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# THE CRISIS

### A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER

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# THE CRISIS

Vol. 14-No. 2

JUNE, 1917

Whole No. 80

# Editorial

RESOLUTIONS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.



HE representatives of Negro organizations embracing many millions of men, together with their friends

and fellow workers of other races, deem it fitting at this critical time in the history of our country and the world to express the attitude and aspirations which they think fitting for the twelve million Americans of Negro descent and for many other millions resident in America, in Africa, and in the islands of the sea.

We trace the real cause of this world war to the despising of the darker races by the dominant groups of men, and the consequent fierce rivalry among European nations in their effort to use darker and backward people for purposes of selfish gain regardless of the ultimate good of the oppressed.

We see permanent peace only in the extension of the principle of government by the consent of the governed, not simply among the smaller nations of Europe but among the natives of Asia and Africa, the Western Indies and the Negroes of the United States.

Despite the unfortunate record of England, of Belgium, and of our own land in dealing with colored peoples, we earnestly believe that the greatest hope for ultimate democracy, with no adventitious barriers of race and color, lies on the side of the Allies, with whom our country has become companion in arms. In justification of this belief we point on the one hand

to the splendid democracy of France, the recent freeing of our fellow-sufferers in Russia, and the slow but steady advance of principles of universal justice in the British Empire and in our own land; and on the other hand we point to the wretched record of Germany in Africa and her preachment of autocracy and race superiority.

We, therefore, earnestly urge our colored fellow citizens to join heartily in this fight for eventual world liberty; we urge them to enlist in the army; to join in the pressing work of providing food supplies; to labor in all ways by hand and thought in increasing the efficiency of our country. We urge this despite our deep sympathy with the reasonable and deep-seated feeling of revolt among Negroes at the persistent insult and discrimination to which they are subject and will be subject even when they do their patriotic duty.

Let us, however, never forget that this country belongs to us even more than to those who lynch, disfranchise, and segregate. As our country it rightly demands our whole-hearted defense as well today as when with Crispus Attucks we fought for independence and with 200,000 black soldiers we helped hammer out our own freedom.

Absolute loyalty in arms and in civil duties need not for a moment lead us to abate our just complaints and just demands. Despite the gratuitous advice of the white friends who wish us to submit uncomplainingly to caste and peonage, and de-

spite the more timid and complacent souls in our own ranks, we demand and of right ought to demand:

1. The right to serve our country on the battlefield and to receive train-

ing for such service;

2. The right of our best men to lead troops of their own race in battle, and to receive officers' training in preparation for such leadership;

3. The immediate stoppage

lynching;

4. The right to vote for both men and women;

5. Universal and free common school training:

6. The abolition of Jim Crow cars;

7. The repeal of segregation ordinances:

8. Equal civil rights in all public institutions and movements.

These are not minor matters. They are not matters that can wait. They are the least that self-respecting, free, modern men can have and live. In asking these rights we pretend to no extraordinary desert. We are ordinary men, trained in ignorance, forced sometimes to crime, kept in poverty. Yet even so, we have blazed a great red trail to freedom, stained with our blood and sweat and a proof of our earnestness. Modern political and social rights are not rewards of They are measures of protection and prerequisites to uplift. The denial of them is death and that our enemies and some of our false friends well know.

Let our action, then, include unfaltering loyalty to our country, unbounded effort toward realizing the larger, finer objects of this world battle of America and her allies ; simultaneous with this and in further, stronger determination to realize world peace and self-government, let us insist that neither the world nor America can be happy and democratic so long as twelve million Americans are lynched, disfranchised, and insulted—so long as millions of other darker folk are exploited and killed.

In earnest confirmation of this thought and action, we call on the twelve million Negro Americans to unite with us in a great and solemn festival beginning in August, 1919, which will be three hundred years after the permanent settlement of Negroes on the American mainland. On that occasion, without exultation in the beginning of a shameful slavery, but with thankfulness for the partial fall of its shackles, let us meet and think and rejoice and solemnly resolve on the threshold of our fourth century in America to go forward toward Freedom without hesitation or compromise.

### OFFICERS.

IVE us Negro officers for This is the slogan and let no specious argument turn us from it.

Liars tell us that only white men can lead black men, and they tell us this in the face of the record of Sonni Ali, Touissaint L'Ouverture. Dodd, Charles Young, and Frank Dennison. Give us Negro officers for Negro troops.

Justice and right calls for the admission of Negroes to the civilian training camps on the same terms as white men. This right the CRISIS and Dr. Spingarn demanded from the first and we were refused.

As the next best thing, Dr. Spingarn said: "If colored men cannot be admitted to Plattsburg and similar camps give them a camp of their

The CRISIS advocated and strongly advocated this alternative. Moreover, the CRISIS wonders how on earth the wild and dapper advocates of "Jim Crow" regiments can somersault into opponents of the training of Negro officers in separate camps?

Do they want "Jim Crow" regiments? No, but they want black soldiers and they accept separate regiments rather than forego military training. Do Dr. Spingarn and Dr. DuBois and thousands of level-headed colored folk want a "Jim Crow" training camp? No, but they want black officers and they advocate a separate camp rather than see Negro regiments officered solely by white men.

How easily some of us are beguiled. We are assured that the General Staff will not refuse Negro troops. It may not, but there is every evidence that it intended to in the plan drafted previous to the declaration of war which did not become law. We are told to "wait" for our camp until after all white officers are trained, and some colored papers actually rejoice at this, unable to grasp the clear fact that once enough whites are trained for all regiments, no Negroes need apply.

Where in heaven's name do we Negroes stand? If we organize separately for anything—"Jim Crow!" scream all the Disconsolate; if we organize wth white people—"Traitors! Pressure! They're betraying us!" yell all the Suspicious. If, unable to get the whole loaf we seize half to ward off starvation—"Compromise!" yell all the Scared. If we let the half loaf go and starve—"Why don't you do something?" yell those same critics, dancing about on their toes.

It is simply silly to talk about pressure being brought to bear on the editor of the CRISIS or on anyone else to back this demand. The only "pressure" brought is the pressure of common sense. Mr. Storey, Mr. Villard, Dr. Spingarn, Mr. Loud, Mr. Kennaday, Mr. Russell, Mr. Walling, Miss Ovington, and Mr. Nash and dozens of other white men are working shoulder to shoulder in the N. A. A. C. P. with us black men and treating us as comrades in a great fight for human rights. It is beneath contempt for the Cleveland, Ohio, Gazette to suggest that their motives are not above suspicion or that the editor of the Crisis has ever been asked by them to advocate that whih he did not sincerely believe was right. Just now

we demand Negro officers for Negro regiments. We cannot get them by admission to the regular training camps because the law of the land, or its official interpretation, wickedly prevents us. Therefore, give us a separate training camp for Negro officers.

LATER: We have won! The camp is granted; we shall have 1,000 Negro officers in the United States Army! Write us for information.

### "WE SHOULD WORRY."



HE American Negro more unanimously than any other American group has offered his services in this war as

officer and soldier. He has done this earnestly and unselfishly, overlooking his just resentment and grievous wrongs.

Up to the present his offer has been received with sullen and ungracious silence, or at best in awkward complaisance.

Nevertheless, the offer stands as it stood in 1776, 1812, 1861, and 1898.

But-

Certain Americans, — Southern Bourbons, and Northern Copperheads—fear Negro soldiers. They do not fear that they will not fight—they fear that they WILL fight and fight bravely and well. Just as in Reconstruction days, it was not bad Negro voters they feared but good, intelligent ones.

Selah!

These Bourbons and Copperheads know that if Negroes fight well in this war they will get credit for it. They cannot "Carrizal" the news and boost the white putty-head who blundered. forgetting the very name of the brave black subalterns. No! those fool French will tell the truth and the Associated Press will not be able to edit "Niggers"; so the Copperheads and Bourbons do not want Negro soldiers. They think they can trust Southern state officers to juggle that little "agricultural laborer joker" and keep us out of the ranks.

Very good.

"We should worry."

If they do not want us to fight, we will work. We will walk into the industrial shoes of a few million whites who go to the front. We will get higher wages and we cannot be stopped from migrating by all the deviltry of the slave South; particularly with the white lynchers and mob leaders away at war.

Will we be ousted when the white soldiers come back?

THEY WON'T COME BACK!

So there you are, gentlemen, and take your choice,—

We'll fight or work.

We'll fight and work.

If we fight we'll learn the fighting game and cease to be so "aisily lynched."

If we don't fight we'll learn the more lucrative trades and cease to be so easily robbed and exploited.

Take your choice, gentlemen.

"We should worry."

### AUNT CALLINE'S SHEAVES.



编编

By Leila Amos Pendleton

**紧** 



No, indeed, chile, I never did believe in taking things frum dead people. You know Aunt Calline Juniper was my mother-in-law and a grander one never hopped, so when she died, me and May Jane Juniper, which married her other son, was awful sorry. We certainly was. As for Uncle John, her husband, he just took on turrible. Everybody loved Aunt Calline and they sent lots of flowers to the funeral and three sheaves of wheat.

Now I never could bear the sight of sheaves of wheat, less they was at the mill, and when all them sheaves come rollin' in to Aunt Calline, I begun to look at 'em cross-eyed. I was in hopes, though, that everybody would forget 'em and they'd be left in the simitary. But no sooner was Aunt Calline covered up than here comes the undertaker with a long face and all three of them sheaves.

Uncle John took 'em very solemn-like, handed one to me and one to May Jane and says, "Chillun, always keep these to 'member Calline. I'll keep one and when I die, Sally, you must take it, as you're the oldest." Ever notice how people are always making you presents of things you hate? "Laws," thinks I to myself, "this is worse than Chrismus." I groaned down in my toes, but didn't say anything outward, and here goes May Jane and me home loaded down with wheat. They was the biggest sheaves I ever seen,—they was small-sized shocks, in fact.

Well, after I got that wheat home, I didn't have a place to put it and everytime I cleaned up, I had it to move. "No, in-

deed," thinks I to myself, "I'll never have a chance to forgit Aunt Calline." Finally, the thought struck me to have the sheaf framed, because though I never could like it any better, it would at least be out of the way.

And what do you think that man charged to frame it? Ten dollars! Ten whole dollars! It certainly do seem funny to me how folks are always laying to rob bereaved mourners. Seems like they've made up their minds to git all they can out of you while you're kinder unconscious-like. But I wasn't that much of a mourner, so I carries my wheat home without a frame, and then me and that sheaf has it. Every time I went into the settin' room I was either knocking it down or pickin' it up until I was sick and tired of the sight of it.

One day, about six months after Aunt Calline died, just as I was haulin' that sheaf around, May Jane came in. "May Jane," says I, "how do you like your sheaf?" "Don't like it a tall, Sally." "Well," says I, "I've got a plan, and if you'll stand by me and say nothin', I think we kin fix Aunt Calline's sheaves." So the day when Uncle John and Georgie, which is my husband, and Samyell, which is May Jane's, went over to Rushtown to the hog-killin', I sent for May Jane. "M. J.," says I when she got there, "the men are gone for the day and now's our time. Wrap up your sheaf with a plenty of paper and bring it over here."

When May Jane came back, I had my sheaf all bound up so you couldn't tell what it was, and my hat and coat on. "Sally," says May Jane, very solemn, "What on earth are you goin' to do?" Says I, "May Jane,

foller me." So out we goes with them great bundles and all the neighbors peepin' through their blinds and wonderin' what we had and where we was goin'.

I led May Jane to the horse-cars and as the line ended at our street we set there a while before the car started, both of us feelin' very funeral-like and neither sayin' a word, though May Jane kept a eyein' me as if she wanted to ask some questions. But I kep' lookin' straight ahead with a long face, so she didn't say nothin'.

All of a sudden the conductor broke out singin' "Bringin' in the Sheaves," and the driver joined in the chorus. I never have known how they happened to strike on that hem, but it was too much for us. We looked at each other and then we burst out, and we laughed untel we couldn't see. The driver started up his horses and the conductor looked at us as if he thought we was daft, but that did not hender us from laughin'.

As soon as she could speak, May Jane says, "Sally Ann Juniper, you have just got to tell me what you're goin' to do." "May Jane," says I, "we air goin' to carry these

sheaves right straight to Aunt Calline. That's what. When people gives things to dead people, they wants 'em to have 'em. That's why they gives 'em sheaves and pillers and pams and such instid of pincushions and calendars and postcards, and I believe in lettin' dead people have everything that belongs to 'em." May Jane got pop-eyed but she never said a word.

So we carried that wheat out and laid it on Aunt Calline's grave and I hope she feels satisfied. We do if she don't. But one quare thing about it is that neither Georgie nor Samyell has ever inquired after them tributes. I believe in my soul that they was just as tired of 'em as we was. As for Uncle John, he went to desperate courtin' of that little sixteen-year-old Simmins gal just six weeks after Aunt Calline had been put away. He tried to git Cannie Simmins to accept him as a husband, and his sheaf as a bokay, but she wouldn't have neither, so that wheat offering is still willed to me. But if I should be the longest liver, I mean to see to it that sheaf number three is left in the simitary on top of Uncle John.

### THE MIGRATION OF NEGROES



45 45

By W. E. B. DUBOIS

S S



M UCH has been written of the recent migration of colored people from the South to the North, but there have been very few attempts to give a definite, coherent picture of the whole movement. Aided by the funds of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Crisis has attempted to put into concrete form such knowledge as we have of this movement.

The data at hand are vague and have been collected from a hundred different sources. While the margin of error is large, the actual information which we have gathered is most valuable.

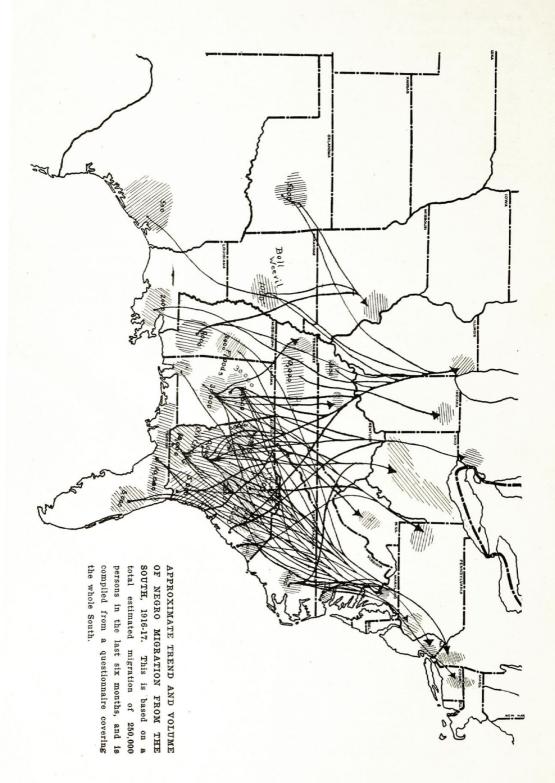
First, as to the number who have migrated to the North, there is wide difference of opinion. Our own conclusion is that about 250,000 colored workmen have come northward. This figure has been builded up from reports like the following which we take from various personal sources and local newspaper accounts:

From Alabama, 60,000 able-bodied workers; from Savannah, Ga., 3,000; Montgomery, Ala., 2,000; West Point, Ala., 1,000;

Americus, Ga., 3,000; Jefferson County, Ala., 10,000; West Point, Miss., 1,000; South Carolina, 27,000; West Point, Ga., 800; Macon, Ga., 3,000; Florida, 15,000; Notasulga, Ala., 3,000. From Abbeville, S. C., "by the hundreds all through the fall and winter." From Muskogee, Okla., "5,000 from the city and vicinity." One day "1,022 Negroes from the South came into Cincinnati." An estimate of the Boston, Mass., Transcript gives 200,000 immigrants. From Southwest Georgia, 5,000. Bradstreet's estimate: "An immense migration." From Birmingham, Ala., 10,000; Arlington, Ga., 500; Waycross, Ga., 900; Bessemer, Ala., 3,000; Columbus, Ga., 500; Tuscaloosa, Ala., 2,500; Dawson, Ga., 1,500. Immigrants to Springfield, Mass., 500; to Chicago, Ill., 50,000, and "coming in at the rate of 10,000 in two weeks," (estimate of the Chicago American).

As to the reasons of the migration, undoubtedly, the immediate cause was economic, and the movement began because of floods in middle Alabama and Mississippi and because the latest devastation of the boll weevil came in these same districts.

A second economic cause was the cutting off of immigration from Europe to the North and the consequently wide-spread



demand for common labor. The U. S. Department of Labor writes:

"A representative of this department has made an investigation in regard thereto, but a report has not been printed for general distribution. It may be stated, however, that most of the help imported from the South has been employed by railroad companies, packing houses, foundries, factories, automobile plants, in the northern States as far west as Nebraska. At the present time the U. S. Employment Service is not co-operating in the direction of Negro help to the north."

The third reason has been outbreaks of mob violence in northern and southwestern Georgia and in western South Carolina.

These have been the three immediate causes, but back of them is, undoubtedly, the general dissatisfaction with the conditions in the South. Individuals have given us the following reasons for migration from certain points:

Montgomery, Ala., better wages, lack of employment, bad treatment; West Point, Ala., boll weevil; Americus and Cartersville. Ga., lynching, schools, bad treatment, low wages; Birmingham, Ala., right to vote, discontent, bad treatment, low wages; Fairburn, Ga., low wages, bad treatment; Sanford, Fla., low wages, bad treatment; Annisford, Fla., low wages, bad treatment, low wages, low wages, low wages, bad treatment, low wages, low ton, Ala., low wages, bad treatment; Jefferson County, Ala., low wages, bad treatment; West Point, Miss., low wages; La Grange, Ga., low wages, bad treatment; Washington, Ga., low wages, schools; Newnan, Ga., low wages; Jackson, Ga., protection, schools; Covington, Ga., low wages; Montezuma, Ga., low wages, oppression; Tallahassee, Fla., unrest, conditions, low wages; Honeapath, S. C., low wages; Douglassville, Ga., bad treatment, poor schools; Raleigh, N. C., protection and the right to vote; West Point, Ga., boll weevil; Franklin, Ga., bad treatment and fear of lynching; Lithonia, Ga., low wages, bad treatment; Rome, Ga. injustice in the courts, low wages, lack of privileges, schools; Live Oak, Fla., low wages, bad treatment; Columbus, Ga., low wages, bad treatment; Atlanta, Ga., low wages; Jackson, Miss., low wages, bad treatment; Augusta, Ga., low wages, bad treatment; Nashville, Tenn., low wages; Meridian, Miss., low wages, discrimination; New Columbus Languages, Meridian, Miss., low wages, discrimination; New hours, and the low wages, Meridian, Miss. Orleans, La., low wages; Mobile, Ala., low wages; South Atlanta, Ga., schools, freedom; Macon, Ga., low wages; Valdosta, Ga., unemployment, bad treatment; Cuthbert, Ga., bad treatment; Wadley, Ga., schools, civil rights; Gainesville, Ga., low wages, bad treatment.

To this we may add certain general statements from colored leaders thoroughly conversant with conditions in their communities and in some cases with large parts of the South.

A colored man of Sumter, S. C., says: "The immediate occasion of the migration is, of course, the opportunity in the North, now at last open to us, for industrial betterment. The real causes are the conditions which we have had to bear because there was no escape."

These conditions he sums up as the destruction of the Negroes' political rights, the curtailment of his civil rights, the lack of protection of life, liberty and property, low wages, the Jim Crow car, residential and labor segregation laws, poor educational facilities.

From Oklahoma we learn that Negroes are migrating because of threatened segregation laws and mob violence.

A colored man from Georgia states: "In my opinion the strongest factor in this migration is a desire to escape harsh and unfair treatment, to secure a larger degree of personal liberty, better advantages for children, and a living wage."

The A. M. E. Ministers' Alliance of Birmingham, Ala., names seven causes for the migration: "Prejudice, disfranchisement, Jim Crow cars, lynching, bad treatment on the farms, the boll weevil, the floods of 1916."

A colored business man of North Carolina believes: "There is a silent influence operating in the hearts of the growing class of intelligent Negroes that the insurmountable barriers of caste unnecessarily fetter the opportunities to which every living soul is entitled, namely, a fair chance to earn an honest living and educate his children and be protected by the laws."

In many sections of Mississippi the boll weevil destroyed the cotton crop; rains and high waters in the spring destroyed other crops.

A well-known investigator reports: "Nothing else seemed left for hundreds of the colored tenants to do but to go into the cities or to the North to earn even their food. Nothing was left on the farms and the landowners could not or would not make any further advances. From the country and even from the cities in these unfortunate sections colored people have in many cases streamed northward."

The centres of this migration have been at Jackson, Hattiesburg, and Meridian, Miss., and many have sacrificed property in order to get away. A widely-traveled and intelligent colored man writes:

"I recently made a trip through the South as far down as New Orleans, La., and I saw hundreds who were making their way northward. When in New Orleans, I learned that there were about 800 in the city from the inland district waiting to go, and who expected to leave during the next week. went with a friend down where I could meet some of the leaders and talk with them. met them, and they informed me that they were willing to go anywhere rather than continue to live like they had been. These were heading toward Chicago. I was shocked at the statement made by some of them as to how they lived on those big in-land farms, and how badly they were treat-ed by the whites. Many of these men were in overalls. I told them that they were unprepared for the climate; but they were willing to run any risk to get where they might breathe freer. Who blames them?"

Many of the southern whites, through their newspapers, are confirming this general unrest. A white woman says:

"That which a regard for common justice, fair play, human rights could not accomplish, a fear for our bank account is doing, and we are asking: Why is the Negro dissatisfied? What can we do to keep him in the South? We can't afford to let him go; he means too much for us—financially. He works for little; his upkeep costs us little, for we can house him in any kind of shack, and make him pay us well for that; we do not have to be careful of his living conditions; he is good-natured, long-suffering, and if he should happen to give us trouble we can cope with that and the law will uphold us in anything we do."

The Columbia, S. C. State asks: "If you thought you might be lynched by mistake, would you remain in South Carolina? Ask yourself that question if you dare."

The Greenville, S. C., *Piedmont* feels that, "The truth might as well be faced, and the truth is that the treatment of the Negro in the South must change or the South will lose the Negro."

The Greenville, S. C., News says:

"The Abbeville outrage may yet prove more of an economic crime than an offense against the peace and dignity of the state. Where is our labor to come from if not from these people who have lived here beside us for so many generations? Immigration has been a distinct failure in the South; it is expressly declared to be against the policy of South Carolina by our laws."

It is interesting to note that this migration is apparently a mass movement and not a movement of the leaders. The wave of economic distress and social unrest has pushed past the conservative advice of the Negro preacher, teacher and professional

man, and the colored laborers and artisans have determined to find a way for themselves. For instance, a colored Mississippi preacher says:

"The leaders of the race are powerless to prevent his going. They had nothing to do with it, and, indeed, all of them, for obvious reasons, are opposed to the exodus. The movement started without any head from the masses, and such movements are always significant."

The character of the people who are going varies, of course, but as the Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald remarks: "It is not the riff-raff of the race, the worthless Negroes, who are leaving in such large numbers. There are, to be sure, many poor Negroes among them who have little more than the clothes on their backs, but others have property and good positions which they are sacrificing in order to get away at the first opportunity.

"Various reasons are assigned for the migration of Negroes from the South to the North. It was believed for a while that they were lured away by the glowing reports of labor agents who promised high wages, easy work, and better living conditions. But there is something more behind their going, something that lies deeper than a temporary discontent and the wish to try a new environment merely for the sake of a free trip on the railroads. . . .

"The entire Negro population of the South seems to be deeply affected. The fact that many Negroes who went North without sufficient funds and without clothing to keep them warm have suffered severely and have died in large numbers, has not checked the tide leaving the South. It was expected that the Negroes would come back, sorry that they ever left, but comparatively few have returned. With the approach of warmer weather the number going North will increase."

How great this migration will eventually prove depends upon a number of things. The entrance of the United States into the war will undoubtedly have some effect. When the war ends it is doubtful if the labor shortage in Europe will allow a very large migration to the United States for a generation or more. This will mean increased demand for colored laborers in the North. A writer in the New York Evening Globe predicts that 1917 will see 400,000 of the better class of Negro workers come to the North.

At any rate, we face here a social change among American Negroes of great moment, and one which needs to be watched with intelligent interest.

# National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

### SEGREGATION

ONCE more the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has, as it did in the "Grandfather Clause" Cases, proved itself the main bulwark of the American Negro against those forces that are at work to deprive him of his citizenship and manhood rights.

On April 27 the Louisville Segregation Ordinance Case, brought by the Association, was re-argued before the Supreme Court of the United States. Counsel for the N. A. A. C. P. were Mr. Moorfield Storey, president of the Association, and Mr. Clayton B. Blakey, of Louisville, the attorney of record.

No more important fight against discrimination was ever made than the taking of this segregation case up to the highest tribunal in the nation. The far reaching effect of the decision to be handed down cannot be estimated. The fate of the case which was fought through the courts of Maryland by attorney Ashby Hawkins of the Baltimore Branch hangs on what decision the Supreme Court will render on the Louisville case; and so do the fates of the cases fought in St. Louis and Richmond.

We believe we shall win, not only because our cause is just, but because of the masterly way in which it was handled by Mr. Storey. If we win, legal segregation will be killed all over the country. It is unnecessary to add that if we lose, Negro Ghettos will be established in cities North and South.

The following extracts are taken from the brief filed by Mr. Storey, who again places the whole race in his debt by giving without any charge his time and his services through the conduct of the whole case.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE BRIEF

N O one outside a court room would imagine for an instant that the predominant purpose of this ordinance was not to prevent the Negro citizens of Louisville, however industrious, thrifty and well-educated they might be, from approaching that condition vaguely described as "social equality."

Here again, all doubt is removed by the frank admissions in the defendant's brief, which says:

"The ordinance will only affect that relatively small percentage of . . Negroes, who to gratify their new-born social aspirations, seek to move into white neighborhoods."

"Can it be that a Negro has the constitutional right, which cannot be restricted in the slightest degree, whatever the consequence, to move into a block occupied by white families . . . simply to gratify his inordinate social aspirations to live with his family on a basis of social equality with white people?"

"This law only seeks to regulate that natural and normal segregation which has always existed and to prevent a few of each race from overstepping the racial barriers which Providence and not human law has erected, and which, whenever they are overstepped, result inevitably in most serious clashes, and often bloodshed, and in this particular instance also in the most destructive consequences to the white man's property, thereby only accentuating the existing race antagonism."

We may fairly disregard the few of the white race who are forbidden to move into Negro blocks and who are described by the defendant as "almost invariably the worst element of the race." These men are obliged by the ordinance to live in white blocks (unless perchance they already live in Negro blocks), but nothing can show more clearly the prejudice which is the sole foundation of this enactment than the fact that the most degraded white man is considered a better neighbor than a Booker Washington.

The ordinance in this case seeks to preserve the semblance of equality among the races by forbidding white men to reside in blocks where the colored residents preponderate, though the whole segregation movement rests on the assumption that white men will not live in such neighborhoods. This provision cannot disguise the purpose of the enactment, which is to establish a

Ghetto for the colored people of Louisville. It is an attempt to prescribe the district or districts within which they must reside and beyond which they cannot take up their abodes. After white and colored people have lived side by side all over the country for nearly fifty years since the Civil War, there has come an outbreak of race prejudice, and legislation like the ordinance under consideration has been attempted in various cities. It is a disease which is spreading as new political devices constantly spread from State to State.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is suggested that it is necessary to preserve "race purity and integrity." If this danger arises from proximity, it is not removed. The two races may live under the same roof as master and servant, a relation which has never assured race purity. They may live as the closest neighbors back to back, but such a fence as divides them has never proved an impassable barrier. Surely the danger is far less when two families are separated by a wide street, and it is no greater if they live side by side.

It is suggested that dwelling as neighbors on the same street means social intimacy. Even if this were a reason for taking away men's rights, nothing is more contrary to daily experience. The closest neighbors in a city are in most cases strangers. Men cannot force their friendship on others or establish social relations with persons who do not desire them.

There is no foundation for either of these excuses. It is the prejudice of race and color-a prejudice that would keep Booker Washington, received by the Queen of England and honored at the Commencement of Harvard College, from living on the same street with any white man in Louisvillewhich is the sole reason for this ordinance, intended, as its defenders expressly admit, only "to prevent a few of each race from overstepping the racial barriers which Providence and not human law has erected," Had Providence in fact erected such a barrier, it would have been impassable and no human law would have been needed, but the authors of the ordinance are not willing to trust the Providence whom they invoke. It is because no divine barrier exists that they seek to establish one by human legislation.

Counsel for the defendant are right in saying that the Fourteenth Amendment does not compel social equality, and that, as this Court said in the Civil Rights Cases, 109 U. S. 3, the Negro under the Fourteenth Amendment "takes the rank of a mere citizen, and ceases to be the special favorite of the laws." But no one is complaining of the ordinance because the Negro is not treated more favorably than are other citizens. The ordinance was manifestly drawn with great ingenuity in order to place the Negro citizens of Louisville in as inferior a position as possible with respect to their right of residence and to violate the spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment without transgressing the letter. If one of those who enacted the ordinance were defending his course before his constituents, he would ask their approval just because he had succeeded so well in establishing a permanent superiority for the white race. This Court, it is apprehended, cannot shut its eyes to these obvious facts, but must recognize in the ordinance a palpable attempt to destroy those fundamental rights which the Amendment guarantees.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the present case it is contended that the difficulty is met by the provision that white persons shall not occupy buildings in "colored blocks." As well argue that an ordinance which prevented a denizen of the Five Points from moving into Fifth Avenue could be sustained because it forbade the dweller on Fifth Avenue to move into the Five Points. Anatole France has commented upon the absolute justice of the laws which prevent rich and poor alike from sleeping under the arches of the bridges which cross the Seine and from begging in the public streets. A law which forbids a Negro to rise is not made just because it forbids a white man to fall.

The defendant's counsel on page 16 of their brief suggest that it is the duty of the educated and successful Negro to reside with his poor brethren and by his example uplift them. This cannot be serious, for we cannot believe that counsel would set up for the race which they believe inferior a higher standard of duty than they recognize for their own. If all the rich and educated white men recognized this obligation, there would be no

fashionable quarters and no slums. When the peers of England make their homes in Whitechapel, when Vanderbilts, Astors and Carnegies move into the Tenderloin district, when any white men who can live in a healthy pleasant place forsake it for a squalid and dirty one, this argument may be used, but not until then. When the higher race sets the example, the lower may be asked to follow.

But the plain answer to the defendant's whole argument on this aspect of the case is that two wrongs do not make one right. The common law right of every landowner is to occupy his own house or to sell or let it to whomsoever he pleases. The ordinance, as it stands, forbids the owner of land in many parts of the city to live on his land if he happens to be a Negro, although he would be free to live on the same land if he were white. This inequality is not removed by forbidding white owners to live on their own land in other parts of the In the "colored blocks" there is a discrimination against an entirely different set of white owners from those in whose favor the discrimination is made in the "white blocks." In the same way, the owners against whom discrimination is made in the "white blocks" are entirely different from those who are left in the enjoyment of their rights in the "colored blocks."

The result is that the ordinance cannot be upheld except on the theory that the equality required by the Fourteenth Amendment is attained by imposing a penalty upon Negroes for doing something which white citizens are left free to do, provided Negroes are left free to do some entirely different thing which is forbidden to white personsif, for example, Negroes, but not whites, are forbidden to maintain laundries in wooden buildings, whereas whites, but not Negroes, are not allowed to maintain bakeries in similar buildings. It is submitted that the Constitution cannot be satisfied by any such offsetting of inequalities and that a discrimination against one race is not one whit less a discrimination because in some other matter a discrimination is made against the other race.

\* \* \* \* \*

It may be said that, if the quarters inhabited by Negroes are undesirable, it is because their inhabitants have made them so. In so far as this undesirability results from the natural features of the localities to which the Negro population has been largely confined by extra-legal influences, the allegation is obviously untrue. In so far as it results from the habits of the less thrifty among the Negro citizens, the fact is irrelevant, unless it be assumed that the Fourteenth Amendment warrants us in visiting the shortcomings of the fathers upon the children, not unto the third and fourth generations alone, but for all time.

\* \* \* \* \*

We rest our case upon the fundamental principle that, while a State may make police regulations which forbid many acts which would otherwise be lawful and may add restrictions respecting the use of property to those existing at common law, such restrictions must affect all citizens without discrimination. It will hardly be pretended that a State, for example, could require Negroes to obtain licenses in order to practice medicine unless white persons were required to do the same, or could forbid the use of wooden buildings by Negroes in a given area when the use of such buildings by white persons in the same area was permitted. Only a few authorities need be cited in support of this proposition.

The Negro is colored by no act of his. He is a citizen of the United States and entitled to every right that any other citizen has. The white men, because they do not like him as a neighbor, pass an ordinance depriving him of his right to live where he pleases, and they justify it on the ground that it is necessary to protect them from being tempted to assault him if he exercises that right. If he does any wrong act he may be punished, but to say that he can be deprived of the right to live on his own land, because his white neighbors do not like his color, is to punish him not for his fault but for their prejudice, to deprive him of his rights in order to prevent their lawless and criminal attacks upon him. Such legislation is a mockery of the police power, and if it can be sustained the consequences are disastrous.

At Palm Beach in Florida, Negroes act as chauffeurs; if they appear in Miami they are mobbed and the result is a breach

of the public peace. In some places they are attacked if they engage in certain employments which the whites wish to monopolize and violence may be used in the effort to prevent them. Would the police power justify a law forbidding them to act as chauffeurs in Miami, or to engage in any lawful employment anywhere, because they might be attacked if they did so? If so, they have no rights. If not, this ordinance cannot be sustained, for it is defended on the ground that one body of citizens may take from another their clear rights in order to prevent lawless attacks upon the latter by the former. The only policeman who ever fancied that such a police power existed was the wolf in his dealings with the lamb.

The question is whether the majority of the people dwelling in any locality may say to the minority, "You shall not have the rights of other men to live where you please, but shall be limited to certain localities, not because you have violated any laws human or divine, or have done anything to make you bad neighbors, but because you are what God made you and because we consider ourselves your natural superiors, no matter what our habits or our qualities, because our complexion is different."

No more important question can be presented to this Court. The interests of ten million citizens are at stake. In their efforts to rise from slavery to equality with their fellow-men they are everywhere met by the effort to keep them down and to deny them that equal opportunity which the Constitution secures to us all. If they can be forbidden to live on their own land they can be forbidden to work at their own trade. If this is possible, the prejudice against which the Fourteenth Amendment was framed to defend the Negroes triumphs over it, and the amendment itself becomes a dead letter. If it does not protect the rights of all citizens, it does not protect the rights of any, since it knows no distinction of race or color.

> CLAYTON B. BLAKEY, MOORFIELD STOREY.

### SS SS SS

### **MAMMY**

By OTTO LELAND BOHANAN

SHE held him in her bronzen arms
And fed him from her lavish breast,
And rid him of a child's alarms,
With songs that gave him rest.

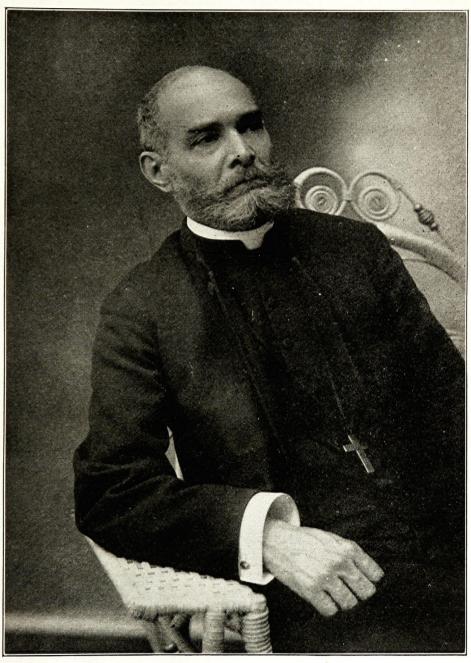
He loved her tenderly, he said,
And vowed to fill her life with pleasure.
He's growing old and she is dead,
A picture in his memory's treasure.

But once he paused upon the bench
Ere yet he spake the final sentence
Upon a slender black-faced wench,
Whose eyes were grim with unrepentance:

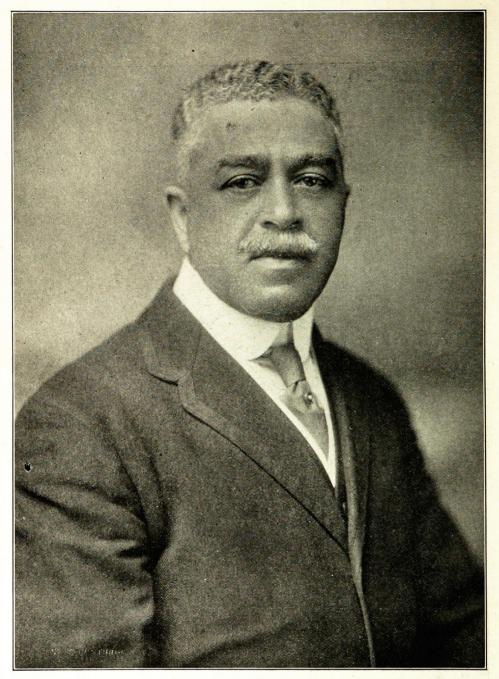
"Old Mammy's child! Tut! Tut! 'Tis bad For one so young to mock the law. Your mother's eyes must deepen sad, She looked upon these things with awe."



# Shadows of Light



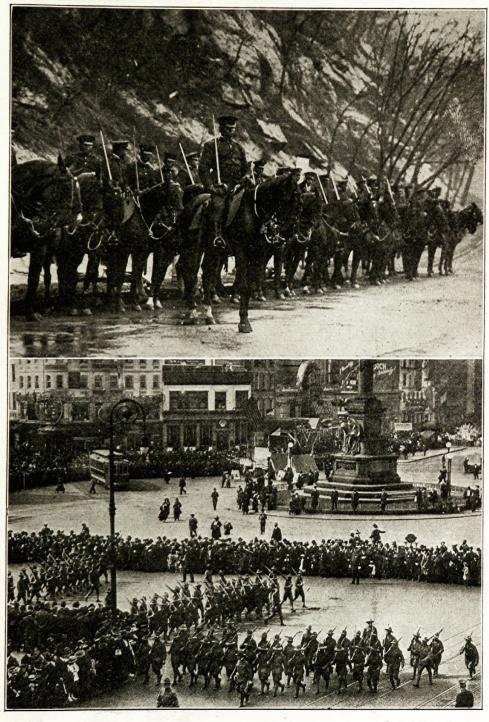
THE LATE REV. C. M. C. MASON. (See page 84.)



HENRY THACKER BURLEIGH.
Third Spingarn Medalist.

BORN in Erie, Pa. Pupil of Fritsch, Goldmark and Dvorak. Soloist at St. George's and Temple Emanu-El, New York City. Distinguished musician and com-

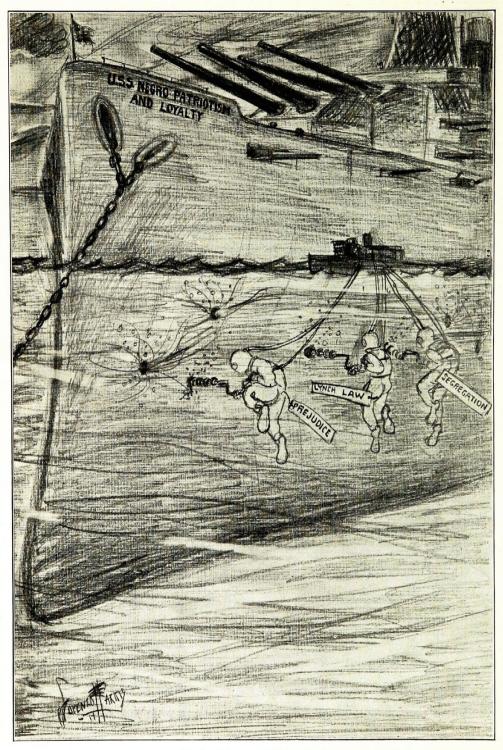
poser. The first and second Spingarn Medals were awarded to Dr. Ernest Everett Just, biologist, and Lieut. Col. Charles Young of the United States Army.



THE BLACK SOLDIER.

(Above) A troop of the 10th U. S. Cavalry at the West Point graduation.

(Below) The 15th Infantry, N. Y. N. G., at Columbus Circle, New York City.



IN SPITE OF SUBMARINES:

# The Looking Glass

### LITERATURE

ROM Edward Young:

Night, sable goddess! from her ebon throne.

In rayless majesty, now stretches forth Her leaden sceptre o'er a slumb'ring world.

Chester H. Crumpler sends us this symphony:

Let us never swerve from the plain path of duty, nor falter in our struggle upward toward the light; let us so regulate our habits, so dominate our passions, so temper our natures as to enable our nobler instincts to blend into a more perfect harmony, our passion for goodness to overwhelm our petty faults; let us follow the natural impulse, the latent promptings for truth, love, and substantial justice, and enrich the soul with the priceless blessings of unselfish effort; let us trust ourselves and each other-ourselves, at all events-and thus, matching wit with wit, zeal with zeal, strength with strength, meet the world with a hope undiminished by early failures, a fortitude born of sacrifice, an assurance rendered perfect by daily triumph over our baser selves: in this way shall we the more surely attain to that high degree of fitness, usefulness, and power which should be the end and aim of every Afro-American youth.

The following notice has been sent out from Chicago:

"Owing to conditions that are beyond our control and the necessary time that goes to make THE CHAMPION MAGAZINE the foremost periodical of the race, we have resolved to discontinue the monthly publication until further notice.

"THE CHAMPION MAGAZINE PUBLISHING Co.,
"Jesse Binga, President."

### THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, G. C. M. G., K. C. B., writes in the London, England, Sphere:

Rightly governed, I venture to predict that Africa will, if we are victorious, repay us and our Allies the cost of our struggle with Germany and Austria. The war, deny it who may, was really fought over African questions. The Germans wished, as the chief gain of victory, to wrest rich Morocco from French control, to take the French Congo from France, and the Portuguese Congo from Portugal, to secure from Belgium the richest and most extensive tract of alluvial goldfield as yet discovered. This is an auriferous region which, properly developed, will, when the war is over, repay the hardest-hit of our Allies all that she has lost from the German devastation of her

home lands. The mineral wealth of Trans-Zambezian Africa—freed forever, we will hope, from the German menace—is giganic; only slightly exploited so far. Wealth is hidden amid the seemingly unprofitable deserts of the Sahara, Nubia, Somaliland, and Namakwa. Africa, I predict, will eventually show itself to be the most richly endowed of all the continents in valuable vegetable and mineral substances.

But in the political map of the future there must be no region allotted to the German flag—after what Germany has done and has threatened to do. A repentant Germany that has made compensation to France, Belgium, Serbia, and Poland may participate in the wealthy commerce that African products will stimulate, and Germans may settle there as colonists—colonists as valuable as those which began to people the waste spaces of South Africa a hundred years ago. But it must be under the flag of one or other of the nations now composing the Entente; nations who are pledged, if victorious, henceforth to keep the peace over all the Old World and oppress no people, large or small.

But this allotting of the whole African Continent as an exclusive sphere of political government to the British Empire, to France, Belgium, Portugal, Italy, and Spain imposes on those peoples the duty of educating, protecting, and encouraging all its na-These must have secured to tive races. them their fair share in Africa's inherent wealth; opportunities for their talents and their free labor; freedom of self-expression, and even self-government inside the bounds of license. And we ourselves should be so conscious of our tremendous privileges and responsibilities that we should blush to be, as we are, the last among the shielders of vile forms of alcohol which are fast destroying the happiness and fertility of the West and South African peoples.

### RACE PRIDE

A BOOK by a certain Madison Grant illustrates the methods of race worship. This book, as Franz Boaz writes in the New Republic:

Is a dithyrambic praise of the blond, blue-eyed white and of his achievements; a Cassandric prophecy of all the ills that will befall us on account of the increase

of dark-eyed types.

Fortunately, the supposed scientific data on which the author's conclusions are based are dogmatic assumptions which cannot endure criticism. First of all, the whole concept of heredity as held by him is faulty. The hereditary lines that are present in every single race are very diverse. Every race contains excellent strains, a vast number of mediocre strains, and some strains that are subnormal. There is nothing to show that all the blond, blue-eyed, tall individuals present excellent strains; there are mediocre and subnormal types among them just as well as among other races; and the proof has never been given that the relative number of excellent hereditary strains in this race is greater than in others. To speak of hereditary characteristics of a human race as a whole has no meaning.

It is necessary to state emphatically against the tendency of this book, that nobody has so far succeeded in proving racial superiority, and certainly nothing like the superiority of one European type over another one; that the whole formulation of the problem as a struggle between different races is misleading; and that if we were to follow purely rational eugenic methods, which fortunately we cannot do, we should have to select our best endowed individuals from the most divergent types, and many of the scions of North-European nobility who do conform with Mr. Grant's racial requirements would have to be removed from our society on account of their degeneracy. That kind of a race aristocracy of which Mr. Grant is dreaming is unreal, and has occurred only in those cases in which a people of pronounced local type have conquered another people of distinct type.

### GLASS HOUSES.

REDERICK Harrison, the famous English writer, says in the London Morning Post:

Englishmen welcome with enthusiasm the entrance of the great republic into this tremendous war, not merely because we are now fighting side by side, but rather because it manifests that the common cause is that of civilization, humanity and peace.

But does this glorious comradeship in arms quite justify American politicians, however eminent and friendly, thrusting themselves into our municipal politics at a moment of intense crisis? As an Englishman, I wonder to see my stalwart friend Roosevelt and so many leaders of American intellect and statesmanship reaching the stale sophisms of our enemies during one of the most inveterate trials to which Britain has ever been exposed. What would Americans do if we intervened in one of their dilemmas-say, if our ex-ministers, doctors and preachers were to summon them with a passionate appeal to raise up their 12,000,000 of colored citizens to equal human dignity, to wipe out the national stigma on the commonwealth that every man or woman born with a dark skin is born into the shame of exclusion and the life of a pariah

To this we may append an editorial from a colored paper, the St. Paul, Minn., Appeal:

Governor Bickett of North Carolina has cabled Foreign Minister Milyoukov of Russia greetings to the new republic:

Russia greetings to the new republic:
"The State of North Carolina," the governor wired, "sends warmest greetings to the greatest republic of the old world. The high tides of human thought and feeling all set in your direction and all the stars of destiny smile on you. The Russian people have asserted their divine rights in joining the brotherhood of man, and may the Lord of Liberty keep them steadfast."

Think of it! Old "No'th Ca'liny," home of the K. K. K., the jimcrow car, mob murder, segregation and damnation congratulating the new-born Russia, talking about the brotherhood of man and hoping that the "Lord of Liberty may keep them stead-

fast!"

It's enough to make one snicker and snort.

### DEMANDING RIGHTS.

**D**<sup>R.</sup> H. B. FRISSELL, principal of Hampton Institute, has said in a recent letter:

"As Dr. Washington and Dr. Moton have proved by their lives of quiet, unpretentious service, the colored man is going to secure recognition, not by demanding his rights, but by deserving them."

Dr. Moton himself does not seem to agree with the above as his excellent letter on Negro loyalty contains an implicit demand for better treatment. The Richmond, Va., Planet. adds:

A right is a thing to be demanded; a privilege, a thing to be deserved. If Dr. Frissell had said that the colored man is going to secure recognition by demanding his rights and by deserving them, we would understand fully that he recognized that the citizen of color is entitled to every right and every privilege enjoyed by any other citizen. We pause to remark that the colored people in this country will never come unto their own as long as they believe that they are inherently inferior and that they are not manly enough to deserve their rights, and after deserving their rights, to demand them.

The badge of servility better known by the look of cowardice and the halting attitude of submission to any wrong, is what is handicapping us more than anything else. Colored people who could lead a charge at El Caney and San Juan Hill should walk upright, and, while being respectful and obliging, should demand their rights when necessary and "dig deep in their jeans" to secure the necessary legal rights which will make them respected by their enemies in the courts of this country. Manhood is what is wanted and not servile submission. A blooded white man hates a cringing citizen, be he black or white, and he admires manhood, self respect and courage in a Negro as much so as he does in an Englishman, Frenchman or a German.

The colored man is going to obtain his rights, Dr. Frissell, by demanding them and by deserving them.

To this the Boston Guardian adds:

We arise also to deny directly that the "quiet service" lives of Booker T. Washington or of Russa Moton secured recognition of rights. The most striking thing about the race-leadership career of Dr. Washington was that coincident with it went the greatest period of loss of citizenship and of legal debarment from rights ever known in any race that once enjoyed full rights and especially during the time Dr. Washington preached most pronouncedly the doctrine of "quietly deserving" rights. No further exposition of that matter by us is any longer needed.

We warn Dr. Frissell against reviving the Booker Washington—no agitation issue. Dr. Washington's own friends do not rel-

ish or desire it.

### THE WAR AND LABOR.

EVEN the Charleston News and Courier sees the handwriting on the wall:

There is small chance that the labor shortage in the United States will be remedied for a long time to come. The war has wiped out the European surplus from which for many years our labor supply has been recruited even more rapidly than was desirable. It is not probable, therefore, that the shifting of colored people from the South to the North will be checked. If anything, the movement will in all likelihood become more marked. No matter what the effects on the Negro or on the South or on the North, so long as the North is able to offer the Negro higher wages than he is able to earn in the South, with the hope of political equality thrown in, the Negro exodus is sure to continue.

The New Orleans *Times-Picayune* acknowledges that the appeal for interference on the part of the U. S. Government has so far failed:

It is explained now that the investigation has not been abandoned, but that the departments which have been studying it can find no plan under which the government can intervene or hold the exodus in check. No laws have been violated, it is asserted, either by the departing Negroes or by the labor agents, who have been credited with responsibility for many departures. a matter of fact, say the departments, the emigration has gotten out of the hands of the labor agents and is progressive, by its own momentum-Negroes who have gone North are instrumental in persuading many who are still here to come on. Many of the Southern States have passed very stringent laws against labor agents, requiring heavy licenses of them, and many obstacles have been placed in the way of Negro emigration. The belief is expressed that under these circumstances it would be difficult or impossible to prevent this movement.

James Calloway, the press correspondent of the Macon *Telegraph*, has, however, discovered the real mare's nest! His pet aversions are the Negro and woman suffrage, and he thus discants:

The Negro exodus is a new thing. Whatever causes produce it have exicted for years. But it came all of a sudden in the fall of 1916, and was simultaneous over Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, and the

movement is still on.

What in the past ten months has occurred to produce this simultaneous restlessness and dissatisfaction among the Negroes? There is some underlying cause for its suddenness. What is it? . . . A prominent Alabamian in a letter to me says: "The Germans expected to enter our country with the Mexicans, via the South, and seize Mobile and New Orleans and Savannah and hold these ports as a base of operations. The plan was for the Negroes to rise and help them as they invaded. . . . In addition to this but without any collusion whatsoever, during the campaign of 1916 the suffrage question became very conspicuous. Spectacular suffrage parades were had in the Northern and Western cities. Illustrated literature of these parades, white and black, Negro women taking active part, was circulated in the South.

"The 'CRISIS,' the Negro DuBois' paper of New York, 'The Letters,' official organ of Mrs. Carrie Catt's organization of suffragists, 'The Suffragist,' organ of the Congressional Union, the Chicago Post and 'The Masses,' Max Eastman's paper, were filled with vicious thrusts at the South, with cartoons derogatory to the white people of our section, holding us up as enemies of the Negroes, and were scattered all over Georgia and Alabama and Mississippi among the colored race. This pernicious literature was followed by agents acting like spies doing in secret their work, and thus a restlessness among the Negroes was created. The lure of better things, especially 'equality,' was held out. These things seized upon the imagination of the Negroes and the

exodus begun."

This lurid explanation throws the Greenville, N. C., *Piedmont* quite in the shade when it says:

What the South's course should be is of easy answer. If the southern people would have the Negroes remain the thing to do is to make it worth their while to remain. One thing is certain—the South cannot hold the Negroes by force; the Mason and Dixon Line is not a Red Sea if the North be a land of promise to the blacks, and the trip by rail is cheap and quick from the Gulf and the Atlantic Coast to Cincinnati, Chicago and New York.

W. T. ANDREWS, a prominent colored citizen of Sumter, S. C., stated plainly before a recent race conference the cause of unrest in the South:

In my view, the chief causes of Negro unrest and disturbance of mind are as follows: The destruction of his political privileges and curtailment of his civil rights, no protection of life, liberty, and property under the law; insufficient wages to the laboring classes with which to buy necessities of life; Jim Crow car, residential, and labor segregation laws; no educational facilities worthy of the name for the education of Negro children in most of the southern states. These, I believe, are the most potent causes which are now impelling the southern Negro to seek employment and find homes in northern and western sections of the country. I shall endeavor to discuss them in brief detail.

These causes date back practically to the day of the Negro's emergence into freedom. Then the former slave was a pauper, the former master impoverished; the former slave was forced to labor for such wage as the former master was able or would pay. With the same patience and faithfulness exhibited as a slave the Negro began life as a freeman, to learn upon the very threshold of freedom that he was remanded by laws, designated as the "Black Code," to a condition worse than the slavery from which he had just been released. Then came enfranchisement, given to him in the hope and belief that armed with the attributes and muniments of citizenship he would be able, through their power and influence, as is the case with all other citizens of the Republic, to protect himself.

Its possession was brief and accompanied with violence, and the most serious shock and disturbance of the Negro's content came when the suffrage was rudely and violently wrested from him, his political rights destroyed, his civil rights menaced, restricted, and repressed to a limit as extreme as the Federal constitution permits.

In South Carolina, and I believe it to be equally true of every southern state, except those classed as "border states," statute after statute has been passed to curtail the rights of the Negro, but in not a single instance can a law be pointed to which was enacted for the purpose of enlarging his opportunity, surrounding himself and his family with the protection of the law, or for the betterment of his condition. On the contrary, every law passed relating to the Negro has been passed with the intent of controlling his labor and drawing his circle of freedom into smaller and smaller compass.

Senators and representatives from the south for several years have boldly and openly begun an agitation in Congress for the repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution for the avowed purpose of exercising complete control of the Negro. These same men have for years been loud and frequent in their abuse of the Negro, some of them carrying their message of hate and prejudice into nearly every state where it had not already a healthy growth and perfection.

Although eliminated from politics in the south, the Negro is more in evidence in southern politics than when he enjoyed the franchise in fullest freedom; he is a live and stirring issue in every primary campaign; politicians, from magistrate to U. S. senator, appeal to the white electorate upon their record of hostility to the Negro, or their future schemes for keeping him in his place and crushing his aspiration to measure up to the requirements of American civilization and progress.

It is amazing how enlightened men can so bitterly denounce a helpless people and stir to the depths the fires of racial hatred and yet, when it suits their purposes, declare that they, and they only, understand the Negro and are his best friends. It never seems to occur to such men that the Negro might possibly understand himself to some slight degree and, like other races, is usually able to pick his friends, even though those friends do not make known their friendship by noisy protestations.

In the courts an unwritten law exists that the testimony of a Negro shall not be given weight against the word of a white man, most especially in cases between white men and Negroes or when a white man may be convicted upon such testimony.

\* \* \*

In the rural districts the Negro is not only at the mercy of the lawless white individual citizen, but equally at the mercy of the rural police, magistrates' constables, and the magistrate. There is hardly a record in modern history of greater oppression by judicial officers than that dealt to the Negro by a large majority of the magistrates and other officials who preside over the inferior courts of South Carolina.

The most approved hours for making arrests of Negroes charged with misdemeanors are between ten o'clock at night and two or three o'clock in the morning, when the constable with several assistants will storm the Negro cabin, drag the accused out of bed, perhaps beating him into insensibility if he is slow or stubborn in submitting to arrest.

In towns and cities, as a rule, mayor's and recorder's courts are mills for grinding out Negro convicts. Negroes charged with petty offenses are brought into these courts, convicted and sentenced with lightning speed, before they even realize that they are on trial, unless they are able to hire attorneys, whose fees often equal the fine that would be imposed. They are beaten at will by arresting officers, fre-

quently shot and many killed if attempt is made to escape by running from the officer, and for any such shooting officers are seldom put to the inconvenience of trial, even if the victim die.

In tragic truth it must be confessed that there is in the south, South Carolina most certainly, no protection for the life or person of any Negro of whatever standing, sex, or age against the intent of the bloodyminded white man.

Negro labor in most of the southern states, especially in the agricultural districts, is so poorly paid that the wage earned is insufficient to buy for the laborer and his family the indispensible necessities of life. There is nothing to lay by for "a rainy day," nor for the purchase of a home and ordinary comforts; no stimulus to develop greater efficiency and to improve their condition and, as a consequence, habits of indifference, shiftlessness, and heedless spending of the little so hardly earned are entailed.

During the past year and a half throughout the entire country the cost of every item necessary to the sustenance and maintenance of life has advanced in cost from fifty to one hundred per cent., thus reducing the purchasing power of a dollar. As a consequence every class of labor has been granted an increase in wages, except the Negro in the south. And still he is charged with being inefficient, lazy, and unreliable. Is it believable that he is ignorant that people of other races receive their due reward for their labor and that his is withheld from him?

Among the most irritating and almost unendurable conditions to which Negroes are subjected are the Jim Crow Car, Residential Segregation, and Labor Segregation laws of various southern states. Negroes pay the same railroad fares as other passengers, but are forced to ride in secondhand, filthy, unsanitary, combination coach and baggage car jammed next or near to the locomotive tender; if the Negro coach becomes crowded, which is more frequent than otherwise, they are compelled to stand and ride thus to their destination, although they have paid for a seat.

Residential segregation agitation, now rife, seeks to force Negroes into certain blocks or districts in towns and cities and certain townships or districts in the rural districts. These laws, when applied, will simply mean that whatever portion of any city is most undesirable will be open to Negroes for residential purposes; he will not be permitted to exercise his choice as a free man in buying a home, nor will the party who may like to sell him the home he may desire be allowed to exercise his choice in selling property owned by him to the person willing to pay his price. The same is true of rural segregation; the Negro will be pushed into the swamps and worn-out sand hills when rural segregation

laws are passed. The viciousness and injustice of laws of this character readily reveal themselves when examined.

In the textile mills of South Carolina Negroes and whites are prohibited from working in the same room at the same time. If Negroes and whites can be prohibited from working together in the same room, the prohibition can be extended to prevent them from working together in or on the same building; in banks as porters or messengers; in stores as porters or drivers of delivery wagons; or as window washers in any building where there are white workers, in hotels, or on railway trains; and when politicians begin to see the beauty of new schemes, brand new issues affording opportunity to pose as champions of the poor white workingman, and upon which he can appeal to the white voter in the primary, demand will be made that statutes be passed to prohibit Negroes from working together in any occupation where

white men will want the jobs.

The most flagrant disregard of the Negro's welfare and rights as a taxpaying citizen is the refusal to provide reasonably adequate facilities for the education of Negro youth. The public schools in South Carolina, except in some towns and cities, are a pretense and a farce. There is absolutely no supervision, except in some towns and cities, and in most of these supervision is merely perfunctory. The Negro rural school teacher is the poorest paid of any class of workers except female domes-Their schools average about three months in the length of term at an average salary of about eighteen dollars per month for each teacher. This condition is driving the most competent teachers out of the schoolroom into other occupations and leaving the work to be done by young and inexperienced female teachers and others, for the most part incompetent. Splendid edifices, beautiful and complete in design and equipment, are built for white children, who are conveyed to and from school at the public expense; night schools are established for whites and public libraries are maintained out of the taxes paid by all, while Negro schools are still conducted in shacks without equipment, a majority of them subjecting teacher and children to exposure in severe weather, hardly less dangerous to health or more comfortable than in the open air. Hence, Negro schools from year to year are retrograding instead of improving, and thousands of Negroes have deserted the farms and taken residence in cities in order to give their children the advantage of better school facilities, while a great many board their children in the cities during school term for the same reason, frequently crowding out children living in the cities, every Negro school, city or country, being usually crowded beyond the capacity of the school building and of the teachers to do efficient

### DISFRANCHISEMENT.

THE Pittsburgh, Pa., Chronicle-Telegram says of the new House of Representatives:

An analysis of the vote shows that it required an average of 25,624 ballots to elect a Republican congressman, while the Democratic congressmen were elected by an average vote of 18,870 each. The principal reason for this unjust disparity lies in the fact that in the South, where Democratic congressmen are most plentiful, Negro citizens are kept from the polls, but they are counted in the census for the purpose of ascertaining how many representatives the commonwealths shall send to Washington and to the Electoral College. It is estimated that the Republican party is deprived of a million votes through the election laws of the Southern States, which have the effect of giving a white southern Democrat far. more political value as a voter than a northern Republican possesses.

Notwithstanding this inequitable condition of affairs, the total number of votes cast at the last election for Republican members of the House of Representatives was 7,874,649, while the total number cast for Democratic congressional candidates was 7,753,286, leaving a clear Republican majority throughout the country of 121,363.

The Lima, Ohio, Republican-Gazette adds:

The other day a Democratic member of the house from Alabama digressed from the order of business long enough to pay a glowing tribute to the patriotism of the Southern Negro, 100,000 of whom he has in his district. He characterized the colored people as a "loyal race that have few spokesmen and few to stand up for them." "Does not the gentleman believe," interrupted Congressman William R. Wood, of Indiana, "that in view of this beautiful tribute he has paid to them they are entitled to the full rights of citizenship and the right to vote?" The question caught the southern gentleman unawares, and he had to escape the embarrassment of an attempted reply by saying that he had not the time to explain why it was that the vote should not be given to the Negro.

In addition, we quote a colored paper, the *Pioneer Press* of Martinsburg, W. Va.:

The South is fearful to see the Negro armed. In Justice, they have a right to be, but in fact, none. Arm every southern Negro and in a crisis, he would defend and protect the whites of that section. We base our opinion on their conduct, honesty, labor, protection and love for the white women and children, whose sons, husbands, brothers and fathers were from home fighting to keep them in slavery. It is divine judgment in justice working on their consciences. If the whites had enough sense to treat the Negroes as God wants and wills,

the world would call the South a paradise of love and devotion. Our necessity is your

opportunity.

It may be necessary that the Tillmans, Vardamans, and scores of others must be paralyzed as was Ben Tillman, or die before it can come to pass. When Ben Tillman was living and making money by abusing Negroes he said: "Throughout the South every white family is living in a state of horror of Negro rapine," but Governor Fishback of Arkansas declared he lied and he did, and God paralyzed him.

### THE NEW NEGRO THEATRE.

COMMENTS on the Ridgely Torrence plays recently produced in New York by Mrs. Emile Hapgood with the assistance of Robert Edmund Jones have been so extraordinary that they deserve quotation. Mrs. Hapgood declares that her object was:

"To give a numerous and somewhat neglected race its first real chance in dramatic art."

Mr. Torrence says:

I have sometimes imagined that the Negro, other things being equal, might produce the greatest, the most direct, the most

powerful drama in the world.

And then, of course, it was not only the capacities of the Negro as actor which I wished to exploit in my plays. It was also the extraordinary dramatic richness of his daily life. The Negro has been a race apart, and usually a race in subjection. Under these circumstances, it acquired a racial coherence which most other races cannot show. Its life under slavery, with its intense but seemingly hopeless longings for liberty, produced in it a certain epic spirit, unconscious, of course, which is reflected in the tremendous sweep of its camp meeting songs. In modern life, the Negro comes face to face with many tragedies, unknown to the Anglo-And then, of course, his natural buoyancy of disposition produces a wealth of comedy which all the world has now learned to love. The parallel of all this with the Irish race and its national drama. made a deep impression on me. I wanted to make the experiment, and try to contribute something, if I could, to a possible Negro drama, as vital and as charming as the Irish.

Mr. Percy MacKaye, the poet, says:

As it touches the life and problems of the Negro in our country, this whole production seems to me to be of immensely good significance to both colored people and white. It is indeed an historic happening. Probably for the first time, in any comparable degree, both races are here brought together upon a plane utterly devoid of all racial antagonisms—a plane of art in which audience and actors are happily peers, mutually cordial to each other's gifts of appreciation

and interpretation. And this spirit is enhanced by the musicians and singers of the entracts, who are delightfully parts of one artistic whole.

The Brooklyn Life says:

The three plays being presented at the Garden Theater, "The Rider of Dreams," "Granny Maumee" and "Simon the Cyrenian," serve to show in spite of shortcomings in certain particulars that the Negro possesses powers of dramatic expression, which, in certain directions at least, transcend, it would seem, anything within the power of the white man to attain, which, as might be supposed, is in the power to interpret the Negro character itself.

The New York Tribune says:

The incredible stupidity of the plays' press representative seems to have kept both the colored and the white public from being prepared for the enormous significance and impressiveness of this production. Certainly the inadequate attendance at the second performance made one fear for the success of this unique and beautiful dramatic offering. But the audience was enthusiastic and got the thrill of poetic suggestion with which the occasion was charged. It was Good Friday. And it was the day of the proclamation of war.

L. V. De Foe, writing in the New York World, declares that—

The attitude of the theatre public toward this unique adventure will tend to enlarge the democracy and influence of the theatre. The audiences, composed largely of regular theatregoers, which these plays and actors attracted, came not patronizingly. If, by chance, they were led to the Garden or Garrick through curiosity, they were quickly brought to a realization of the true significance of what they saw. Now that the opening wedge has entered, the experiment will probably be repeated. But credit for initiating Negro drama belongs to Mrs. Hap-For sheer oddity and interest her work ranks high among the results of a generally not too interesting dramatic sea-

The dramatic critic of the New Republic thinks that—

It is, all things considered, as fine an enterprise as the American theatre has seen for years. It is the emergence of an artistic Cinderella into the palace where she belongs. One undiscovered country in emotional America is Negro country, and these productions have disclosed in it a fresh and vigorous and lovely way. The costumes and scenery by Mr. Jones go far toward making the performances successful, apart from the dramatist's contribution, but for myself the actors had unusual power and charm.

Louis Sherwin writes in the New York Globe:

Our failure to take advantage of this section of the American people has been not only curious but despicable. It has been due chiefly to the worst kind of snobbishness. (Oh, for a new Thackeray to write an American Book of Snobs!) We have the Negro. prated patronizingly about Many people have called attention to those of his characteristics most essential to artistic talent, his humor, his pathos, his vivacity and intensity. Not that every colored man is a potential Coquelin. But there is in the race a lack of the self-consciousness that gives them a greater natural aptitude for acting and various forms of song. They have a peculiar idiom in their speech and their music, peculiar characteristics that should make them especially fertile subjects for American dramatic art.

Frank Crane writes in the same paper: An experiment is being tried in New York, consisting of a company of Negro actors who attempt a serious dramatic performance of plays written especially for them and supposed to be peculiarly adapted to their genius.

If a highly cultured and entirely un-

prejudiced foreigner were to look for the most interesting theatre in the city, he would find it here.

For here are real human beings trying to express themselves and not to depict borrowed emotions. It is the best kind of

Art consists in the forthputting of one's self. It means doing, with that freedom and naturalness that come only from genius and long practice, the thing I can do better than anybody else.

These Negroes play Negro plays. They are revealing the soul of a people. They are not propagandizing. They are not perking themselves up to be like white folks. They do not demand, argue, or

protest.

They are real artists. No artist has any other aim than to show his soul by his work. There are certain qualities of spirit, certain shades of passion and of conscience, which the Negro can portray better than any other race. There is a pathos, a tenderness, an edge of sympathy, a beauty of loyalty, and a genuineness of simplicity wherein the African excels.

I think the Negro is by nature the race

best suited to Christianity.

The Negro has none of that offensive and hard pride that stains the Caucasian. He is the exact opposite of the Prussian.

In the great democracy of art, where the prejudices of race or speech disappear, and where "each shall paint the thing as he sees it for the God of things as they are," the Negro is welcome.

I was strangely moved by this performance. I felt as if I were witnessing by far the most significant effort at self-expression I had seen for a long time anywhere.

It was something new, something remarkable, something altogether fine and real.

# Men of the Month

### A UNITED STATES CONSUL

THE Honorable C. H. Payne, who has been representing the American Government in the Danish West Indies since August 1, 1903, was born in Monroe County, W. Va., in the late forties. He worked on the farm, in a blacksmith shop, in fact, anywhere where he could earn an honest living for the support of his mother, grandmother and himself, his father having died when the son was but two years old.

Every opportunity for mental improvement was utilized in study. As a result of such effort he was among the first colored persons to pass an examination for a certificate to teach public school in Summers County, West Va., after the Civil War. During his period of school-teaching, Mr. Payne prepared himself, under private instructors, for beginning a course of higher training, and later entered the Richmond Institute (now Union University) at Richmond, Va., where he was graduated in 1883. Since that date he has been engaged in public life.

Mr. Payne served as Collector of Revenue in West Virginia from 1889 to 1893, Special Agent of the U. S. Government from 1899 to 1900, and from 1903 to the present date, he has been officiating as Consul of the United States of America at St. Thomas, Danish West Indies.

### A YOUNG ARCHITECT

MR. PAUL R. WILLIAMS was born in Los Angeles, Cal., February, 1894. He received his training in the Polytechnic High School of Los Angeles and the Beaux Arts Institute of Design. Wide-spread recognition of the ability of Mr. Williams as an architect has come early in his career. At the age of twenty his design for a neighborhood civic center in Pasadena, Cal., won first prize of \$200 over drawings of mature competitors from all parts of the country. He was awarded first honorable mention in architecture at the Chicago Emancipation Celebration in 1915, and was placed third for the Spering prize, an all-American competition held in New York last year.

Mr. Williams is employed by one of the large architectural firms in Los Angeles.

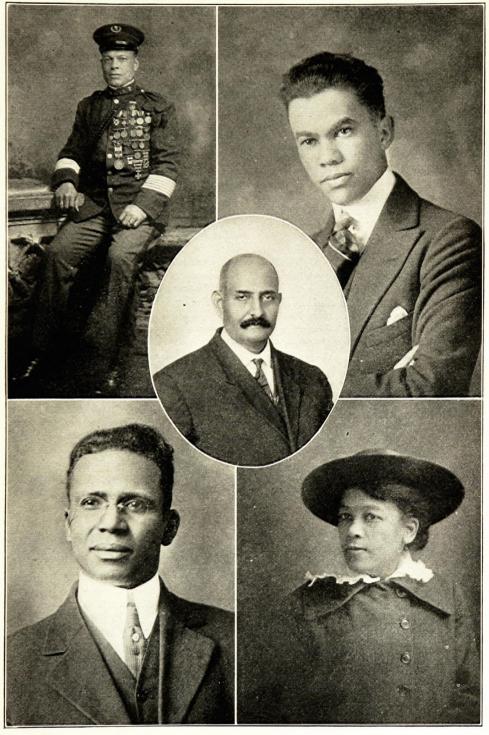
The designing of many of the fine homes in Southern California can be attributed to his skill. In the architectural exhibit held in Los Angeles recently, two of his drawings, exhibited in the name of the firm which employs him, attracted special attention and the booth containing them, along with other drawings was reproduced in the Los Angeles Times as the most attractive.

### A SOCIAL WORKER

MRS. ROBERT T. BROOKS was born in Birmingham, Ala., and educated in the public school of Tuscaloosa, Ala., St. Mark's School for Girls at Birmingham, Ala., and at Fisk University. During her nine years' residence in Kansas City, Mo., she did considerable volunteer work in social agencies, and later took up training for that profession at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, working under the United Charities of Chicago. In Kansas City she worked for several months at Swope Settlement, and as a volunteer with the Board of Public Welfare. Then an opportunity came to work at St. John's Congregational Church, with the Rev. W. N. DeBerry, at Springfield, Mass., and she gained additional experience by working with the Boston Associated Charities and the Massachusetts General Hospital, Social Service Department. While in Springfield she was superintendent of the Girls' Club Workers, and the only colored member. She resigned this position to take up relief work in connection with the Associated Charities of Columbia, S. C., in July, 1915.

Mrs. Brooks was engaged as a "visitor," but she organized and developed the work with departments featuring child-placing, probation and employment and did effective educational work in addition to the main purpose of relief and rehabilitation. From mere relief work has developed the work of reconstructing family life, working to prevent poverty as well as to cure it, according to the best methods and without discrimination, even though the colored auxiliary furnishes only about \$600 annually, about one-third of the actual relief expense and salary of that department.

A large service is done for the unem-



SERGT. LEWIS BROADUS.

HON. C. H. PAYNE.

PAUL R. WILLIAMS. MRS. R. T. BROOKS.

ployed. Perhaps the best work accomplished has been in the courts where Mrs. Brooks has voluntarily served as Probation Officer, but with the consent and approval of the Judge, who has commended this service for boys very highly.

Mrs. Brooks has addressed many notable groups of white people in the interest of her work.

#### AN ARMY SERGEANT

MR. LEWIS BROADUS has been in the U. S. Army for twenty-six years and has served in Cuba, Hawaii and the Philippines.

In Cuba he distinguished himself by recovering the horses of the mounted officers at a great personal risk, and also saved the lives of four men of the regiment. He received a certificate of merit from President Roosevelt in 1906 for saving the life of Sergeant J. M. Thompson of Fort Niobrara, Nebraska.

Mr. Broadus is now stationed at the State Armory at Hartford, Conn., by request of the Adjutant General of the State of Connecticut, to assist in the preparation of the ordnance returns.

### A MINISTER.

THE Reverend Clifford L. Miller has recently been made the pastor of First Congregational Church, Talladega, Ala. Mr. Miller was born in Columbia, Tenn. He is a graduate of Fisk University, 1904, and of Andover Seminary, 1907, taking up special work in 1908 at Harvard. In 1912 he made a trip to England and France and upon his return, in 1913, he accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of

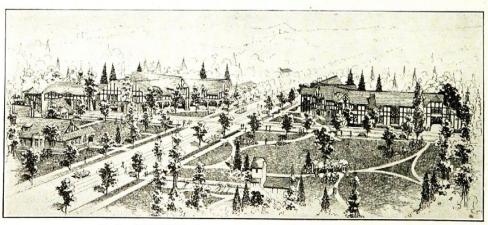
Union Congregational Church, New Haven,

Miller comes of a family of Mr. preachers, all of his grandparents were active workers in the Baptist or Methodist churches, and a cousin was a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal church.

### THE RECTOR OF ALL SAINTS

EVEREND CASSIUS M. C. MASON R was born in Baltimore, Md., October From a youth he was active in parochial work. He was elected clerk of the vestry before he had attained his majority, and was subsequently elected a vestryman. In 1867, under his leadership as lay reader, with a number of the younger members of St. James Church, in Baltimore, he established St. Philip's Mission, which in 1873 became a part of Mt. Calvary Parish. and the name of the congregation changed to the "Chapel of St. Mary, the Virgin." In 1879, Father Mason went to St. Louis, Mo., where he accomplished much effective church work. This finally eventuated in the present All Saints Parish, of which he was founder and the only rector. He received holy orders in the diocese of Missouri and at the time of his death was the senior priest of that diocese. After a ministry of thirty-five years at All Saints, the Rev. Mr. Mason died of pneumonia. Bishop Donald S. Tuttle, presiding bishop of the Episcopal church, together with his Coadjutor, Dean and twenty-four local rectors, officiated at his funeral.

(See page 71.)



P. R. WILLIAMS' PRIZE PLAN FOR A CIVIC CENTER.

# The Horizon

### THE WAR.

C OMPANY L of the 6th Massachusetts Infantry, a colored company, has been assigned to guard duty at Portsmouth, N. H.

⊕ Bishop John Hurst of the A. M. E. Church has already raised \$300 for colored French orphans in accordance with the plans of The Colored American Society for the Relief of French War Orphans.

186
150
112
60
44
38

It is expected that reports from colleges and universities farther South will bring the number up to 1,000; three companies of colored volunteers have been organized in Birmingham, Ala., and a movement is on foot to form a colored regiment; Thomas E. Miller, former president of the State Negro College, has offered to organize 30,000 South Carolina Negroes for active service in the army and navy.

¶ A patriotic parade of some 3,000 colored citizens was held in Columbus, Ohio. Similar parades and patriotic meetings have been held all over the country.

More than 600 Negroes of Chattanooga, Tenn., met and pledged their services to the government; in Augusta, Ga., 800 Negroes held a patriotic mass meeting; 3,000 colored citizens of Houston, Tex., met in the city auditorium as a patriotic demonstration and 12,000 marched in Austin.

∏ The four colored regiments in the U. S.
 Army have been recruited to full war strength and no more enlistments are being received.

 ℂ La Frantz Jones of the colored Howard High School, Wilmington, Del., has been assigned to League Island as assistant wireless operator.

 ⊕ Dr. Ernest Lyon, ex-U. S. Minister to Liberia, addressed a meeting of colored women in the home of Mrs. George E. Frey, in Baltimore, Md., which resulted in the organization of The Women's Patriotic League of Maryland. Mrs. Frey was made president, Mrs. Mason A. Hawkins, vicepresident, Mrs. Howard Payne, secretary, and Mrs. Howard Young, treasurer.

### INDUSTRY.

THE migration of Negroes from the South to the North, East, and West continues. A careful compilation of records of railway agencies shows that the total movement of colored citizens from Albany, Ga., to northern and western states from June 1, 1916, to March 1, 1917, was approximately 4,500; figures compiled by T. Arnold Hill, of the Chicago Branch of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, from data of the railroads.

show that the Illinois Central transports an average of between sixty-five and seventy a day, and the Chicago & Eastern Illinois between thirty and thirty-five daily; city and state officials say that more than 20,000 have come to Philadelphia, Pa., in the last six months; over 1,000 arrived in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 15, within twentyfour hours: the Colorado and Southern Railroad brought 200 from Texas during the last two weeks; the Erie Railroad imported from Jacksonville, Fla., during the last week in March over 150; 300 left New Orleans, La., March 20, on the Southern Pacific steamer for New York, and 500 more left March 24; over 1,200 have recently migrated from New Orleans to the North, West and East.

Estimates as to the number of Negroes who have migrated from the South to the North, East and West vary. A statement from the railway companies received by the Lexington Conference of the Methodist Church, recently in session in Cincinnati, Ohio, puts the number at 1,000,000 during the past year; William J. Doherty, Deputy Commissioner of Charities, New York, estimates 150,000 since war-time prosperity; J. H. Duckrey of the Pennsylvania Railroad reports over 2,000,000 since January 1 of this year. Joseph E. Mannings, of Birmingham, Ala., estimates 500,000 since December 28, 1916; 150,000 coming to New York alone, about 100,000 to Philadelphia. Pa., and the rest to various communities in the East and North.

 Mayor Raymond of Newark, N. J., says that the Negroes have been a most "orderly, fine part of the city of Newark." Ex-Governor Stokes declares that Negroes are "welcome in New Jersey."

¶ James Judson, the colored "Potato King" of Kansas, and James Slocum of Tulsa, Okla., are said to have invested heavily in Chicago real estate for the purpose of furnishing houses for colored immigrants.

⊕ As a result of efforts by Dr. George W. Bowles, a colored man who acts as examiner for employers at York, Pa., the factories of that city are now employing many colored girls.

The Remington Arms Company has secured and is seeking more colored labor for its plant at Eddystone, Pa.

The Utah Construction Company, Chey-

enne, Wyoming, is calling for 3,000 colored laborers.

The Monitor announces openings for 5,000 colored laborers in and around Omaha, Neb. The wages range from twenty to sixty cents per hour. There is work for farm hands, freight handlers, smelter and packing house laborers.

 ℂ Colored women are being employed as car washers in the Big Four Railway yards in ℂleveland. Ohio.

(A number of Negro farmers in the Federal Farm Loan District, composed of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, have applied for membership. One organization has refused them and another has delayed action.

(Herman Peebles of Raleigh, N. C., won the first prize, a fifty dollar scholarship in the A. & T. College at Greensboro, in the Negro Boys' Farm Clubs Contest for 1916. He produced 104 bushels of corn at a cost of twenty-two cents per bushel. The second prize, a forty dollar scholarship at the same institution, was won by Braxton Brewing who produced 120 bushels of corn at a cost of thirty-eight cents per bushel. The prizes were offered by the A. & T. Alumni Association.

#### MEETINGS.

OVER 1,000 colored school teachers are expected to attend the convention of the Muskogee County Normal Institute to be held in Muskogee, Okla., at Manual Training School, June 4 to 29. J. T. Smith has been appointed conductor.

¶ The Mississippi Centennial Exposition which was to have opened next December will be postponed fifteen months on account of the war.

¶ The thirty-sixth annual session of the Louisiana Grand Lodge of the colored Knights of Pythias took place in New Orleans. There was a large attendance.

¶ The annual health conference was held at Baltimore under a committee headed by Mason A. Hawkins, Principal of the Colored High School. Judge R. H. Terrell was the chief speaker.

¶ Five hundred representative Negroes attended a convention at Wewoka, Okla., and a protective league was formed.

The State Association of Colored Physicians, Pharmacists, and Dentists met in Savannah, Ga., May 15. The colored physicians, dentists, and pharmacists of South Carolina held their annual meeting in Columbia.

( At the meeting of the Church Extension Board of the A. M. E. Church Bishop W. H. Heard was elected to succeed Bishop Levi J. Coppin as Chairman of the Board. It was reported that the total receipts March 31, 1917, were \$37,308.21; the total disbursements \$16,565.25, and the assets \$394,647.

The General Board of Foreign Missions of the A. M. E. Church held its annual session in New York City, April 25. Bishop J. Albert Johnson presided. Many distinguished churchmen were present. The secretary, Dr. Rankin, reported collections for missions for the year, \$52,537.51.

The first annual Founder's Day of Tuskegee Institute, Ala., was celebrated April 5. The principal speaker was William G. Willcox, President of the Board of Education, New York City, and Chairman of the Tuskegee Trustee Board.

C Several prominent white educators took part in the recent session of the Negro Teachers' Association held in Little Rock. Ark. Among those who spoke were J. L. Bond, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; P. P. Claxton, head of the U. S. Bureau of Education; D. L. Paisley, Superintendent of Schools of Argenta, and Miss Erle Chambers, Chairman of the State Board of Charities and Corrections.

The Kentucky Negro Educational Association held a successful three days' convention in Louisville during April. Mrs. Booker T. Washington was the speaker April 26, and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois delivered a lecture April 27. An Indian operetta was given by 250 children from the colored schools, under Miss Mildred Bryant.

The National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes held four meetings in New York April 29. William Pickens, Dean of Morgan College, Baltimore, Md., the Hon. William G. Willcox, president of the Board of Education, New York City, the Hon. Marcus M. Marks, Manhattan Borough President, were among the speakers. Dr. E. P. Roberts, the recently elected colored member of the Board of Education, New York City, presided at one of the meetings.

Dr. George Foster Peabody presided at a meeting of the League in Brooklyn, April 27. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, the principal speaker, said: "The white man cannot treat the Negro like a hog and expect him to act like a man."

### MUSIC AND ART.

66THE Seven Last Words of Christ," by Theodore Du Bois, was effectively rendered Easter afternoon at St. Paul M. E. Church, San Antonio, Texas, by a large city chorus. Miss Cleota J. Collins, a colored singer of Cleveland, Ohio, was the directress.

Members of the Drama League of America attended a special meeting at the Garden Theatre, New York City, where the Colored Players produced Ridgely Torrence's "Rider of Dreams," "Granny Maumee," and "Simon the Cyrenian." Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois spoke on the Negro drama, and Miss Burrill of Washington, D. C., made an appeal for opportunity. The orchestra for The Colored Players, under J. Rosamond Johnson, rendered songs and melodies of the Civil War period at Carnegie Hall, April 19, in "Wake Up America Day."

C "Rachel," a drama by Angelina Grimké, played by colored men and women, was presented April 26 at the Neighborhood Playhouse, New York City, under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

( A "Queen's Pageant" for the benefit of Bethel Literary Association was successfully directed at Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, Washington, D. C., April 24, by Mme. E. Azalia Hackley. The pageant included 200 actors.

( At the Dunbar High School, April 12, Charles E. Love, Jr., presented Mrs. Carrie W. Clifford's "Tradition," a one-act drama, for the benefit of public school playgrounds. The Harry T. Burleigh Choral Society gave a successful rendition of "Stabat Mater" by Rossini at Wesley M. E. Church, Little Rock, Ark., April 1.

In Seattle, Wash., April 5, the Philharmonic Orchestra played the "New World Symphony" by Dvorak, which is built on Negro melodies. "Onaway, Awake, Beloved" by S. Coleridge-Taylor, and "By the Pool," Burleigh, were sung by Theodore Karle. At one of the exclusive functions of the Aloha Country Club a group of Burleigh's songs was sung and enthusiastically received. Montgomery Lynch, a well-known white musical conductor, rendered S. Coleridge-Taylor's "Hiawatha's Wedding Feast," March 20. At a musical lecture in Tacoma, John Blackmore, a white pianist, mentioned with pride the meeting of R. Nathaniel Dett, while coaching with Percy Grainger. Mrs. Nettie J. Asberry, a colored pianist, is planning a concert to be made up of compositions by S. Coleridge-Taylor, Burleigh, Dett, and Cook.

⊕ Oscar Seagle, at his recital in Brooklyn,
 N. Y., at the Academy of Music, March 25,
 sang a group of Negro spirituals arranged
 by Burleigh. The Brooklyn Life says: "In
 Oscar Seagle these songs have found their
 true interpreter."

 ⊕ At the All-American League's conclave held at Exposition Park, Los Angeles, Cal., February 22, J. D. Reynolds was awarded first prize, a gold medal, for free hand crayon drawings, and a diploma for plain and ornamental pen and ink lettering.

( An excellent performance of Mendelssohn's "Elijah" was given April 26 at Jordan Hall, Boston, Mass., by a chorus of colored singers conducted by Dr. Walter O. Taylor. The assisting soloists were Rachel Walker, soprano; Marion Anderson, contralto; Roland W. Hayes, tenor, and Harry T. Burleigh, baritone. Frederick P. White, was the organist, with Lillian Ray Beal and William S. Lawrence at the piano, combined with a selected orchestra. It was Miss Anderson's first appearance in Boston. She is a young singer from Philadelphia and is the possessor of an exceptional voice of great beauty. Her singing was the sensation of the evening.

¶ Among the compositions sung at the Nylic Choral Society concert at Aeolian Hall, New York, on April 26, was Coleridge-Taylor's "Viking Song." The assisting soloist, Edith Chapman Gould, soprano, also sang songs by Coleridge-Taylor.

The last studio recital of the season of Arthur B. Hunt of St. Paul, Minn., was

noticeable for the number of pieces by composers of color and those written after the Negro idiom.

¶ "An Evening With Negro Poets and Musicians" was held at the Union Baptist Church, Zanesville, Ohio, on April 19 under the direction of Charles E. Frye.

(The winter tour of Maud Cuney Hare, pianist, and William H. Richardson, baritone, closed at Washington, D. C., with a song recital at Lincoln Temple Congregational Church on April 20. Mr. Richardson sang numbers by Handel, Leoncavallo, Massenet, Cadman, Rosamond Johnson, and Burleigh, with a group of folk-songs drawn from the Creole, Afro-American and English. Mrs. Hare was heard in pieces by Rebikoff, Rachmaninoff, Cyril Scott, and MacDowell.

© Samuel O'Farrill and his son, Juan P. O'Farrill, of Havana, Cuba, are members of the orchestra with the Flame Company, now playing in Boston, Mass. The son has a long contract as song-writer with the Columbia Phonograph Company.

### EDUCATION.

R OGER WILLIAMS UNIVERSITY, Nashville, Tenn., has celebrated her fiftieth anniversary. Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C., will celebrate her fiftieth anniversary at the coming commencement, the first week in June.

¶ William Mason, a freshman in the Arts College at the State University, Cincinnati, Ohio, won first prize of twenty dollars in the university oratorical contest held at Northminister Church. His subject was "Americanism and Prohibition."

The Tennessee State Legislature has appropriated \$75,000 to the A. & I. State Normal School at Nashville; at St. Louis, Mo., a bill has passed both houses granting authority to St. Louis County to vote a bond issue for the purpose of erecting a high school for colored children. Governor Gardener signed the bill.

 ℂ Libraries have been given to each of the four colored city schools of Raleigh, N. C., at a cost of \$500. Twenty-six colored persons graduated from the Night High School in Houston, Texas.

¶ At the Medford, Mass., High School, Leon Furr, a colored boy, has been made captain of the hockey team, and Henry Jeffress, another colored lad, first sergeant of the school regiment.

The Lexington, Ky., city schools, under supervisor W. H. Fouse, received the highest award for the most complete school exhibit at the recent meeting of the colored teachers at Louisville.

the Chicago public schools.

The Harriet Beecher Stowe School gave a masque on social education at Cincinnati, Ohio. The story, "The Eternal Brotherhood," was written by W. L. Anderson, and was presented by Principal Jennie D. Porter and her pupils in eight scenes at the Emory Auditorium.

The forty-ninth closing exercises of Hampton Institute have taken place with ninety-eight graduates.

¶ In place of one new colored school building for Houston Heights, Houston, Tex., to be built out of the proceeds of the recently voted bond issue of \$225,000, two smaller brick buildings will be erected.

#### SOCIAL PROGRESS.

A LICENSE has been issued by the Department of Labor to William Jennings Newson, a student of the Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C., as a wireless operator.

C N. Z. Crawford, a colored man, recently of Brooklyn, N. Y., but a native of Charleston, S. C., has been made a Deputy Sheriff of Noank, Conn.

I When the Boy Scouts in Grand Rapids, Mich., went on a ten mile hike recently. Harry Johnson, a colored Boy Scout, discovered and removed a log burning on a railway track. He will be given a merit

badge for his brave and quick action. ([Public Defender for the Negro is a new office created in Pittsburgh, Pa., by Mayor Armstrong. Rev. A. M. Patterson, a colored man, has been designated by the Mayor to fill this office. He will appear regularly in Magistrate Fugassi's court and defend, free of charge, every Negro whose case deserves investigation.

(I A six-day spring carnival was held by Negroes at Independence Heights, an exclusive colored town six miles from Houston, Tex. There were horse and automobile races every day and the carnival closed April 21 with a baseball game between the Colored High School and Houston College. Inauguration Day was celebrated when officials elected at the city election were installed to office.

 ⊕ A Mardi Gras was given in Washington, D. C., recently at Convention Hall for the benefit of the Y. W. C. A. Over 2,000 peo- ple attended and \$700 was cleared. Mrs. Anita Brown was manager of the affair.

(A house and lot have been purchased for a Negro hospital in Fayetteville, Tenn., for which \$1,100 has been raised. Part of this sum was appropriated by the County Court and the Corporation of Fayetteville, and the balance contributed by both white and colored citizens.

© Colored people of New Orleans, La., are planning a \$10,000 hospital on Delachaise street.

(Isaiah Williams, of Jacksonville, Fla., has invented a machine gun.

In Knoxville, Tenn., the City Commissioners have appointed John Singleton to the detective force and David Saunders to the police force. There are now five colored men serving on the city police force.

The Bayshore Hotel at Buckroe Beach,

Va., opened May 15 with considerable improvements in facilities and service.

The colored women's clubs of Oregon have organized a state federation. H. M. Gray is president.

W. Stokeley, a colored boy and a runner of the St. Christopher A. C., led 250 harriers to the finish at the annual road race run of the Paulist Athletic Club in New York City.

In Jacksonville, Fla., a playground for colored children has been established, and a school is being erected on Stanton avenue, to cost \$140,000.

The colored workers for the Nashville, Tenn., Y. M. C. A., have raised over \$20,-000. Of the \$20,000 raised for the St. Louis, Mo., Y. M. C. A. building, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Malone contributed \$5,000.

Mrs. Mary E. Wilson, Boston, Mass., has held between January 18 and March 18 twelve meetings throughout New England, at which \$446.42 was raised for the Anti-Lynching Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mrs. Wilson's expenses for her services and travel were defrayed by friends and thus were no tax upon the treasury of the N. A. A. C. P.

#### THE CHURCH.

NEGRO ministers of Newport News, Va., have pledged their aid to the Ministerial Association in the effort of that body to secure a religious census of the city. A. F. Williams, Secretary of the Negro Y. M. C. A., was made Chairman of the Committee, and Rev. Sharp, Secretary.

The New York Conference of Northern Methodists has openly denounced the proposed elimination of Negro delegates to the General Conference. The Rev. Philip M. Waters, President of Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga., declared that the denomination did not seek unity at the cost of humiliation for its loyal Negro mem-Such a suggestion, he declared, was proof that "the cause of democracy is not yet fought out in America." A resolution favoring the unification of the Methodist Church in this country, without discrimination against the Negro, was passed at the 77th annual New England Southern Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held in Providence, R. I., March 31.

( The annual spring rally of Mother Zion

Church, in New York City, resulted in raising \$4,188. Rev. J. W. Brown is pastor.

Colored ministers of New York have refused to co-operate with the Billy Sunday meetings, claiming that they were ignored when the movement was planned.

I Dr. John R. Hawkins reports that the A. M. E. Church raised in dollar money during the fiscal year ending March 31, 1917, \$226,796. This is \$12,000 more than last year.

#### POLITICS.

COLORED voters in Fresno, Cal., have met and organized the Afro-Amerimet and organized the Afro-American Civic League. William Bigby, Jr., is secretary.

€ By a plurality of more than 2,000, Louis B. Anderson, Assistant Corporation Counsel, was elected Alderman from the Second Ward, Chicago, Ill., to succeed Oscar De Priest.

( A colored man, Virgil Chambliss, has been elected an Alderman of Mounds, Ill.

#### PERSONAL.

JAMES SAUNDERS, the only colored officer on the police force of Plainfield, N. J., has retired after serving twenty-six years. He will be paid a pension of \$600 a year for the balance of his life.

[ James C. Thomas, the well-known undertaker of New York City, has suffered a stroke of paralysis.

Mrs. Albert Winslow of Auburn, N. Y., has been left a legacy of \$200 by a former white employer, Mrs. Sarah Prowd.

The law firm of McGrew, Laybourne and MacGregor of Springfield, Ohio, is seeking to locate Marie and Mary Duncan, who are heirs to considerable property. The Duncan girls were taken from the Clark County, Ohio, Children's Home about fifteen years

@ Binga Dismond, who has been a star of the University of Chicago's track team for three years, has given up athletics to study medicine.

Capt. Benjamin O. Davis has been withdrawn as military instructor at Wilberforce University and will be sent to the Philippines.

William J. Mossell, in Baltimore, Md., for many years valet to the late Oscar G. Murray, who was president of the B. & O. Railroad for many years, has been willed \$10,000 by the deceased.

ℂ Louis W. Renn of Norfolk, Va., has celebrated his fiftieth anniversary as an employee of the Sea Board Air Line Railroad.
 ℂ Mrs. W. A. Hunton has become Northern Secretary of the Fort Valley School of which Mr. H. A. Hunt is principal.

 ⊕ Bishop I. N. Ross has returned from West Africa, where he has been since January 28, 1917.

The necrology for the month includes the Rev. Cassius M. C. Mason, for thirty-seven years rector of All Saints P. E. Church, St. Louis, Mo.; James E. Churchman, a wellknown colored man of Orange, N. J.; Mrs. Sarah L. Taylor, the mother of John B. Taylor, the champion sprinter; Mrs. Hannah Walker, a business woman in New York City, said to be worth over \$150,000; the Hon. J. R. Terrell, prominent in fraternal circles and a widely known business man; Prof. A. H. Colwell, formerly principal of the city school at Bryan, Tex., where he served seventeen consecutive years; Mrs. Sarah Wright, for many years prominent in the work of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Mrs. Wright had a minister's certificate and was for some time pastor of the A. M. E. Church at One of her sons is Herbert Marshalltown. R. Wright, American consul to Venezuela, who has been stationed at Puerto Cabello and who has recently resigned and returned to America.

¶ Spencer R. Smith, the white principal of the Wendell Phillips High School, Chicago, is dead. He was a firm friend of colored folk and prevented discrimination or segregation in his school, which has a large number of colored pupils.

#### FOREIGN.

IN the recent pageant commemorating Washington's birthday, the local papers of Honolulu lauded the 25th U. S. Infantry, stationed at Schofield Barracks, who not only did themselves proud in the line of march, but carried off all honors in the athletic events that followed.

¶ One hundred out of 800 colored employees at the Cristobal Dry Dock, Panama, have struck for higher wages.

Recent reports declare that there are now

700,000 colored troops in the French army. They are from Algiers, Morocco, Nigeria, Dahomey, and the French Congo.

■ So terrific has been the strain of the fever-producing climate and other hardships in German East Africa that the British are now training natives to take the places of whites.

#### GHETTO.

JOHN RANDOLPH, the famous Virginian statesman, said in his will: "I give and bequeath to all my slaves their freedom, heartily regretting that I have ever been the owner of one." He also willed \$15,000 for the purchase of land for them. William Leigh, his executor, bought land in Mercer County, Ohio, but the residents refused to let the Negroes come there. Leigh then sold the land in 1846. Heirs of the slaves in August, 1907, sued for their interest in the land, but the Ohio Supreme Court rendered a decision March 20, 1917, upholding Leigh in disposing of it.

¶ A verdict of \$1,200 against Dr. W. M. McCabe, Superintendent of the City Hospital, was awarded by a jury in the Circuit Court at Nashville, Tenn., March 22, in a suit brought by Eva Butler, Alma Posey, and George Lynch, Negroes, who alleged that the hospital superintendent had performed an autopsy on the body of their mother, who had died in the hospital, in violation to their wishes.

¶ The Supreme Court at Washington, D. C., handed down a decision April 13, reinstating the Virginia Grand Lodge of the Knights of Pythias in the Supreme Lodge. 
¶ Representative Glass, of Philadelphia, has introduced a bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature preventing places of public resort or amusement from discriminating against persons on account of race or religion. A penalty of from \$100 to \$500 is provided for violations, to go to the aggrieved persons, and a similar one to the counties where the violations occur. The bill, if enacted, will strengthen the Civil Rights Law of 1887.

Negroes in Richmond, Va., have organized to fight segregation, and the Civic Im-

provement League has registered a strong protest against Richmond's segregation ordinance.

C Segregation of the Negro population of Chicago into restricted sections by legislative action has been proposed and will be pushed by the Chicago Real Estate Board. While the committee which drafted the resolutions was composed of representatives of both races, the colored people opposed the passage of the suggestions embodied in the committee's report, and the majority of them withdrew from the meeting. At one point in the discussion, E. F. Manns, a colored real estate broker, threatened that if the resolutions were passed the most desirable sections of the city would be invaded by Negroes.

The proposed disfranchisement of 165,000 Porto Ricans by a property and literacy test failed through the efforts of Meyer London, Socialist representative of New York, who assailed the bill so bitterly that Congressman Mann wanted him "disciplined" by the House. London persisted and forced a resolution to grant the Porto Ricans ten years in which to either acquire property or to learn to read and write.

The boxing commission has drawn a line on mixed bouts in Ohio.

¶ A bill has been introduced into the Indiana Legislature for the appropriation of \$25,000 to establish a Housemaids' Training School for colored women at New Albany.

¶ White residents are protesting against the erection of a colored hospital and orphanage at Chelsea avenue and Ayres street, Memphis, Tenn.

• Because Gladys Willis, a colored girl in the Waynesboro, Pa., High School, has been selected to deliver one of the essays at the commencement exercises on account of her high marks, several of the white students have threatened to refuse to appear on the stage commencement night.

(A bill which would allow Jim Crow schools in Pennsylvania has been quietly introduced into the Pennsylvania Legislature. It slipped through the Senate before anyone knew what it meant. Colored people are organizing to stop its further progress.

The validity of the many Negro segregation ordinances passed in many cities was argued again before the full bench of the Supreme Court at Washington, D. C., April 27.

 ℂ L. Kernahan was refused service in a restaurant at Eighth avenue and 117th street, New York City. He sued the pro-prietor and recovered \$100 damages.

Three sophomores of Howard University offered to join the navy. When they asked what service would be required of them they were told they would be assigned to the "mess department"—that is, to the dining room service. The boys returned to Howard.

¶ In Mansfield, La., E. L. Calhoun, a white man convicted of the murder of Green Columbia, a Negro, was given a jail sentence of thirty minutes in a cell and discharged.

The New Jersey Prison Inquiry Commission, through charges brought by the Citizens League of Hudson County, has found among other things that James Williamson. a colored prisoner who was found dead in his cell a few years ago, and pronounced a victim of heart palpitation by the county physician, was murdered by trusties, who gave him a beating with black-jacks and pieces of lead pipe because he was "sassy." I Rev. S. C. Garner, a Baptist preacher, was killed by a mob at Kissimmee, Fla. had planted and homesteaded 160 acres, and the property was worth \$5,000. On March 2 he was warned to leave his home within twenty-four hours, but was reassured by the sheriff. He was killed March 27.

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(C. June, 1917)

#### EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

(Continued from page 58)

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