THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume Two OCTOBER, 1911 Number Six

FROM "THE QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE"

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR TEN CENTS A COPY

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the ADVANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE

(Incorporated May 25, 1911)

OBJECT.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is an organization composed of men and women of all races and classes who believe that the present widespread increase of prejudice against colored races and particularly the denial of rights and opportunities to ten million Americans of Negro descent is not only unjust and a menace to our free institutions, but also is a direct hindrance to World Peace and the realization of Human Brotherhood.

METHODS.—The encouragement of education and efforts for social uplift; the dissemination of literature; the holding of mass meetings; the maintenance of a lecture bureau; the encouragement of vigilance committees; the investigation of complaints; the maintenance of a Bureau of Information; the publication of THE CRISIS; the collection of facts and publication of the truth.

ORGANIZATION.—All interested persons are urged to join our organization—associate membership costs $1, and contributing and sustaining members pay from $2 to $25 a year.

FUNDS.—We need $10,000 a year for running expenses of this work and particularly urge the necessity of gifts to help on our objects.

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

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AS OTHERS SEE US

"We have received for review a number of copies of THE CRISIS, a magazine which announces itself as 'a record of the darker races.' It undertakes to give every month a résumé of the situation in regard to the race problem in this country and is the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at 20 Vesey Street, in this city.

"It carries out its mission very well, as might be expected from the names of the editorial board. The editor-in-chief is Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the well-known Negro writer and sociologist, and the author of that remarkable book, 'The Souls of Black Folk.' Assisting him are Messrs. Oswald Garrison Villard, the journalist and historian of John Brown; Charles Edward Russell, Kelly Miller, the essayist, and others. The purpose of the magazine is declared to be the collection and publication of the exact facts in the effort to secure justice for the black man."—*Times*, New York.

"The cause of the colored folk is to be ably defended by a new periodical, THE CRISIS, already well started in New York by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the Negro writer and sociologist, is editor-in-chief, and one is glad to find Garrison blood in at least one of his corps of associates—Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, historian of John Brown and president of the New York Evening Post Co. It is to be noted, further that 20 Vesey Street, the address of the *Post*, is also that of THE CRISIS, and that among the members of the new Association are Miss Jane Addams, Professor John Dewey, Mr. Jacob Schiff, and others of prominence and influence. The truth and the whole truth about the black man, and the securing of justice for him, are the primary objects of the little magazine, which also contains some matter of more general interest."—*Dial*, Chicago.

"THE CRISIS" is published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at 20 Vesey Street, New York. This is the office of the New York *Evening Post*, and one of the sponsors for the paper is Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, who is the president of the New York Evening Post Company. The securing of justice for the black man is the aim of the paper, and it will be fearless in its insistence—being sane, but showing no spirit of temporizing with great injustices."—*Christian Work and Evangelist*, New York.

"THE CRISIS for August, that splendid race magazine which is filling an important mission in the literature of the times in building up healthy public sentiment regarding the Negro people."—*National Baptist Union-Review*, Nashville.

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As a further test of our growth, we are this month carrying the advertisement of the International Realty Corporation, one of the most efficient business colleges in the Middle West. Their advertisement appears on page 262, and we are proud to announce that many similar advertisements will appear in subsequent issues.

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Along the Color Line

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Our readers in Oklahoma and Kansas are warned against Eugene Howard, who is without authority taking subscriptions for THE CRISIS.

MEETINGS.

August and September are the months of meetings, and there have been an unusually large number, many of which are noted elsewhere.

¶ An important meeting was that of the National Medical Association, which held its thirteenth annual session at Hampton Institute. Some 500 delegates and friends were present and Dr. A. M. Curtis presided. Many reports were made and Dr. H. F. Gamble, of Charleston, W. Va., was elected president for the ensuing year.

¶ The meeting of the Knights of Pythias at Indianapolis was one of the most spectacular meetings that colored people ever held. Thirty thousand visitors were said to have been present, and the parade was unusually brilliant. The Supreme Chancellor announced that the Supreme Lodge is prepared to fight to the last ditch to maintain its rights as Pythians and citizens in the States of Georgia and Tennessee. In both States the cases brought against colored men by white Knights of Pythias have been won and are now pending on appeal, he said. In this connection the total collections up to July 1, 1911, for the purpose of defending these actions at law amount to $18,964.43.

S. W. Green was re-elected Supreme Chancellor. He gave the following statistics: Twenty-six grand lodges, 3,058 subordinate lodges, 142,569 members. Valuation of the property owned, $1,500,000, and in the last dozen years nearly $4,000,000 has been paid the widows and orphans of deceased members. We publish the picture of the camp where the 8,000 colored troopers lived during the session.

Other large meetings of the Knights of Pythias have been already held in New Jersey and Alabama.

¶ The fortieth annual session of the Grand Lodge of the United Brothers of Friendship has been held in Kansas City, with 1,000 delegates and 4,000 visitors.

¶ The fifty-fifth annual session of the Galilean Fishermen was held in Baltimore.

¶ The Association of Colored Nurses met in Washington.

¶ The seventh annual convention of the National Colored Men's Hotel, Club and Liquor Dealers' Association was held in Washington.

¶ Grand lodges of Masons have been held in many States and the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine met in the thirteenth annual session in Atlantic City.

¶ The seventeenth annual session of the Afro-American Council of California took place in Los Angeles.

¶ Throughout the Southern States colored agricultural fairs are being held and planned. Those in Bonham, Texas; Jackson County, Kan.; Gallatin, Tenn., and Washington County, Ky., have already been held.

POLITICS.

The most important event in the political world has been the meeting of the National Independent Political Rights League in Boston. The address to the country said: "In view of the extraordinary and alarming state of affairs we ask of the Federal Government in the interest of justice, equal rights and the security of the country: (1) The enforcement of the Constitution, to stop disfranchisement and peonage. (2) The passage of a Federal anti-Jim Crow law for interstate passengers. (3) Federal aid to education with the same schooling for all. (4) The restoration of the discharged Brownsville soldiers. (5) Legislation making lynching a capital offense under the Federal jurisdiction." The election of Mr. J. R. Clifford, of Martinsburg, W. Va., to the presidency over W. M. Trotter, of Boston, caused some dissension; otherwise the meeting was unusually successful. Much outspoken feeling against Mr. Taft developed.

¶ There is evidence of considerable political activity among Negroes in the South. The colored voters in Atlanta are being appealed to by the advocates of the old system of government as against the commission plan.

¶ The registration of Negro voters in Memphis is said to be the largest in years. It is estimated that 5,000 will be eligible to vote. In a communication to the Memphis Commercial Appeal a

ENCAMPMENT OF THE KNIGHTS OF PYTHI

Southern writer says that while they have thousands of Negro voters "I do not think we have had over fifty votes cast in any election during the last ten years." The Colored Citizens' Association is responsible for the new activity among Negroes.

¶ The Democratic convention of Maryland has returned to the fight for what they are pleased to call "white supremacy." Their platform concludes with these words: "Speaking for the Democracy of our commonwealth, we declare that the political destinies of Maryland should be shaped and controlled and its internal tranquility guarded and preserved by the white people of the State; and whilst we disavow all intention to do injustice to our colored population, we declare without reserve our resolute determination to preserve in every conservative and constitutional way the supremacy of our race."

¶ Boston has a funny evolution of color prejudice. A colored man was appointed as one of the election officers. Immediately certain of the white officers threatened trouble. The matter got into the papers and now the white officers are busy denying that they ever had the slightest feeling on the subject. The colored man will serve.

¶ Joseph C. Manning, a white Alabama Republican, said in a recent speech: "There are over 2,000,000 black men in Alabama who should vote. Only about 3,000 of this number are 'allowed' to vote. To-day in the South it is just the same as it was before the Civil War, when a small minority controlled. Are you longer going to allow a small minority of white voters to insult the American Constitution and the American people by depriving the majority of the right of a ballot for such candidates as they see fit? It is the humble man who needs the ballot, and in the South there are thousands of them, black and white, who have turned appealing eyes to you of the North. You cannot have one way of voting in Alabama and another way in Massachusetts."

¶ The Socialist party of Los Angeles, Cal., has nominated a colored man for the city council.

¶ Thomas Richardson, a colored man, who for thirty-three years has been postmaster of Port Gibson, Miss., has resigned. He was among the very few Federal officers left under the Taft policy.

¶ The woman's suffrage advocates have appointed a special worker among the colored people of California.

¶ The chairman of the Anti-Prohibition Organization of Texas says: "The prohibitionists exerted every effort within their power to procure the vote of Negroes, and thousands that could not be influenced nor controlled by them to vote for the amendment through the persuasion and domination of the Negro ministers were intimidated by threats and assaults either to vote for the amendment or stay away from the polls. A complete analysis of the vote will show that only a very small percentage of the 51,000 Negroes holding poll-tax receipts or those additional ones exempt by reason of over age voted at all, and that fully 60 to 70 per cent. of these voted for the amendment."

¶ The new Haytian Minister to the United States is to be General Solon Henos, who succeeds the Honorable H. P. Sanon.

T INDIANAPOLIS, IND., AUGUST, 1911

¶ William M. MacDonald is fighting the Lily White movement in Texas and has issued a call to arms.

¶ Among the colored men in diplomatic service to-day are ministers and secretaries to Hayti and Liberia, two consuls in France and three in South America.

ECONOMICS.

The chief economic news of the month centers in the insurance associations, the labor movement and the report of the census.

¶ The United States census reports 917,465 farms conducted by colored people in the United States. This is both absolute and relative increase since 1900, when 767,764 farms were conducted by these people.

¶ The indicted grand officers of the True Reformers' Industrial Insurance Association have all been replaced. W. R. Griffin is now Grand Worthy Master and has begun a policy of retrenchment.

¶ The St. Luke's Order has just closed its forty-fourth annual convention and seems to be in a very prosperous condition.

¶ The last Congress passed a law requiring a $25,000 deposit from industrial insurance companies in the District of Columbia. The Colored National Benefit Association is among those who have complied with this condition already.

¶ The American Federation of Labor has started to unionize the Negroes of the Pittsburgh district. Mr. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, writes us as follows: "I beg to say that the special representative of the A. F. of L. in Pittsburgh is now working along the line of organizing the colored workmen of that city into a Federal labor union to be directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. A charter has not as yet been issued, but when formal application is made the charter will be promptly issued and this union will be accorded all the rights and privileges of any other affiliated organization under the laws of the American Federation of Labor. Your attention is called to section 6, Article II, of the constitution of the A. F. of L., which reads as follows:

"'Separate charters may be issued to central labor unions, local unions or Federal labor unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the executive council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the trade-union movement to do so.'"

This represents another step in the long fight of union labor to exclude colored men, and is on the whole reassuring; although it must be noted that the Negroes are not being admitted to white unions.

¶ An interesting report of the business of colored men in New Orleans shows that they pay over one million dollars in taxes. In the industries in New Orleans, the Negro is very largely master. Sixty per cent. of the hard labor, the Advertiser declares, is done by Negroes; 80 per cent. of the bricklayers are Negroes, 60 per cent. of the carpenters, and most of the caterers and butlers of the city are Negroes.

¶ The recent hurricane did great injury to the colored land owners of the sea islands off South Carolina. They are

appealing for aid, but the Charleston News and Courier and other white influences oppose this aid. They want to compel the Negro to work for the white people at low wages rather than to continue to work their own land.

¶ It is said that of perhaps 30,000 Negroes in Pittsburgh fully half of them are employed in the steel industry.

¶ The carpenters' labor union in Key West, Fla., has compelled the re-employment of two colored workmen who had been discharged.

¶ For some time Negro laborers have been employed in the district around Coatesville, Pa., and many of them earn as high as six and seven dollars a day. Their work is very exacting, but irregular, and their presence accounts for much of the new race prejudice in that part of Pennsylvania.

SCHOOLS.

The opening of the schools brings the educational situation to the fore again, and it is said that the educational conference at Houston, Texas, will frankly take up the subject of Negro education.

¶ The schools of the District of Columbia are still in turmoil. There is a new white superintendent, but R. C. Bruce, the colored assistant superintendent, is meeting much opposition. It is said that practically all of his recommendations at the end of last year were ignored by the board. Mrs. M. C. Terrell has been replaced by Mrs. Harris on the school board. There is just complaint in Washington against the beginning of a system very common where there are separate schools: that is, the giving of old and abandoned white schoolhouses to the Negroes and building new ones for the whites.

¶ Nashville, Tenn., is the center of two new educational projects. One is a State normal school, which is to cost $100,000. Contracts have already been let for most of the work. The second venture is that of the white churches which have started training schools for social workers. They have already met some opposition in their efforts to get a location.

¶ Mr. W. H. Lewis, Assistant United States District Attorney, is sending his children abroad to be educated.

¶ The city of Augusta, Ga., is following other Southern cities in cutting down its school work for colored children. Hereafter only industrial training will be given in the eighth grade and very largely in the seventh grade. This will make it impossible for a Negro child to prepare for high-school work in the public schools.

¶ Morgan College has raised $50,000, which will insure an additional $50,000 from Andrew Carnegie.

¶ The A. M. E. Zion Church is to raise $100,000 for its schools this year.

¶ The Cushing fund of $32,000 is about to be distributed for Negro education. Mr. Archibald Grimke is one of the two trustees.

¶ Charles H. Crippen, of the Stuyvesant High School, New York, has won a scholarship at Cornell University.

¶ The State department of Wilberforce University will receive $137,720 from the States of Ohio during the years 1911 and 1912.

¶ Dr. W. A. Fountain is the new president of Morris Brown College, Georgia.

¶ There are 150 students in the new freshman class at Howard University.

¶ The Washington Conservatory of Music is beginning its new year's work under unusually favorable circumstances. This conservatory was founded in 1903, and is the first school for the development of the artistic talent of the colored race and the preparation of teachers of music and elocution in our public schools and universities. More than 1,000 students have been enrolled. Seventeen diplomas have been awarded in the departments of piano, voice, vocal expression and piano tuning. Thirty-two scholarships have been bestowed on talented and faithful students. "The institution," writes ex-commissioner McFarland, of the District of Columbia, "has passed the experimental period and with enlarged means will render important service."

¶ As an indication of the kind of teachers which the white school authorities of Georgia are choosing for their colored children, we reprint a note received by a colored college president from a colored teacher of the largest county school. She receives a sum of $14 a month for teaching over 100 children:

my 12, 19011.

Prof. ———— I drop yo this card to let yo know that i will be in on that early train munday morning tell mrs. markos to meet the train.

yours

———— ————

CHURCHES.

The event of the month in religious circles has been the great meeting of the Baptists. Some 3,000 delegates and visitors assembled at Luna Park, Pittsburgh, for the annual meeting of the national Baptist convention. The local arrangements were wretched, and to the casual visitor the meeting of this mass of men and women looks like a great unregulated assembly. Gradually, however, beneath the crudeness and lack of system, one sees the tremendous power and possibility of these men. They represent 2,411,701 members, they have 18,000 churches, worth $25,000,000, and they spend each year $2,371,176. Their schools enroll 18,540 students and are valued at $3,500,000. Much of their work has been organized, and more and more strong men like R. H. Boyd are organizing particular parts. Dr. Boyd, who is at the head of the publishing house, reports gross receipts of $187,753 last year. He has mailed during the past twelve months 9,000,000 periodicals and articles. The women, under the presidency of Mrs. S. W. Layton, held an interesting series of meetings. Dr. E. C. Morris presided, and W. E. B. Du Bois was among the speakers.

¶ The Lott Carey Baptist convention met in Wilmington, N. C., in fifteenth annual session.

¶ The A. M. E. Church in Kansas City is remodeling its local church so as to make it institutional. It will also be made larger to accommodate the general conference which meets next May.

¶ Bishop W. J. Gaines is making an unfortunate attack upon editor R. R. Wright of the A. M. E. publishing house. Mr. Wright is the most successful man that has ever been at the head of the rather discredited publication business of the African Methodist Church, and has introduced business methods that have incurred the enmity of certain interests and ambitions.

¶ Rev. S. P. W. Drew (colored) was the only Washington minister who volunteered his services for pauper funerals in the District of Columbia.

¶ The fourth biennial session of congregational workers among colored people has met in New Orleans.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

The retirement of Major John R. Lynch, paymaster, one of the five Negro officers on the active list of the army, is an event of unusual importance. Major Lynch was born a slave in Concordia Parish, La., on September 10, 1847. A purchaser of his mother carried her, with her children, to Natchez, Miss., where, when the Union troops took possession, he attended evening school for a few months. He was engaged in the business of photography at Natchez until 1869, when Gen. Adelbert Ames, then provisional Governor of Mississippi, appointed him a justice of the peace. He was elected a member of the Legislature of that State in 1869, and was re-elected in 1871, serving the last term as Speaker of the House. He was elected to Congress in 1872, and was returned again in 1880. Major Lynch was temporary chairman of the Republican national convention in 1884, and was appointed fourth auditor of the treasury four years later. In June, 1898, he was appointed an additional paymaster of volunteers, with the rank of major, and when honorably discharged in 1901 entered the regular service as a paymaster. He received his majority in 1906.

¶ Fifteen colored delegates were among the 1,700 letter carriers who attended the eighteenth biennial session of the national association at Rochester, N. Y.

¶ Miss Anna E. Grinnage, a clerk in the Patent Office of Washington, was a delegate from the Department of the Potomac to the Grand Army encampment in Rochester. It was Miss Grinnage and not Mrs. Ball who made the calculation concerning slaves' wages mentioned in last month's CRISIS.

¶ A Negro society for historical research has been formed at Yonkers, with John E. Bruce as president and A. A. Schomberg as secretary.

¶ The adjutant-general of the army writes us with regard to the promotion of Captain Charles Young as follows: "When Captain Young shall become the senior captain of cavalry and shall have passed a satisfactory examination to determine his fitness for promotion he will be promoted to the grade of major upon the occurrence of a vacancy."

¶ The colored people of New Orleans have organized for the purpose of helping the better sanitation of the city.

¶ The colored Eighth Regiment of Illinois has been drilling at camp before the Governor and a large outpouring of colored and white citizens.

¶ Levi Anderson and John R. Lyons, of the Tenth Cavalry, a Negro regiment, are to receive certificates of merit for risking their lives in rescuing a companion from drowning July 6 in Mallett's Bay, near Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont. The man had sunk in fifteen feet of water. The certificate of merit carries extra pay of $2 per month to each of the recipients.

¶ The colored people of Atlanta are still striving for a Negro reformatory.

¶ A new home for colored girls has been established in Cincinnati.

¶ The colored people of Houston, Texas, are to have a $15,000 Carnegie library. The colored people are giving the ground and the city is to maintain it.

¶ Daniel Moore, a colored policeman in Philadelphia, has resigned after twenty years' service.

¶ Collier's Weekly has a flippant but interesting account of Nancy Hill, a colored woman of Jackson, Miss., who took care of 108 orphan waifs, black and white, during her life.

THE GHETTO.

Discrimination against colored people in all walks of life has been widespread during the last month. The most striking case has been the objection to the election of Assistant United States District Attorney W. H. Lewis to membership in the Bar Association.

¶ The Clamorgan case, which made such a tempest in a teapot in St. Louis, has suddenly ended in the most natural way. The young people have gone back to each other and all is forgiven, even the drop of Negro blood.

¶ In New York the effort of colored people to get decent dwelling space in Harlem is continuing to cause trouble, and white tenants and property owners are holding futile meetings to protest. Meantime the colored people are continuing to move in.

¶ Whenever a new Negro school is proposed in the South white neighbors object to its establishment. In Ashland, Va., the city council has tried to prevent a school by segregation law. In Douglass County, Mo., there is objection to a girls' reformatory.

¶ The colored people in Los Angeles, Cal., declare that the teachers in the schools discriminate against colored children so as to make them drop out of the higher grades.

¶ White citizens of Louisville, Ky., and Scranton, Pa., are protesting against Negro playgrounds in their neighborhood.

¶ The police of Alexandria, Va., arrested a colored man who had $230 in his possession. They did not think he ought to have so much money, but at last reluctantly allowed him to go.

¶ Separate dining rooms for colored and white convicts have been started at the Kentucky penitentiary, thus removing the fear of social equality.

¶ Hobson City, a Negro town of Alabama, is celebrating its anniversary. A new Negro town is being planned near Nashville, Tenn.

¶ A Sunday-school convention of Rhode Island is preparing to separate white and colored Christianity during their meeting.

¶ The old Day Line steamers on Chesapeake Bay will sell only inside staterooms to colored travelers.

¶ A theatre in Evanston, Ill., is trying to discriminate against its Negro patrons.

¶ White citizens in Monroe, Ala., are driving out Negro laborers.

¶ South Carolina statesmen are considering how they can keep colored people from eating terrapin.

¶ The various labor unions of Cincinnati drew lots for position in the Labor Day parade. A Negro union secured first place. The Negroes could not, however, secure a union band because Negro bands are not admitted to the union. Thereupon they were not allowed first place and refused to march.

LYNCHING.

The authorities at present seem to be sincere about pressing the charge of murder against the Coatesville murderers. Eight are under arrest as we go to press. Norman Price, 20 years old, of Thorndale, Pa., and Chester Bostick, 19 years old, whose home is in Marietta, Pa., have turned State's evidence. The men they named as having been among those who burned Walker alive are Oscar Lamping, a local preacher, fireman and policeman of Coatesville; William Gilbert, of Coatesville; Capt. Albert Berry, an itinerant aeronaut who recently came to Coatesville; Joseph Schwartz, of Coatesville; George Stahl, 16 years old, a native of Marietta, who has been a temporary resident of Coatesville; Joseph Schofield, of Parkesburg, and themselves. Lamping, they said, was the organizer of the mob. Schwartz assisted him. Capt. Berry and Gilbert were sent to the hospital to get an idea of the place and to point out to the mob exactly where Walker lay. Schofield got the wood for the fire. Price and Bostick participated in the lynching, they said, although they had nothing to do with the actual burning.

It is said that from 1,000 to 2,000 persons followed the mob. Other arrests may come later. Everything goes to

show that a very slight effort on the part of the authorities would have prevented the lynching. Officers in an automobile arrived at the hospital after Walker was taken out but did not try to overtake the crowd. Long-distance messages were sent saying that there would be a lynching that night.

¶ In an Indian Springs, Ga., hotel trouble arose between a white clerk and a colored bellboy. Lane, the white man, "struck the boy over the head with a pistol and in doing so the gun went off," says the news dispatch lucidly. The bellboy threatened to kill the clerk and this threat "threw fear into the whole hotel." The proprietor of the hotel, at the representation of the bellboys, discharged Lane, but "the county officers were notified," continues the dispatch, and they "came to arrest the Negroes." A riot ensued. Two white men were killed during an exchange of shots. Four Negroes were captured and were "about to be lynched," but were hurried to Atlanta. Two of them have turned out to have had nothing to do with the fight. Colored people were attacked and beaten all through the countryside.

¶ In Pineville, La., a race war began September 12 over the shooting of a white man by an unknown Negro. Six colored men were shot and two killed. The Negroes were notified to leave the town and several hundred of them did so. Others, however, are preparing to resist rather than leave their homes, and it is from such resistance that the rioting resulted.

¶ At Jackson, Ga., "three buggy loads of citizens" whipped a colored man, because of his failure to give them as much of the road as they wished, or for some other reason, fancied or real; they stopped the mule and lashed the Negro with a buggy whip till his clothes were bloody.

¶ At Kansas City fifteen Mexicans and two colored men were sitting in a Missouri-Pacific bunk car listening to a phonograph. Suddenly at one side door appeared two policemen and one at an opposite door. One officer shouted, "Hands up!" and immediately the officers began shooting through the roof to the right and to the left as the men in a panic scattered through every outlet. The testimony was to the effect that none of the surprised laborers had any weapons, and never had had any in the car. One Mexican was killed.

¶ The Waynesboro Pennsylvania Herald publishes the following society note: Adam Forney, South Potomac Avenue, returned Sunday from a trip to Coatesville, Pa., and brought with him several of the small bones of the body of the Negro who was lynched there last week. Mr. Forney dug the charred bones from the debris on the scene where the Negro was burned to death.

¶ In the last twenty years there have been the following lynchings in the North: New York, 1, 1897; Iowa, 1, 1907; Pennsylvania, 2, 1894, 1911; Delaware, 1, 1903; Illinois, 3, 1903, and race wars in 1906-1908; Ohio, 4, 1910, 1891, 1892, 1904, and race war in Urbana; Indiana, 5, 1897; 2, 1900; 1, 1903. Most of those lynched were colored, but not all.

¶ At Purcell, Okla., a crowd of 3,000 men, women and children watched coal oil poured over a half-naked body of a colored man who was afterward roasted to death. The man was accused of attacking a woman. The colored people, who are often said to conceal their criminals, tried to show their devotion to law and order by delivering the accused man with the above result.

¶ At Caddo, Okla., as a result of clashes between whites and Negroes 1,500 left in one day, sacrificing their property.

¶ In South Georgia a Negro killed a town marshal. Thereupon the white people burned three lodge buildings, two churches and a schoolhouse, and lynched three men. Various industries which employed Negro labor have been compelled to shut down.

¶ Other lynchings are as follows: Miles Taylor at Shreveport, La., who had shot four white men; C. Jones at Farmersville, Texas, who was accused of insulting a woman over the telephone; A. Dean at Augusta, Ark., who had killed a white woman. At Granville, S. C., a colored boy who was accused of "insulting" a white girl, was mutilated on the public square. At Louisville, Miss., the execution of a murderer was made public. Lemonade and peanuts were on sale. The murderer walked to his death calmly and with a steady step. He probably felt superior to his audience.

¶ David Settle, of Guilford, N. C., has been arrested for killing a colored man, a thing which has occasioned some surprise in that section.

¶ Governor Blease of South Carolina has again distinguished himself by striking a colored servant in Cleveland who was attempting to pass through a crowd.

¶ Nearly three months have passed since a colored woman at Okemeah, Okla., was raped by white men, and she and her fourteen-year-old son lynched. No effort has been made to punish the lynchers.

Men of the Month

JOHN E. MILHOLLAND, ESQ.

There were several papers read before the Universal Races Congress which were supplementary to those which appear in the published volume. Among these additional papers one of the best was by John E. Milholland of New York. Mr. Milholland was one of the first proposers of the Congress and helped it financially and otherwise. Through his aid Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Dr. W. A. Sinclair were enabled to attend the Congress.

Mr. Milholland said, among other things:

"But is not the Negro a criminal by instinct, and has he not demonstrated his incapacity for self-government? To both questions my reply is an emphatic negative. The Negro is no more a criminal by instinct than any other race would be that had come up through his awful experience, and if slavery had any beneficent effect upon him it was to curb his tendencies in the direction of crime.

"To this you may point to the long ghastly record of lynchings that have been averaging two a week for more than twenty years. The world has been made to believe that these mob murders represent the white man's efforts to protect the white women of the South from bestial attacks of the Negro. The statement is more than 50 per cent. false. Careful investigation has demonstrated that of this entire number of lynchings less than one-fourth were for the nameless crime, and of the cases alleged it was exceptional when anything like conclusive evidence of guilt was furnished. One distinguished authority on criminal statistics has stated that the city of Chicago afforded in twelve months a criminal record on this point greater in number and more revolting in detail than that furnished by the Negroes of the Southern States in ten years.

"Again, to the reiterated assertion of the Negro's lawlessness by nature in practice, let me point out that no people have ever been more severely tested in their devotion to established institutions. With brute force, lawlessness and destructive conditions all about them; with trial by jury frequently denied; with freedom of speech and freedom of press more frequently prohibited; with degrading insults and horrible beatings; with lynchings and burnings; with reparation denied by the regularly established tribunals, and with a great nation seemingly indifferent to their wrongs, yet they have held fast to their faith in the ultimate triumph of strictly legal process and calm judicial procedure. The trial has been severe; it has been withstood triumphantly."

REV. R. F. BOYD

REV. DR. R. H. BOYD.

At a recent meeting of the International Sunday-school Association, held at San Francisco, Cal., the Rev. R. H. Boyd, D. D., of Nashville, Tenn., secretary and founder of the National Baptist Publishing Board and secretary of the Home Mission Board of the National Baptist convention, was elected a member of the executive committee. This is a recognition of the two and one-half million Baptists whom Dr. Boyd represents in his Sunday-school and Home Mission work. Dr. Boyd was one of the members of the Christian conference, held at Dyke Rock Cottage, Clifton, Mass., and also an active member of the Interdenominational Sunday-school Publishers' Council. As a member of the executive committee of the International Sunday-school Association Dr. Boyd will have a wonderful chance for usefulness to his people. It might be added that Dr. Boyd's report before the National Baptist convention in Pittsburgh, Pa., shows that the publishing board has transacted a business of $187,577.70 for the fiscal year which closed August 31.

JAMES B. CLARKE.

Some months ago the good old university of Cornell began to show signs of drawing the color line. Cornell has always been a staunchly democratic place where a man was valued for what he was, and it seemed especially disheartening to find there had been objection to the admission of two young colored girls to the college dormitory. At this crisis the college journal published a warm protest from a student who signed himself James B. Clarke.

JAMES B. CLARKE

DR. RICHARD R. WRIGHT, JR.

We give herewith the portrait of Mr. Clarke, who so gallantly championed the cause of the distressed young ladies. His claim to distinction, however, does not rest solely on his chivalry. In June one of the most valued prizes in America in the department of modern languages fell to him. In the last annual competition of the National Society of French Professors in America, Clarke led fifty-seven selected students of French by winning the first prize for translation, first prize for French writing and the first honor prize, the medal of the society, for general excellence. Clarke is a member of the societies Les Cabotins and l'Alliance Française, and has spoken before the latter on the French West Indies and on Haiti.

MISS MARY FRANCES GUNNER

We give a portrait of Miss Mary Frances Gunner, the daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. Byron Gunner, of Hillburn, N. Y., who during her course at the Suffern High School made a remarkable record. Miss Gunner was the only colored girl in her class and led it throughout the course, making a uniformly higher average than any other pupil. The school is made up of girls and boys, so this young lady is an argument for woman suffrage as well as for the intelligence of the Negro race. She will continue her studies in Middlebury (Vt.) College, where we are sure she will make

MISS MARY F. GUNNER

as fine a record for herself and the race there as she did in Suffern.

Miss Gunner's father is vice-president of the Political Equality League and her mother is the president of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, so she has had a good example of service set her.

R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

Mr. R. R. Wright, Jr., the son of R. R. Wright, the president of Georgia State College and at present manager of the book concern of the A. M. E. Church, has just had the degree of Doctor of Philosophy granted to him by the University of Pennsylvania. His work, which was two-thirds in sociology and the other third in economics and history, was practically completed in 1907, but for various reasons he did not present his thesis until this year. He has taken for his subject "The Negro in Pennsylvania, a Study in Economic History." This treatise deals with economic conditions and the point of view is largely that of a social economist, not of a special pleader. The titles of the chapters are:

(1) Negro Slavery in Pennsylvania; (2) The Abolition of Negro Slavery and Its Causes; (3) Free Colored People Prior to the Civil War; (4) The Negro Population Since the Civil War; (5) Occupations of Negroes in Pennsylvania; (6) Business Enterprises of Pennsylvania Negroes; (7) Property Ownership and Savings; (8) The Negro Church and Secret Societies; (9) Education; (10) Crime; (11) Interracial Contact and Social Life Among Negroes; (12) Conclusion: The Problem of the Negro and What It Is.

The following colored men have received the Ph. D. degree from universities of the first class:

Edward A. Bouchet, Yale, 1876.
William L. Bulkley, Syracuse, 1893.
W. E. B. Du Bois, Harvard, 1895.
T. Nelson Baker, Yale, 1903.
Lewis B. Moore, University of Pennsylvania.
Charles H. Turner, University of Chicago.
Pezavia O'Connell, University of Pennsylvania, 1898.

HARRY H. PACE.

Mr. Harry H. Pace, who has just been elected to the office of Grand Exalted Ruler of the International Brotherhood of Protective Order of Elks of the World, is one of the most successful young Negro business men of the country. He has been the cashier of the Solvent Savings and Trust Company of Memphis, founded in 1906, for the last three years and a half, and in that period the deposits have risen from $35,000 to $103,000. During the same time the bank has earned fully $15,000 and has paid stockholders five semi-annual dividends of 3 per cent. The company is now one of the four largest Negro banks in America and is on a thoroughly sound footing. Mr. Pace is a graduate of Atlanta University.

HARRY H. PACE

OPINION

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

The outbreak of crime against the black man, the lynching, the burning alive, the destruction of property that bids fair to make 1911 a gruesome year in this country's history, has occasioned a vast amount of comment. Most papers mark a steady increase in race prejudice. Some of the Southern editors exult at the crimes of the North, but there has nevertheless been a good deal of heart searching.

"Coatesville," says the Pittsburgh Dispatch, "is reported to be shocked by the declaration of the judge that any one who was in the mob that participated in that lynching and knew for what purpose the mob was gathered was guilty of murder. Yet it was just this deficiency of understanding, this failure to appreciate individual responsibility that made the atrocity possible. If there had been no mob of curious spectators to swarm around the hospital and follow the ringleaders to the commission of the crime, if the actual murderers had not been encouraged by the sanction of the mob and the courage of numbers, Coatesville would not have been disgraced by this orgy of lawlessness. The ruling of the Chester judge ought to be brought home to everyone. Properly digested, it may spare some other community the shock just experienced by Coatesville."

The Leadville (Col.) Herald calls race prejudice a reversion to the barbarous. "The idea that white men, the representatives of the triumphal, conquering and civilizing 'Anglo-Saxon' living in communities back of which are hundreds of years of law and order, humanity and education, can so suddenly revert to the primitive savage is almost unthinkable. It takes some such outbreak as that at Coatesville to remind us that we haven't traveled so very far from primal cave man after all. How can the white man talk of justice to the black when he so flagrantly denies that precious boon to him."

"On August 14 a Negro who was alleged to have assaulted a white woman was lynched at Durant, Okla., and his body was burned to ashes," relates the Buffalo Express. "Ten days later another Negro was accused of a similar crime at Purcell, Okla., and was burned to death by a mob after having been arrested by two members of his own race, who appear to have been the most law-abiding men in the community. Nevertheless, the whites opened a general campaign against Negroes, particularly at Durant and Caddo, a neighboring town, with the purpose of driving them out of the community. Many Negroes have fled for their lives. A white man was killed by a Negro at Durant. The victim's companions say that they were fired upon while passing the house occupied by the Negroes. The blacks say that the men were trying to blow up the house and that they fired in defense of their property. The Negroes, however, are likely to be lynched before their story can be investigated by a court. Conditions in this part of Oklahoma demonstrate the easy way in which crime leads to crime and lynching to lynching."

The Utica Press says we do not begin to hear of all the lynchings that take place. "Lynchings of Negroes in Southern States have become so common occurrences, even for trivial offences, that news agencies nowadays pay little or no attention to them as matters of general interest, unless the atrocity reveals unwonted cruelty on the part of the mob. The growing infrequency of such items in the daily news does not indicate an abatement of the mob spirit or lawlessness in certain communities, as might be inferred from the greater comparative absence of these outbreaks as news features than formerly. Lynchings do not give desirable advertising to a State and tend to keep away from it settlers whom the authorities are endeavoring to attract. In consequence of this many news items relating to lynchings have not been given general dissemination."

The Lititz (Pa.) Express urges the sterner measures on the ground that "the country must quarantine itself against the contagion of such madness. The sporadic cases of fanatical mob murder must be isolated and stamped out in order to save the country from a devastating plague of barbarism."

The Fort Worth (Texas) Star-Telegram shows the manner in which the lynching fever has grown. "The contention made by those who see only evil in mob executions, whatever the circumstances, that lynching for one crime naturally leads to lynching for another and for many others, finds corroboration in the mob record indicated. First hangings and burnings for the crime against women only; then for murders or assaults to murder; next for arson, forgery and theft; finally on suspicion only of guilt in relation to any of the felonious crimes in the calendar."

The Washington (D. C.) Star says: "The cry of 'lynch him' uttered in a crowded street spreads like the cry of 'fire' uttered in a crowded house. And unfortunately both cries often proceed from irresponsible sources. A half-grown boy without any appreciation of what he is doing may plunge a crowd of grown men into uncontrollable fury by a call to their worst passions, while a mere child, frightened by a spark, may by uttering one word cause hundreds to be trampled to death. Both the fury and the panic in mankind lie near the surface and are easily aroused. And the fury is having many red days in America just now—so very many days and so very red that unless some appeal can be effectively made to the high impulses of the people to uphold the law, the law will become but a mockery."

The Knoxville Sentinel, referring to the Oklahoma lynching, remarks that that State is now figuring in the unenviable role of chief lyncher. "The latest instance at Purcell had the most powerful motive, but it seems doubtful if the right Negro was caught. The correspondent sends along with the usual tomfoolery about the orderliness of the proceedings and the determination of the citizens—actually it was a wild frolic of hoodlums—a rumor of a confession. This is fair evidence that the identification of the Negro was extremely hazy. The peace officers found a new way of evading their obligations, going into the court house and having themselves locked in. Altogether the thing looks as bad as can be imagined."

The Chattanooga Times thinks the trouble very deep seated. "We may set all the enginery of the law at work and impose the full measure of its penalties upon the offenders, but penalties do not regenerate nor do they elevate—they scourge one guilty person into resentment, while others just as guilty go free more than ever ready to do the same thing for having so often escaped the law. We are growing to be too much a people of 'laws' and less a people of individual responsibility of personal moral accountability and of conscience."

The Louisville Courier-Journal believes we tolerate lynching: "An Englishman, writing to the New York Herald about a recent lynching in America, says: 'It is indeed incredible that a people calling themselves civilized and humane should tolerate such atrocities, conceivable only among barbarous redskins. Are you willing but powerless to prevent these occurrences? The proverb, "Where there's a will there's a way," applies more truly to a State even than to an individual.'

"That such atrocities are in fact 'tolerated' cannot be denied when local public opinion is so favorable to the perpetrators that investigations confine themselves to purely formal 'ringing charges' to the grand jury that result in no indictments and are not expected to bring any results other than to allow the circuit judge to appear upon the front page as an enemy of lawlessness."

The Baltimore Star thinks Pennsylvania is giving the South a lesson: "The energy with which the authorities at Coatesville are proceeding toward prosecution of the leaders of the mob indicates that they do not intend to make that town an example to which certain Southern communities can point in extenuation of their own offenses. The district attorney's activities are to be commended, whether or not they have the sanction of popular sentiment."

This represents the best white opinion in the South. Other papers are all but openly pleased at Coatesville, like the New Orleans Times-Democrat, which says: "It is too much to expect that the white North will confess its ancient error all at once, but it is highly encouraging to find growing numbers of fearless men and newspapers in that section willing to acknowledge their inherited views of the race question mistaken, and to confess that 'race prejudice' is spreading with the spread of Negro population over the country, without regard to 'sectional' lines."

The Macon Telegraph remarks that southern Pennsylvania was a stronghold of the Abolitionists and is of the opinion that it has "pampered the Negro" and got what it deserved.

The Negro press comments with natural bitterness on the outrages and on the absence of protest either from the President or from the prominent clergy. "But," says the Philadelphia Tribune, "what other results are to be expected from a populace that is daily educated to be prejudiced to colored people? When people are taught that a colored boy or girl cannot work in the same factory or mill, cannot attend the same public school, nor obtain work in the same offices or stores with white boys or girls; is it not quite natural that those same white employees, those same white scholars and their children's children, should grow up with embittered feelings against, and disrespect for, the class ostracized?"

The Topeka Plain Dealer insists that if Congress and the President will not interfere Negroes should appeal to foreign nations which feel free to protest against outrages in other barbarous countries. "We advise the colored people to send communications to the crowned heads of Europe, to the Mikado of Japan to intervene in the cause of righteousness and fair treatment of the American colored man by his white American brother. No civilized nation

should stand and look at such outrages as are being perpetrated in the United States without saying or doing something."

The Christian Recorder, of Philadelphia, Pa., has a very outspoken editorial. "What does it all mean?" it asks and answers: "This—that with each day the value of a Negro's life is less and less in this country. That the policy of those who would not protest against lynching and wrongdoing most vigorously and by every known means is wrong. The Negroes must awake to their manhood. There is nothing to gain by the close-mouth and do-nothing policy. There is nothing in it but annihilation. We are now on the eve of possibly the bitterest political campaign waged in this country since Lincoln was elected. Taft has proved himself incompetent so far as we are concerned, and we should not be stupid enough to pretend that we are fooled because we get a few offices. Already his black supporters are sending out to the papers articles to show how much he has 'done' for the Negro. They say he has given us 'so many jobs,' and that black men draw 'so much pay;' he has made Lewis attorney general, etc., etc. Are Negroes fools to sell their liberty for jobs, to jeopardize their families' lives for a job for Lewis or anybody else? We do not want merely jobs. For, while Lewis gets one big job, a thousand poor Negroes are run from their homes, a score of Negro families are left fatherless and the prejudice which would deprive us of our very life stalks abroad and the President says he can do nothing—'it's the State's business.' What are jobs against life? Jobs! Yes, jobs!! It's time for us to be men and to show our utmost contempt for those politicians who would have us sell our rights for 'a job.' We want liberty, we want life, we want protection, we want justice. Jobs don't satisfy us."

The Recorder goes on to flay the "church congregations" reported as following the mob and to point out that no minister raised his voice to restrain the murderers. "How can human men respect such a ministry? How can godly men affiliate with such a Church? As a whole the American Church has sunk to the lowest depth. We are mindful that all have not bowed the knee to Baal. But as a whole the Church does not reflect the teaching or spirit of Christ. Half of the Episcopal bishops will go into hysterics over the proposed marriage of a divorced man and occupy columns upon top of columns of the newspapers, but they never say a word when a human being is burned. They indeed 'pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, but have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith.' The American Church too often does the things which might be left undone, and omits the things which ought to be done; they strain at a gnat, but swallow a camel.

"If the Christian Church had the courage, if it had to-day one-tenth of the courage of a Martin Luther, or a John Knox, or of a William Lloyd Garrison it could stop lynching. If it loved justice more than money; if its enthusiasm were bent to the neighbor at their door half as much as the heathen of Japan or the oppressed in Russia; if it dared raise its head for a few moments from the feet of Mammon in order to catch the eye of the sympathetic Jesus it would accomplish wonders. But, like Samson, the Church—the white Church—lies in the lap of a harlot, and while it enjoys the ease and prestige of its sinful alliance it is being shorn of its power. That is why the workingmen of the country are leaving it—they see its hypocrisy; that is why even Delilah herself mocks it; that is why Mammon disregards it—because it is powerless as a broken reed."

The Reverend Reverdy Ransome, in a sermon widely quoted in the New York press, said: "This public opinion has been educated for more than thirty years with all the vigilance of an academician. Its teachers have been the columns of the American press, the silent acquiescence of the American pulpit and the persistent attitude of the Southern States to repress the Negroes.

"But the Negroes themselves are largely to blame for the contempt in which they are held and the impunity with which their liberties and their lives may be invaded. Sheriffs, mayors, courts, governors will not take seriously into account the interests of a people who have lost or surrendered the right to retaliate or call them to account at the ballot box. Mobs do not quail when there is no fear that their wild brutalities will be answered by a volley of bullets. Men would be slow to apply the match for the incineration of a living victim if it were probable that the answering torch would kindle a flame in their midst.

"I am unwillingly but slowly coming to the conclusion that the only way for the Negro in particular and the dark skinned peoples in general to win and hold the respect of white people is to mete out to them a white man's measure in all the relations of life. Pious professions and solemn proclamations have little weight when they come from a people whose character has been so clearly disclosed."

The editor of the Oklahoma Guide is an old man and he closes his comment on the outrages with a pithy reminiscence: "In Arkansas, 1873, we adopted a remedy for lynching and that was to kill the lynchers. Therefore we had no lynching in that end of Pulaski County."

DESPISING MEN.

The Continent, a Presbyterian journal published in Philadelphia, has a good editorial on "The Sin of Despising Men." It takes the Races Congress as its text, and says race prejudice has at last been challenged to show cause for its existence.

"Race prejudice survives in the world," says the Continent, "because it has cheated men into thinking of it as something inevitable and fundamental—a native instinct like self-preservation, a social safeguard like modesty, or a big loyalty like patriotism. But if either fanatics or philosophers, dreamers or statesmen, come by and insist on demanding of it its credentials of honor, honesty, reason and righteousness, what can race prejudice say for itself? The day it is questioned is its day of fate.

"From the ordinary white American to-day race contempt is likely to radiate in one or two or three or all of four directions—toward the Negro, toward the Oriental, toward the Jew and toward the peasant immigrant. In each of these directions analysis proves it compounded in varying proportions from two elements of common human feeling:

"First of all, there are in it certain marked remnants of that old savage instinct which ignorantly considered men of all other tribes than its own outlandish and brutish. Next to that and greater comes the inveterate human conceit which insists on finding somebody on whom it can look down. Of these two elements in race hatred neither can endure if fairly subjected to the light of modern social and political thinking."

The Continent says the argument that prejudice is necessary to prevent intermarriage is "twisted and self-defeating. On the contrary, giving him reason to honor his own kith and kind is the most efficient means of maintaining in him the proper incentive to marry within his own racial lines. An entirely similar remark applies to the notion that race prejudice is necessary to restrain certain races within their historic bounds and prevent migrations likely to obliterate American civilization. Here again the fact trends exactly the other way.

"Fighting race prejudice is not fighting ancestral loyalty, national solidarity, intrarace sympathy nor the preservation of distinctive racial traits. It is not trying to break up circles of social congeniality or the fellowships of like habits and like tastes. Above all, it is not working against the only normal type of matrimony—marriage according to racial identity.

"But war on race prejudice in the name of humanity and of God is a war on all despising of men by men; on all opprobriums which would make shame out of certain colors of flesh and certain lines of descent; on every fillip of human contempt or flash of human hate that signals envy when the inferior man shows himself able to be something better than inferior."

To lead such a war should be, says the Continent, the work of the Church which has not greatly emphasized latterly the brotherhood of man. "The Church is under the greatest obligation to begin once more and teach it anew with the convincing apostolic earnestness."

A STIR AMONG LAWYERS.

"We are about to have the race issue raised in a most impressive way, sectional, if not national, in scope." So says the Chattanooga Times, and it means that W. H. Lewis, assistant attorney-general, has been elected to the American Bar Association, and Southern members don't like it. The Times continues: "As soon as the man's standing and his color became known a large number of Southern delegates—a number of Northerners and Westerners sympathizing—held a meeting and requested Lewis to resign, which, in an impudent and insulting reply—so we are informed—he declined to do. And now there is a probability of a secession from the association, a call for which, it is stated, will shortly be made.

"It is for those who do not find it at all necessary to their business, personal or social taste, to be thus brought into close relationship with a man whose only claim to special distinction was his color and his political influence, to withdraw from an association with which he is identified, and that is what, it is stated, a large number of the members are going to do. It is a very simple proposition, and one about which there will be no apology or unnecessary explanations. Those who do not care to be thus put upon such close personal and social equality with Lewis will withdraw, as they have a right to do; those who have no objections to it will remain."

The Savannah News does not think the objection is to Mr. Lewis personally, but quotes a South Carolinian as saying that the work of uplifting the Negro in that State would be hampered if the colored lawyer met with the association once a year. It says Mr. Lewis is selfish in not resigning at once.

The Rochester Union-Advertiser remarks: "If the American Bar Association can find nothing of more importance than this to exercise itself over, it had better dissolve."

¶ Says the St. Luke Herald (colored), of Richmond: "Many of our white friends continue to harp upon the New South: but somehow the New South still clings to the idols of the Old South—Vardaman still controls Mississippi."

THE N. A. A. C. P.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is made up of colored and white Americans of all classes and creeds who believe that race prejudice is the most insidious enemy this country faces to-day, and are determined to fight it with all their might. It refuses to admit any sort of discrimination against man or woman because of the color of skin. It declares that unless the present course of injustice to the Negro, in the North as well as in the South, is opposed with all the earnestness of effort, in word and deed, of which right-minded persons are capable, the ideal of democracy in this country is destined to become a laughing stock.

It points out that since 1890 seven Southern States have DISFRANCHISED the Negro, while he is by various devices, to a great extent, disfranchised in several other States. He can demand no rights, and he receives only such treatment as the white man thinks good for him. What that is may be judged by the fact that there have been in the last 20 years OVER 2,000 LYNCHINGS (the number increasing immediately upon disfranchisement), and that NOT ONE-HALF of the Negro children in those States have a chance to go to school.

In the North lynchings are becoming not infrequent, and the colored man, whoever he may be, is discriminated against in every walk of life. And this prejudice, carefully cultivated by fanaticism and snobbery, is GROWING RAPIDLY.

Our Association is fighting this evil by taking up cases of injustice and by carrying on a campaign of information and dignified but most energetic protest. We are young and we are poor. We MUST HAVE MEMBERS who contribute from one dollar upward annually. We have no endowment from millionaires and no hope of ever acquiring any. We must live on the small contributions of many.

WILL YOU HELP? The question is vital. Write to us THIS DAY and pledge yourself as a member.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has had during the last month two particularly gratifying experiences. In Detroit and in Seattle organizations of citizens determined to fight race prejudice have asked to affiliate with the National Association. It is not necessary to say that what the Association most desires is just such co-operation. There are people enough in this country, we are convinced, to put up a brave front against the growing prejudice that seeks not only to degrade the black man, but to destroy the ideal of the brotherhood of man and to make world peace impossible. The battle is going to be hard and nothing can be done unless right-minded people get together and organize. To create such groups is, of course, the main purpose of the National Association; to supply them with information and help is the main purpose of THE CRISIS.

We venture to print the letters we have received from Detroit and Seattle:

Detroit, Mich., August 19, 1911.

We have just organized a society for the prevention of unjust race discrimination here in Detroit. I have been requested to write you asking whether it is possible for our society to affiliate with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a local branch of that organization. If this is possible, what steps will be necessary to such affiliation?

The executive committee of our organization meets Tuesday, August 26. If possible please let me hear from you before then. Sincerely,

R. W. BAGNALL.

From Seattle the following letter came a few days after that from Detroit:

Seattle, Wash., August 12, 1911.

Gentlemen:

By the authority of the Northwest Equity Congress of this city, I write you seeking information relative to the possibility of co-operating with your organization along the lines indicated in THE CRISIS. The congress is composed of representative citizens of this city, and has methods and objects similar to the work of your organization but entirely local in its scope.

We believe to identify our local body with your organization would be the means of creating a greater local interest in our organization, and, at the same time, of promoting the cause you represent. We note that there is no branch connected with your Association outside of New York City [except Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago—Ed. CRISIS], and,

further, there is no individual representative on your General Committee in the entire Western territory.

If our organization had your sanction and approval by an acknowledged affiliation, we would aim to put THE CRISIS to the forefront in the Northwest. We would do it by paying for the subscription out of our funds and have you send it to people of this section of the country, both friend and foe. We believe wherever THE CRISIS goes, prejudice must leave. And the Northwest is a good field for this kind of propaganda.

The circulation of THE CRISIS and the work of your National Association are doing more to combat the forces of race prejudice than all other agencies combined.

If you deem our object and proposition worthy of attention we shall be glad to furnish individual references for our membership. As stated at the outset, our organization is composed of representative men and women of Seattle. Our work is entirely local. Heretofore we have not sought publicity, but have contented ourselves with the local field. But the opinion of the younger membership is molding a sentiment for more publicity and greater work. The Northwest people are inclined to do something.

Hoping that you can offer some suggestion or advise along the line of work outlined, we beg to remain,

Yours for humanity,

THE NORTHWEST EQUITY CONGRESS,

(Signed) R. V. RANDOLPH,
Secretary.

¶ The ever active New York branch has been doing a number of things that some people might think of minor interest, but which, on closer inspection, are of supreme importance. The great problem is not so much lynching and disfranchisement as the daily, unceasing insults which lead ignorant whites, and also a good many who should know better, to look on the black man as less than human. If the Negro was not discriminated against every day in every walk of life there would not be room for the growth of the spirit which makes possible these larger evils. So the New York local, in taking up the cudgels against discrimination in comparatively minor ways, is striking at the root of the matter.

It has concerned itself with a case of discrimination against a colored man in a soda-water shop, at Coney Island, and although the law in this respect is too faulty in New York to warrant very vigorous proceedings (since to fight a case and lose it would be to advertise defeat all over the State), the officers of the branch feel that the effect of its agitation was good. Judge Geismar, of Coney Island, administered a severe rebuke to the man who had refused to serve the soda water and told him that his action was undoubtedly against the spirit of the law and might prove to be against the letter also, should the case be fought civilly. As a result colored men have since been better treated at Coney Island.

The New York branch has also protested against a bad case of beating by policemen. A colored man who had left a package in a shop went back to claim it. The proprietor protested violently that it was not there and called the police to take the man out. Among them all he was severely beaten. Congressman William S. Bennett was so good as to represent the Association in court on this occasion and we are trying to secure the punishment of the guilty persons.

¶ The National Association itself is taking up a case of discrimination in an amusement park in New Jersey, just across the river from New York. Mr. Paul C. Bolin, organist at St. Phillip's Episcopal Church, in New York City, recently went to Palisades Amusement Park across the Hudson, together with a number of his choir boys. The ticket sellers refused at first to let them enter, but Mr. Bolin protested firmly and was given admittance. Later on Mrs. Bolin, with two friends, went to join the party and this time the ticket agents absolutely refused admission. "Get out of here," was the courteous way of explaining to the lady that the park drew the color line.

¶ Word was sent to us recently that a colored employee of the city of Milwaukee had been dismissed for no other reason than his color. The Association at once wrote to the Socialist mayor, Mr. Seidel, asking for an explanation and received the following letter, which we take pleasure in publishing:

September 12, 1911.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 7. Mr. John A. Hall was discharged by Mr. L. J. Klug, the Superintendent of Bridges and Public Buildings, and was immediately reinstated by Mr. Harry E. Briggs, the Commissioner of Public Works, upon his return to the city. Mr. Klug, by the way, is not a social democrat, although his superior officer, Mr. Briggs, who was appointed by me, is. I offer this explanation inasmuch as you ask whether this discharge is in accordance with socialistic principles. It certainly is not, and in order that you may be fully informed on this matter, I am asking Mr. Briggs to write you a letter. Permit me to thank you for your efforts to learn the facts in this case.

Very truly yours,
EMIL SEIDEL,
Mayor.

EDITORIAL

MR. TAFT.

MR. WILLIAM TAFT, President of these United States, shows a marvelous facility for getting on the right track and saying the wrong thing. The most glaring example of this is, of course, the tariff, but his attitude toward the American Negro is a fatal second. Not only is Mr. Taft *particeps criminis* with the late Mr. Roosevelt in the crime of Brownsville, but he added to that the Taft Doctrine of recognizing race prejudice, instead of fitness, in Federal appointments. On top of this, and in the face of a record of murder, lynching and burning in this country which has appalled the civilized world and loosened the tongue of many a man long since dumb on the race problem, in spite of this, Mr. Taft has blandly informed a deputation of colored men that any action on his part is quite outside his power, if not his interest.

Finally, Mr. Taft has several times expressed himself on Negro education. First he was quite enthusiastic for the education of the Negroes' hands. Then—on the eve of his nomination to the presidency—he discovered at Fisk University a few black brains that deserved cultivation, but sparingly—sparingly. He would not overdo this sort of thing. Lately, on the eve of his campaign of renomination to the presidency, Mr. Taft has again declared that the Negro "ought to come and is coming more and more under the guardianship of the South!" This statement is, to speak mildly, extraordinary; and it will make thinking black men carefully considerate as to whether they are willing to enthrone this policy in the White House for another four years.

Let us examine the dictum: When a guardian is appointed it is because he has shown in the past some capacity for the position. One would not usually ask a murderer to guard life, nor a slave driver to direct labor, nor a libertine to protect girls. Or if by chance such an one is so appointed, it could only be that despite a forbidding past he had shown unmistakable signs of repentance, and will and ability to do right. We ask now in all charity and calmness: Have the Southern States of this land in the past or in the present exhibited any desire or ability to settle the Negro problem in accordance with reason and justice? The answer lies in nine burning words:

Slavery
Peonage
Mulattoes
Murder
Mobs
Lynching
Disfranchisement
Illiteracy
Prejudice.

We submit to any unprejudiced judge that a people that have shown no greater capacity for dealing with a great social problem than these fearful words indicate are not fit to be given sole and exclusive charge of ten million cattle much less ten million human souls.

And we further declare that a man who in the light of the history of this land can stand up and deny to the conscience and ability of the North and West any right to help in the settlement of a problem which belongs to them just as much as it belongs to the South, if not more—we declare that such a man has no business to be President of the United States.

FORWARD BACKWARD.

THE nemesis of every forward movement in the United States is the Negro question.

Witness Woman Suffrage, the Liquor Question, Political Reform, the various efforts to revivify the Chris-

tian Church, and Socialism. Mrs. Anna Shaw, president of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, recently made the extraordinary statement that all Negroes were opposed to woman suffrage. This is, of course, a barefaced falsehood. But assuming that Mrs. Shaw believes it true, what is Mrs. Shaw's conclusion? The traveler from Altruria might assume that she would say:

"Therefore let us work to enlighten these colored men and women and show them that disfranchisement, whether by sex or race, is wrong." Not so does the astute Mrs. Shaw advise. On the contrary, she says: "Do not touch the Negro problem. It will offend the South." This is the advice that is generally given to an organization which sings in its recently adopted hymn:

We the People! All the People! How it rings!
Justice broad and free, the living heart of things!
Sisters working for the light,
Brothers striving for the right,
We the People! All the People! How it rings!

Such contradiction hurts the Woman's Suffrage movement far more than it hurts black folk. The strength of the woman's movement in England is that it is honest and unselfish, aristocrat and working woman working hand in hand. But in America, despite the brave effort of women like Mrs. Belmont and Mrs. Villard, the war cry is rapidly becoming "Votes for White Women Only."

No wonder Europe sneers at American democracy. Small wonder that we ourselves lose the faith in ourselves which we so sorely need. We would like to believe that a great uplift movement of young people who profess to follow the precepts of Jesus Christ would first of all condemn murder, lynching and lawlessness in this land. As a matter of fact, the recent national meeting of the Christian Endeavorers refused even to consider such a resolution. Yet this was the organization that made the welkin ring last year to prevent the exhibit of a black man's victory in a prizefight!

Consider again the effort of the South to regulate the sale of liquor. "The Negroes oppose us," many Southerners complain. This is untrue. A very large proportion of the Negro vote can be counted on to oppose the liquor traffic. But suppose that many or all did oppose certain prohibitory laws, the remedy would be to educate and persuade those voters. But no, the "reformers," who for eleven months in the year take every opportunity to show their contempt for a black face, suddenly a few weeks before election order the Negro voters to vote for their measures on pain of further disfranchisement. When some Negroes refuse to do this, we are told in triumphant tones that Negroes are not worthy of the ballot!

Of all recent forward movements the Socialists have rung truest on the race question in their theoretical statements. But here they have usually stopped. "Why do not Negroes join the Socialists?" they ask. They do not ask such silly questions of white folks: They go and see why they do not join. They teach, agitate and proselyte; while among ten million Negro Americans they have scarcely a single worker and are afraid to encourage such workers. All of which goes to show that the Negro problem is the door which bars progress in the United States and which makes us liars and hypocrites. Yet the unloosening of that door is the simplest thing on earth: Treat human beings according to their character and not according to their color.

HAIL COLUMBIA!

AMERICAN civilization moves steadily and graciously forward. Consider this gem from a New York morning paper:

"Fifth Avenue, near 114th Street, was well filled with men and women as well as crowds of children at play, about 10 o'clock last night, when a young girl accosted another of about her age, and as the latter suddenly darted off along 114th Street started in pursuit shouting: 'Stop her! She's a thief!'

"Instantly there was a crowd of almost 100 men and women at the girl's heels. She ran to Lenox Avenue, the crowd behind her increasing in numbers, and then turned down toward 113th Street. She ran swiftly and was far ahead of her nearest pursuer when Policeman Bernstein of the East 104th Street Station grabbed her at 112th Street."

What of it? She was a thief—a nasty, God-forgotten thief, and perhaps worse. Moreover, she was a foreigner. Hail to the "almost 100 men and women" who ran the frightened thing like a rabbit to its warren. Behold our civilization at its highest and best; or at its lowest and worst. How shall we, the untutored groundlings, know? Where are our teachers in this day of lynching and lawlessness? What are they saying and doing?

Pick out the ten greatest men of America, beginning, of course, with the distinguished gentleman who has just declined the presidency, and coming to President Taft and the college presidents, captains of industry, professional men and leaders of culture. What have they said? Nothing. What should they say? Something—anything. The symptoms fly and spread. They shriek to Heaven. They mean something. If they mean the glorious fruition of the best of American democracy let the leaders of this people speak out and say so. If they mean Hell (and they do), where in Heaven's name is the moral courage of this land gone to?

The answer is not far to seek. I wrote to an American recently—one of the best specimens of American manhood, white and wealthy and philanthropic. I said: "Join us and fight lynching, lawlessness and race prejudice." He was resting in his pretty cottage by the blue waters of a beautiful lake with the sweet shadow of mountains, away from the city's fetid heat, daintily served by servants, surrounded by his books and interests—and he wrote:

"With reference to your suggestion that I join your association, I am, of course, deeply interested, but have been so much impressed with what seemed to me the bitterness and unchristian spirit I have observed in various comments from time to time that I have felt that only harm could come in the long run from that temper. I sympathize strongly with the dignified protests against the suppression of the vote of the Negroes, but I am myself profoundly against war in every aspect, and believe that Jesus Christ meant to turn the other cheek. I am sorry to say that it has seemed to me you definitely reject this aspect of Christ's teaching in any event."

Angels and ministers of Grace, defend us!

KNOWLEDGE.

ONE of the comfortable theories of the South is its intimate and careful knowledge of everything relating to black folk. Governor Donaghey of Arkansas, for instance, recently said to the Negro Business League:

"While you are said to be an imitative race, you never suicide or suffer from nervous trouble. I believe it was your chairman who tells us of the young Negro in Harvard University who specialized on nervous diseases with a view of practicing medicine in the Mississippi bottoms. He, of course, would never have had a patient."

As a matter of fact, in 1890 American Negroes were committing suicide at the rate of 330 a year; in 1900 at the rate of 510 a year, and to-day the rate is undoubtedly between 600 and 700. Again next to consumption and pneumonia no set of diseases is more fatal to Negroes than diseases of the nervous system. Over 30,000 Negroes die from this cause each year.

All these figures are from the United States census reports and go to show the ignorance of knowledge which will not learn.

It illustrates, too, how silly it is to try and draw great slashing lines of difference between races. Men, families, nations and races differ, but humanity is one.

From a painting by C. T. Webber, Cincinnati.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

The First Bloodshed of the Civil War

By M. D. MACLEAN

History is a peculiar goddess. Nothing gives her more satisfaction than to show mankind its capacity for weakness and folly by bringing into juxtaposition two events which set each other off particularly well. Thus, the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln became the scene of one of the most revolting massacres of Negroes in even our annals; and recently she chose Coatesville and August 13 for an exhibition of barbarity toward the black man that is probably unrivaled.

That Coatesville and August 13 made a fitting time and place is due to two facts: First, the entire neighborhood was one of the headquarters of the Underground Railway before the Civil War, and the town itself is named for the Coates family, as true friends as the slave ever had and as active in helping their escape. Secondly, the 11th of September —that is, one month after the man Walker was burned alive—was the sixtieth anniversary of what was called the first bloodshed of the Civil War, in the famous Christiana riot not twenty-five miles from Coatesville.

The "progress" of Southern Pennsylvania and the "settlement of the Negro problem" have been so marked that last month they burned alive an injured black man chained to a hospital bed, at almost the very spot on which, sixty years before, all but a month, black and white men had stood shoulder to shoulder to defend with their lives the right of the Negro to freedom. It is an encouraging sign of the times, isn't it? As Senator-elect Vardaman would say, it shows the North is getting over its mawkish (only he wouldn't put it so politely) sentiment about the Negroes being human and having elementary human rights.

The Christiana riot has not been widely celebrated, like the Boston massacre, although it bears to the Civil War exactly the same relation that the affair in New England did to the Revolution, but it was of great importance and the unveiling of a monument to commemorate it was celebrated last month by Southern Pennsylvania. The lynching was the more popular entertainment, but there were perhaps even more dignitaries at the unveiling.

It is possible that one reason why the Christiana riot has not been more popular a subject for our historians is that black men gathered in quite nine-tenths of the glory. This was not owing to lack of willingness on the part of their white friends to help them, but to the presence among the Negroes of a man of remarkable powers of leadership, who not unnaturally attracted to himself the lightning of the occasion. William Parker was his name, and he was something of a figure of romance.

Certain names of colored men and women stand out prominently in the strange annals of the Underground Rail-

way. William Still, chairman of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, and Harriet Tubman, the "Moses of her people," and others are better known than Parker, because they shared more largely

DINAH MENDENHALL

in the organization and devoted their entire time to the work of helping their brothers and sisters from slavery, but nobody could have been braver or more loyal than was William Parker in his less conspicuous way.

He was born a slave but he never intended to remain one. He had no mother and was brought up in a cabin with a crowd of other motherless children who fought and scrambled like young animals. There was this advantage, however. He learned to use his fists, an accomplishment he never forgot. When he was about eleven years old slave traders came to the plantation and William, with his chum, Levi, took refuge in a tree while the selling went on. While perched out of sight in the wood the idea of running away came to the boy and he put it to Levi. Levi agreed to go if his mother was sold, but said he must first make sure of that, and William pledged himself to do as his friend did. At last, when all was quiet, the pair climbed down and ran to the quarters.

"Mother, are you sold?" asked Levi.

"No, child," said the mother, and that ended the question of running away.

In the course of time Levi was himself sold and that left William alone. He reasoned that he was for the most part kindly treated and that as long as this went on it would hardly be fair to his master to run away, but he was decided that the first time he was beaten or there was talk of slave traders he would go. The great day came at last. The master, angered at something Parker had done, struck him violently with an ox-goad.

Parker was a giant in strength. He tore the whip from the white man's hand, beat him soundly with it and then ran for his life. Twice he was nearly caught. Once his pursuers passed within a few feet of him and once a man seized him, but Parker shook himself free, felled the man with his fist, and made his escape before the alarm could be given.

At length he reached Southern Pennsylvania and there he established himself. It was not a very safe place for black men. There was a band of rowdies known as the "Gap gang," which worked not only to catch fugitive slaves, but also to lay hands on free Negroes and sell them South. Frequently a man would go to the fields and never return. Frequently a woman would start for market and her family would never see her again. It was the work of the "Gap gang," the spiritual ancestors of the "prominent citizens" of Coatesville today.

Parker associated himself at once with the work of the Underground Railway. Acting with men like Levi Coffin, the

DR. JACOB L. PAXSON

one-eyed Quaker who housed scores of runaway slaves and could spy out a slave hunter quicker than other men with the normal number of optics, and Lindley Coates, the "president" of that sec-

tion of the railway, and Still, the colored post-office clerk of Philadelphia, whose spies were everywhere, Parker helped slave after slave to freedom.

In Maryland there lived a man named Gorsuch, not a bad-hearted man, but violent of temper and tenacious of his "rights," even when they cut pretty deeply into other people's. Gorsuch had a son, Dickerson, of a gentler turn of mind. Together they took care of a large plantation worked by many slaves.

When he heard that some of these slaves had run away the older Gorsuch burst into a fury. He would have his property back; he would have his rights; he wouldn't let the thus-and-so niggers get away from him—ungrateful black hounds after all he had done for them—and so forth and so on. Dickerson endeavored to calm him. Perhaps deep in his heart he felt that if things were reversed he would himself rather strike for liberty. At any rate he tried to dissuade his father from following the fugitives, but the old man would not tolerate the idea of staying at home and the son dutifully went along with him.

The runaways had reached Christiana and were hidden in the house of Parker. On the night of September 10 the Gorsuches had reached Christiana but not unannounced. In Philadelphia William Still was chairman of the vigilance committee. Throughout the South he had agents who worked with the slave catchers and kept him well informed of their plans, and one of these spies was attached to the Gorsuch party. He separated from the slave hunters just before reaching Christiana and brought word to Parker that his guests were being sought.

It was after midnight when Edward Gorsuch and son rode up to the house of Parker, accompanied by United States Marshal Henry H. Kline. Upstairs the slaves lay hidden, and Parker, with his two brothers-in-law, Alexander Pinckney and Abraham Johnson, were awaiting the attack. It should be explained that Parker had worked out a theory of his relation to the Fugitive Slave Law. He seems always to have thought out the arguments for and against whatever he did, and he had quite decided that he owed no respect to the laws of the United States. If the law did not protect black men, black men were not bound to regard it, he said, to the scandal of even his radical white friends.

So when Kline called on him to surrender his reply was very ready.

"I am a United States marshal," announced Kline.

"I don't care for you nor the United States," returned Parker calmly.

Somewhat disconcerted Kline withdrew for a consultation. Gorsuch was for violence, but Kline, more especially as it was his business to enter the house first, was less eager to begin the fight. They waited for some time.

The first light of dawn was showing, and Mrs. Parker asked her husband if she should not blow the horn. The blowing of the horn was the signal to the colored men of the neighborhood to rally for the protection of their friends, and Kline knew what it meant. As soon, therefore, as the horn sounded he shot at the woman. She knelt beside the windowsill and continued to blow to the accompaniment of bullets from the men below.

The sound of the horn on the quiet morning air went far, and soon from one side came the forms of black men run-

RESIDENCE OF JOHN VICKERS.

ning to the rescue and from the other, galloping out of a wood, members of the "Gap gang," ready to take what advantage there might be in the fortunes of war. The situation would reach a climax in a few minutes.

THADDEUS STEVENS

Parker, whose courage alone had kept up the two men with him, opened the door and stepped out. Edward Gorsuch pointed a pistol at him, but Parker stepped up and laid his hand on the old man's shoulders.

"I've seen guns before now," he said, and he added: "I don't want to do any harm."

Then he precipitated the fight by remarking to Gorsuch, who was a very "religious" person:

"Old man, you ought to be ashamed of yourself to be in this business, and you a class leader at home."

Dickerson Gorsuch stepped forward angrily.

"I wouldn't take such an insult from a damn nigger," he said.

Thereupon Gorsuch fired. The bullet grazed Parker's head and at the signal the fight—the "first fight of the Civil War"—began.

It ended with the victory of the black men, but Edward Gorsuch lay dead on the ground and Dickerson had fallen, severely wounded, beside him.

During the fight three Quakers, Elijah Lewis, Eastner Hanway and Joseph P. Scarlett, had ridden up. After the fight Levi Pownall, a Quaker whose house was one of the most important stations of the Underground Railroad, arrived and took the wounded Dickerson into his charge. Parker asked what he should do and Pownall told him that his only chance lay in immediate escape to Canada, which the Underground Railroad could effect.

Dickerson Gorsuch was in many ways a typical Southerner of the best type. He asked whether Parker had been hurt, and when he was told he had not been injured said:

"I'm glad. He is a noble Negro."

What he could not understand, however, was that his "boys," the fugitive slaves, should have fought against him even in an attempt to gain their freedom. He could not grasp the limitations of the patriarchal system any better then than many well-disposed Southerners do to-day.

The same roof that sheltered young Gorsuch was also a refuge for Parker, Pinckney and Johnson. Pownall smuggled them in, dressed them in the best of clothes and sent them walking casually out of the front door with the ladies of the house. In the darkness the guards who watched the place could not see whether they were black or white, and there was no suspicion that the careless gentlemen were the ex-slaves whose arrest was sought.

WILLIAM STILL

An order was issued for the arrest of Gorsuch's fugitive property, giving their aliases. On the list appeared, as aliases used by them, the names of Parker, Johnson and Pinckney, although they had

long been free Negroes. This device, however, did not succeed, for the three men, who had been joined by a fourth whose name is not known, were safe in the house of Isaac Mendenhall and his wife, two of the staunchest friends of the slave in that region. There they spent the first night of terror, and the plan was to take them on, as was the custom of the "railroad," to the home of John Vickers, but Mr. Jacob L. Paxson, of Norristown, took charge.

It was better, he said, to take them to the home of Graceanna Lewis, instead of the more notoriously abolitionist resort. In the garret of Graceanna Lewis' house, therefore, they hid for a day or two, and since the cook was not quite trustworthy food was secretly brought in from a neighbor's house.

A friend called at the house one evening, and the dawn saw him well on his way to market at the next town with sundry "tubs of butter," covered with cloth in the bottom of his wagon. These "tubs" were delivered at a carpenter's shop in Norristown, as arranged by Mr. Paxson. For four days the men hid under a pile of shavings. Food was passed to them at night on a long shovel over a four-foot alley. On the fifth day five wagons exactly alike drove out of Norristown in different directions. In one of them lay Parker, Pinckney and Johnson, with their companion. Suspicion had been pretty well diverted by this time, and if a description of the wagon was sent out there were four to distract attention from the important one. The men reached Philadelphia, were taken in hand by Still and were forwarded to Canada.

Parker's wife and child, however, were caught by the slave hunters, presumably, for they were never heard of again. They claimed that she gave herself up voluntarily. Anyway, she disappeared.

While all this was going on the three Quakers, Lewis, Hanway and Scarlett, and thirty-five Negroes had been arrested, charged with treason. The treason consisted in not assisting a marshal of the United States to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law by helping him capture the runaways in the house of Parker. They were taken to Moyamensing Prison and lay there for ninety-seven days while the State worked up its case against Hanway, the first of their number to be tried.

Theodore Cuyler defended the prisoners and Thaddeus Stevens advised him. The feeling of the community was strongly against prosecuting the accused men, and Mr. Cuyler put the popular verdict in regard to the case clearly when he said to the judge:

"Sir, did you hear it? That these harmless non-resisting Quarkers and thirty wretched, miserable, penniless Negroes armed with corn cutters, clubs and a few muskets and headed by a miller in a felt hat, without a coat, without arms, mounted on a sorrel nag, levied war against the United States? Blessed be God that our Union survived the shock."

In fifteen minutes the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. The prosecution changed the charge against the whole group to one of riot, and they stayed in jail for some time until the grand jury refused to consider the charge, and the entire case fell to the ground.

Thus, near Coatesville, did black men fire the first shot of that great war, which, ten years later, was to give them freedom.

CUT USED IN ADVERTISING RUNAWAY SLAVES

A LETTER

THE CONTAGION OF THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of THE CRISIS:

The horrible lynching at Coatesville, Pennsylvania, in mid-August, has served one useful purpose at least. It has laid forever, it is to be hoped, that foolish ghost that the Negro problem is pre-eminently a southern problem, and must be left therefore to the South for solution without any interference from the North.

Here in a typical northern town, located only some thirty or forty miles from the great city of Philadelphia, a Negro is lynched under the most hideous circumstances that could possibly be imagined. He is guilty not of the "usual crime," but of shooting an officer in a drunken rage. He is confined not in a prison, but in a hospital, grievously wounded. He is seized by a mob not of foreigners nor "hooligans," but of so-called respectable citizens, including many women and church members. He is killed not by shooting or hanging, but by burning, and under conditions so atrocious as to preclude adequate description. And the whole miserable business is perpetrated on a Sunday evening, with the church bells ringing the call to worship in the ears of the frenzied crowd. It scarcely seems possible that such a deed, rivaling in horror the barbarities of the redskins of North America or the cannibals of the South Sea Islands, could take place in a sober northern town, which knows nothing of the race problem in its acuter forms, which has never been inoculated with the virus of race hatred, and which is unaccustomed to visiting injustice, violent or otherwise, upon any deliberately selected portion of the community. And I for one believe that it could not have taken place, in Coatesville or elsewhere, a dozen or even half a dozen years ago!

Neither race prejudice, which rears its ugly head in the most unexpected places, nor the provincialism of small towns, which enters as an important factor into many of the public offences of the country districts, nor even the spirit of lawlessness, which is increasing at such an alarming rate in contemporary American life, can adequately explain this fearful crime. Back of all the horror of that night of rioting and burning there lay the psychological fact of *imitation!* The first Negro lynching would have been impossible north of Mason and Dixon's line. The one hundredth would have been improbable. But the two hundredth or the three hundredth was not only not impossible nor improbable, but was inevitable as soon as circumstances were ripe. In other words, the long practice of Negro lynching in the South has accustomed the American mind, north as well as south, to this particular form of injustice. Shocked at first by the lynching of a black offender, we have of late come to regard it as perhaps the natural thing, and now are actually ready to consider it as the only thing. A dozen years ago, in the North, when a Negro shot an officer, or committed a burglary, or even assaulted a woman, we arrested and tried and punished him, exactly as though he were a white man under the like circumstances. But now, through the sheer power of southern example, we have come to regard a black criminal as in a different category. Whenever a Negro commits an offence in an American community to-day—in Pennsylvania or Illinois, as well as in Mississippi or Alabama—"lynch him" is the first cry; and by dint of custom, therefore, it is becoming as easy to kill him in this way as, by dint of similar custom, it has long since become easy to destroy a serpent on sight.

Coatesville is a case very much in point! Had Walker killed the officer a decade ago, under exactly the same circumstances as last August, and with exactly the same people about him in the community, he would have been quietly healed of his wound, tried in the court, and punished with due process of law. To-day, however, it is different. The people of Coatesville are not the same people, and the circumstances of a Negro's crime cannot be the same circumstances. Month after month, year after year, the newspapers have brought to Coatesville, as to all other northern towns, the accounts of lynchings in the South. Within recent years these stories have been as matter of fact as stories of catching fish or shooting mad dogs. Suddenly a Negro offends in Coatesville itself! "Negro" at once suggests "lynching" to every mind—and a flaming pyre and shrieking victim are straightway the result! In other words, we are face to face here not with a social or political or legal phenomenon at all—but a psychological phenomenon. The old law of "association of ideas" is at work again. Prof. James' famous chapter on the "Psychology of Habit" has received a new illustration.

Now it is this fact which shows how foolish it is to talk about the Negro problem as a southern problem, and to declare that the Northerner must, in justice to his southern brother, adopt the policy of "hands off." In this age of quick and easy communication—of telephones and telegraphs, railroads and automobiles, newspapers and magazines, the ever-closer knitting together of cities and States and nations in the mutual exchange of customs, practices and ideas—it is absurd to talk about any problem as being in any sense a local problem. No social act can be confined within the bounds of any one community. Injustice to the Negro in every form—commercial, educational, judicial—is contagious, like physical disease, and spreads, like the plague, from town to town. Lynching in the South, where it may be explainable if not excusable, means lynching in the North, where it is neither explainable nor excusable. And it is in order to protect *my* city of New York, and *your* city of Boston, and some one else's city of Chicago or Minneapolis or Seattle—to say nothing of the appeal of ordinary humanity—that *I* a Northerner, and *you* a Northerner, and this some one else a Northerner, must fight this lynching mania and every other form of iniquity which is now being visited upon my black brother in the South. Injustice to the Negro is not a southern problem, nor even a national problem—but a world problem! Justice is everywhere endangered, so long as injustice is anywhere openly practised. Peace is everywhere menaced, so long as violence is anywhere tolerated. The brotherhood of man is still a futile dream, so long as class distinctions, national jealousies and race prejudices are anywhere possible. We must all be saved together or not at all!

I say therefore to the people of the South—this problem of the Negro is *my* problem. We will work it out together, in the spirit of amity and good will, if you say so. But if not—then, in the name of a just God, I will work it out for you, and in spite of you!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.
Church of the Messiah.

THE COWARD

By WILL. N. JOHNSON

He paused and looked back upon the many curving furrows he had plowed across those red, unyielding hills. It was a curious clay he had been upturning. As he leaned his great hulking form across the plow he began a quasi-dreaming, contemplation of the queer color of the clay. Why was the earth so red, so red? Three ghost-clad fancies glided across the dim edge of his mind's horizon: Elfish spirits in some far-off yesterday had crushed a million poppies beneath as many tender heels; once upon a ghastly night, and by the alchemy of God, the moon dripped blood and the reddened stars stared at the wicked world; and the last, weirdest fancy of them all—this colored clay came from blood clots near the whipping post on the hill tops, that like three crosses now stood out against the whitened sky. As the last thought glided by his dark flesh quivered!

He was a Horton, this plowman. Ten generations of Hortons were behind him, with no infiltration of alien blood. They had carried the scar of servitude on their hearts, and it now seemed never to heal. He sniffed the sweet breeze of the blossoming season and counted, subconsciously, the many shades of green adown the valley toward the town. Why had he not been a painter of pictures like those he had bought from the young white merchant? Why not a writer of books, like those in the school for his children? Children? Beyond—beyond the years he seemed to see a million children of his race, all dark faced or golden or brown. They looked at him with wondrous, questioning eyes, as plenteous as the stars, and timid hands were held stretched out in sad appeal. A sweet chord from the throat of a thrush thrummed across the strings of his soul. It swelled and swelled till it became the plaintive babble of a million young, and their cries set up a dizzy ringing in his ears.

Back in the dark night of his memory there was only the sombre race of plowmen. He seemed to see them, all prototypes of himself, in single file, plowing the same furrow. The end—the wearying end of the long curving row—was a black chasm. This was his race, the Hortons. They had borne chains with no whining; their great broad backs had been lacerated there at the whipping post by the biting lash, yet they never struck back!

"Damn you, nigger."

It was the landlord's rasping voice that startled the dreaming plowman. A frail blue-white fist stung his twitching black face. There was a pause, and in that pause the thrush still chanted its anthems to Heaven; Horton, the plowman, shrank away from the face of his master. The sweet breeze cooled his hot brow. He moved on the end of the crazy furrow—to the brink of the dark chasm!

WOMEN'S CLUBS

Mrs. SARAH J. GARNETT

By Mrs. W. A. HUNTON

MRS. S. J. GARNETT

It may fittingly be considered a blessing to have traveled down the years some fourscore, and to have gathered, meanwhile, "the unstudied gesture of esteem, the reverent eye made rich with honest thought," but it is a nobler blessing to have consecrated sixty of these years to an intelligent and enthusiastic co-operation in all the social, philanthropic and religious activities of the passing generations. Such was the gift to Mrs. Sarah J. Garnett, who quietly and suddenly answered the call on the 17th of September.

The eldest of the eleven children of Sylvanus and Annie Smith, Mrs. Garnett inherited the sterling qualities which have made her parents remembered. Her father is said to have been the first colored man to build a home for his family in New York, and he sought for his children the best educational advantages of his day.

At fourteen Sarah was appointed monitorial instructress, under that pioneer colored teacher, John Peterson, and had as her lady principal Miss Jane Rowe, an English lady. For this work she was paid a salary of $25 per year. At the age of eighteen she was married to the Rev. Samuel Tompkins, an Episcopal clergyman, but at twenty-two was left a widow, and began her career as a teacher, which lasted some forty-seven years, and which was not interrupted by her second marriage to the noted Henry Highland Garnett.

It was in her work as an educator that she proved herself an ardent reformer, as well as a successful teacher. After spending twelve years at the Eastern District school of Brooklyn, she was called to the principalship of School No. 2 in New York City, and on the death of Mr. Reason, principal of Public School No. 3, it was merged into her school and she became principal of the famous No. 80. But it was her untiring efforts toward doing away with separate schools for colored children in New York, and her zeal in the accomplishment of her purpose that has given her the highest rank among the teachers of New York, and is in itself a most interesting story.

She was foremost in the organization and support of the Woman's Loyal Union, which so ably seconded Ida B. Wells in her early efforts against lynchings. As superintendent of the suffrage department of the National Association of Colored Women she was always alert to every possible means that could be employed for the advancement of the cause.

The eightieth birthday of Mrs. Garnett was celebrated August 31, in London, England, where she had gone with her talented sister, Dr. S. Maria Stewart, resident physician of Wilberforce University, to be present at the First Universal Races Congress.

The night after her death two friends, themselves women of high attainment and achievement, tenderly measured her worth—her sister, Dr. Stewart, and Miss Maritcha Lyons, Brooklyn's most honored school teacher. Among her beautiful gifts recalled was that of drawing her pupils close to her. Said Miss Lyons: "Her boys always knew she would give them another chance." She had learned of Ascham that "the schoolhouse should be counted as a sanctuary against fear." Again, they said, "she was not an exceptional woman, but one that it is possible for every woman to emulate."

"Now silence like a benediction falls,
Beauty and peace fill now her perfect hour."

The picture of clubwomen in the last CRISIS was by mistake attributed to Alabama. It represented the South Carolina Federation.

THE BURDEN

COLORED MEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL.

1885	78	1898	102
1886	71	1899	84
1887	80	1900	107
1888	95	1901	107
1889	95	1902	86
1890	90	1903	86
1891	121	1904	83
1892	155	1905	61
1893	154	1906	64
1894	134	1907	60
1895	112	1908	93
1896	80	1909	73
1897	122	1910	65

Total.....2,458

JOCKEYING NEGROES OUT OF JOBS.

The underground ramifications of race prejudice would be almost unbelievable at times if we did not have the cold facts. For instance, a recent newspaper despatch from Ohio said that owing to a decision of the Ohio State Railway Commission, Negroes could no longer be employed as porters or third-crew men in that State and that the Big Four Railway had discharged all its colored employees. The National Association at once wrote to Mr. Robert Barcus, a lawyer and one of our members in Columbus, and found out the following facts:

The Brotherhood of Railway trainmen as an organization admits only white membership. In 1902 this organization lobbied an innocent-looking act through the Ohio Legislature which required that a train crew should consist of an engineer, a fireman and a certain number of "brakemen," according to the number of cars. It provided a fine for violation of this law and made it a duty of the railway commission to enforce it. Neither the railroads nor the railway commission, however, enforced the law until this year. Recently the railway commission compelled the company to drop all train employees who were not "brakemen." This meant that some thirty colored men who had been technically called porters, and who had been in the service of the railway for ten years in many cases, were dropped. They had passed their examinations; they had done their work satisfactorily, but they were not "brakemen," nor could they be "brakemen" because the union would not admit colored "brakemen," and to hire non-union labor meant a strike. Mr. Barcus says in conclusion: "If the company had made all of those men brakemen or called them that, the law of Ohio would have been complied with. The company failed to do that, as it would very likely have caused a strike. Our boys had to go."

Then in spite of such movements as this the laboring men of America ask why Negro men are "scabs."

THE FILIPINO IN THE UNITED STATES.

We quote from the Citizen, of Spokane, Washington:

"That intelligent, industrious and law-abiding Filipino citizens and residents of this country are treated with more discourtesy and disrespect in Seattle than the Negroes of the South where most rabid race prejudice exists is the startling statement of M. F. Bolima, a Filipino, who has resided in this country for five years and in Seattle for three years.

"Bolima, who was a school teacher in the city of Basey, in his native Samar islands, is a young man of refinement and splendid command of English. He has made his own way against heavy odds since coming to this country, and is now holding a responsible position in the Silver Building, First Avenue and Cherry Street. Bolima states that he, as well as the seventy others of his countrymen who reside in that city, constantly are subjected to open insults on the street, presumably on account of their dark skins and hair and racial resemblance to the people of the Far East. Bolima declares he and his countrymen, many of whom are direct descendants of Spanish grandees, have pride in their race, which is daily outraged by the people of this country of all classes.

"'When the American flag supplanted the Spanish flag in the Philippines there was great rejoicing among the more intelligent people,' said Bolima, to-day. 'Our people were told by the Americans that they were American citizens and would be treated with all the courtesy and respect due them as such. My own case is an example of what the majority of my countrymen suffer in this country. I landed in San Francisco in 1906, and it did not take me two hours to realize that what I had been led to expect from the American people in the way of fair treatment would not be forthcoming. The darker color of my skin, and my diminutive size, for neither of which I was re-

sponsible, seemed to mark me as a target for ridicule and rough handling by ill-mannered people of this country.

"'I have been forced from the sidewalk to the gutter to permit a drunken white man to pass. I have been hooted at and tormented as if I were a cur, and frequently have been called unprintable names by my fellow American citizens.

"'Many of the restaurants in Seattle refuse to serve me or any of my countrymen. We may go into a restaurant with plenty of money to pay for what we order, and act in a most dignified manner, but the waiter usually asks us if we are Japanese or Chinese, and when informed that we are Filipinos, announces that our patronage is not desired. We are excluded from any restaurants on account of the color of our skins.

"'Why should this condition be? I believe that the intelligent classes of the American people would like to see justice done to us as well as to other nationalities, and hope that this statement of facts may have the result of obtaining better treatment for myself and countrymen in this country.

"'We are not asking for special privileges or favors, and we are amply able to care for ourselves under just conditions and the fair treatment accorded other nationalities is all we ask.'"

¶ Mrs. Carrie Clifford, one of the Washington members of this Association, sends us the letter which follows:

"Cincinnati.

"Dear Madam:

"I am writing you concerning the jim-crow law. I remember when you were in the city and lectured, but I was unable to come and hear you. As I am compelled to travel the L. and N. road so much there are some things I want to tell you about and also ask a little information. I have been offended so often that I can't stand any more; so a friend told me to write you. In the first place I am a private cook and work for a club and I have to go two or three times each week to some one and I often have to ride with old dirty white men and they smoke and spit at will. And if there is no room in the smoker they don't have to go out, and one time I asked the porter and he said that when there was no seats in the other car they must ride with us. There are lots of things I could mention but I want to tell you this one occurrence that happened on the 30th of July. Myself and two other girls started to the city from Kentucky and when we got on the train our little closet was taken with white and black men and dirty as usual. I started to the lady's coach and the flagman ordered us back in a very rough manner. I resented, for I could not help, I was so angry; and he drew an unlawful weapon, called a slingshot. I was told to report him but I thought I would write you first. Now, I have told different ones and they said if it happened again that I had to ride with white passengers they would put a stop to it, and Mrs. Clifford, I am against the jim-crow car because they don't treat us right.

"I am only a poor working woman, but I want my rights, and if there is anything I can do or say that will do away with this car law I will do it for it certainly is humiliating. Hoping to hear some encouraging word from you soon,

"Very sincerely,

"Mrs. Susie Givens."

¶ The farmers in Okfuskee County, Oklahoma, are trying to send out the Negroes from that part of the State and bring in whites. They have formed a White Farmers' Congress and Immigration Bureau, which binds itself not to sell a Negro land adjoining the property of a white man. These are the facts (quite bad enough) and thus the dispatch was, apparently, sent out to the press—at least so it appears in some papers. In the New York Tribune and the New York Telegram we note that a few lines have been added: "The organization was inspired by the recent attacks of Negroes on white women." Thus is the great work of lying about the Negro pursued with a will.

¶ "Doubtless you have heard of the many lynchings here in Georgia of late. The Negroes are petitioning and are going in person to the councils, seeking to find the heart of the white man and secure his protection against mob violence and lynch law. We have never before been treated with such indifference by the authorities as of late. It looks like the time is here when the presence of the Negro is not wanted, and that he will be forced to seek some place where he might hope to get justice in the courts.

"As a man whose soul has always sought the interest of the black criminals in that they have a fair trial, and receive their penalty at the hands of the courts and not at the hands of anarchists, as this model which can feel the burdens and oppressions of the lowly, I trust that God will put into your heart some definite step which we could follow. Oppression is felt in one way or another by every black man in America. In my city I feel it in my work. Certain limitations, financial and otherwise, are thrown around us as teachers. I feel like crying out:

"'Watchman, what of the night?'

"Optimism is waning. The way grows darker before us.

"Trusting to hear from you, I am yours for the oppressed black man in America, in the South, in Georgia.

(Signed) "————————."

WHAT TO READ

MAGAZINES.

"Negroes in Africa." Anthropological report of the Edo-speaking peoples of Nigeria. N. W. Thomas. Review in Nature, July 27.

"Negro in Canada." Chautauquan, July.

"Negro Influences in American Life." W. W. Kenilworth. Forum, August.

"Before and After the Civil War." Independent, July 13.

"New Point of View in the New South." E. M. Brooks. Independent, July 13.

"Southern Justice to the Negro." Outlook, June 17.

"France in North Africa." H. H. Johnston. Nineteenth Century, July.

"A Hymn to the Peoples." W. E. B. Du Bois. Independent, August 24.

"The Universal Races Congress." W. E. B. Du Bois. Independent, August 24.

BOOKS.

There have accumulated on our book table a number of volumes. There is poetry by H. Cordelia Ray, Effie Waller and Smith Jones; surveys of world problems of race by Suksdorf and the Nationalities and Subject Races Committee; there is Mansfeld's new "Urwald Dokumente" and Schanz's "Neger in den Vereinigten Staaten" and Atlanta University's College-Bred Negro.

But first of all we place Miss Mary White Ovington's "Half-a-Man" (Longmans, Green & Co., New York). We have noted with interest the reception of this book by the critics: The review by Carl Kelsey in the Survey—the characteristically careless half-done work of a man who knows less of the Negro than most "authorities" on the subject; the patronizing loftiness of Miss Gilder, the disappointment of some colored critics.

Yet we have here one of the finest human studies done in America; done by a woman who knew her subject and digested it. There is probably not another white woman in the United States who has so thoroughly entered and comprehended the black world. Most white folk do not need to, being naturally so superior and wonderful, they can evolve a knowledge of a few hundred millions by casual acquaintance with a maid, a laborer and a Negro on the street. This can be supplemented by books founded on equal ignorance. Or if one must study, one can, like Carl Kelsey, study the Negro at first hand by reading novels on the shady porch of an Alabama plantation, asking questions of accommodating passersby, and using the United States census liberally.

Miss Ovington did differently. She sought the friendship of Negroes. She lived beside them. She can count among her friends scores of colored people. She has read their papers, visited their churches, talked and discussed with them—felt their hurts and sympathized with the horrible strain of prejudice.

This knowledge has been supplemented by study and observation; not chance columns of figures to prove an assumed point, but repeated studies like figures of trades unions taken at two or three different periods; studies of the juvenile court covering three years; comparative and carefully tested studies of occupations.

All this has been put together and thought through and analyzed until the author knew what she wanted to say. Then she wrote a book—not a multiplication table or an encyclopedia, but a real book—a small, soberly dressed thing of less than 250 little pages, carefully worded, done into English and designed not to present a mass of raw material but the conclusions of a careful study, with some of the data on which it was based unobtrusively appended.

The result is a satisfying thing, a complete picture. There are nine short chapters. A compact history of the Negro slave and his emancipation in New York is followed by a picture of the black homes of New York and the rent problem. Then she takes this group and analyzes it—talks of its little children and the pity of their dying, and of the vastest of the Negro problems—earning a living. This latter subject is divided into two parts, the first touching manual labor and the trades, trades unions and efficiency; the second dealing with business and professional men. The colored working woman calls for a most sympathetic study and then the author turns to the environment—the distribution of wealth and the attitude of the day. The book ends with a study of the meaning of segregation and race prejudice which no American has a right to neglect reading. "It is a brief for the Negro," some have complained. It is not. It is a brief

for humanity and a scientific study in the best sense of an overworked word, which proves the truth of Dr. Boas' foreword: "Many students of anthropology recognize that no proof can be given of any material inferiority of the Negro race; that without doubt the bulk of the individuals composing the race are equal in mental aptitude to the bulk of our own people; that, although their hereditary aptitudes may lie in slightly different directions, it is very improbable that the majority of individuals composing the white race should possess greater ability than the Negro race."

¶ Henry F. Suksdorf's "Our Race Problems" (the Shakespeare Press, New York), is a different book. It is fat and important looking, and its 374 pages wander over the habitable globe and the historic and prehistoric past. It is written by a partially educated man of good intent but small knowledge, and his thesis is: that the races of the world are all in different "ages" of development. Of course the Negro is a "child," the Chinaman in his dotage, the Latin "on the decline" and (*mirabile dictu!*) the Anglo-Saxons "at or near their point of culmination." All of which is nonsense.

FROM "THE QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE"

A novel by W. E. B. Du Bois, which A. C. McClurg & Co. are publishing this month

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