

Light on Racial Issues

By
SUTTON E. GRIGGS

—Issued By—

The National Public Welfare League

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Memphis, Tenn.
1921.

PREFACE

In a very important sense, there is no such thing as an accident. A man falls from a scaffold and dies. The incident is reported as an accident. Neither the fall nor the death was an accident. Any other man of similiar proportions occupying the same position on the scaffold and acting in the same way, would fall in the same way, and the same degree of hurt would bring about his death. The races of men that have gone forward, in some way found the *laws* of human progress. Those that have lagged, in some way and for some cause missed the road.

Weakness, whether in the body of man or in the family of races, invites aggression. The germs of disease settle in the weak spots of the body, and the anti-social forces among men pick out the weak sections among men to prey upon. It is about as difficult to keep anti-social forces from preying upon the weaker elements as it is to keep tubercular germs from establishing colonies in the weak spots of the lungs. The thoughts found in "Light On Racial Issues" are sent out in the earnest hope that they make plain the paths that all races of men must tread if they are to attain unto their highest possibilities and thus rise above the plane of the weakened condition that invites aggression.

If the teachings herein presented are in keeping with the laws of nature and nature's God, they cannot be ignored. For "God is no respecter of persons"—or races.

Yours sincerely,

SUTTON E. GRIGGS.

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Measurement of Races.

[AN ADDRESS]

There are some things in our universe that remain unchanged by the flow of time and the coming of new conditions. Men are born and die, they sleep and dream and wake and digest their food now as always. We have no need to be on the alert for any changes in these fundamental processes which are ever the same among all men in all ages. But not so with what the world *thinks*. Thought is not one of the unchangeable things of the universe.

Opinions as to the proper relations that should exist between different races have varied from age to age. Conflicting views held by two certain religious leaders in different ages of the world's history serve to show how the thought of the world on the questions of race undergoes changes. In 1451 B. C., Moses, up to that time the world's greatest religious leader, expressed himself on a race question affecting his people in these words: "Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." These were not angry words spoken in a fit of passion. This policy was carried out to the letter, the prophet Samuel fulfilling the utmost requirement when he personally hacked Agag to death with a sword. In the year 1919, in the city of Nashville, Tennessee, at a conference called by Christian white men in an effort to patch up certain differences existing wholly within the ranks of colored men, Dr. J. B. Gambrell, white, said: "I ask nothing for myself nor for my children after me that I would deny to members of the Negro race." Dr. Gambrell is the religious leader of the largest denomination of white Christians in a section holding the largest number of people of two distinct races living in immediate touch with each other to be found anywhere in the world. His declaration is being followed by a movement by the white Christian forces back of him to build a five hundred thousand dollar seminary for the neighboring race. The difference in time between these two utterances is 3,370 years; the difference in spirit is infinite. We see how far the world has moved in thirty centuries.

Let it be understood in passing that we catch the true meaning of the utterance of Dr. Gambrell. We know that he wants the perpetuity of the white race as a white race, and would aid Negroes in the furtherance of a like ambition for themselves. He would like to have all the legitimate human needs of his people satisfied, and he would have the same for the Negroes. With these two posts marking the goal line he would press forward. This digression must be pardoned as the ghost of social intermingling is sought in almost all that men say and do concerning race questions, and it is sometimes profitable to proclaim his absence.

The question may be asked as to what can be the practical value of a discussion of what the world-thought is on race questions. In answer, we say, no man, however high or low, can afford to be indifferent to world opinion. Its reach is great and its grasp is powerful. It reached down and grasped the slave, toiling in the cotton fields of the South and lifted him up to citizenship in the world's greatest republic. This year it reached up and pulled from his throne and cast into exile the most powerfully supported monarch that ever ruled a nation. There is not one of us who is not in one way or another affected by world-thought. This is true whether we understand it or not. The blind man who has never seen the sun, nevertheless, is kept warm by it and is fed by what is produced by the aid of its rays. Realizing its importance we enter upon the discussion of our subject, "The Present Day Status Of World-Thought On Race Questions."

Jesus, the Christ, brought to a world operating along lines of the survival of the fittest the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, of love for the other fellow—altruism. The rush of His blood from a broken heart through a pierced side, down to mother earth planted in her bosom the seeds of altruism which have borne fruit that has shaped the destiny of the whole human family. It was this altruism that begot the potent doctrine of the native equality of all men. This doctrine found its largest expression in the period covering the latter part of the eighteenth century and the greater portion of the nineteenth. In 1792, which was near the close of the eighteenth century, a motion was carried in the English House of Commons providing for the gradual abolition of the slave traffic. In 1794 the French Convention decreed that the

rights of French citizens should be granted to all slaves in French colonies. In 1834 the British abolished slavery entirely within their dominions. In 1848 French slaves were emancipated. In 1863 the Dutch set their slaves free. The South, unmoved by world-thought, clung to its slaves, but they were violently torn from her grasp in the Civil War. Under the impulse of the doctrine of the native equality of all men the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the denial of the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, was adopted in the year 1869. In the year 1870, bills were passed by Congress providing fines and imprisonment for anyone who even tried to prevent the Negro from voting or to keep his vote from being counted.

But all of the forces that could be marshalled have not up to the present time been able to move our nation or the world one inch forward in a straight line from this point. The action just mentioned stands as the last recorded national act designed to incorporate the Negro race in the governmental structure without reservations. Further efforts were made by powerful forces but all have proved to be abortive. In 1875 a very comprehensive bill intended to make the Negroes of the South secure in their rights passed the lower House of Congress but was defeated in the Senate. Some years later, the Lodge Election Bill having the same purpose, passed the House but was defeated in the Senate. The Republican party's platform upon which Hon W. H. Taft was elected president, contained an unequivocal declaration in favor of enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment in letter and in spirit, but no legislation in that direction was attempted during his term of office. Today the agitation for the enactment of legislation based upon the doctrine of the native equality of all men is led mainly by groups of Negro leaders. Not an outstanding leader of the white race in any official position in any part of the country has announced an active policy in this direction.

What brought the movement to a close? Why is the world deaf to pleas for its renewal? It was thought by some that the world-war for democracy would breathe new life into the doctrine of the native equality of all men, but it is now seen that it has not done so. Why?

Take your feeling out of this matter. Do not hold one who is simply an interpreter responsible for what he sees. Be willing to look the cold facts of history squarely in the face.

The world began to feel the need of the resources of all the world. For example, the allies needed the oil fields of Mexico to help them to win the world war. Since the world feels the need of the world's resources, if races that are camped over these resources do not and cannot gather them and pass them out to the world, and will not let others do so in peace and safety, then let those races be taken in charge, was the new resolve. This conception of a world-need demanded a justifying philosophy before the moral forces could be mustered to put this policy into operation. Necessity is not only the mother of invention but it is also the cause of investigations that lead to new systems of thought. The advanced sections of mankind stood before the zones that they could not enter and outnumber the natives and possess as was the case with North America. If men of the advanced races could not go in and outnumber the occupying people of other races, how were the resources of these countries to be gathered and utilized? There now came a reopening of the question of equality among men. A new standard of measurement was instituted. Men were studied, not as individuals, but as members of society. They were now to be judged, not by what they were as individuals, but by what they were as teams and team-mates.

An illustration taken from the great American game, baseball, will make clear the new standard of measurement. Let us imagine the manager of the Detroit baseball team looking Mr. Cobb of Georgia over with a view to securing his services on that team. Mr. Cobb's record might show that he was the best batter and the best base runner in the world, but the manager would want to know whether he had the team-spirit. The time came in the history of that team when its chances for success depended in large measure upon Mr. Cobb's team-spirit. He was in a close contest for the honor of being the best batter of the season. Before the contest closed he announced that he would not win it. There was opportunity for him to make the necessary number of safe hits to win the honor, but in order for teams to win games, it is necessary for batters to make hits that they know will cause them to be put out, but which will advance other players toward the making

of runs. Mr. Cobb put aside his personal ambition to be known as the best batter of the season and held himself in readiness to make all needed sacrifice hits for the purpose of helping the team to win the games.

The advanced section of the world today has each of you standing against the wall, let us say, not to be measured by the height of your body, nor the beauty and carrying power of your voice, nor the strength of your intellect, nor the size of your purse, nor your courage upon the field of battle, but by your capacity for handling the civic duties of man.

Prof. Shaler Matthews says in his "Social Teachings of Jesus." Advance in civilization has not been accomplished by simply producing individuals of high religious and moral character."

Benjamin Kidd in his book "Social Evolution" states the case in these words: "It seems probable that there must arise a tendency to scrutinize more closely the existing difference between ourselves and the colored races as regards the qualities contributing to social efficiency, this tendency being accompanied by a disposition to relax our hitherto prevalent opinion that the doctrine of equality requires us to shut our eyes to differences where political relations are concerned."*** "Neither in the respect alone of color, nor of descent nor even of the possession of high intellectual capacity, can science give us any warrant for speaking of one race as superior to another. The evolution which man is undergoing is social evolution. There is, therefore, but one absolute test of superiority. It is only the race possessing in the highest degree the qualities contributing to social efficiency that can be recognized as having any claim to superiority."

In short the world demands a new chorus from the throats of the various races of men. The cry, "We are men. We think and feel as you do," no longer has weight. What is demanded is the shout, backed by evidence, "We are splendid team-mates, alert to the social duties of man and able to execute them with a high degree of efficiency."

I think I can make plain this new method of judging races by citing a case in the insect world. The ants have cows which they milk and feed. There is a green bug known as the Aphid which the ant places on such leaves as it likes to eat. This

bug makes a sort of honey that the ant likes. By stroking the abdomen of the bug with its antennae the ant is able to cause the honey to flow. A colony of ants sometimes has a large number of these green bugs. Let us suppose that these bugs decide that they are going to ask for a part in the governing of the ant colony. Suppose they say, "We are industrious, we make the honey upon which you ants feed and we demand our share in the government of this colony." The ants would say to them, "We concede that you are industrious and useful, but you lack the necessary social instincts, you do not know how to take an interest in what your fellows are doing and our colony cannot exist without that faculty. You know nothing about the recognition of leadership and we cannot get along without it. We must have class distinction in our colony. There is a male, a female, the worker, the soldier, and a small ant. While each of these performs a distinctive task, they all recognize the value of each other and cooperate with each other. Are you bugs capable of tolerating class distinction among yourselves"?

In short what the ants would demand of the bugs is that they possess capacities for social duties, and what the world now demands of races is that they manifest capacities for the social duties of man.

Not all groups of men are put on the same level in world-thought. The Czecho-Slavs, Jugo-Slavs and Poles are classed by the Versailles Peace Conference as worthy of being accorded an opportunity to show what they can do as groups without outside direction. The Koreans, Egyptians, Armenians, Africans and Filipinos are still held in a state of tutelage as groups.

In our own country we find that insistence upon unrestricted privileges for Negroes stops at points where such action would result in having the group-expression predominately shaped by members of the Negro race. Perhaps the most outspoken critic of the South on the race question that the North has developed in recent years has been the Chicago Tribune. Even this advanced critic is not contending that Negro groups shall be given control of white groups even where calculations based upon numbers would warrant it. It says "We admit frankly that if political equality had meant the election of Negro mayors, judges, and a majority

of Negroes in the city council the whites would have not tolerated it. We do not believe that the whites of Chicago would be any different from the whites of the South in this respect. We have been able to extend the essentials of citizenship to the Negroes freely because the whites are dominant in numbers.’’

Thus, we have before us the opinion of the world today that a race possessing social efficiency in a high degree has the moral right of rulership over a race not exhibiting the faculty, provided always that individuals shall have all their natural rights as men, with the understanding that these rights are not construed so as to result in giving group-control to those not manifesting a proper degree of social efficiency.

The very practical question that presents itself to the Negroes of the world is as to what is to be their method of dealing with this new world-thought. There are three courses of action open for them to attempt to pursue. They can attempt to ignore the demand for the development of social efficiency, and can attempt to seize control wherever their numbers constitute the majority. But wars in our day unsupported by world-opinion have not been successful. The South fought a war out of harmony with the world-opinion and lacked the support necessary to make her struggle successful. The Filipinos struggled with arms against the demand that they await the coming of social efficiency before being granted independence, but they did not get the needed outside support. Belgium fought in harmony with the world’s opinion of the sacredness of a treaty, and the controlling forces of the world helped her. So long as the world is not convinced that a group of Negroes has developed social efficiency it will not be in sympathy with any armed attempt to take over duties that demand social efficiency.

A second course is to attempt to convince the world that it is the part of wisdom for it to go back to the unmodified doctrine of the native equality of men and leave out of consideration all questions of social efficiency when reaching decisions concerning races. The two last great outstanding advocates of a return to the former method of deciding upon the

course to be pursued were the late George Frisbie Hoar, a republican, and Hon. William Jennings Bryan, a democrat. The issue was Phillipine independence. But the American people insisted upon considering, not only the desire of the Filipinos for independence, but the probable use to which they would put it if it came to them." "Have the Filipinos the social traits needed for the purpose of enlightened government" was asked and independence was held back to wait for a favorable answer.

There is a third course. The Negro race can decide to qualify under the new requirements. We have come forward as individuals. There stands our Douglas, our Washington, our Dunbar, our Kelly Miller, our DuBois, our Walker, our Trotter, our John Mitchell, Jr., and our Morris. We can now accept the challenge to come forward in our social capacities. We can decide to try to heal needless breaches in our life as a race which unduly tax our energies with contests with each other. We can devote increased attention to reducing our death rate, to caring for orphans, to providing avenues for expansion for our young people, to the teaching of the habit of saving, to the reduction of our percentage of criminality, to the amassing of property and to matters of education—all of which are social tasks calling for the qualities that make for social efficiency in general.

Let us take this our Convention as an example. We gather in large numbers each year, but are we cooperating? The mere fact that we come together does not signify that we are cooperating. A thousand flies may be together on a plate of molasses and yet will not be cooperating. Each one will be looking out for his own welfare only.

The point is we must learn to think in the terms of the other man's job. Our president has outlined a campaign for \$5,000,000. Can we, will we enter into his idea? Each one of us has his own individual undertaking. Have we the capacity to sacrifice our own ambitions and to limit our personal programs to such an extent as to make successful the larger programs?

In my opinion the foundation of all modern civilization was laid on the banks of the river Jordan when John in a certain sense committed suicide. He deliberately slew himself and made Jesus greater than himself. He turned men's minds

away from himself to Jesus. The spirit of blending influences is what makes possible modern civilization, and men are judged by their capacity for this blending process. Let us look at the state of things in our life as a race. Take note of the needless divisions in religious, fraternal and civic movements. If, in our religious life we are so feebly connected that a feather will knock us apart, that fact will stand against us in the judgment of men. Men cannot have double natures. We cannot have one character in religious life and another in civil life. The essential character of the soul of a race will manifest itself in whatever it takes part. If we have such dispositions that we cannot hang together in religious activities, men fear that if we had charge of this country with 48 independent states forming one great nation, it would soon become dismembered and would be 48 independent nations.

Can the Negro race hear the call to rise to the plane of collective efficiency? There are more than 300,000 insects in the world. Of the different insects, only one family has risen to the point where it has the ability to operate governments, and that family is the Hymenoptera comprising such insects as bees, ants, wasps, and hornets. The fact that only the one family out of more than 300,000 has reached the stage of collective efficiency shows us how difficult is this stage of evolution.

I speak to you tonight in the name of our brave boys who went across the seas, who withstood the liquid flames of the Germans, who marched amid the hail of bursting bombs, who charged and went over the top amid appalling scenes of death—I implore you leaders to see to it that the sacrifices of these boys were not in vain. The only way in which we can collect on their services is through social efficiency. Many a man has failed to collect a debt because he did not have a good collector; and many blessings that would come to our race fail to come because we have not equipped ourselves to collect. Let not our soldiers be disappointed as to the effects of their labors merely because we are not in a position to collect as a race for what they have done.

Social efficiency will enable us to do such magnificent things that it will add respect to men's minds as a factor in solving all of our problems. Just think of attempting a thing with full respect lacking in the mind of the persons to be approached. When a person has a feeling of contempt for an-

other, it is very likely to manifest itself in some manner. And races that have developed social efficiency do not have the greatest respect for the races that have not developed it.

A few days ago three men in a certain city committed a very heinous offense, it is said. These men will be tried according to law and perhaps will be killed, but in a legal way. If they had been Negroes there would have been danger of lynching and the disposition to lynch Negroes for the same offenses committed by whites is an expression of the feeling of contempt. We have simply got to lift our race in the esteem of the world and we can only do this by the development of social efficiency.

The matter of attaining social efficiency is a cause upon which everyone can unite, whether he is an advocate of force or a believer in the wisdom of the policy of trying to take the world back to its ancient faith.

To become a race that measurably lives up to its capacity, that possesses social efficiency, we must give special attention to certain matters of temperament, certain moral requirements and certain mental concepts. As to temperament there must be a conquest of jealousy, excessive emotionalism and brusqueness. In matters of morals, there must come a control of the appetites, honesty, truthfulness, reliability, and the spirit and the courage to work reforms. In the matter of mental concepts it must be realized that strength lies in unity rather than in needless, endless divisions. Each unit must count itself one. Every man must be ready to second readily and voluntarily the worthy efforts of others, and when necessary, to take the initiative in matters pertaining to the public good. Give us these qualities in sufficient abundance and the inevitable product is social efficiency. Let us teach these things from the pulpits, in our schools and by the family fire-side, and the next generation will find the Negro race meeting the world's new test.

Let us not confine the acquisition of social efficiency to our own country. The welfare of Liberia should be dear to the hearts of all of us. There our social capacities are freely on trial. The winds that have forced other small nations into harbors where they have been provided with alien masters have not thus affected Liberia up to this good hour. With Negroes at the helm, she yet sails the troubled waters of national existence. As this ship sails on and on, seeking to

make the port of a great destiny let us help to fill her sails, that the light of her glory may reach Negroes everywhere. We have it in our power to make Liberia a great nation. If we would but do what we can, if we would but make Liberia's cause our cause, we could make of it a nation as great as Japan.

It is my opinion that President Woodrow Wilson would have been glad to have turned over to the Africans the portion of Africa taken from the Germans. The world is waiting for us to develop social efficiency. It should be our endeavor to give to all of Africa the gospel, which is the real parent of all social efficiency. But care must be taken to emphasize along with other things those principles in the Christian religion that make for social efficiency.

It has been suggested by one of the world's greatest sociologists that a practically new Negro race is being formed in America and that this new race may be the world's dependence for furnishing the necessary social efficiency for the proper development of tropical Africa. Czecho-Slavs, who were captured and taken into the interior of Russia as prisoners, when set free, proceeded to organize a government which has since been recognized and put in charge of territory. We were captured and brought here. Why can we not display such unity of purpose, such capacity for joint action of a sane character, such evidences of statesmanship that the world will call upon us to serve as a mandatory for certain portions of Africa?

The future of Africa as a self-governing portion of the world is not so dark if we can but plant there all virtues essential to social efficiency. The people of Australia and Canada, because they had every essential of self-governing nations were welcomed to seats in the League of Nations. Not a shot was fired against the mother country to obtain this result. Thrusting aside anything of a doubtful nature that our judgment may have to say on the subject, and inspired by the peaceful recognition of these two great nations, let us listen to our hearts as they proclaim the coming of the day when Africa, at last clothed in her right mind, sends her full quota of representatives to sit in the forthcoming "Parliament of Man."

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOUTHERN SITUATION

Before a race can take its proper place in the world there must be a diffusion of general prosperity among the people. Not just a few but many should have a sure economic foundation. General prosperity of this character has not come to any race by the mere use of the muscles. Nature's aid is needed. Coal and iron, copper and silver, gold and diamonds have aided the respective peoples where they were found if they had the vision to use them.

As Dr. E. E. Branson of the University of North Carolina has said: "A landless, homeless people, white or black, may be as they are in this country nominally free, but in reality they are living on the level of economic serfdom. The man who has little or nothing, whatever his color, has scant regard shown him in the daily walks of life, in business circles, in courts and councils and legislative halls."

Nature's one offering to the Negro race where it can help on a large scale is the cotton fields of the South. In times past the Negroes have been taking advantage of nature's offerings. In North Carolina they own one-third of all the farms they operate. In fifteen counties of the state they own three-fourths of the farms they cultivate. In Virginia there are fifty-eight counties in which the Negroes own three-fourths of the farms they occupy. In Mississippi there are large numbers of our people who are worth from ten to one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. On one plantation after all expenses were paid, the hands were handed for their own use free from all incumbrances over \$600,000 as one season's pay-roll. Our race needs such places for its economic development.

Let us cooperate to shape such public sentiment in these sections where our people have good economic opportunities that life will be safeguarded, that a full measure of education will be accorded, and that every man will be allowed to hold and enjoy unmolested the fruits of his toil. These people are where they are, laying a needed economic foundation for the larger purposes of the race. As a people we are going to need all that they can earn and save and hold. But we must not disregard the welfare of these toilers for the good of their race. America did not forget her toilers across the sea, and we must not forget our army wherever located gathering in economic resources.

We wish to call attention of those who may have felt that the leaving of our people from the South would solve our American race question to a like conception in the past. Abraham Lincoln, foreseeing the perplexing difficulties inherent in any attempt to have two distinct races live side by side on terms of equality, and gravely doubting whether it would better the condition of the Negroes to set them free and yet keep them as underlings, was a persistent advocate of colonizing them in some country suitable to the purpose. In speeches made when he was a candidate for the Senate of the United States, and in messages to Congress as president, he urged this policy. He conducted negotiations with foreign governments in efforts to find a satisfactory place for this proposed colonization, and influenced Congress to make an appropriation for purposes of colonization. He is said to have held to such views as late as April 1865, and is reported to have abandoned the plan only after having been convinced by Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, who investigated the matter for him, that all the naval vessels and merchant marines in good condition in the possession of the government at the time would not be able to take the Negroes away to the nearest foreign country half as fast as Negro children would be born in the United States.

A little calculation on our part today will serve to show to what extent the obstacle that blocked Abraham Lincoln's plan stands in the way of our regarding a wholesale exodus of our people from the South as the only ideal solution of our problems. An instant's reflection will serve to show that we need a policy with additional angles. The emigration of foreign labor during the world war, the raising of the American expeditionary force, and the need of labor for war industries caused many avenues of employment in the North to be opened to the Negroes that up to that time had been closed to them. This caused an exodus of Negro laborers from the South which at its height reached the rate, it is estimated, of one hundred and seventy-five thousand a year. The average annual increase of the Negro population of the South for the coming period of 65 years, is estimated to be about 153,846 a year. If we subtract the natural annual increase of Negroes in the South from those leaving, we find that the actual annual loss in Negro population is about 21,154 persons. If there are about ten millions of Negroes in the South, and the

net loss is 21,154 a year, it will require 472 years to get the ten millions out of the South.

But unless some unforeseen happening intervenes the North will not be in a position to absorb as many Negro laborers as during the war period, hence, the rate of leaving will probably be much slower, thus requiring more than 472 years to empty the South of its Negro population. If there is any statesmanship in the Negro race, any looking out for the masses, then there must be thought as to a policy to be pursued for the Negroes who are to remain in the South for at least four hundred and seventy-two years. Not even a noon-day sun in a cloudless sky is clearer than the fact that the exodus is not an adequate remedy for the race question.

It is not our purpose here and now to outline a full policy for the Negroes to pursue with reference to the South, but to set forth what must be a cardinal feature of any policy that has any chance whatever to be more beneficial than harmful. In every age, in every land, there have been people who are just and humane. In spite of mob violence, injustice in the courts, poor educational facilities and unjust treatment—things that Negroes in some sections of the South encounter, there are white people in the South who abhor these things, who speak out against them, who wish fairness and justice meted out to all. The friendship of this class of white people should be openly acknowledged and their counsel and cooperation should be sought. We should lay upon their hearts the just grievances of the race, and should take counsel of them as to the best methods of overcoming the hostility of others of their race who are not so kindly disposed.

In this connection it is gratifying to be able to mention powerful new forces that are gathering beneath the standard floating over those battling for justice for and the progress of our people. The San Antonio Daily Express has established a fund of \$150,000 from which to offer rewards for the capture and the conviction of those who lynch. The Houston Post and The Atlanta Constitution are pointing out the need of federal action concerning lynching. Tennessee has a "Law and Order League" which favors making lynching a federal offense, and has helped to put on the statute book of Tennessee the law that the Governor said was needed to suppress mobs. The Southern Sociological Congress and the Mississippi Welfare League are two powerful organizations of

Southern white people striving to mould the sentiment that will bring to an end the reign of the mob. The people of Birmingham have organized a Community Council composed of both races designed to insure good relations between the races. The Memphis Chamber of Commerce has a strong committee known as the Industrial Welfare Committee which has for its object the promotion of the welfare of the Negro industrial workers. In all sections of the country, let us meet half-way all who are in any way seeking to make things better for our people.

There will come in the life of our race two different types of workers, the agitator and arbitrator. Do not let the thought develop that there is no necessity for the arbitrator. It is the arbitrator that finally brings about a settlement of things. He is the one that helps the people to reap whatever of good there was in the work of the agitator. There must be some one in whom both sides have confidence. Therefore, let the Negro race beware of despising the service of the arbitrator.

ADVICE TO NEGROES THAT HAVE GONE NORTH

We cannot bring this address to a close without offering a few suggestions to those of our race who recently have gone into sections where unrestricted privileges have been accorded our people, not perhaps because they were better than others of their kind but because they were fewer in number. There is a danger inherent in any situation where the restraints due to environing conditions are suddenly lifted. Hear the story of the insect called the "child of a day." The May fly is hatched at the bottom of a marsh or pond. For two or three years it lives in its mean home, eating mud, decayed plants and small animals, never once catching a view of the sky. Finally, its days of probation over, it comes to the surface, casts aside its gills, develops wings and soars aloft in the air. So joyful is it in its new life that it fails to eat and spends the major portion of its time in a merry dance. It has a great attraction for bright lights, to which it flies and is scorched, and dies. Often at Atlantic City, not many miles from here, great loads of dead May flies are carted away. God forbid that Negroes coming up out of the period of slavery, and out of many surroundings in the past of an unpleasant character—God forbid that they shall play the part

of human May flies to be scorched to death by the sinful pleasures of our great Northern cities. As leaders you must see that they do not act thus. By practicing self-restraint yourselves and by wholesome teachings you must force saving truths into their lives.

In the great, long drawnout battle before us as a race various weapons will be needed—the pen of power, the tongue of fire, the painter's brush, and the poet's song, but the greatest weapon is going to be a good character shining out of the life of every Negro, and that weapon is in reach of every man, woman and child.

And now we give you our final word which we hope you will carry with you. In all of our thinking, speaking and writing, whether in public or in private, let us bear in mind that race questions are the most difficult questions that have been committed to the hands of men. It was a race question that started the great world war. Seventeen different race wars were raging in Europe and Asia at one time following the close of the big war. The Turkish Empire is to be dismembered principally because of the manner in which it has handled its race questions. In view of the seriousness of the questions of race it behooves us all to be calm in spirit, careful as to utterances, sober in judgment, slow in action, patient in everything, knowing that with our cooperation, God can and will bring about everywhere a day of full justice for all men.

The Race Question Under Conditions That Differ.

A well dressed, well behaved colored man, walking along one of the crowded streets of London heard a disparaging remark concerning himself made by a white man. He stopped to challenge the remark. White people who had heard the uncomplimentary reference encouraged the colored man in his resentment. A ring was drawn on the sidewalk and the two men, surrounded by a crowd, were allowed to fight it out without interference by the spectators, all white persons. The colored man got the better of the conflict, and the crowd dispersed evidently satisfied with the outcome, especially the portion that heard the statement that brought on the battle.

Mr. Kidd, who was a witness of this incident, contrasted it with another experience which he had in South Africa, where he was criticized by a white official of the British government, because, upon the occasion of a visit to a native chief, he shook hands with the chief who was of middle age, clean and well behaved. The fear of the official was that that hand-shake might put the natives to dreaming of equality, of testing their strength with their rulers, which would have cost much effort and great slaughter in view of the overwhelming numerical superiority of the natives.

The contrast between the action of the London crowd of whites that calmly witnessed a fight between a colored and a white man, with sympathy on the side of the aggrieved colored man, and the rebuke of the white official in South Africa because he shook a colored man's hand made a profound impression upon Mr. Kidd. But he did not ascribe the difference in the two attitudes assumed, to a difference in the people involved, but to the difference in their surrounding circumstances. The population of London was overwhelmingly white, so, there was nothing to be feared from an assumption of equality on the part of the colored man; whereas, the colored people of South Africa were prepared from the viewpoint of numbers to give great trouble to the few white people in their midst.

In dealing with the race question in the United States the fact should be kept in mind that where the colored people are few in number an attitude will be assumed that will not be

taken where they are more numerous. If this fact is not considered, the colored people may be inclined to rush to the white people who seem to be different, only to find that the increase of numbers has brought about a change of sentiment.

Moreover, unless it is borne in mind that different circumstances create different states of mind, colored people living under one set of conditions may not have the proper feeling toward the methods of their fellows who labor under totally different circumstances, whereas the methods, despised at a distance may be the only methods that could be employed with any hope of success by any human beings however resourceful.

The late Dr. Booker T. Washington labored in a section where the superior numbers of the colored people would have given them control of the agencies of government if there had been no restrictions on the voting privilege. The removal of those restrictions in advance of a change of sentiment on the part of the neighboring white people would have brought on a physical clash with them. Unless Dr. Washington was prepared for this clash or could rely on national aid he was not in a position to precipitate it. He proceeded to win the favor of the white people by whom he was surrounded and to seek to develop a class of Negroes that would meet the approval of people everywhere, in the hope that they might gain by that process that which the nation was in no mood to give as a result of agitation and at the cost of a policy of armed intervention.

The agitation which was practically ignored where the colored people were few in number, would have been taken far more seriously if indulged in by Dr. Washington in the midst of an overwhelming Negro population. Yet there were persons who blamed him for not talking and acting exactly after the manner of those whose very inability to do any harm, whose utter weakness in their surroundings, caused their sayings to be regarded as harmless outpourings that would do less harm out of their systems than in.

Some species of ants have reached that stage of development where they realize that they need members of their society especially adapted to various purposes. Soldiers, workers and small ants, totally distinct classes, each with its special duties, are found in the same colony, offspring of the same parents. It is the duty of the soldier to go along with

the workers allowing them to carry all loads, while he loafs under all ordinary circumstances. But if an enemy appear or an unusual difficulty is encountered, the soldier gets into action. When the enemy has been conquered or the difficulty removed, the soldier returns to his life of ease, with the consent of the other ants who realize along with him that his mission is a special one. It is the duty of the "small ant" to enter places in search of food, that are too small for the "workers" to enter.

The admonition of Solomon to study the ways of the ant may well be heeded by the Negroes of the United States. Let them not suffer the delusion that one Negro who is not doing exactly what some others are doing, who deliberately refrains from doing some good things that others are doing, is necessarily untrue to the highest interests of his people. It is sometimes the case that the very highest service a man can render in the interest of the final triumph of that which is right, is to conserve his influence for use at a time when no one on earth could be of service except some one who had thus conserved his influence.

The three fundamental principles of our American civilization are said to be liberty, equality and fraternity.

The thirteenth amendment to the constitution brought liberty to the Negroes of the United States.

The fifteenth amendment brought equality.

There is no denial of the fact that in most of the states of the United States, the Negroes have a full measure of liberty and equality.

But privileges and honors in a democracy do not flow out of liberty and equality. They spring from the spirit of fraternity.

Liberty and equality can be bestowed upon an individual or a race by an outside force, but fraternity, good-will—cannot be bestowed from without. It must be won by the individual or race securing it.

The problem before the vast majority of the Negroes of this country is the problem of fraternity, the problem of securing the good-will of their fellow citizens.

The workers for liberty and equality must bear in mind then the workers for fraternity are engaged in a task of equal importance. Here is need for the wisdom of the ants, so that those who are concerning themselves about questions of lib-

erty and equality may realize that the workers for good will, though in a different line and using different methods, are contributing that to the situation, the absence of which will cause the liberty and equality to be no more than a hollow mockery.

It was the Christ who rebuked His jealous and unthinking disciples for their lack of appreciation of the services of some who were doing good that was apperent to all, merely because they did not chance to belong to their immediate band and were not marching in their ranks.

Negroes must work quietly, nobly, persistently in many distinct fields and in many different ways, in ways that may have the superficial appearance of being antagonistic, if they are to make the progress and to hold the friends needed in the solution of the stupendous problems that are before them.

Interventionists and Cooperators.

There has developed among the Negroes of the United States a division of opinion as to the best way in which to work to remedy whatever conditions are wrong with reference to their race in the South. As all other civilized races have developed different schools of thought, it ought not to be surprising to find the Negroes thinking in different channels as their intelligence increases. The first great test that comes to a race under a condition of divided thought is as to whether the respective groups are able to tolerate and respect each other, and are able to continue to work together on such things as they are agreed upon in spite of their disagreement on other matters.

With reference to the question as to the relations between the races in the South, the Negroes may be classified as interventionists and co-operators. The interventionists hold that the best way to adjust matters in the South is for the national government to intervene to make desired changes. They hold in mind that it was intervention that ended slavery and bestowed citizenship upon the former slaves. It is their belief that if a case of sufficient strength can be made out, another period of intervention will ensue, and they seek to give all possible aid to the forces abroad upon which they are relying for the execution of a policy of intervention.

The co-operators do not expect the National government to intervene forcibly in the South in any large way. They think that the nation is going to confine itself to a policy of moral suasion and attempts at peaceful penetration. For a number of years, thoughtful men in the United States have been convinced of the great danger of the coming of two wars involving the United States with certain foreign powers. One of the expected wars has now taken place. The other possibility is taken more seriously as the years pass. Newspapers in the South already are publishing editorials letting the world know just where that section is going to stand if there is to be an armed conflict. The Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tennessee, says: "We do not object at all to the note thus sounded by a leading Japanese voice. Indeed, we are glad to hear it, for it confirms what we already believed, and it is a good thing to know exactly what one may expect. But if anyone imagines that a hundred millions of

Americans are to be intimidated by such language, or that they can be made to swerve a hair's breadth from their own course, or that they will desert California, then such a person is due for a startling disillusionment." It has been the settled policy of the North for many years so to act as to have the South in this fighting mood, in the event of trouble with a foreign power. This consideration has helped to cause the North to avoid doing that which might stir deep, bitter and powerful resentment in the breasts of their white fellow citizens of the South. They realized clearly that in the time of a great war, a powerful, united and disaffected section could easily achieve its independence if it so desired.

It is estimated that there are 1,700,000,000 human beings living in the world today. Of this number, 1,156,000,000 are colored people and 544,000,000 are white. Thus the colored people in the world outnumber the whites more than two to one. While the white people constitute only about thirty-two percent of the world's population, they control just a little less than nine-tenths of the world's inhabitable territory, a great deal of which is territory in which colored people overwhelmingly outnumber the white people. In the face of a world situation on this order cooperators little expect one section of the white race in the United States to embitter another to the point of fighting over the question of putting political control into the hands of Negroes.

A policy of intervention was advocated by such noted characters as Grant, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas B. Reed, and Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, but the North would not sustain them in their contentions. Ex-President Taft and the late Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, did not attempt intervention and both let it be known publicly that they did not regard that method as one calculated to do any good, although Mr. Taft was elected to the presidency on a platform specifically promising intervention.

It is well to understand the philosophy of political campaigns in the United States. The saying of things that seem to point in the direction of intervention is now accepted in thoughtful circles as the outgrowth of what is regarded as a political necessity, and while the practice is derided by the opposing political party, it is no longer allowed to excite real apprehension. Outside of campaigns, ample assurances are

given that the period of intervention is over. The late Senator A. P. Gorman of Maryland is credited with having blocked the latest formidable movement in the direction of intervention led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who was at that time a member of the House of Representatives. When Senator Gorman died, the New York Tribune, the leading Republican paper of the East, cited his blocking of the movement toward intervention, as a great service to the nation.

The late James G. Blaine thus summed up the difficulties in the way of intervention by the national government:—
“When therefore the nation by subsequent change in its Constitution declared that the State shall not exclude the Negro from the right of suffrage, it neutralized and surrendered the contingent right before held, to exclude him from the basis of apportionment. Congress is thus plainly deprived by the Fifteenth Amendment of certain powers over representation in the South, which it previously possessed under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. Before the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, if a State should exclude the Negro from suffrage, the next step would be for Congress to exclude the Negro from the basis of apportionment. After the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, if a State should exclude the Negro from suffrage, the next step would be for the Supreme Court to declare that the act was unconstitutional, and therefore null and void. The essential and inestimable value of the Fourteenth Amendment still remains in the three other sections, and pre-eminently in the first section.

“The contentions which have arisen between political parties as to the rights of Negro suffrage in the Southern States, would scarcely be cognizable judicially under either the 14th or 15th Amendment to the Constitution. Both of those amendments operate as inhibitions upon the power of the State, and do not have reference to those irregular acts of the people which find no authorization in the public statutes. The defect in both Amendments, in so far as their main object of securing rights to the colored race is involved, lies in the fact that they do not operate directly upon the people, and therefore Congress is not endowed with the pertinent and applicable power to give redress.”

In view of all these difficulties in the way, a party of co-operators has sprung up in the Negro race. Thus, while the interventionists are on the search for brave, fair minded

white men in the North to lead the way, the co-operators are making the same sort of search for white men in the South with hearts charged with a sense of justice for all men. That the nation as a whole is depending on the work of the Negro co-operators is made plain in the essay "The American Negro and Changed Conditions."

The American Negro And Changed Conditions

The colored people of the United States have grown accustomed to looking to the North for the attainment of results in the South. Freedom, the fifteenth amendment to the constitution, college education, and high political station are among the things that came to them from the North. Nothing is more natural than that they should continue to look expectantly in that direction. While it is true that these great things have come out of the North, in considering the prospect of getting other things from the same source, common sense dictates that account be taken of changed conditions. The things cited came at a time of bitter hatred between the sections. When the North not only felt that the South was entirely in error, but that she was entitled to dire punishment. With the North in that frame of mind, it was not difficult to arouse it to the point of over-riding utterly the wishes of the South.

NORTH'S CHANGED ATTITUDE

Now, time has fully healed the wound in the nation's heart. Instead of hating the South, the North now loves, respects and sympathizes with it. There is no more staunch and consistent Republican newspaper in the North than The New York Tribune. It bears witness to the change of sentiment in the North in these words: "The ancient suspicion and criticism are dying out, and if the North has doubts about any steps the South is taking to solve its peculiar problem, it is slower than its wont to condemn, quicker to admit the difficulty that be-sets the South, less ready to present offhand solutions and more disposed to give full faith and credit to the honesty of Southern convictions regarding the necessity of what the South is doing".

The reversal of the theory of government on the part of the United States that grew out of the war with Spain has had its effect on the policy of the North toward the South on the race question. The South had been insisting that the Negroes as a race were unprepared to exercise the full governing power and should pass through a period of tutelage. When the Phillipine Islands came into the possession of the United States as a result of the Spanish-American war, the North assumed the posi-

tion that the Filipinos were not prepared to exercise the full governing power and should be made to pass through a period of tutelage, whether they desired to do so or not. It would have been a difficult thing for the North longer to denounce as rank sinners all who held to the theory that the degree of development attained by a race should be a factor in shaping the policy to be adopted toward that race with reference to matters of government. The eloquent orator or the fiery writer condemning the iniquity of ruling people without their consent would have had the image of the Philippines rising to lessen the fervor of the denunciation. So the North grew milder in its attitude toward the South.

EFFECT OF UNPREPARED IMMIGRANTS.

Another factor in changing Northern sentiment has been the going to that section of a large number of colored who had had no opportunity to acquire the habits and graces of cultured city people. The sharp contrast between the newcomers and the Northern white people has raised a question as to whether people in their general state of development are fully prepared for all the responsibilities of citizenship.

PAST EXPERIENCES

There was a period in the history of the South at the close of the Civil War when the Negroes played a conspicuous part in the affairs of government. The written record of those days, whether true or false, has not tended to build the faith of the North in the capacity of the Negro race to operate governments.

POLICY WHERE NEGROES ARE IN THE MAJORITY.

In some sections of the South the Negroes outnumber the white people. This condition exists in two states, Mississippi and South Carolina, and many Southern cities and towns; in 21 counties in Alabama, 14 in Arkansas, 10 in Florida, 66 in Georgia, 25 in Louisiana, 38 in Mississippi, 14 in North Carolina, 2 in Tennessee, 8 in Texas, 33 in South Carolina, and 32 in Virginia. Holding in mind the present state of public opinion in the North is it reasonable to suppose that section is ready to use its power to put the Negroes into a position where their majorities will not only enable them to rule themselves but their white neighbors as well?

Just below Memphis, Tenn., lies Tunica County, Mississippi. The colored people of the county outnumber the white people about in the ratio of eighty-five to fifteen. If the Federal government takes charge of elections in that county it will mean that the eighty-five Negroes there will not only govern themselves but will also govern their fifteen white neighbors. Is the North ready to use force to bring about that result? A nation that sends soldiers to enable white people to control the colored people of Hawaii, the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hayti and the Virgin Isles, would hardly so far reverse that policy as to send troops into states of the main land to guarantee Negro control. The truth is that instead of the North being in the mood at present to use its greater strength to put Negroes in control where they are in the majority, the Northern organs of public sentiment are beginning to say to the world that under like conditions in the North, the policy of that section would change. The Chicago Tribune, a staunch Republican newspaper, says: "When there are enough Chicago Negroes to elect Negro mayors, judges, and legislators, even William Hale Thompson will be with the dominant white minority."

LOCAL SENTIMENT AN IMPORTANT FACTOR.

But even if the present feeling in the North were all that the Negroes desire it to be, still there exists the same sense of danger involved in ignoring and over-riding the predominant sentiment of millions. England was warned against such a course but failed to heed the warning and thus lost the Thirteen Colonies. Sir Edmund Burke, sounding the note of warning, said: "The use of force is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again, and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered."

The late Hon. James G. Blaine said, "The task of enforcing obedience to laws, when obedience is not in the hearts of the people is the most difficult task ever imposed upon the governing power."

NEED OF A UNITED NATION

The United States has moved forward into a commanding position in the affairs of the world and occupies a position that has in it possibilities of danger. Our soil and unoccupied

lands make an appeal to over-crowded oriental countries, but our nation waves its hands and orders the orientals to stay from her shores. The Monroe Doctrine shields the Western Hemisphere from European nations whose over-crowded condition causes them to look longingly over here. If our advantages be regarded as a crown, it is to be remembered that "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." The voting of hundreds of millions of dollars for the increase of our navy, and of many millions for airships is a sign that our statesmen feel the last war has not yet been fought. They know not what awaits the country in the way of wars. They desire to keep all members of the national family content with their membership. They are determined that the coming of possible wars shall not find the United States dismembered in spirit, but thoroughly united. They are bent on seeing that no section will desire to leave the union.

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, who was the unflinching spokesman of the Northern element that at one time demanded federal regulation of elections in the South, states his present views in these words:

"The spirit of national unity is vital to the United States. It has been the dearest hope of all right-thinking men ever since the Civil War to see that spirit rule throughout the country. Wonderfully developed by the few months of the Spanish War, it has become under the stress of the great war with Germany stronger and more vivid than ever, and should be cultivated by all men and women and by all parties.

"We are now confronted by the gravest problems, at home and abroad, which this country has ever faced except in the days of war. For their successful solution we must have the keenest sense of national unity everywhere. We must all deal with these problems as Americans and without any sectional leanings or prejudices. The Republican party should make its appeal, north and south, east and west, to all Americans who love their country, without regard to section or difference of long ago, now happily dispersed and gone, we believe, forever."

BLOOD FELLOWSHIP.

Whether it is pleasing or displeasing, it must be realized that the North recognizes the extreme difficulty of maintaining peaceful relations with the South while at the same

time coercing it with reference to the colored people. If forced to choose between the friendship of the white people of the South and that of the colored people, between stimulating a new desire on the part of the white people of the South to get out of the union, and remaining inactive with regard to matters affecting colored people, the white people of the North might decide to please the stronger side and also heed the call of blood fellowship.

EVIDENCES OF CHANGED SENTIMENT.

Incidents are not lacking to make clear the present state of the mind of the nation toward regulating affairs in the South. Recently colored leaders attempted to have congress enact laws touching the separation of the races in interstate travel. Only twelve members of the House of Representatives voted in favor of interference with the privilege which the states now have of separating passengers according to race. More recently the Supreme Court of the United States has handed down a decision sustaining the rights of the states in this matter. One of the most representative Negro newspapers in the country, *The Freeman*, published at Indianapolis, Ind., commenting on the drift of sentiment with reference to the race says: "We see on all sides a feverish activity to get away from the Negro."

The late Prof. Nathaniel S. Shaler, one of the deans of Harvard University, in summing up the state of the public mind in the North on the race question, said, in his book, "The Neighbor:" "The need of abandoning Federal legislation concerning the Negroes has, at length, after a generation of blundering, become apparent to our people, as is evident from the neglect of a Republican Congress to go further on the mistaken way."

A REJECTED PLEA FOR INTERVENTION.

Largely through the vote of Negroes, one Adelbert Ames, who hailed from Massachusetts, was elected to the governorship of Mississippi soon after the Civil War. When the white people of the state began to resort to force with a view to driving him from power, he made a plea to President Grant for federal troops.

President Grant urged Congress to pass a law that would have permitted the use of federal troops to handle situations

like that of Gov. Ames. This was in 1875, when the passions aroused by the Civil War were still strong; nevertheless, a Republican Congress refused to pass the bill. If Gen. Grant was not allowed to send troops to sustain a white man from the North in the governorship of Mississippi, when the Civil War was but ten years in the past, is it likely that, with the Civil War much further in the distance, there is sufficient sentiment in the nation to cause troops to be sent to sustain officials owing their election to office to votes of Negroes cast in opposition to the prevailing sentiment of the white population?

PUBLIC SENTIMENT CONTROLS.

From time to time campaign utterances of candidates for the presidency of the United States may seem to point strongly toward a policy of intervention, but all that a candidate says must be considered in the light of public sentiment. Whatever may be his personal views, he can do but little beyond what is sanctioned by prevailing public sentiment.

Perhaps the most vigorous character that ever sat in the president's seat was the late Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Early in his first administration he asserted his desire to have some Negro hold an important political office in every state where there were large numbers of Negroes. He began his movement by nominating a Negro for an important office in Charleston, S. C. The movement was not sustained by a vigorous public sentiment. As a result, few appointments were made in the face of a hostile local public sentiment, and his successor in the office of president openly renounced the attempt and gave the assurance that he would be guided in such matters by local sentiment.

UNWRITTEN LAWS.

In spite of what has been said in explanation of the national policy, there may be those who base their hope of national intervention upon the stimulation of reverence for the constitution of the United States which expressly forbids the denial to citizens of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," and gives to Congress the power to enforce that provision in the constitution.

It is important to know the unwritten as well as the written laws of our country. It is an error of great magni-

tude to suppose that Anglo-Saxons have only one way in which to repeal laws or modify constitutions. Merely watching legislative bodies to observe what laws are passed or repealed does not go far enough to find out all that has happened. Anglo-Saxons have a way of repealing enactments by a common understanding among themselves. Difficult and delicate questions, the adjustment of which, by legislation, might bring to a crisis other grave questions that are pregnant with possible evil, are settled by the process of common understanding rather than by legislative enactment.

A question of the order named is that of the authority of the King of England to veto laws passed by Parliament. The right of veto, formerly exercised by the king, has never been withdrawn by law, but has been set aside by common understanding. Agitation in favor of the enactment of a law withdrawing the right of veto might lead to a discussion of the desirability of the office of king, which has ceased to function in the old way since England has become a democracy in practice, although not in name. The king is yet the dominating figure of the social life of the nation, and is useful in the diplomatic service and as a rallying center for the affections of all the people. There is a strong desire to maintain these helpful features associated with the office of king, but he is not desired as a controlling factor in legislation. This state of affairs has caused the people of England to eliminate the king from legislative affairs by the policy of common understanding, while he is retained in the other spheres. Thus, for many years, no ruler of England has vetoed a bill and none are expected to do so in the future.

AMENDMENT BY COMMON UNDERSTANDING.

Has the Fifteenth Amendment been modified by the process of common understanding, which, in Anglo-Saxon life, is as effective as a legal enactment? The amendment has been retained in the constitution as a national ideal toward which all the states are to strive, but common understanding for the time being has shorn Congress of the privilege of being the power to put it into force. Each Congress that has attempted to override this common understanding has been

turned out of power. While the ideal remains in the constitution the common understanding has assigned to the several states the task of working up to it.

NEGOTIATION SUPERSEDES INTERVENTION.

The case is clear, beyond all manner of doubt, that the nation has passed from a policy of intervention to that of negotiation. The late Col. Theodore Roosevelt, stating the new demand of the nation, said that the only practicable way of securing justice and fair dealing for the colored man is "by encouraging in every part of the country good feeling between the white and colored men who are neighbors, and by appealing to the white men, who are the colored man's neighbor, and who alone can help, to give such help, not because they are forced by outsiders to do so, but as a matter of honorable obligation freely recognized on their own part."

THE CIVIL WAR A FIGHT FOR ANGLO-SAXON SOLIDARITY.

As an offset to all that has been here presented there may come into the mind the thought that the North was asleep once before on the race question, and woke to fight, and therefore may be awakened again. Lest that thought take root and thus cause false hopes to thrive, it is important for all time to come that the Negroes catch the true significance of the Civil War. It was not a case of one Anglo-Saxon pounding another to make him do right toward someone else. It was rather the case of one brother grappling with another to prevent the breaking up of the family because of a family quarrel about an outsider. In an effort to maintain the family union, the United States Senate and the House of Representatives passed, by two-thirds majorities in each house, a resolution submitting to the states a proposed amendment to the constitution prohibiting any future amendment that would give Congress the right to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed. Those of the Negro race who are expecting the North to follow criticism of the South with a policy of coercion should note well this expressed willingness of the North to endure slavery forever if such a course would but hold the white people of the South in the family.

CHANGES ARE SOMETIMES NECESSARY.

The wisest races of men sometimes make mistakes in choosing the ground upon which battles are to be fought. The Allies were entirely in error in their original plans to capture the Dardanelles. The victory that brought that result came upon ground far removed from the place originally chosen for the attack. When the course of events clearly demonstrated that the Allies had chosen the wrong ground upon which to make their attack, there was no tender nursing of false pride, but a frank admission of error. Persistence did not degenerate into stubbornness. They changed the battle ground and won the battle.

When the South felt the need of rousing the fighting blood of her sons, she put forward Robert Toombs, who could sound in thrilling fashion the bugle call to war. When the struggle was shifted from the field of blood to the deliberations of the people of the North as to the course to pursue, the South put forward the eloquent Henry W. Grady to win patient consideration, while the leaders of the South went about the difficult task of slowly readjusting the minds of the people to changed conditions. If the scene of the struggle as to the attitude the South is to pursue is to be transferred to the South, and the minds and the hearts of the Southern white people are to be approached for manifestations of interest in the welfare of the colored people, then clearly the need of the Negro race is men who have the tact, the wisdom, the courage, the patience, the broad human sympathy and the righteousness of heart so necessary to leadership in a cause so grave and delicate.

If, then, we are to give the nation's present plan a trial, there must come a revision of the plans of those who have been hoping for the coming of a second Garrison, a second Harriet Beecher Stowe, a second Frederick Douglass with the power so to stir the heart of the North as to induce it to use its huge majorities and the machinery of the national government to grant certain privileges to the Negroes, regardless of the extent and degree of intensity of the opposition to be encountered in the South. The need of the hour is not a Balaam to curse, but an Esther to plead successfully the cause of millions, winning for them sympathy and patience, where patience is needed, and co-operation and full justice at all times and everywhere in all the avenues of life.

QUALIFICATIONS NEEDED FOR THE NEW TASK.

To do any good whatever for the millions of Negroes that are now in the South and for the millions that are yet to be born there, this Esther must be on friendly terms with the fairer minded, progressive white people of the South that they may aid in the great task of opening larger doors of opportunity for the members of the Negro race.

Up to the present time there has not been written, perhaps, a clearer or more comprehensive treatment of the race question in the United States than that presented by Mr. George S. Merriam in his great book, "The Negro and the Nation." He outlines the qualifications demanded of Negro leaders by the nation in these words: "Self-abnegation, patience, power alike to wait and to do—these are the prices they are called to pay. But the prize set before them is worth it all—the deliverance of their people, and **the harmonizing of the long alienated races.**"

The Negro leadership for which the nation and the hour call is not a leadership that merely reiterates the ideals upon which the government is founded, but one that has a practical suggestion as to how those ideals can be carried out where the ratio of the Negro population to the white threatens the white population with political submergence, a fate to which the interested white people object, with the white race throughout the world sanctioning the objection. The task is no easy one, and the surest sign of unfitness for the task is evidence that it is regarded as something that can be handled by a logical syllogism, or by a ready snap of the finger or by the mere use of bitter words of denunciation.

FROM DENOUNCER TO PERSUADER.

When the chief expectation of the Negro race was help from the outside, the man with the greatest capacity as a denouncer was the hero of the hour. Now that the situation has entirely changed and the nation hesitates, hesitates, hesitates to apply force, the prime need is no longer a denouncer, but a persuader.

Can the Negro race produce a persuader? Having come over from an era of simple denunciation will the colored people of the United States have the spiritual vision to accept and co-operate with the persuader, or will his necessary

kindliness of tone, general attitude of conciliation, and his seeking of progress, foot by foot, be understood? Feelings on race questions are intense, and when overwhelmed by these feelings men sometimes misunderstand their best and truest friends. The white people of the South misunderstood Abraham Lincoln, who was always in his heart their greatest friend. But Lincoln, though misunderstood, stood by those whom he dearly loved, went right on loving and working on earth until a misguided hand sent his spirit into the spirit land. The call is unto the Negro workers in the new era to be faithful unto death.

DO NOT CLOSE UNHEALED SORES.

The course here suggested as being demanded by the plain attitude of the nation and the words of its recognized spokesman does not involve cessation of protest against every form of injustice. By no means. It will do the nation and the world no good to attempt to close up an unhealed sore. The pent up corruption would affect its entire life. Therefore, protest, vigorous, unceasing, uncompromising protest against every form of injustice should be made, but it should be made so as to bear needed fruit with the local forces which the nation has decided not to attempt to reach at the present by coercive measures.

A STUPENDOUS TASK.

Before this whole stupendous task of favorably affecting public sentiment in the South, the pessimists, the timorous, the faint-hearted may feel deserted, helpless, paralyzed, and may demand of history to furnish grounds of hope. Time and again in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race has hostile sentiment been changed. The white women and the prohibitionists started out in the midst of hostility of the rankest sort, but kept struggling until the hearts of the people were changed. The South waged war not desiring to let go its slaves. Since that time it has taxed itself to educate the children of those slaves. A governor of one of the ex-slave states is now engaged in a movement to secure an endowment of two million dollars for a Negro University in his state.

GROUNDS FOR HOPE.

To those who think that there is something in the Southern soil or atmosphere or tradition that renders hopeless movements in the Negro's interest, let history speak. James G. Birney, born in a Southern state, Kentucky, and living later in Alabama, in 1840 was the first nominee for the presidency of the United States upon an anti-slavery platform. It was he who led the planting of the seeds that bore harvest in 1860. When, in 1856, the Republican party was born, and was in need of a vigorous character to lead it to conquer first the strongholds of the North, the man chosen for the task was John C. Fremont, who was born in Savannah, Georgia, and reared in South Carolina.

One might say that the poor white man in the South will ever hold the Negro down. Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator, was a Southerner out of the poorest class. It might be said that the men named were not Southerners at the time of their respective contributions to Negro welfare. But, those were white Southerners, all, who defeated, at the polls in Arkansas, the grandfather clause looking toward Negro disfranchisement. It was Chief Justice White of Louisiana who handed down the decision of the United States Supreme Court, wiping the grandfather clause from the constitutions of such states in the South as had adopted it.

The proposed amendment to the federal constitution giving the women the privilege of voting had secured the adherence of thirty-five states, but needed one more state, in order to have favorable action on the part of the necessary three-fourths of all the states. It was contended in the South that the adoption of this Amendment would confer the privilege of voting upon millions of Negro women. In spite of this argument, it was Tennessee, a Southern state, that boldly stepped forth and ratified the amendment, thus furnishing the necessary additional state at a time when the prospects for early success were indeed gloomy.

WHEN NEGRO VOTERS FEEL FREE IN HEART AND MIND.

The suggestion that the white South is open to reason on the question of Negro suffrage may be hooted at because of past actions and present conditions, but it must be remembered that in times past white people of the South have re-

garded the efforts of Negroes in politics as being efforts directed toward rewarding the North for past favors at the expense of the South. We all know full well what the attitude of the white South has been toward efforts that were construed to be in the interests of Northern rivals. It is yet to be determined what the attitude of the white South would be if the white people were fully convinced that the Negroes were at last free in heart and mind to use the ballot to foster the interests of themselves and their neighbors. Self-interest is one of the most powerful motives operating in the human bosom. Negroes struggling for the ballot with the self-interest of the white South arrayed against them naturally would fare worse than if that self-interest were enlisted in their favor. The suffrage question in the South is not a hopeless tangle when the proper state of mind has been reached all around.

BEHOLD THE JEWS.

If, in spite of all that has been said, pessimism still grips the heart of a Negro and causes him to regard as a wicked mocker anyone who comes bearing a lighted torch of hope, then let him but glance at the record of the Jews, who have furnished the world with its guiding moral principles and religious ideals. After one hundred years of suffering, the Jews of England, in the year 1290, were driven out of the country and were not allowed to return until the time of Cromwell, nearly four hundred years later. Though the laws expelling them were not repealed, they were finally allowed to return, and after a little more than two hundred years from the time of their return they had developed the premier of the country, who was next in power to the king. At Strassburg, in France, two thousand Jews were burned on one scaffold. In all European countries they were segregated and denied the right to farm or serve as mechanics. The legal oppression of the Jews lasted for nearly two thousand years and only came to an end with the beginning of the nineteenth century. At a time when the Jews of Germany were in a far worse plight than are the Negroes of the United States, Moses Mendelsohn, a Jew, won the esteem and cultivated the good will of the German people and was one of the most potent factors in paving the way for their escape from the ills under which they had suffered.

A VITAL QUESTION.

Can the Negroes develop a man with Mendelsohn's spirit, possessing the power to lead white America, North and South, into larger sympathy with the just aspirations of the Negro race; or will the demand go forth that the test of loyalty to the race must be a bitter, unsympathetic tone that seals the heart of white America against further approach? In this universe of changing conditions the acid test of all living creatures, that which determines whether they live or die, go forward or backward or remain stationary is their capacity for readaptation. The test is now applied to the Negro race as to whether it can change from the policy of being content merely to hold up the evils in the South to outsiders for correction to holding them up to the South in a way to secure co-operation or the acquiescence of the South in plans leading to their corrections.

Perhaps in every age of the world since the crucifixion of Christ there have been people who have lived in hourly expectation of His return to earth in person. But those who have thus held have not forbidden the activities of others who believed that His kingdom was to come in some other way. So those leaders of the Negro race who live in hourly expectation of seeing the strong arm of the national government stretched throughout the nation in a way to result in the election of Negro governors of states, mayors of cities, and so forth, wherever the Negro population exceeds that of the whites—regardless as to how the white people of the regions involved would view such happenings, must not grow to feel that they alone are to be regarded as the only anointed, working for the good of their group. "There is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death.'

In the end, the policy of appealing to the best that there is in men must win, if the teachings of Jesus are to continue to be the hope of mankind. And though the stars fall they shall thus continue.

Two Political Methods Contrasted

No question in American politics can be regarded as finally settled until all the strong political parties have accepted the proposed solution. The tariff question is yet an unsettled question because, while one strong political party favors one tariff policy, another favors a different policy. The result is that the tariff changes according to the political party in power. Prohibition and woman's suffrage are at last settled questions because all political parties now favor them.

The question of the participation of the Negroes in the affairs of government throughout the entire country is not a settled question, and, following the rule, will not be until there is general agreement between the great political parties on the subject. Like the tariff it occupies an uncertain place in the political life of the nation.

It is not a helpful thing for a race to feel that it is an issue in every campaign that is waged, and the statesmanship of the Negro race should be directed toward getting the race question out of politics as an issue, and toward placing it in the class of settled questions, with all great political parties acquiescing in the settlement.

Fortunately, the Negroes can study the methods employed by the leaders of causes that at one time were in great disfavor with all major political parties, but are now heartily favored by all. It has been the policy of the leaders of all the causes that have reached a final settlement to cultivate and accept cordially the friendship of men of all political parties. No decree was issued that a man, to be supported, must leave the party of his choice, regardless of his zeal for a cause in his own party. Prohibitionists had a party, but they were the friends of the friends of prohibition in all the parties and went to the rescue of their friends whenever and wherever they were in jeopardy on account of their friendship for prohibition. It was a fixed rule with the leaders of the prohibition movement to make it entirely safe for men in all parties to favor prohibition.

The women took the same attitude. A woman's party was formed but there was no sentiment created to the effect that support was to be withheld from all men, whatever their devotion to the cause of woman's suffrage until they

pulled out of their own parties and joined the woman's party. The result in the cases of prohibition and woman's suffrage is that success has left no strong political party in their rear to menace what they have gained.

The prohibitionists, as has been stated, made it a rule to make it safe for any man in any party to help their cause. The Negro is being taught in some quarters that it is improper to step outside the party lines to help a man even if that man is being destroyed principally because of his friendship for the Negro. The prohibitionists held that every friend of their cause elevated to a seat of power in a party hostile toward their cause was that much of a gain in the direction of a change of policy in that party, the end that was being sought. When a prohibitionist voted for some friend of prohibition who was not a member of that party, he was not read out of his party and called a traitor because of his act.

Shortly after the close of the Civil War, the party which the Negroes credit with being responsible for their overthrow, in passing upon the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, which had been adopted, resolved in national convention, to oppose any reopening of the questions that had been settled and "to recognize the equality of all men before the law, and the duty of the government in all of its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nationality, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political."

Here was the very situation that must ultimately come and abide if ever the race question is to disappear as a political issue. Subsequent events show that the most important thing for the Negroes to have done was so to demean themselves as to keep disarmed the power, which, if utterly alienated, could displace them from all their gains. But, fresh from the long night of slavery, afraid of being re-enslaved and ignorant of the great danger of developing the permanent hostility of a powerful minority, they decided as a matter of safety to vote only for men with their party's name over them, and against all men not having their party's name over them, regardless as to the respective characters, achievements and pronounced tendencies of the men involved. It was thus that they felt their way in the dark.

While that course was perhaps a natural one under the

circumstances, the result was also natural. The policy of devotion without the practice of discriminating choice, led to the following conditions set forth by the late Jas. G. Blaine, the most distinguished Republican of his day in his book—"Twenty Years In Congress:" "The consequence was that some of the States had wretched governments, officered by bad men, who misled the Negro and engaged in riotous corruption. Their transgressions were made so conspicuous that the Republican leaders of other Southern States, who were really trying to act their part worthily and honorably, were obscured from view, and did not obtain a fair hearing at the bar of public opinion. The government of South Carolina, under its series of Republican administrations, was of such character as brought shame upon the Republican party, exposed the Negro voters to unmerited obloquy, and thus wrought for the cause of free government and equal suffrage in the South incalculable harm. These Southern State governments proved a source of angry contention inside the Republican party of the North, and thus brought one more calamity to the Negro."

What was it that caused the Negroes to vote for the "bad men" to whom Blaine refers? The teaching that it would be treason to their race to vote for any man however worthy whose name was not on their party ticket. The result was bad government in South Carolina, the hiding of the good work of other men in other Southern States, wrangling in the Republican party of the North and the hurling of the Negro race from the seat of power with no eye to pity and no hand to save. Republicans in the North deeply regretted the character of the teaching that led to the sad and far reaching results in South Carolina.

Once again there is a growing sentiment to invite the Negro to participate in the affairs of the government, and once again this dangerous doctrine is being trotted out to do its deadly work. Fortunately we now have the two methods before us—the method of discriminating choice, and the method of not supporting a true friend unless he renounces his political party. We find the former policy has won everywhere, whereas, the latter has lost as much ground as the former has gained.

Since the adoption of the federal constitution, nineteen amendments have been added to it. So great a document as

that has not been regarded as sacred. It has been changed to meet changing conditions. If the American people felt safe in amending the constitution framed by their learned forefathers, surely the Negroes of today ought to feel free to improve upon the policies adopted by our fathers when they were yet fresh from slavery.

The work of Abraham Lincoln will be incomplete and a dark shadow will still hang over the life of the race until the Negroes at last feel perfectly free in mind and in heart to cast their votes according to their judgment of the merits of the men and issues involved, and not according to a traditional policy that takes no account of special circumstances. The branding iron of treason for discriminating voters must be laid aside.

It would be well for the Negroes of the United States to ponder well the following advice given to his countrymen by George Washington in his farewell address: "Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest."

Fair minded Americans of all parties will realize that what is here said is not partisan comment against any party nor for any party, but it is a call to the Negro so to use his ballot as to win the cooperation of the forward looking men in all political parties, an end so very necessary for a settled condition of things.

The Christian Method of Discussing Racial Issues

Many tasks which other men called heavy were looked upon by the late Colonel Theodore Roosevelt as being very light. It was his inclination to underestimate rather than overestimate the size of an undertaking. In view of this ever present optimism that led him to rush in where angels might have hesitated, any comment from him concerning the seriousness of a matter is entitled to double weight. After four years of experience as president of our country and while yet wielding the power and influence of that great office, Colonel Roosevelt pronounced the race question in the South the most stupendous sociological problem ever committed to the hand of man.

For the solution of a problem of the size indicated, it is not enough merely to have a burning zeal for a righteous outcome of things. Zeal must be accompanied by knowledge of the right methods to be employed to reach the desired ends. Peter was thoroughly convinced of the righteousness of his Master's cause, and was full of zeal. But when he cut off the ear of the servant of the high priest, his Master rebuked him. The Master had a far better way in which Peter could serve the cause. The pentecostal sermon which Peter preached was a greater weapon of warfare than the sword which was ordered back into its scabbard.

Members of the Negro race may well give deep thought to the question as to HOW to go about the task of improving the status of the race in the United States, holding in mind the fact that a good cause prosecuted in a wrong way will not only fail to win, but will add other ills to existing burdens. Handle electricity in the right way, and it is man's most obedient and useful servant. Handle it in the wrong way and it will strike you down with greater swiftness than a savage.

There are those who, in their very laudable desire to bring about a change in unfavorable conditions, call for the use of violent language by such of their number as are ac-

corded a hearing by the public. The true physician who is treating a case gives the patient the medicine that is needed and not just any injurious drug for which the patient may call, and for which he is willing to pay. Rather than knowingly prescribe a harmful drug because of the insistence of a misguided patient, the true physician will retire from the case.

There is nothing easier to arouse than the racial feeling, nothing more terrible in its sweep when fully aroused and nothing harder to allay. When in full action it operates without conscience and without mercy. Terrible is the responsibility of any man in any race who needlessly stirs the racial feeling by the manner in which subjects are approached.

Far from being benefitted by the engendering of bitterness, what the colored people in all sections of the country really need is a kindly feeling on the part of all white people toward them. If a crime is committed against a Negro, without a proper feeling, you cannot get the evidence needed for convictions, and even with the proper evidence you cannot get the conviction in the absence of a proper feeling in the hearts of the jury. Moreover, a jury is very likely to render a verdict that harmonizes with the general feeling of the public. It is as plain as plain can be that the Negro race stands in need of the good will of the white race, and whenever good will can be secured without the sacrifice of principle, it should be sought.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has chosen as one of his tasks the laying bare of those things which he deems to be wrong in the attitude of the American people toward the Negro. One of his ablest supporters, a Mr. William Lloyd Garrison Villard, a grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, the great abolitionist is of the opinion that the usefulness of Mr. DuBois in his chosen work would be greatly enhanced by the elimination of bitterness. He says of Dr. DuBois in the magazine, "The Nation," "If the personal bitterness which so often mars his work can disappear, if a truer Christian spirit than now shines through his writings can guide him—the possibilities of his future usefulness seem great indeed."

The Christian Science Monitor, one of the ablest and most impartial daily newspapers published in our country, says: "The only final remedy is the persistent education of the whole community in individual and public rights. The

Negroes of America, like every other element, can help in this process. The proper presentation of their legitimate aims will be effective in proportion as it is **calm, though sure and vigorous**, in its reasoning. **MERELY INFLAMMATORY RHETORIC BASED ON HATRED AND RESENTMENT WILL NOT LEAD TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF IDEALS."**

Light From Below.

Much of the knowledge of medicine that blesses mankind has been acquired by patient study of the lower forms of life. Harvey, who is credited with having made the highly important discovery of the circulation of the blood in the human body, made a diligent study of dogs, pigs, serpents, frogs, fishes, slugs, oysters, lobsters, insects and of the chick as it developed in the shell. So much impressed was Harvey with the value of the lessons to be learned from the study of nature that he gave his paternal estate to a college to provide a fund for an annual oration in which the orator was to exhort the fellows of the college "to search out and study the secrets of nature by way of experiment."

The ability of various animals to fly is what first awakened that ambition in man and the development of the flying machine was greatly aided by the study of the size, shape and movements of the flying organs of animals that fly.

The science of government, no less than the science of medicine and the art of flying, is in debt to the lower forms of life for light given. The wise man, Solomon, urges the sluggard to go to the ant and study her ways and be wise. Aristotle, the great Grecian philosopher, who studied the matter of government closely, spent much time in the contemplation of the life of bees, from whose operations he gained many of the ideas which he has given to the human race.

The insect world has light to give as to the steps necessary to develop social efficiency. We go to the bees for the desired light. The bee that invented the making of honey and is the parent of the other species of bees is the *Prosopis*. This bee occupies the lowest classification of bees. It lives poorly, is clad poorly, never lives to see its young mature, and dies in isolation. A bee of the highest type is the *Apis*. It is a decided success in the operation of governments. It establishes governments and passes laws that are observed and enforced. The *Apis* has been able to develop queens, workers, nymphs, princesses, nurses, ladies of honor, architects, masons, wax workers, sculptors, chemists, sweepers, capsule-makers, undertakers and guards.

A bee that is above the *Prosopis* in the scale of development and below the *Apis* is the *Halictus*. The *Halictus* practices co-operation to a limited degree.

Numbers of them build their nests near each other and have a common entrance, but cooperation goes no further. The Halictus lays her male eggs first, but the male bee has no notion of cooperation. It cannot enter into another's task. By the time the females develop wings, the mother Halictus dies. The females know how to cooperate but are hatched last. The females hatch first with the Apis. Thus, cooperation with the mother is established and progress is assured.

Now we have a complete case before us. The Prosopis has no cooperation, and stays at the bottom of the scale.

The Halictus has a small measure of cooperation, but falls short of the higher glories.

The Apis reaches the highest stage of development thru a superior cooperative spirit.

Real Membership In a Democracy.

The chief force in a democracy is the profound respect that men have for public opinion, and not the efficiency of some centralized power.

Whenever units in a democracy feel that their interests are being jeopardized, their recourse is to unite for the purpose of summoning to their aid the power of public opinion.

To do this, the affected units must have the following qualifications:

1. A ready tendency to unite to present their cause to the people as a whole. This calls for a capacity for thorough organization, alertness, and a spirit of harmony. If the units are apathetic or are unduly quarrelsome it will be difficult for them to present their case to the public with proper speed.

2. There must be great intelligence and the ability to present their case in a thoroughly convincing manner.

3. They must possess an abundance of tact. When units are tactless, public opinion, even when convinced, is slow to come to the aid of those who in any way have offended, or have failed to reach the finer feelings that are in men. The units must possess grace as well as intelligence.

It can be seen that real membership in a democracy can neither be conferred nor withheld from the outside. Hon. Chas. E. Hughes says: "Democracy is not of the flesh, but of the spirit; its forms in themselves are vain."

The spirit of cooperation is the spirit of democracy. Men are qualified for life in a democracy just in proportion as they have the necessary qualifications for a life of cooperation. If they are not sufficiently cooperative, they will not live up to their opportunities in a democracy and things will go uncorrected for an undue length of time because, as the affected units, they fail to do the things necessary to marshal public opinion on their side.

A healthy human body is a splendid illustration of the operation of a democracy. Let us suppose the cells of a nerve in a toe to be menaced. Knowledge of the danger in the form of pain is conveyed from cell to cell until it reaches the center of intelligence in the brain, which proceeds to transfer from cell to cell the impulse necessary for appropriate action. If

the cells in the affected part do not cooperate to transmit the danger signal, the center of intelligence will not be moved to act.

From time to time some members of the Negro race are victims of things that are not right. As members of a democracy, it is the duty of the affected units to unite and pass to the general public exact information as to their grievances. This must be done in the tone and manner that will summon from the general public the kind and degree of help that is needed.

Merely making appeals to Congress is not meeting fully the requirements of a democracy. Congress may be likened unto the muscles of the human body which move only in response to orders from the center of intelligence. Congress in large measure, acts in harmony with what it is brought to feel is the demand of the public. The whole body of people should be reached with the right kind of arguments, arguments that will bring the desired results. This may appear to be a cumbersome method, yet it is the method that has to be resorted to by all live elements in a democracy.

In view of these truths, elements in a democracy that lack a readiness to unite, that are torn with needless strife, that do not present their cause with a high degree of both intelligence and tact are very likely to find their grievances unattended to, while public attention is being given to elements that do possess the traits mentioned.

Those not permeated with the true cooperative spirit may be in a democracy and yet not of it. The development of the spirit of, and virtues necessary to a life of sustained cooperation is an absolute necessity.

Where The Spirit of Cooperation Is Weak.

There are races of men with stunted bodies and likewise there are races in which the spirit of cooperation is very weak. Wherever the spirit of cooperation is of a weak character the following conditions will be found to exist:

1. There will be no conscious or deliberate selection of a leader.

2. Whatever general leadership exists will be such as is acquired by some outstanding personality. In the absence of such a personality, the post of leadership is vacant. In a society truly cooperative there is an official leadership during the lapses between the coming of exceptional characters. Leaders were found between Washington and Lincoln and between Lincoln and Roosevelt because the cooperation of the people through organization supplied the leadership.

3. Such leadership as exists has a difficult task to function. Natural jealousies are more pronounced than is the spirit of cooperation, the force that overcomes the influence of jealousies in a truly cooperative group.

4. A strong cooperative spirit carries with it a sense of responsibility for the general welfare and a clear conception of all that affects it. Where the spirit of cooperation is a weak one, questions of general interest will receive scant attention and some things that tend in the direction of harm to the entire group are allowed to go on with but little notice. Those who attack the joint tasks of mankind secure but meager cooperation.

5. It takes the combined wisdom of men to operate a government. Those in power must have the benefit of the thoughts and observations of the governed, else unsuspected evils will develop. Where men have not the cooperative bent they do not lend their ideas to the governing force to the degree necessary for general satisfaction. On the other hand when evils arise and it becomes expedient to change the governing force, cooperation is required to remove those entrenched in power. Wherever the cooperative spirit is weak there is little tendency to form the unions necessary to bring about needed changes.

6. Where cooperation is weak, efforts at reform are as likely to disrupt as to bring good results, hence needless divisions, or acquiescence in wrong.

7. Where cooperation is weak there is a woeful waste of time and energy in stimulating interest. This is due to the absence of spontaneity—the very essence of cooperative life.

The Ten Requirements For Racial Success

1. Every civic need should be definitely in charge of some organization.
2. Meetings of organizations and committees should be well attended.
3. There should be an exchange of ideas in a calm, kindly spirit.
4. Ears, eyes and mind should be kept open in search of those in need of and worthy of cooperation, and the worthy efforts of others should be seconded voluntarily and with great readiness.
5. Honesty should be practiced.
6. Truthfulness should be the rule in all things.
7. The appetites should be under control, a condition necessary for the development of the great, indispensable virtue—thrift.
8. There should be a feeling of personal responsibility for the general welfare.
9. All things should be done in the spirit of love.
10. There should be a broad spirit of tolerance, each one according to his neighbor the right to think his own thought.

Philosophy of Nation Building

Mineral matter, insects, lower animals and human beings may be divided into two categories—the individualistic and cooperative.

Atoms composing a gaseous substance are individualistic in tendency, each seeking to get away from its neighbor and being held in proximity to its neighbor only in proportion to the nearness of outside pressure.

The atoms constituting steel are cooperative in tendency, clinging to each other tenaciously, and separating only as the result of outside pressure applied with drastic force.

Among the individualistic insects are to be found the flies, butterflies, grasshoppers, the solitary bee, and the "Praying Mantis." The Mantis comes into conscious existence, not only inclined not to cooperate with its immediate kin, but disposed from the beginning toward suspicion, and warring against its brothers and sisters. The female Mantis finally rounds out her career of anti-cooperation by eating her husband.

Some of the cooperative insects are ants, hornets, wasps, and social bees. The social bee manifests in a high degree the cooperative bent.

The mole and the rabbit are individualistic animals.

The wolf and the beaver are animals that have the cooperative bent, it being more pronounced in the beaver than in the wolf, the latter confining its cooperation to searching and fighting for food.

All races of men have some measure of the cooperative bent and are to be divided into individualistic or cooperative groups in proportion as individualism or cooperation predominates. Therefore, in all individualistic human groups there will be a measure of cooperation, and in all cooperative groups, a measure of individualism.

Out of the groups in which the cooperative spirit is predominant, we get the great governments of the world. The groups in which the cooperative spirit is weak constitute what are termed the backward races.

INDIVIDUALISM

Rampant individualism retards the development of races. The following are some of its effects:

Individualism causes sacred trusts to be regarded as golden opportunities for self aggrandisement that must not be ignored. The spirit of elevating personal interest over the interests of the group prevails.

Under individualism, through the elevation of personal interests above the general welfare, there comes a needless duplication of organization, and a perversion of institutions designed to serve the public interest to agencies serving personal ends, primarily.

In all groups where individualism predominates there is a lack of adequate support of leaders from attacks born of jealousy. Leadership involves the possession of exceptional talents, and the possession of exceptional talents begets jealousies. Where men are exclusively engrossed with personal interests they fail to help those afflicted by the handicaps born of a jealous spirit.

Individualism blights the spirit of reform by denying it proper cooperation.

Where individualism thrives, distrust, because of knowledge or fear of betrayal of trusts, is present with its paralyzing influence.

Under the reign of individualism, social agencies that should care for those things that endanger society are lacking, or, are but feebly supported, thus allowing evils to multiply and become menacing.

COLLECTIVE EFFICIENCY

The crowning work of the cooperative spirit in a race is collective efficiency. A group possesses collective efficiency when it has the capacity for, and the habit of concentrating all of its potential and necessary forces behind the joint tasks of mankind.

Among the chief joint tasks of men are:

- (a) The preservation of health, that the species may endure.
- (b) The handing over to the many of the advancement attained by individuals.
- (c) The protection of the social body from the operation of anti-social forces.
- (d) The matter of unification and cohesion.

(e) The getting to the front in a dominating position that which is highest and best in the group life.

(f) Timely and adequate support, with both thought and action, of administrative forces.

(g) The removal of inefficiency or other retarding influences from the seat of power at the proper time and in a wise manner.

(h) The attainment of results of such a stupendous and worthy character as to compel the respect and eliminate the possibility of having the contempt of other groups of men.

(i) The conquest of the good will of other groups of men.

(j) Social sanitation—(Note) Just as no human body is complete without arrangements for disposing of the waste matter generated, likewise a social group must have facilities to make proper disposition of its waste matter, delinquencies and victims of unfortunate circumstances, whose neglect would cause injury to the social body.

The body of an animal is not complete and is not in a safe or healthy condition unless it is equipped with corrective and curative agencies. There must be pores for the elimination of waste matter and there must be curative agencies to set things right when disorders appear. If the body of an animal is lacking in curative power it is avoided as in the case of leprosy. Any social body that lacks curative forces may be said to have the social leprosy.

These joint tasks are but illy performed wherever there is an absence of spontaneity in extending to men who have the spirit of reform, the degree of timely aid needed to produce the desired result. Where spontaneity is lacking the waste of time and energy in summoning the cooperative spirit to the foreground is enormous.

THE MAKING OF CO-OPERATORS

The chief task of civilization is to change each succeeding generation from the individualistic to the cooperative bent, as a man begins life equipped by nature to practice individualism.

There is no question of greater importance than that as to how the young are to acquire this cooperative bent. It has been held by some that traits are inherited. There are others who hold that there is no inheritance of traits along with the body. It is conceded that certain physical organs are inheri-

ted which yield themselves more readily to the manifestations of certain traits, but that the traits themselves come in a different manner.

There is an early period, so the theory goes, when the spiritual being, the mind is without special bias as to traits, and what its character is to become depends upon impressions made during an early period. For example, it is held that a wild duck does not inherit fear of men, that when it comes into the world its nature, so far as that matter is concerned, is thoroughly neutral. The mother early inculcates fear, and does it under such circumstances that it does not leave the young duck after it has been thus impressed. On the other hand, if the young duck can be reached in the absence of its mother and before she has made that impression upon it, it can be brought up utterly devoid of fear of men.

It is held that a child does not inherit the traits of the race to which it belongs, but that the social atmosphere into which it is thrown shapes its character. The most important thing in connection with a race, therefore, is thought to be the social atmosphere, the body of sentiments and thoughts in which it is enveloped. The late Benjamin Kidd says: "It is the matter of its social heredity which creates the ruling people. It is what it lacks in its social heredity that relegates a people to the position of an inferior race."

Benjamin Kidd. *Science of Power*, P. 304.

The child of a community unconsciously imbibes the enveloping sentiment. Is the tone of life in the community predominantly selfish or altruistic, jealous or generous, constructive or destructive, individualistic or cooperative, concerned about the future or occupied wholly with the thoughts of the moment? Upon the thinking of the community depends the kind of individual being made out of the child. If the child comes out of this social mould with a cooperative spirit, he has in him the possibilities of a good citizen, a good team mate. If he comes out as an individualist it will be difficult to build a government out of material of his kind.

Education for a life of cooperation, it can be seen, does not consist in merely pointing out the value of cooperation. An individualist can see how that the spirit of cooperation, fostered in others, can be made to feed his individualism.

What seems to be thriving cooperative enterprises may only be growths stimulated under the guise of cooperation to foster individual interests.

CIVIC TRAINING

The school can be made a center in which individualists are transformed into cooperators.

To make an enduring success of cooperation, certain mental concepts must be inculcated, certain tempermental traits must be fostered and certain moral principles must be accepted and followed:

If the cooperative spirit is to thrive to the point of collective efficiency, the highest of human achievements, development must be secured along the following lines:

(The part that is played by various items here mentioned in causing a race to be capable of exhibiting that greatest of all human virtues—social efficiency—is set forth more fully in the author's book—"Life's Demands.")

Requirements of groups that would exhibit collective efficiency.

MORAL

1. A keen sense of personal responsibility for the general welfare.
2. Substitution of self-renunciation for self preservation when the general welfare is involved.
3. Control of appetites.
4. Honesty that begets fidelity to trust and justifies a policy of faith in man.
5. Reliability.

MENTAL

1. Ready tendency to second the worthy efforts of others.
2. Appreciation of the necessity of rectifying injurious tendencies in the life of the group.
3. Possession of the ideal of unity.
4. Promptness.
5. The tendency to plan for the future.
6. The habit of inquiry. (Note.—It is this bent that leads a group to study the forces of nature, the offerings of their great minds and the essentials of the progress of other groups. In the absence of the habit of inquiry the forces of nature will be neglected, exceptional characters will not be correctly interpreted and there will be no keeping of the pace with progressive groups.)

TEMPERAMENTAL.

1. Suppression of the spirit of jealousy.
2. Avoidance of excessive emotionalism.

(In view of the retarding influence of excessive emotionalism, it is perhaps well to describe its workings. Races characterized by excessive emotionalism will seem to be thoroughly aroused over a matter, will resolve to follow a given course and will put men in the lead to attain the ends sought. Then there comes a cooling down. Those placed in the lead find themselves abandoned. This has the tendency to cause the abler minds of groups afflicted with excessive emotionalism to be reluctant to accept the leadership in movements depending upon the sustained zeal of followers.

Where excessive emotionalism prevails, there is a great heat manifested over proposed changes in policy. Policies that have outlived their usefulness continue because of the heat that will be encountered if steps are taken to improve upon them. The races that go forward are those that are torn away from outworn customs and ideas demonstrated to be erroneous. Excessive emotionalism destroys the spirit of tolerance that makes possible the working of reforms.)

3. Possession of courtesy.
4. Possession of tact.
5. Possession of courage.
6. Persistence.

The absence or weakness of any of the foregoing qualities, concepts or traits in the life of a people endangers the whole social fabric and can prevent the development of social efficiency. It is the combination of virtues that wins even as teams win out over players who play as individuals.

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