her calling.

"Perhaps there has been no one thought that has found expression more often, both from instructors and passing visitors, than the comment upon the actual work accomplished by the teachers during the one month of the term. Both the intense application and interest along academic lines and the wonderful display of exhibits in handicraft bear out this truth.

"Cheyney has been no summer resort for either instructors or those instructed. But these have not been the only lines along which study has been made. Teachers from different sections of this great land have been able to study each other, and thus coming from divers sections and representing different environments and conditions, have been able to make a study of actual race conditions. The importance of these facts cannot be over-estimated. In no other way than a distinctively Negro gathering can one get better lights and shades upon the problem of which he or she is so innocent a factor. The Northern teacher, in some cases isolated to a large extent from her race, sees in such company her race 'enmasse'; she exchanges experiences, and makes inquiries of her Southern co-worker who has heard the Negro problem discussed so often that she has come to believe that everything is a part of this great and vexed question. Thus feelings and opinions are equalized and both are able to see things in their truer relations and sympathies, each with the other.

"Then, too, the average teacher needs the inspiration and enthusiasm that comes from contact with such whole-souled, broad-minded men, as the instructors of Cheyney are. After eight or nine months when one has been forced to realize that the ideal set in the beginning of the term, when the heart was full of hope, has been only faintly accomplished, and one wonders if, after all, it is worth while, then one appreciates Cheyney and all it stands

for. But honor where honor is due. No small part of the enthusiasm one feels is, without doubt, due to the warm reception and the inspiring talks made by the management. It is so encouraging to feel that some one cares, certainly the existence of the school itself proves this fact, but the personal equation means so much. Many have given their money to all kinds of philanthropies, but it is only the few who give their interest, their presence, their lives, as is done here. Then the message brought by these broad lives cannot but have its influence upon the lives touched.

"But any estimate of Cheyney, however incomplete in other respects, must take into consideration the effect for good of the Domestic Science course. It has not been a mere gaining of the 'how' and the 'why,' important as that is, but it has had a broadening effect upon the characters of all those who have come under its influence. It has added dignity and importance to the work that must fall to the share of so many. It has taught more than one factor that

'Nothing useless is, or low

Each thing in its place is best.'

"That the work is growing and is being appreciated is not proven by the increase in attendance, because Cheyney has always been taxed to its utmost capacity, but rather by the fact that the number of applicants increases each year. It meets a long-felt need, and in the four years of its existence has been of incalculable benefit."

Abraham Lincoln

By BOOKER T. WASHINGTON



YOU ask that which he found a piece of property and turned into a free American citizen to speak to you to-night on Abraham Lincoln. I am not fitted by ancestry or training to be your teacher to-night for, as I have stated, I was born a slave.

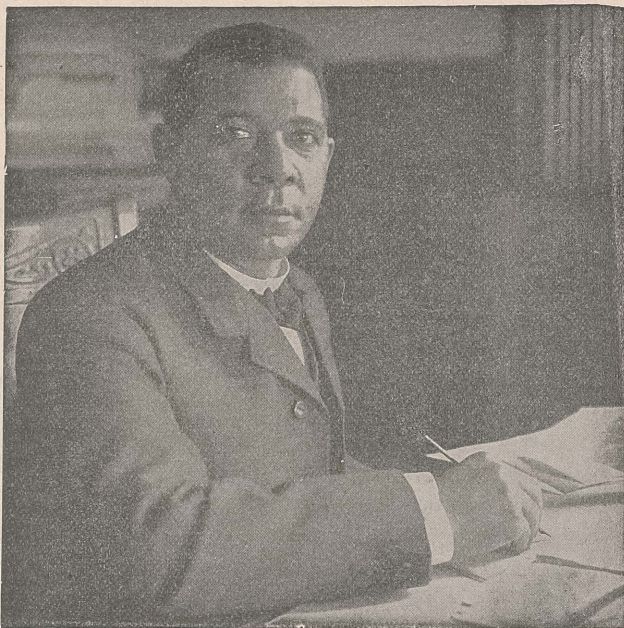
My first knowledge of Abraham Lincoln came in this way: I was awakened early one morning before the dawn of day as I lay wrapped in a bundle of rags on the dirt floor of our slave cabin by the prayers of my mother, just before leaving for her day's work, as she was kneeling over my body earnestly praying that Abraham Lincoln might succeed, and that one day she and her boy might be free. You give me the opportunity here this evening to celebrate with you and the nation the answer to that prayer.

Says the Great Book somewhere, "Though a man die, yet shall he live." If this is true of the ordinary man, how much more true is it of the hero of the hour and the hero of the century—Abraham Lincoln! One hundred years of the life and influence of Lincoln is the story of the struggles, the trials, ambitions and triumphs of the people of our complex American civilization. Interwoven into warp and woof of this human complexity is the moving story of men and women of nearly every race and color in their

progress from slavery to freedom, from poverty to wealth, from weakness to power, from ignorance to intelligence. Knit into the life of Abraham Lincoln is the story and success of the Nation in the blending of all tongues, religions, colors, races, into one composite nation, leaving each group and race free to live its own separate social life, and yet all a part of the great whole.

If a man die, shall he live? Answering this question as applied to our martyred President, perhaps you expect me to confine my words of appreciation to the great boon which, through him, was conferred upon my race. My undying gratitude and that of ten millions of my race for this and yet more! To have been the instrument of Providence through which four millions of slaves, now grown into ten millions of free citizens, were made free, would bring eternal fame within itself, but this is not the only claim that Lincoln has upon our sense of gratitude and appreciation.

By the side of Armstrong and Garrison, Lincoln lives to-day. In the very highest sense he lives in the present more potently than fifty years ago; for that which is seen is temporal, that which is unseen is eternal. He lives in the 32,000 young men and women of the Negro race learning trades and useful occupations; in the 200,000 farms acquired by those



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

he freed; in the more than 400,000 homes built; in the 46 banks established and 10,000 stores owned; in the \$550,000,000 worth of taxable property in hand; in the 28,000 public schools existing with 30,000 teachers; in the 170 industrial schools and colleges; in the 23,000 ministers and 26,000 churches. But above all this, he lives in the steady and unalterable determination of ten millions of black citizens to continue to climb year by year the ladder of the highest usefulness and to perfect themselves in strong, robust character. For making all this possible Lincoln lives.

But, again, for a higher reason he lives to-night in every corner of the Republic. To set the physical man free is much.

To set the spiritual man free is more. So often the keeper is on the inside of the prison bars and the prisoner on the outside.

As an individual, grateful as I am to Lincoln for freedom of body, my gratitude is still greater for freedom of soul—the liberty which permits one to live up in that atmosphere where he refuses to permit sectional or racial hatred to drag down, to warp and narrow his soul.

The signing of the Emancipation Proclamation was a great event, and yet it was but the symbol of another, still greater, and more momentous. We who celebrate this anniversary should not forget that the same pen that gave freedom to four millions of African slaves, at the

same time struck the shackles from the souls of twenty-seven millions of Americans of another color.

In any country, regardless of what its laws say, wherever people act upon the idea that the disadvantage of one man is the good of another, there slavery exists. Wherever in any country the whole people feel that the happiness of all is dependent upon the happiness of the weakest, there freedom exists.

In abolishing slavery Lincoln proclaimed the principle that, even in the case of the humblest and weakest of mankind, the welfare of each is still the good of all. In re-establishing in this country the principle that, at bottom, the interests of humanity and of the individual are one, he freed men's souls from spiritual bondage; he freed them to mutual helpfulness. Henceforth no man of any race, either in the North or in the South, need feel constrained to fear or hate his brother.

By the same token that Lincoln made America free, he pushed back the boundaries of freedom everywhere, gave the spirit of liberty a wider influence throughout the world, and re-established the dignity of man as man.

By the same act that freed my race, he said to the civilized and uncivilized world, that man everywhere must be free, and that man everywhere must be enlightened, and the Lincoln spirit of freedom and fair play will never cease to spread and grow in power till throughout the world all men shall know the truth, and the truth shall make them free.

Lincoln in his day was wise enough to recognize that which is true in the present and for all time: that in a state of

slavery and ignorance man renders the lowest and most costly form of service to his fellows. In a state of freedom and enlightenment he renders the highest and most helpful form of service.

The world is fast learning that of all forms of slavery there is none that is so hurtful and degrading as that form of slavery which tempts one human being to hate another by reason of his race or color. One man cannot hold another man down in the ditch without remaining down in the ditch with him. One who goes through life with his eyes closed against all that is good in another race is weakened and circumscribed, as one who fights in a battle with one hand tied behind him. Lincoln was in the truest sense great because he unfettered himself. He climbed up out of the valley where his vision was narrowed and weakened by the fog and miasma, on to the mountain top where in a pure and unclouded atmosphere he could see the truth which enabled him to rate all men at their true worth. Growing out of this anniversary season and atmosphere, may there crystallize a resolve throughout the nation that on such a mountain the American people will strive to live.

We owe, then, to Lincoln, physical freedom, moral freedom, and yet this is not all. There is a debt of gratitude which we, as individuals, no matter of what race or nation, must recognize as due Abraham Lincoln—not for what he did as Chief Executive of the Nation, but for what he did as a man. In his rise from the most abject poverty and ignorance to a position of high usefulness and power, he taught the world one

of the greatest of all lessons. In fighting his own battle up from obscurity and squalor, he fought the battle of every other individual and race that is down, and so helped to pull up every other human who was down. People so often forget that by every inch that the lowest man crawls up he makes it easier for every other man to get up. To-day, throughout the world, because Lincoln lived, struggled, and triumphed, every boy who is ignorant, is in poverty, is despised or discouraged, holds his head a little higher. His heart beats a little faster, his ambition to do something and be something is a little stronger, because Lincoln blazed the way.

To my race, the life of Abraham Lincoln has its special lesson at this point in our career. In so far as his life emphasizes patience, long-suffering, sincerity, naturalness dogged determination, and courage; courage to avoid the superficial, courage to persistently seek the substance instead of the shadow, it points the road for my people to travel.

As a race we are learning, I believe, in an increasing degree, that the best way for us to honor the memory of our Emancipator is by seeking to imitate him. Like Lincoln, the Negro race should seek to be simple, without bigotry and without ostentation. There is great power in simplicity. We, as a race, should, like Lincoln, have moral courage to be what we are, and not pretend to be what we are not. We should keep in mind that no one can degrade us except ourselves; that if we are worthy, no influence can defeat us. Like other races, the Negro will often meet obstacles, often be sorely

tried and tempted; but we must keep in mind that freedom, in the broadest and highest sense, has never been a bequest; it has been a conquest.

In the final test the success of our race will be in proportion to the service that it renders to the world. In the long run, the badge of service is the badge of sovereignty.

With all his other elements of strength, Abraham Lincoln possessed in the highest degree patience and, as I have said, courage. The highest form of courage is not always that exhibited on the battlefield in the midst of the blare of trumpets and the waving of banners. The highest courage is of the Lincoln kind. It is the same kind of courage, made possible by the new life and the new possibilities furnished by Lincoln's Proclamation, displayed by thousands of men and women of my race every year who are going out from Tuskegee and other Negro institutions in the South to lift up such fellows. When they go, often into lonely and secluded districts, with little thought of salary, with little thought of personal welfare, no drums beat, no banners fly, no friends stand by to cheer them on; but these brave young souls who are erecting school houses, creating school systems, prolonging school terms, teaching the people to buy homes, build houses, and live decent lives, are fighting the battles of this country just as truly and bravely as any persons who go forth to fight battles against a foreign foe.

In paying my tribute of respect to the Great Emancipator of my race, I desire to say a word here and now in behalf of an element of brave and true white

men of the South who, though they saw in Lincoln's policy the ruin of all they believed in and hoped for, have loyally accepted the results of the Civil War, and are to-day working with a courage few people in the North can understand, to uplift the Negro in the South and complete the emancipation that Lincoln began. I am tempted to say that it certainly required as high a degree of courage for men of the type of Robert E. Lee and John B. Gordon to accept the results of the war in the manner and spirit which they did, as that which Grant and Sherman displayed in fighting the physical battles that saved the Union.

Lincoln, also, was a Southern man by birth, but he was one of those white men, of whom there is a large and growing class, who resented the idea that in order to assert and maintain the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race it was necessary that another group of humanity should be kept in ignorance.

Lincoln was not afraid or ashamed to come into contact with the lowly of all races. His reputation and social position were not of such a transitory and transparent kind that he was afraid that he would lose them by being just and kind, even to a man of dark skin. I always pity from the bottom of my heart any man who feels that somebody else must be kept down or in ignorance in order that he may appear great by comparison. It requires no courage for a strong man to kick a weak one down.

Lincoln lives to-day because he had the courage which made him refuse to hate the man at the South or the man at the North when they did not agree with him.

He had the courage as well as the patience and foresight to suffer in silence, to be misunderstood, to be abused, to refuse to revile when reviled. For he knew that if he was right, that the ridicule of to-day would be the applause of to-morrow. He knew, too, that at some time in the distant future our Nation would repent of the folly of cursing our public servants while they live and blessing them only when they die. In this connection I cannot refrain from suggesting the question to the millions of voices raised to-day in his praise: "Why did you not say it yesterday?" Yesterday, when one word of approval and gratitude would have meant so much to him in strengthening his hand and heart.

As we recall to-night his deeds and words, we can do so with grateful hearts and strong faith in the future for the spread of righteousness. The civilization of the world is going forward, not backward. Here and there for a little season the progress of mankind may seem to halt or tarry by the wayside, or even appear to slide backward, but the trend is ever onward and upward, and will be until some one can invent and enforce a law to stop the progress of civilization. In goodness and liberality the world moves forward. It goes forward beneficently, but it moves forward relentlessly. In the last analysis, the forces of nature are behind the moral progress of the world, and these forces will crush into powder any group of humanity that resists this progress.

As we gather here, brothers all, in common joy and thanksgiving for the life of Lincoln, may I not ask that you, the

worthy representatives of seventy millions of white Americans, join heart and hand with the ten millions of black Americans—these ten millions who speak your tongue, profess your religion—who have never lifted their voices or hands except in defense of their country's honor and their country's flag—and swear eternal fealty to the memory and the traditions of the sainted Lincoln. I repeat, may we not join with your race, and let all of us here highly resolve that justice, good will and peace shall be the motto of our lives? If this be true, in the highest sense Lin-

coln shall not have lived and died in vain.

And, finally, gathering inspiration and encouragement from this hour and Lincoln's life, I pledge to you and to the Nation that my race, in so far as I can speak for it, which in the past, whether in ignorance or intelligence, whether in slavery or in freedom, has always been true to the Stars and Stripes and to the highest and best interests of this country, will strive to so deport itself that it shall reflect nothing but the highest credit upon the whole people in the North and in the South.

By an almost universal accord, the foremost of Lincoln Day speeches was that delivered by Booker T. Washington before the Republican Club of New York City in the grand ball room of the Waldorf-Astoria on the night of February 12, 1909. The *New York World* said of the speech: "None other reached the exalted tone and thought of Booker T. Washington, who was born a slave." None other, we believe, could have so well interpreted Lincoln, for no other man possesses in the same degree the calm and able spirit of Lincoln, as that wise and honest Negro of Alabama. This address should be in every Negro home.—EDITOR.

VIRTUE

THE virtuous to those mansions go
 Where pleasures unembitter'd flow,
 Where, leading up a jocund band,
 Vigor and Youth dance hand in hand,
 Whilst Zephyr, with harmonious gales,
 Pipes softest music through the vales,
 And Spring and Flora, gaily crown'd,
 With velvet carpet spread the ground;
 With livelier blush where roses bloom,
 And every shrub expires perfume.

—Churchil.

Heart of the Race Problem

By QUINCY EWING



DURING the past decade newspaper and magazine articles galore, and not a few books, have been written on what is called the "Race Problem," the problem caused by the presence in this country of some ten millions of black and variously shaded colored people known as Negroes. But, strange as it may sound, the writer has no hesitation in saying that at this date there appears to be no clear conception anywhere, on the part of most people, as to just what the essential problem is which confronts the white inhabitants of the country because they have for fellow-citizens (nominally), ten million Negroes. Ask the average man, ask even the average editor or professor anywhere, what the race problem is, the heart of it; why, in this land with its millions of foreigners of all nationalities, *the* race problem of problems should be caused by ten million Negroes, not foreigners but native to the soil through several generations; and in all probability you will get some such answer as this:

"The Negroes, as a rule, are very ignorant, are very lazy, are very brutal, are very criminal. But a little way removed from savagery, they are incapable of adopting the white man's moral code, of assimilating the white man's moral sentiments, of striving toward the white man's

moral ideals. They are creatures of brutal, untamed instincts, and uncontrolled feral passions, which give frequent expression of themselves in crimes of horrible ferocity. They are, in brief, an uncivilized, semi-savage people, living in a civilization to which they are unequal, partaking to a limited degree of its benefits, performing in no degree its duties. Because they are spatially in a civilization to which they are morally and intellectually repugnant, they cannot but be as a foreign irritant to the body social. The problem is, How shall the body social adjust itself, daily, hourly, to this irritant; how feel at ease and safe in spite of it? How shall the white inhabitants of the land, with their centuries of inherited superiority, conserve their civilization and carry it forward to a yet higher plane, hampered by ten million black inhabitants of the same land with their centuries of inherited inferiority?"

To the foregoing answer, this might now and again be added, or advanced independently in reply to our question: "Personal aversion on the part of the white person for the Negro; personal aversion accounted for by nothing the individual Negro is, or is not, intellectually and morally; accounted for by the fact, simply, that he is a Negro, that he has a black or colored skin, that he is different, of another kind."

Now, certainly, there are very few average men or philosophers, to whom the answer given to our question would not seem to state, or at any rate fairly indicate, the race problem in its essence. But, however few they be, I do not hesitate to align myself with them as one who does not believe that the essential race problem as it exists in the South (whatever it be in the North) is stated, or even fairly indicated, in the foregoing answer. In Northern and Western communities, where he is outnumbered by many thousands of white people, the Negro may be accounted a problem, because he is lazy, or ignorant, or brutal, or criminal, or all these things together; or because he is black and different. But in Southern communities, where the Negro is not outnumbered by many thousands of white people, the race problem, essentially and in its most acute form, is something distinct from his laziness or ignorance, or brutality, or criminality, or all-around intellectual and moral inferiority to the white man. That problem as the South knows and deals with it would exist, as certainly as it does to-day, if there were no shadow of excuse for the conviction that the Negro is more lazy, or more ignorant, or more criminal, or more brutal, or more anything else he ought not to be, or less anything else he ought to be, than other men. In other words, let it be supposed that the average Negro is as a matter of fact the equal, morally and intellectually, of the average white man of the same class, and the race problem declines to vanish, declines to budge. We shall

see why presently. The statements just made demand immediate justification. For they are doubtless surprising to a degree, and to some readers may prove startling.

I proceed to justify them as briefly as possible, asking the reader to bear in mind that very much more might be said along this line than I allow myself space to say.

I.

That the Negro is not a problem because he is lazy, because he declines to work, is evidenced by the patent fact that in virtually every Southern community he is sought as a laborer in fields, mills, mines, and that in very many Southern communities the vexing problem for employers is not too many, but too few Negroes. In certain agricultural sections, notably in the Louisiana sugar district, quite a number of Italians ("Dagoes"), are employed. The reason is not dissatisfaction with Negro labor, but simply that there is not enough of it to meet the requirements of the large plantations. There is, perhaps, not one of these plantations on which any able-bodied Negro could not get employment for the asking; and as a rule, the Negroes are given, not the work which demands the lowest, but that which demands the highest efficiency. They are the ploughmen, the teamsters, the foremen. If any one doubts that Negroes are wanted as laborers in Southern communities, very much wanted, let him go to any such community and attempt to inveigle a few dozen of the laziest away. He will be likely to take his life in his hands, after the usual warning is

disregarded!

II.

The small politician's trump card, played early and late, and in all seasons, that the Negro is a black shadow over the Southland because of his excessive criminality, serves well the politician's purpose—it wins his game; but only because the game is played and won on a board where fictions, not facts, are dominant. Nothing is easier than to offer so-called proofs of the contention that the Negro's tendency to crime is something peculiar to his race; there are the jail and penitentiary and gallow statistics, for instance. But surely it should not be difficult for these so-called proofs to present themselves in their true light to any one who takes the trouble to consider two weighty and conspicuous facts: this, first, that the Negroes occupy everywhere in this country the lowest social and industrial plane, the plane which everywhere else supplies the jail, the penitentiary, the gallows, with the greatest number of their victims; and secondly this, that in the section of the country where these penal statistics are gathered, all the machinery of justice is in the hands of white men.

No Negro is a sheriff or judge, or justice of the peace, or grand or petit jurymen, or member of a pardoning board. Charged with crime, again and again, the black man must go to jail; he is unable to give bond; he is defended, not by the ablest, but by the poorest lawyers, often by an unwilling appointee of the court; he lacks the benefit of that personal appeal to judge and jury, so often enjoyed by other defendants, which would make them *want* to believe his innocent until

proven guilty; he faces, on the contrary, a judge and jury who hold him in some measure of contempt as a man, regardless of his guilt or innocence. He is without means, except occasionally, to fight his case through appeals to higher courts, and errors sleep in many a record that on review would upset the verdict. In the light of such considerations it would seem impossible that criminal statistics should not bear hard upon the Negro race, even supposing it to be a fact that that race of all races in the world is the *least* criminal.

Let it be admitted without question that in most Southern communities the crimes and misdemeanors of the Negroes exceed those committed by an equal number of white people, and we have admitted nothing that at all explains or accounts for the race problem. For is it not equally true that in every other community the doers of society's rough work, the recipients of its meagrest rewards, are chargeable, relatively, with the greatest number of crimes and misdemeanors? Is it not true, as well in Massachusetts and Connecticut as in Louisiana and Mississippi, that the vast majority of those occupying prison cells are members of the social lowest class? that the vast majority condemned, after trial, to hard labor with their hands were accustomed to such labor before their judicial condemnation? Nothing is more preposterous than the idea that the race problem means more Negroes hanged, more Negroes imprisoned, more Negroes in mines and chain-gangs, than white people! If the Negro did not furnish the great bulk of the grist for the grinding of our penal machinery in the Southern States, he would consti-

tute the racial miracle of this and all ages!

My own conviction is, and I speak with the experience of forty years' residence in Southern States, that the Negro is not more given to crimes and misdemeanors than the laboring population of any other section of the country. But be this as it may, it is abundantly certain that no race of people anywhere are more easily controlled than the Negroes by the guardians of law and order; and there are none anywhere so easily punished for disobedience to the statutes and mandates of their economic superiors. Courts and juries may be sometimes subject to just criticism for undue leniency toward white defendants; but that courts and juries are ever subject to just criticism for undue leniency in dealing with black defendants is the sheerest nonsense.

The frequent charge that the Negro's worst crimes partake of a brutality that is peculiarly racial, is not supported by facts. I need not enlarge upon this statement further than to say that the Negro's worst crimes, with all their shocking accompaniments, are, not seldom, but often, duplicated by white men. Let any one who doubts the statement observe for one week the criminal statistics of any cosmopolitan newspaper, and he will have his doubt removed.

Assuredly we do not hit upon the essence of the race problem in the Negro's propensity to crime!

III.

Do we hit upon it in his ignorance, in the fact that an immense number of the black people are illiterate, not knowing the first from the last letter of the alpha-

bet? Hardly. For almost to a man, the people who most parade and most rail at the race problem in private conversation, on the political platform, and in the pages of newspapers, books, and periodicals, are disposed rather to lament, than to assist, the passing of the Negro's ignorance. Ex-Governor Vardaman, of Mississippi, used the following language in a message to the Legislature of that State, January, 1906:

"The startling facts revealed by the census show that those (Negroes) who can read and write are more criminal than the illiterate, which is true of no other element of our population. . . . The State for many years, at great expense to the taxpayers, has maintained a system of Negro education which has produced disappointing results, and I am opposed to the perpetuation of this system. My own idea is, that the character of education for the Negro ought to be changed. If, after forty years of earnest effort, and the expenditure of fabulous sums to educate his head, we have only succeeded in making a criminal of him and impairing his usefulness and efficiency as a laborer, wisdom would suggest that we make another experiment and see if we cannot improve him by educating his hand and heart. . . . Slavery is the only process by which he has ever been partially civilized. God Almighty created the Negro for a menial, he is essentially a servant."

This is the reply of an ex-governor of one of our blackest States to those who contend that the Negro is a problem, a "burden carried by the white people of the South," because of his ignorance and

consequent inefficiency; and that the lightening of the burden depends upon more money spent, more earnest efforts made, for the schooling of the black people. According to this ex-governor, and there are thousands who agree with him in and out of Mississippi, the race problem is heightened, rather than mitigated, by all attempts to increase the Negro's intellectual efficiency. The more ignorant he is, the less burdensome he is to the white man, provided his heart be good, and his hands skillful enough to do the service of a menial. Nothing but slavery ever partially civilized him, nothing but slavery continued in some form can civilize him further!

If we listen vainly for the heart-throb of the race problem in the Negro's laziness, and criminality, and brutality, and ignorance, and inefficiency, do we detect it with clearness and certainty in the personal aversion felt by the white people for the black people, aversion which the white people can no more help feeling than the black people can help exciting? Is this the real trouble, the real burden, the real tragedy and sorrow of our white population in those sections of the country where the Negroes are many—that they are compelled to dwell face to face, day by day, with an inferior, degraded population, repulsive to their finer sensibilities, obnoxious to them in countless ways inexplicable? Facts are far from furnishing an affirmative answer. However pronounced may be the feeling of personal aversion toward the Negroes in Northern communities, where they are few, or known at long range, or casually, there is no such thing in Southern communities

as personal aversion for the Negro pronounced enough to be responsible for anything resembling a problem. How could there be in the South, where from infancy we have all been as familiar with black faces as with white; where many of us fell asleep in the laps of black mammies, and had for playmates Ephrom, Izik, Zeke, black mammy's grandchildren; where most of us have had our meals prepared by black cooks, and been waited on by black house servants and dining-room servants, and ridden in carriages and buggies with black hostlers? We are so used to the black people in the South, there mere personal presence is so far from being responsible for our race problem, that the South would not seem Southern without them, as it would not without its crape myrtles, its live-oaks, and magnolias, its cotton and its sugar cane!

It is very easy to go astray in regard to the matter of personal aversion toward the members of alien races, to magnify greatly the reality and importance of it. What seems race aversion is frequently something else, namely, revulsion aroused by the presence of the strange, the unusual, the uncanny, the not-understood. Such revulsion is aroused, not only by the members of alien races, alien and unfamiliar, but as certainly by strange animals of not more terrifying appearance than the well-loved cow and horse; and it would be aroused as really and as painfully, doubtless, by the sudden proximity of one of Milton's archangels. It was not necessarily race-aversion which made Emerson, and may have made many another Concord philosopher, uncomfort-

able in the presence of a Negro, any more than it is race-aversion which makes the Fifth Avenue boy run from the gentle farmyard cow; any more than it is race-aversion which would make me uncomfortable in the presence of Li Hung Chang. The Negro, simply, it may be, was a mystery to Emerson, as the farmyard cow is a mystery to the Fifth Avenue boy, as the Chinaman is a mystery to me.

The Negro is *not* a mystery to people whom he has nursed and waited on, whose language he has spoken, whose ways, good and bad, he has copied for generations; and his personal presence does not render them uncomfortable, not, at any rate, uncomfortable enough to beget the sense of a burden or a problem.

It may be very difficult for Northern readers, to whom the Negro is in reality a stranger, a foreigner, to appreciate fully the force of what has just been said; but appreciated by them it must be, or they can never hope to realize the innermost meaning of the race problem in the South.

So much for what the race problem is not. Let me without further delay state what it is. The foundation of it, true or false, is the white man's conviction that the Negro as a race, and as an individual, is his inferior; not human in the sense that he is human, not entitled to the exercise of human rights in the sense that he is entitled to the exercise of them. The problem itself, the essence of it, the heart of it, is the white man's determination to make good this conviction, coupled with constant anxiety lest, by some means, he should fail to make it good. The race

problem, in other words, is *not* that the Negro is what he is in relation to the white man, the white man's inferior; but this rather: How to keep him what he is in relation to the white man; how to prevent his ever achieving or becoming that which would justify the belief on his part or on the part of other people, that he and the white man stand on common human ground.

That such is the heart of the problem should be made evident by this general consideration alone; namely, that everywhere in the South friction between the races is entirely absent so long as the Negro justifies the white man's opinion of him as an inferior; is grateful for privileges and lays no claim to *rights*. Let him seem content to be as the South insists he shall be, and not only is he not harshly treated, not abused, and never boycotted, but he is shown much kindness and generosity, and employment awaits him for the asking. Trouble brews when he begins to manifest those qualities, to reveal those tastes, to give vent to those ambitions, which are supposed to be characteristic exclusively of the higher human type, and which, unless restrained, would result in confounding the lower with the higher. The expression "Good Nigger" means everywhere in the South a real Negro, from the Southern standpoint, one who in no respect gets out of focus with that standpoint; the expression "Bad Nigger" means universally one who in some respect, not necessarily criminal, does get out of focus with it. So, stated differently, the race problem is the problem of how to keep the Negro in focus with the traditional standpoint.

in focus with the traditional standpoint.

But we are very far from needing to rely upon any general consideration in support of the proposition advanced above. It is supported by evidences on every hand, waiting only the eye of recognition. Scarcely a day passes but something is said or done with this end in view, to emphasize, lest they forget, the conviction for both white man and Negro that the latter is and must remain an inferior.

Consider, first, the "Jim Crow" legislation in the manner of its enforcement. Such legislation is supposed to have for its object the separation of the races in trains, street cars, etc., to save the white people from occasional contact with drunken, rowdy, ill-smelling Negroes, and to prevent personal encounters between the whites and blacks. How is this object attained in the street cars of Southern cities? Members of the different races occupy the same cars, separated only by absurdly inadequate little open-mesh wire screens, so tiny and light that a conductor can move them from one seat to another with the strength of his little finger. Needless to add, these screens would serve to obscure neither sound, sight, nor smell of drunken rowdies who sat behind them! In summer cars black and white passengers may be separated not even by a make-believe screen; they are simply required, respectively, to occupy certain seats in the front or the back end of the cars.

In Birmingham, Alabama, the front seats are assigned to Negroes in all closed cars, and the back seats in all open ones. Why the front seats in the one case, and

the back seats in the other, it is not easy to understand in the light of the letter and alleged spirit of the Jim Crow law! The underlying purpose of the law is clearly not the separation of the races in space; for public sentiment does not insist upon its fulfillment to that end. The underlying purpose of it would seem to be the separation of the races in status. The doctrine of inequality would be attacked if white and black passengers rode in public conveyances on equal terms; therefore the Negro who rides in a public conveyance must do so, not as of undoubted right, but as with the white man's permission, subject to the white man's regulation. "*This place you may occupy, that other you may not, because I am I and you are you, lest to you or me it should be obscured that I am I and you are you.*" Such is the real spirit of the Jim Crow laws.

Why is it that in every Southern city no Negro is allowed to witness a dramatic performance, or a baseball game, from a first-class seat? In every large city, there are hundreds of Negroes who would gladly pay for first-class seats at the theatre and the baseball game, were they permitted to do so. It can hardly be that permission is withheld because theatres and baseball games are so well attended by half the population that first-class seats could not be furnished for the other half. As a matter of fact, theatre-auditoriums and baseball grand-stands are seldom crowded; the rule is, not all first-class seats occupied, but many vacant. Surely as simple as moving from seat to seat a make-shift screen in a street-car, would it be to set apart a cer-

tain number of seats in the dress-circle of every theatre, and in the grand-stand of every baseball park, for Negro patrons. The reason why this is not done is perfectly obvious; it would be intolerable to the average Southern man or woman to sit through the hours of a theatrical performance or a baseball game on terms of equal accommodation with Negroes, even with a screen between. Negroes would look out of place, out of status, in the dress circle or the grand-stand; their place, signifying their status, is the peanut gallery, or the bleachers. There, neither they nor others will be tempted to forget that as things are they must continue.

How shall we account for the "intense feeling" (to quote the language of the mayor of New Orleans) occasioned in that city one day, last July, when it was flashed over the wires that the first prize in the National Spelling Contest had been won by a Negro girl, in competition with white children from New Orleans and other Southern cities? The indignation of at least one of the leading New Orleans papers verged upon hysterics; the editor's rhetoric visited upon some foulest crime could hardly have been more inflamed than in denunciation of the fact that, on the far-away shore of Lake Erie, New Orleans white children had competed at a spelling bee with a Negro girl. The superintendent of the New Orleans schools was roundly denounced in many quarters for permitting his wards to compete with a Negro; and there were broad hints in "Letters from the People" to the papers that his resignation was in order.

Certainly in the days following the National Spelling Contest the race problem was in evidence, if it ever was, in New Orleans and the South! Did it show itself, then, as the problem of Negro crime, or brutality, or laziness? Asuredly not! Of the Negro's personal repulsiveness? By no means? There was no evidence of Negro criminality, or brutality, or laziness in the Negro child's victory; and every day in the South, in their games and otherwise, hundreds of white children of the best families are in closer personal contact with little Negroes than were the white children who took part in the Cleveland spelling bee. The "intense feeling" can be explained on one ground only: the Negro girl's victory was an affront to the tradition of the Negro's inferiority; it suggested—perhaps indicated—that, given equal opportunities, all Negroes are not necessarily the intellectual inferiors of all white people. What other explanation is rationally conceivable? If the race problem means in the South to its white inhabitants the burden and tragedy of having to dwell face to face with an intellectually and morally backward people, why should not the Negro girl's triumph have occasioned intense feeling of pleasure, rather than displeasure, by its suggestion that her race is not intellectually hopeless?

Consider further that, while no Negro, no matter what his occupation, or personal refinement, or intellectual culture, or moral character, is allowed to travel in a Pullman car between state lines, or to enter as a guest a hotel patronized by white people, the blackest of Negro nurses and valets are given food and

shelter in all first-class hotels, and occasion neither disgust nor surprise in the Pullman cars. Here again the heart of the race problem is laid bare. The black nurse with a white baby in her arms, the black valet looking after the comfort of a white invalid, have the label of their inferiority conspicuously upon them; they understand themselves, and everybody understands them, to be servants, enjoying certain privileges for the sake of the person served. Almost anything, the Negro may do in the South, and anywhere he may go, provided the manner of his doing and his going is that of an inferior. Such is the premium put upon his inferiority; such his inducement to maintain it.

The point here insisted on may be made clearer, if already it is not clear enough, by this consideration, that the man who would lose social caste for dining with an Irish street sweeper might be congratulated for dining with an Irish educator; but President Roosevelt would scarcely have given greater offense by entertaining a Negro laborer at the White House than he gave by inviting to lunch there the Principal of Tuskegee Institute. The race problem being what it is, the status of any Negro is logically the status of every other. There are recognizable degrees of inferiority among Negroes themselves; some are vastly superior to others. But there is only one degree of inferiority separating the Negro from the white person, attached to all Negroes alike. The logic of the situation requires that to be any sort of black man is to be inferior to any sort of white man; and from this logic there is no departure in

the South.

Inconsistent, perhaps, with what has been said may seem the defeat in the Louisiana Legislature (1908) of the anti-miscegenation bill, a measure designed to prohibit sexual cohabitation between white persons and Negroes; to be specific, between white men and Negro women. But there was no inconsistency whatever in the defeat of that bill. In all times and places, the status of that portion of the female population, Lecky's martyred "priestesses of humanity," whose existence men have demanded for the gratification of unlawful passion, has been that of social outcasts. They have no rights that they can insist upon; they are simply privileged to exist by society's permission, and may be any moment legislated out of their vocation. Hence the defeat of an anti-miscegenation measure by Southern legislators cannot be construed as a failure on their part to live up to their conviction of race superiority. It must be construed, rather, as legislative unwillingness to restrict the white man's liberty; to dictate by statute the kind of social outcast which he may use as a mere means to the gratification of his passion. To concede to Negro women the status of a degraded and proscribed class, is not in any sense to overlook or obscure their racial inferiority, but on the contrary, it may be, to emphasize it. Precisely the same principle, in a word, compasses the defeat of an anti-miscegenation bill which would compass the defeat of a measure to prohibit Negro servants from occupying seats in Pullman cars.

At the risk of reiteration, I must in concluding this article take sharp issue

with the view of a recent very able writer, who asks the question, "What, essentially, is the Race Problem?" and answers it thus: "The race problem is the problem of living with human beings who are not like us, whether they are in our estimation our 'superiors' or inferiors, whether they have kinky hair or pigtailed, whether they are slant-eyed, hook-nosed, or thick-lipped. In its essence, it is the same problem, magnified, which besets every neighborhood, even every family."

I have contended so far, and I here repeat, that the race problem is essentially *not* what this writer declares it to be. It is emphatically not, in the South, "the problem of living with human beings who are not like us, whether they are in our estimation our superiors or inferiors." It may be, it probably is, that in the North, where the Negro is largely a stranger, a foreigner, very much to the same degree that the Chinese are strangers and foreigners in the South; and where, consequently, the Negro's personal repulsiveness is a much more significant force than it is in the South. Assuredly there would be no race problem anywhere, were there no contact with others unlike ourselves! The unlikeness of the unlike is everywhere its indispensable foundation. But we get nowhither unless we carefully distinguish between the foundation of the problem and the problem itself. There is nothing in the unlikeness of the unlike that is necessarily problematical; it may be simply accepted and dealt with as a fact, like any other fact. The problem arises only when the people of one race are minded to adopt and act upon some policy more or less oppressive or repres-

sive in dealing with the people of another race. In the absence of some such policy there has never been a race problem since the world began. It is the existence of such a policy become traditional, and supported by immovable conviction, which constitutes the race problem of the Southern States.

There was an immensely tragic race problem distressing the South fifty years ago; but who will suggest that it was the problem of "living with human beings who are not like us?" The problem then was, clearly, how to make good a certain conviction concerning the unlike, how to maintain a certain policy in dealing with them. What else is it today? The problem, How to maintain the institution of chattel slavery, ceased to be at Appomattox; the problem, How to maintain the social, industrial and civic inferiority of the descendants of chattel slaves, succeeded it, and is the race problem of the South at the present time. There is no other.

Whether the policy adopted by the white South, and supported, as I have said, by immovable conviction, is expedient or inexpedient, wise or unwise, righteous or unrighteous, these are questions which I have not sought to answer one way or another in this article. Perhaps they cannot be answered at all in our time. Certain is it, that their only real and satisfactory answer will be many years ahead of the present generation.

In the mean time, nothing could be more unwarranted than to suppose that the race problem of one section of this country is peculiar to that section, because its white inhabitants are themselves

in some sense peculiar; because they are peculiarly prejudiced, because they are peculiarly behind the hour which the high clock of civilization has struck. Remove the white inhabitants of the South, give their place to the white people of any other section of the United States, and, beyond a peradventure, the Southern race problem, as I have defined it, would continue to be—revealed, perhaps, in ways more perplexing, more intense and tragic.

"The Heart of the Race Problem," by Rev. Quincy Ewing, of Napoleonville, La., appearing in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, reveals the persistent problem with a frankness and bravery that has never been equalled by a Southern white man. We here present the article in full, commending it to the careful consideration of our readers. The average Southern white man says that no one but a Southern man can understand the Negro and the Negro problem. No one can accuse Dr. Ewing of not being a genuine Southerner, to the manor born. No one can accuse him of lack of authority and experience on the subject of his masterly analysis. Refuting the charges that the Negro problem arises from the alleged excessive laziness, ignorance, brutality or criminality of the Negro, he states that the heart of the problem "is the white man's determination to make good his conviction that the Negro as a race and an individual is his inferior." Any attempt to break the solid South and to raise the Negro to the full stature of Americans which does not meet squarely this ingrained determination of the South will go wide of the mark.—EDITOR.

EDITORIAL

Leading the South From]Darkness

At the twelfth and perhaps largest Conference for Education in the South, meeting in Atlanta on April 14, President Robert C. Ogden, the retired New York merchant and millionaire, was the center of interest. Surrounded by hundreds of distinguished educators gathered from all parts of the country, this conference seems to have marked the high water mark of Southern interest in universal education. Toiling long and undaunted, making the education of the white child as well as the black child his business, the whole South seems to be joining hands with the educator-business man in his

great and humane effort to lead her from the darkness of ignorance.

Among those present at the conference was ex-Governor Hoke Smith, who, in the course of a strong and remarkable address, placing education above all other problems, said: "Experience shows that Negroes improve most rapidly where there are fewest Negroes in proportion to the number of whites. The best friend of the Negro should seek his distribution to all sections. This can be accomplished by more white settlers coming South and more Negroes going North, East and West."

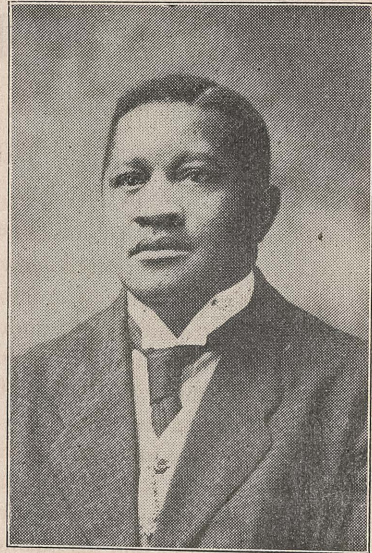
The cumulative enthusiasm of a dozen years of persistent and contagious effort

was expressed in the splendid ovation which Mr. Ogden received as he rose to make the president's address. He said in part in telling of the scope and accomplishments of the Conference: "On a former occasion I stated that this conference assembled at the call of the child. I now repeat the statement with added emphasis. The protection of the deficient or unfortunate child is now a distinguished mark of Christian civilization; the more pronounced the need the more penetrating and arresting is the cry for help.

"This conference holds its place as a part of an educational renaissance. This work can, perhaps, be definitely defined only at a single point. It exists primarily to impress upon the mind of the citizen, the people, the responsibility of the individual for educational conditions, to support the claim that every child in America, native or foreign born, is entitled to a good English education; that it is the duty of the State as representing the people to provide such education; that in the words of the man that recruited me and pledged my service, such as it is, to this work, J. L. M. Curry, President of this conference in its second year, 'Ignorance cures nothing;' and therefore our civilization must banish ignorance and replace it with intelligence; must provide facilities for education and compel the use of such facilities; must create such standards of intelligence as will make ignorance a conscious discredit, not to say disgrace.

"Social influences have always surrounded it, and it has been a dynamic

power in the development and uplift of many a lonely soul. Throughout the States represented here there were, before this association came into being, thousands of people in rural places, with clear vision as to the educational needs of the rural people, whose lives were consumed with hopeless longing, whose minds were keen as to what ought to be done, and yet who could not see even the faint glimmer of the early dawn of a better day. There are many such yet, but the class that has been brought into large and sympathetic fellowship by this conference, in whom inspiration and faith have been developed, would of itself alone justify all the cost in labor and in money that has been expended upon it."



J. SILAS HARRIS

(See article, "Negro Education" page 214)

The Call of the Hour

Perhaps the most significant feature of the industrial life of the race during the present months is the springing up of cooperative enterprises. North, East, South and West, in varying degrees of pretension, like mushrooms, they are breaking forth. Insurance companies as in St. Paul and Atlanta; fraternal homes and institutions as in St. Louis and in Lowndes county, Alabama, commercial houses as the shoe firm in Haverhill, Mass., and the Negro doll factory in Nashville, all indicate the strength and general scope of the movement. This we believe to be the secret of Negro successful commercial competition in the future. If the Negro has fewer conspicuous examples on the main streets of our great cities to-day than he did a score of years or a generation ago, it is because the Negro business man did not meet the era of cooperation and combination of white firms with a similar combination.

But the present era of cooperation enterprise among them, indicates two things: First, Negro business men have awakened not only to their opportunity, but to the call of cooperation; secondly, that the Negro race is developing and is prepared to support cooperation. Your community, wherever you may be, has doubtless witnessed recently the opening of some such Negro enterprise. Doubtless you recognize this same sentiment and tendency toward cooperation. Doubtless you recognize that out of it are the issues of the Negro's commercial growth, the industrial employment of your children and the standing of the race in your community.

Then you, we mean you, must not only preach cooperation, but practice cooperation. A few reasonable sacrifices may be necessary for a time, but stand by the race's business enterprises, not only with your moral support but with your money. This is the call of the hour, this is the call of your race.

Progress by Inches in Mid-South

"I have always been a friend to Negro education. I know there are some white people who do not believe in the education of the Negro, but I believe education is good for everything. The educated plant has made cotton king. The educated horse has made Kentucky famous, and the education of the Negro child is as essential as that of the white child."

This statement, accepted and recognized as commonplace in the North, is hardly short of revolutionary in the South. Made to the Association of Alabama Negro Teachers by the State Superintendent of Education, H. C. Gunnels, it has created a profound stir among the blacks and whites of Alabama. Mr. Gunnels is held in the highest esteem and gratitude by the Negroes of his State for the splendid work done in their behalf. During the last year as a result of his persistent efforts, the State has increased the school term by one month. At additional expense to the State, the Negro teachers of the State now attend the State Teachers' Association for conference and instruction without loss of pay. Ere long like Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana and Tennessee, Superintendent Gunnels will probably induce Alabama to make a small appropriation for a summer normal school for Negro teachers. Due also to the fair efforts of the

State Superintendent, the pay of those teachers—still unworthily and incredibly low—has been raised.

It is indeed progress by inches, which Negro education is making in Alabama under Mr. Gunnels. But this spells a long step in advance which the new school of Southern leaders and Southern

sentiment is taking. As in South Carolina, with her stalwart State Superintendent, John E. Swearingen, it spells the triumph of constructive and common-sense statesmen of the Gunnels type over the destructive radicals of the Vardaman type. It spells light ahead for the South and the Negro.



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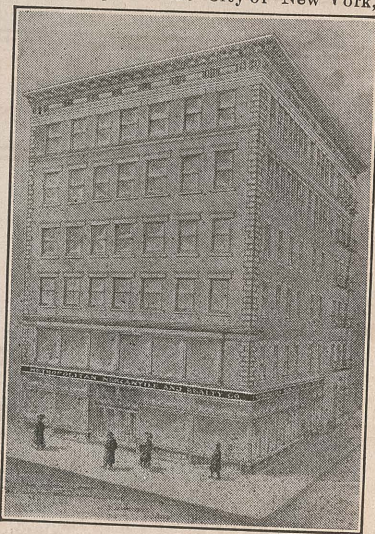
The Gibraltar of Negro Companies

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