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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES
PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY
Conducted by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS
AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, Business Manager

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Contents for May, 1914

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MUSIC AND ART.

COLERIDGE-TAYLOR'S "Eleanore" was one of the interesting songs presented by Gall Gardner at a matinee musicale given at Claridge's Hotel, London, early in February.

Victor Herbert's four-part arrangement of J. Rosamond Johnson's dialect song, "Since You Went Away," which is being used by the choral classes of colleges in the South, is both effective and beautiful.

Mr. J. Rosamond Johnson, song writer and pianist, has returned from England, where he appeared lately in a new musical comedy act at the London Pavilion. Mr. Johnson's first appearance since his return was at the New Standard Theatre, Philadelphia, Pa., during the week of March 16. He was assisted by Mr. Thomas Brown.

Mr. Charles A. Marshall, baritone, is appearing on the normal school entertaining list of artists at Philadelphia, Pa. Mr. Marshall, assisted by Miss Elizabeth Benson, pianist, sang on March 14 at the meeting of the Alumni Association of the high school for girls.

A series of lecture recitals on Afro-American folk songs was given in March at the Little Theatre, Chicago, Ill., by Mrs. Collingwood Tucker, an American singer. The Chicago Inter-Ocean notes that: "Her material is exceedingly interesting from the musical point of view."

Of Henry Hadley's new symphony, "North, East, South and West," which was a conspicuous feature on the program of the ninth concert by the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, Musical America says: "In a wealth of thematic material there was brought out much that was familiar to the American ear, such as Negro ragtime rhythms and Indian themes. There were many lovely passages and the work was accepted as true to its comprehensive title and national birthright." The symphony was also a feature of the Kansas City orchestral concert in February, of which the Kansas City Journal stated: "The wonderful 'South' in particular aroused the enthusiasm of the audience."

Madam Anita Patti Brown, of Chicago, Ill., assisted by Mrs. Mary L. Smith, accompanist and reader, gave a well-executed program at the A. M. E. Zion Church, Birmingham, Ala., on March 9. An additional feature of interest on the program was Mrs. Smith's travel talk of the British West Indies.

On February 17 Roland W. Hayes, tenor, and Charles J. Harris, pianist, gave a joint recital at the State A. and M. College of South Carolina, at Orangeburg. The musical department of the college is under the directorship of C. Delpha Boger, a graduate of the teachers' class of the Chicago Musical College.

On the evening of February 24, at Minneapolis, Minn., the Minneapolis Musicians and Music Lovers gave their fourth annual banquet. The program, under the direction of the chairman, Willard
THE CRISIS

Patten, comprised witty burlesques, serious readings and clever skits in the form of light opera. An exceptionally clever burlesque was that of "Low Jinks"—the king commands his aide to bring in the shades of ten famous composers and Shakespeare. The interlocutor questions the shades of Pythagoras, Palestrina, Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Liszt, Wagner and Coleridge-Taylor regarding some of their alleged feats which bring out important facts in musical history. A disturbance is caused by a well-known local singer who insists on drawing the color line against Coleridge-Taylor until the shade of Hiawatha stops the quarrel.

* Announcement has been made of plans to erect a theatre, with seating capacity of 1,000, for the use of colored people of Norfolk, Va. The theatre is to cost $50,000 and will be used for vaudeville and moving-picture attractions.

* Mrs. Maud Cuney Hare and Mr. W. R. Richardson are engaged in joint recitals and lecture recitals at colleges and in the principal cities of the Southwest.

* The second concert of the Schola Cantorum, held at Carnegie Hall, under the direction of Mr. Kurt Schindler, on April 1, was devoted to Russian, Negro and British folk songs. Coleridge-Taylor's "Slave Singing at Midnight" was presented, and Mr. Burleigh arranged the two Negro spirituals, "Deep River" and "Dig My Grave," for four-part singing, especially for the Schola Cantorum.

* George W. Castone, a colored waiter in St. Paul, Minn., is attracting attention to his painting, which he does in spare time. While he does some creditable work in water colors, his oil paintings are his best efforts. Castone has had only three or four lessons and at present is unable to study further because of lack of means.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

COLORED women in different sections of the country are doing much for social uplift. In Baltimore women raised more than $10,000 for a Young Women's Christian Association; at a recent meeting of the City Federation of Women's Clubs in Birmingham, Ala., $750 was raised to assist in paying a debt on the old folks' home; in the same place 300 women have organized to work in interest of the city.

* Work is proceeding on the public library in Savannah, Ga., for colored people, made possible by a gift of $12,000 from Carnegie. The city will appropriate $1,200 a year for the maintenance of the library.

* Colored men and women of Nashville, Tenn., have been enthusiastically carrying on a campaign, under the direction of the international secretary, Mr. J. E. Moorland, for $25,000 to be used for a Young Men's Christian Association. The Nashville Globe, a colored weekly, was published daily for the ten days of the campaign in the interest of the movement. The final reports show that $33,160.30 was raised.

* A great deal of interest has been shown during the past season in athletics among colored people. James Burwell, a colored student of the University of Pittsburgh, ran a close second to Carroll, of Indiana State Normal School, at a recent meet in which Carroll equaled the indoor record for the 60-yard dash. In the same meet Burrell won the 220-yard dash, running in excellent form. At the sixth annual regimental meet, held in the South Armory, Boston, Mass., John A. Shelburne, of the English High School, broke the record in the semi-final heat of the 60-yard dash, making it in 6 4-5 seconds, 1-5 second less than the record, and won in the final heat. Edward Niles, a colored senior in the English High, won the 1,000-yard dash.

* In order to instruct and secure the interest of the white people of Asheville, N. C., in colored schools, an educational fair, exhibiting the work of ten county and city schools, was recently held in that place. The fair closed with a mass meeting in the interest of the work.

* A resolution has been adopted by the bath commission of Baltimore providing for more public baths and laundry facilities for colored people.
It is reported that a colored baby won the first prize in the “perfect baby” show held in New York City in which 700 babies were entered.

An aid and social club in Algiers, La., composed of 235 young colored men, does much charitable work.

The Colored Taxpayers’ Protective Association, of Long Island, N. Y., has opened a spacious clubhouse in Jamaica.

J. H. Cobb, a salesman for the St. Louis (Mo.) Seed Company, and many other employees, when pinioned under a wall which collapsed and took down a part of the seed building, were rescued with great difficulty by a Negro whose name is not known.

A system of examination of the employees in the dining car has been installed on the Cotton Belt Railroad route. No one of the sixty already examined have had a communicable disease.

There is a large demand for day nurseries for colored children in New York because in most of the white nurseries, and particularly in those situated in colored neighborhoods, Negroes are not provided for. At present there are only four nurseries in Manhattan and Brooklyn conducted for colored children. Miss H. T. Emerson, of the West End Workers’ Association, is planning a social center for Negroes in Harlem, New York City. A settlement house will be conducted, with a day and night nursery attached.

EDUCATION.

The supervisor of manual training in the colored schools of Nashville, Tenn., has reported that 138 boys attending one of the manual-training centers earn $192.25 weekly by working before and after school hours.

Robert Hardon, a colored student of the Saginaw (Mich.) high school, was the winner in the preliminary contest for the Michigan Interscholastic Oratorical Association. There were two other students contesting for a place in the contest.

Through the efforts of the educational committee of the Y. M. C. A. of North Carolina University, a night school for colored people was conducted in Raleigh during the past winter. The school board and also many colored citizens contributed to the work. Three colored teachers were employed and there was an average attendance of ninety-two each night.

Of the 17,000 persons composing the population of Ironton, O., 1,500 are colored people, and colored children rank first in four of the grades of the schools. Miss Garnet Wilson, a colored student taking a commercial course, received the Remington pennant for writing the greatest number of perfect words in a minute.

The John Morrow Normal and Industrial College was opened in San Antonio on March 1. The buildings already on the thirteen-acre plot, purchased for this purpose, will be used until new buildings can be erected.

Miss Teresa G. Lew graduated from the classical course of the Lowell (Mass.) high school two years ago at the head of a class of 282. She was the winner of a Carney medal for excellence of character and scholarship, and received honorary mention for punctuality in attendance. Miss Lew is now a member of the senior class of the Lowell normal school and is there, as she was in the high school, a member of the glee club.

Colored people of Trenton, N. J., have already pledged $21,000 of the desired $50,000 for the erection of a girls’ dormitory at Livingston College, Salisbury, N. C.

Eleven students and three alumnae of the University of Michigan have organized a Delta chapter of the Kappa Alpha Nu, a Negro men’s college fraternity.

The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, of Cornell, Bucks County, Pa., have filed plans for a four-story school for Negro children and dwelling for nuns in the Harlem section of New York City.

The regular session of the summer school at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., will be conducted by some of the members of the regular staff and other well-known teachers from various parts of the country. Twenty-five courses will be offered.

It is said that a wealthy white woman of Cincinnati, becoming interested in Negroes through the efforts of her colored laundress, has bequeathed a large sum to Negro education, and it is expected that the Industrial School for Negro Youth will be opened next fall at Wyoming, O., with W. L. Ricks as president.
The New Jersey State board of education has adopted a resolution providing for the selection of two students to be recipients of a scholarship at the Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth at Bordentown.

The Philadelphia Round Table for the Welfare of Colored Persons is making plans for a vocational school for boys between the ages of 10 and 16 years.

ECONOMICS.

A MODEL silk mill of Kingston, N. C., is being successfully operated by colored people, although before it went into the hands of the colored management it met with little success. The manager of the mill, a colored minister, is a silk expert.

The Chicago College of Hair Culture is supposed to be the largest concern of its kind established. The establishment contains beauty parlors, lecture, dining and rest rooms, a shipping department and a printing office.

The colored business block of Durham, N. C., was almost entirely destroyed by a large fire recently. A colored bank and a colored newspaper plant were entirely destroyed and two of the buildings in the block owned by the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association went down. It seems that most of the loss is covered by insurance.

Dr. Nelson, a colored pharmacist, has just opened a first-class drug store in St. Paul, Minn.

Negroes in Toledo, O., have incorporated the Star Building and Loan Association under the laws of the State of Ohio; its officers are bonded and business began on April 1.

PERSONAL.

Mrs. MARY CATHERINE WINDSOR is dead. For the past six years, since the death of her husband, she had lived in Wilberforce with her sister, and it was there that she died. During the Civil War she was going with her brother to New Orleans on a boat which later became a war transport for the Union army. As the boat was about to weigh anchor cautiously in the Mississippi River late one afternoon, she discovered rebel forces crawling underbrush and about to open fire. She gave the alarm and the enemy was put to rout. Soon afterward she was made a spy and rendered valuable aid to the Union forces.

C. H. Watson, a colored man, has been appointed notary public for the county of Mecklenburg, N. C.

MEETINGS.

In March girls representing the Young Women's Christian Association in many of the schools of Mississippi, Tennessee and Alabama met with Miss Josephine V. Pinyon, the international students' secretary, in a three-day conference at Jackson College, Jackson, Miss. There were several interesting speakers and a great deal of interest was shown in the work by the citizens of Jackson.

Founder's day and the semi-centennial of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O., was celebrated on February 25.

The Empire State Federation of Women's Clubs will hold its sixth annual meeting in Brooklyn during the early part of July. The membership of the federation is about 4,000.

A national convention of colored men was called in Washington, D. C., on February 25, to protest against political discrimination.

Farmers' conferences have been held in Utica Institute, Miss., and in the Bartlett Agricultural and Industrial School in Dalton, Mo., recently.

On April 24 a conference of societies and individuals interested in sanitary living among colored people was held in New Orleans under the direction of the State board of health.

The third annual meeting of the Middle Tennessee Teachers' Association convened in Nashville on April 9.

Colored Knights of Pythias of the State of Virginia and the Court of Calanthe celebrated their thirty-fourth anniversary in Richmond on March 29.

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell spoke of the discrimination practised against the Negro North as well as South in a lecture at Boston on March 8.

Many colored educational and religious leaders have called a Negro Christian student convention to meet at Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Ga., from May 14 to 18.
**POLITICAL.**

The Senate committee has reported favorably on the nomination of Judge Terrell.

Senator Williams, of Mississippi, offered an amendment restricting woman suffrage to white women, which was defeated by 44 votes to 21.

The committee on the District of Columbia has reported favorably to the House on the bill preventing intermarriage of white and colored races.

The committee on Federal relations of the Massachusetts legislature has reported favorably on the resolution protesting against segregation in the Federal departments at Washington.

It is said that the United States Treasury officials are looking about for a white successor to Charles A. Cottrill, collector of internal revenue for the territory of Hawaii, as, to quote a Hawaiian paper: "Senator Vardaman and other Southerners have declared open war on all Negro appointees and there is no disposition manifested by the President and his advisers to encounter their opposition in the matter of confirmation."

**courts.**

The following verdicts have been awarded colored men and women suing for damages recently: $25,000 to Richard Thorne, of Seattle, Wash., who was paralyzed by being crushed in an elevator pit; $15,000 to Mrs. E. F. Sport, who was thrown from a Boston elevated train and severely injured; $1,693 to Mrs. Maggie Robinson, of Chicago, for injuries received when thrown from a street car two years ago; $2,000 to George T. Williams, a former Pullman porter, for malicious prosecution by the Pullman Company; $9,000 for the death of Albert Foster, resulting from an accident which occurred on the steamship "Amatonga," at the Jersey City Central Railroad docks in 1909. The case was taken up by attorney A. C. Cowan, and since his death has been finished by Mrs. Cowan, who is also a lawyer.

The settlement of two cases which came up recently in the Topeka (Kan.) courts are striking contrasts. A white man, Mark Williams, was sentenced to a few months in the State reformatory, on direct evidence, for the murder of a colored man. A colored man, Bryant, was given life imprisonment in the penitentiary, on circumstantial evidence, for the murder of a white man. The two convicted men are considered equally bad characters.

Indictments were returned in the circuit court of Hopkinsville, Ky., against the Louisville and Nashville, Illinois Central and Tennessee Central Railroads, for unequal accommodations for white and colored passengers. Under the State separate-coach law such discrimination is a misdemeanor, to be punished by a fine of not less than $500 and not more than $1,500 for each offense. The return of the indictments was secured by two colored lawyers, a white newspaper editor and a white ex-judge.

**FOREIGN.**

R. A. A. Kennedy, a colored man, has been appointed by the governor inspector in the public schools of Jamaica.

Britons are fearing that serious trouble in Abyssinia will result from the death of Emperor Menelik. Bandit tribes are threatening the central government and war over succession to the throne is feared. Prince Lidj Yassu is said to be preparing to crown himself emperor.

Sir Frederick Lugard was appointed governor of the United Nigeria at the beginning of the year. This section of the country has a population of 17,000,000 and is a consolidation of Lagos, Southern and Northern Nigeria and the Niger coast protectorate.

Dr. Schnee, the governor of German East Africa, has sent in a brief defending slavery for the colonies, so that German planters may be sure of laborers. The population is said to be decreasing alarmingly under the slave régime.

A man was hanged in Bermuda recently and this was the first hanging in thirty-three years. The colony is singularly free from crime; there are scarcely more than a score of cases yearly and a speedy trial is always given. Bermuda has a population of 20,000, two-thirds of which is colored.

An African trading company—the African Union Company—has been incorporated under the laws of the State of New York for the purpose of shipping mahogany to American, English and German markets.
The Japanese and Chinese people in Vancouver, B. C., are making great progress economically. The Japanese have just opened a $100,000 four-story building. The main floor is occupied by a Japanese bank.

Dr. J. E. Barnes, recently minister of public works in Liberia, is in this country for the purpose of raising $250,000 for a school. He says that the educational facilities in Liberia are very poor.

THE GHETTO.

A DISTURBANCE in a London club recently resulted from objections made by American women to the presence of Negroes in the club. The women threw glasses and bottles around and had to be put out of the club.

Residents of a certain block in St. Louis are protesting and attempting to compel colored families to move out of the neighborhood. The house is owned by B. F. Yoakum, who occupies one part of it and rents the other to Arthur Freeman, principal of the Wheatley School for Negroes. The owner refuses to sell below a price which the white neighbors say is too high.

The home of Prof. W. C. Chance, president of Parmele Industrial Institute, at Parmele, N. C., was dynamited. He escaped injury, but considerable damage was done to the house. The offenders are not known.

After much difficulty and opposition from white residents, Baton Rouge, La., was finally decided upon for the location of Southern University, formerly situated in New Orleans. Thirty-six white men protested to the governor and requested that the board rescind its action. The governor refused to allow this, however, stating that the government appropriations were already in jeopardy because of the delay in choosing a site for the school.

A well-known colored citizen of Sacramento, Cal., Mr. B. A. Johnson, when solicited to aid in the erection of a Y. M. C. A. building, contributed $25. Later his grandson attempted to join the association and was informed that the Negro race would not be admitted to membership. This ruling has been indorsed by the superior officers of the association.

$25,000 has been appropriated by the municipal authorities of Lexington, Ky., for a public park for colored people.

Miss Madeline Davis, a young colored woman of Philadelphia, went into a moving-picture theatre and refused to sit in the rear where the usher ordered her. He attempted to force her into a rear seat, although there were vacant seats in front and the prices were all the same, and when she resisted she was arrested. The next morning she was dismissed by the magistrate who ruled that managers had no right to say where patrons would sit in unreserved sections. A case against the management for assault and battery is being prepared.

The colored maids who were formerly employed at diplomatic White House receptions have been replaced by white girls.

Trinity Vestry, in New York City, is making arrangements to provide a separate place of worship for the colored members. At present all worship at the same place.

CRIME.

The following Negroes have been lynched since the last report:

At Alpine, Tex., a man giving the name Morgan was riddled with bullets by a posse for assault upon a sheriff with intent to kill. At Fayette, Mo., Dallas Shields was lynched by a mob of 250 in the courthouse yard, charged with the murder of a constable. Near Franklin, Tex., William Williams, charged with wounding a white man, was lynched by neighbors of the wounded man; the white man is not thought to be fatally wounded. At Clifton, Ala., Charles Young was lynched on the charge of assaulting a white woman. At Inverness, Miss., an unidentified man, charged with murdering Sam Lusco, an Italian, was lynched. At Wagoner, Okla., Marie Scott, charged with the murder of a white man, was lynched. At Hastings, Col., James Johnson was killed by a posse for wounding a white officer.

Charles Fisher, a Negro youth, accused of kissing a white girl, was badly mutilated by a mob of white ruffians. His ears were cut off and his lips slit. It is said that he will live.

Ora Griffin, a colored girl, was shot and seriously wounded by Charles Kullock, a white man, at Cincinnati, O.
AN ADMINISTRATOR.

JOHN HOPE was born in Augusta, Ga., June 2, 1868. He was a member of a large family, and in his earlier years was forced to exemplify the principle of self-help. Inspired to seek the best educational opportunities, however, he went to New England for a season of study. He finished the course at Worcester Academy in 1890, and in 1894 was graduated from Brown, with the distinction of being class orator. Returning to the South, Mr. Hope taught at Roger Williams University until 1898, when he was called to Atlanta Baptist College, now Morehouse College, the institution with which his name has become inseparably connected. Until 1906 he served as professor of Latin and Greek; since that time he has been president. Mr. Hope's most signal achievement as president of Morehouse has been to bring the college into close touch with the life of Atlanta. He himself is identified with almost every movement in the city for the advancement of the Negro; and educators throughout the country point with pride to his successful administration as a distinct achievement of the race in the handling of important enterprises.

HON. HENRY A. RUCKER.

HENRY A. RUCKER was born in Washington, Ga., November 14, 1852. His early education was very irregular, as he was dependent very largely on his own efforts for support. He spent some time in the public schools of Atlanta, however, and
THE CRISIS

managed to make his way through the sophomore year at Atlanta University. He soon became interested in politics and in civic betterment. He was especially active in Atlanta in 1890, when the municipal offices of the city were confused, when taxes were exorbitant, and when an effort was being made to nominate a reform ticket. Mr. Rucker led in the introduction of a measure for the reduction of the rate of taxation from one and one-half to one and one-fourth per cent.; and this change has worked greatly for the advancement of the city's credit. Mr. Rucker has several times been a delegate to national Republican conventions. At the St. Louis convention of 1896, as a delegate-at-large from the State of Georgia, he introduced a resolution condemning lynching and mob violence, which became a plank in the platform on which McKinley was elected. After the inauguration of President McKinley, Mr. Rucker was appointed collector of internal revenue for the State of Georgia. He served under three different Presidents for a total of thirteen years, and his office was always rated A1. He is now engaged in handling real estate.

A BUSINESS MAN.

ALONZO F. HERNDON was born, of slave parentage, on a Walton County (Ga.) farm, June 26, 1858. In his earlier years he was able to spend in school only a total of twelve months, scattered over a period of ten years. For several years he was hired out, with his mother, as a farm hand. In 1877, at the age of 21, he left farm life and became a journeyman barber. He worked at Jonesboro, Ga., Rome, Ga., and at Chattanooga, Tenn., and finally came to Atlanta. To-day he owns and controls three modern sanitary establishments, one of these places being one of the finest shops in the world, being located on Peachtree Street, in the heart of the business district of Atlanta. Mr. Herndon also owns and rents a hundred different houses. He is Atlanta's leading business man of the race. He is a stockholder in the Southview Cemetery, the Atlanta Loan and Trust Co., the Gate City Drug Store, the savings bank, the Majestic Theatre, in most of which enterprises he is the majority holder; he is the founder and president of the Atlanta Mutual Insurance Association, the treasurer of the Standard Life Insurance Co., a trustee of the First Congregational Church, a trustee of the Leonard Street Orphanage and a member of the Monday Club. Mr. Herndon's magnificent $40,000 residence is one of the most noteworthy objects in Atlanta.

THE GRAND OLD MAN.

WILLIAM H. CROGMAN was born in the West Indies, May 15, 1841, and when still a boy he went to sea. For eleven years he followed this life. At length, impelled to get an education, at the age of 25 he began to save money for this purpose, and two years later he entered Pierce Academy in Middleboro, Mass. In two years he completed his work in the academy, and he then taught for three years in South Carolina. In the fall of 1873 he entered Atlanta University, from which institution he was graduated in 1876. About the time of his graduation in 1876 there was established in South Atlanta Clark University, and Mr. Crogman was called to a position on the faculty of this institution. He became professor of Latin and Greek, and later, for seven years (1903-1910), served as president. His record of thirty-
eight years of continuous service at Clark is, perhaps, without a parallel in the history of Negro education. Professor Crogman is the author of several works, notably "The Colored American," "The Progress of a Race" and "Talks for the Times." With his scholarship, his earnestness and his quiet dignity, he is an honor not only to his college, but to the entire race as well.

AN INTERNAL REVENUE COLLECTOR.

It is fortunate that Mr. Charles W. Anderson, the colored internal revenue collector, who was appointed by President Roosevelt and continued through the Taft administration, is still holding office in the trying first months of the income tax. Mr. Anderson is considered the best-informed man on the income tax in the government's employ. As soon as Congress began to discuss the subject, and long before it was passed, he began to read everything obtainable on this form of taxation and he also read every congressional discussion of it.

It was through Mr. Anderson's thorough knowledge of the law that he has been able to carry on the intricate work of collecting the tax with no serious and expensive errors. The added expense in salaries did not exceed $200 a month. Chieflly women were employed because of their tact and patience in answering the thousands of questions asked. Secretary McAdoo suggested the employment of a $25,000-a-year lawyer to deal with the income tax, but this proved unnecessary, as Mr. Anderson himself is entirely familiar with the law. A large number of the letters which he received containing questions came from lawyers. More than sixty of the articles in Regulations No. 33, issued by the Treasury Department, are suggestions submitted to the department by Mr. Anderson.

Through his efforts the first collection of income tax in New York was carried on most efficiently and without the usual expense and confusion in such a case.

Mr. Anderson was born in Ohio in 1866. The first public office which he held was that of United States gauger. Later he was appointed as private secretary to the State treasurer of New York, and after two years was promoted to the position of chief clerk in the State treasury. Following this Mr. Anderson held office of supervisor of racing accounts.
NEGRO ART.

"T"he time has passed," says the Boston Transcript, "when learned critics cry out upon ragtime. The time is here when they 'study' it, and seriously announce that it demands consideration as a genuine art form. The rag-tag rabble knew that long ago, though they didn't necessarily say so in print. Helmholtz (or was it Professor James?) said that every truth passes through three stages. First, people say it is absurd. Then they say it is contrary to religion. Then they say that everybody knew it all along. Ethically, ragtime is now in the second stage. Musically it has almost reached the third. When critics cease to 'study' it, and accept it naturally, as the rag-tag rabble did long ago, it will have attained its majority."

The truth of this has been illustrated by the third annual concert of the Colored Music School Settlement of New York. The Outlook says:

"It is doubtful whether during the whole year any other concert is given in New York City which would appeal to so wide a variety of musical taste as this did—and appeal strongly, too—from the taste that is wholly pleased and satisfied by ragtime to the taste that finds delight in the artistic use of musical material. * * *

"In the history of musical art this concert was highly significant. It not only marked the emergence of the Negro race into a land of musical freedom; but, what is most significant, it proved that this race could bring into this free domain its rich racial treasures. * * *

"Most significant of all, however, was the work of Will Marion Cook. This accomplished Negro composer, who has studied in Germany as well as in this country, has done a very great service to the art of music. No one who has heard the real untutored singing of Negroes in the heart of the South—whether by congregations in the churches or by groups of laborers in the open air—can ever again be satisfied with the Negro singing that one commonly hears from Negro choruses performing in public, in which all the Negro characteristics of rhythm and tone have been conventionalized. It seemed as if all that would survive in art of Negro music would be this pale reflection. Dvorak used Negro, or negroid, themes; but all the jump had gone out of them. Coleridge-Taylor, the Negro composer of England, used Negro themes somewhat; but he used them as a white man might have done. Will Marion Cook uses them, and he uses them as only a Negro uses them. And, what is more, he has instructed the Afro-American Folk-song Singers to sing with that indefinable manner in rhythm and tone that takes one right into the midst of the black belt. It is a great artistic triumph.

"All honor to these Negro musicians who are proud of their race; all honor to David Mannes, the white musician who has repaid his debt to his colored teacher by giving Negroes a chance to be musicians through the establishment of the Music School Settlement for Colored People."

The musical critic of the New York Times says:

"The subject of Negro music is receiving a good deal of attention nowadays in various directions among people not of the race, for which reason the music presented last night was all the more interesting. All that part of it which related to singing was well performed and forced serious consideration. The orchestral work was perhaps a step far outside the natural genius of the race for as fortunate results, but at least it demonstrated that painstaking attention is being given to this branch of musical development."
The Evening Post declares that:

“The contribution of Negro singers and writers to American music has been a notable one, and every effort made to develop this great talent of the race deserves the widest support from all interested in musical art. There are few as musically interesting entertainments in the course of a New York season.”

The New York Evening Journal, in an editorial on the evening of the concert, said:

“Concerning the Negro and the problem that he represents for himself and for others in this country, there are probably as many opinions as there are colored men, women and children.

“But nobody, surely, questions the advisability of helping the Negro race to develop and use its very great and natural talent for music.

“Of all the races in this country, the Negro alone has developed an actual school of American music. All that we have, except Negro melody, is imitation.

“The Negroes have given us the only music of our own that is American—national, original and real.”

Musical America, while commending the concert, has this criticism:

“If the Negro Symphony Orchestra will give its attention during the coming year to a movement or two of a Haydn symphony and play it at its next concert, and if the composers, who this year took obvious pleasure in conducting their marches, tangos and waltzes, will write short movements for orchestra, basing them on classic models, next year’s concert will inaugurate a new era for the Negro musician in New York and will aid him in being appraised at his full value and in being taken seriously. It is impossible to applaud in Carnegie Hall his imitations of the vulgar dance music of Broadway originated by the tone poets of Tin Pan Alley.”

Mr. James Reese Europe, who led the orchestra, said in an interview:

“No, the great improvements in higher education for the Negro have not developed music as you might think. The schools and colleges for the Negro are all of an industrial character. The artistic side has naturally been neglected as of less importance. That is our great difficulty. The people of my race who love music must train themselves. Strictly speaking, I had no musical education myself.”

“The American Art Association of Paris,” says the Paris Herald, “held a large reception in the clubrooms, 4 Rue Joseph Bara, to open its annual exhibition of members’ work. The principal interest, perhaps, centers in a canvas called ‘Fishermen,’ by H. O. Tanner.”

Paul Rebxoux, poet, novelist, dramatist, lecturer, president of the Association des Critiques Littéraires, and successor of Catulle Mendès as literary critic of Le Journal; and Madame Léone Georges Rebxoux, his wife, painter and decorative artist, exhibitor at the annual salon of La Comédie Humaine, and exhibitor and member of the jury of the Salon des Dessinateurs Humoristes, are coming to America.

The Boston Transcript says that:

“The objective point of his trip is New Orleans, where he counts upon getting local color for a novel of Negro life, to be entitled ‘Romulus Couéou.’ ‘I want,’ he said, ‘to describe the sufferings of a poor creature, despised, on the one hand, by the whites, to whom he is inferior, and envied, on the other hand, by his fellow blacks, to whom he possesses certain points of superiority. This atrocious social dilemma, which I have reason to believe frequent, is familiar to Americans. But for us French it is a new psychological situation. My Negro will be in love with a French girl. I shall describe several types of the old French families that persist in Louisiana and also a family of black launderers, the family of the unlucky Romulus. I hope to discover the elements of a documentation highly picturesque and alternately ludicrous and moving.’”

A TEMPEST IN A TEAPOT.

THE criticism of some colored papers in the March Crisis has had a characteristic aftermath. A large number of colored editors have insisted upon being personally insulted and have ascribed the lowest and meanest motives for this “attack.” As a matter of fact, here as in so many other cases THE CRISIS has but frankly voiced current criticism and the personality of the editor has little to do with it. Leaving out the papers which are merely hysterical or abusive, we note the reply of the Richmond Planet, which has for years been character-
ized by thoughtful editorials. The Planet says:

“The editor of a weekly journal seldom has time to read his manuscript over before it goes to the compositor. He is editor, manager, collector and the ‘much sought after man’ at entertainments. Last, but not least, he is the paymaster or treasurer of the business enterprise, with no money in hand to pay and himself the last employee on the payroll.”

St. Luke’s Herald says:

“Of course Dr. Du Bois knows there are some 300 or more Negro publications in this country, and when he charges that all save ‘the Guardian, the Cleveland Gazette and one or two colored papers’ are purchasable and do not stand up for freedom and justice, we fear that the doctor has made a statement that is by far too sweeping and too exaggerated.

“It may be that many of us do not present the facts, save in a partial and incomplete way; it may be that some of us neither think, speak nor write English; we pass these by as neither grave nor very serious when all things are considered. But to charge that the Negro press, save three or four papers, is venal, purchasable, unreliable, failing in strong, staunch advocacy of freedom and justice for the Negro, is monstrous.”

It is monstrous so far as St. Luke’s Herald is concerned, which is one of the few delightfully outspoken colored papers and which if it voiced its own criticism of the colored press would probably have been much more severe than The Crisis has been. We have much sympathy with the letter of T. Thomas Fortune. With all Mr. Fortune’s faults, he is practically the founder of present-day journalism:

“The Afro-American editors have made more sacrifices for principle during the past thirty-five years than any other professional group of the race. They have done more to help our leaders, from Douglass and Langston to Washington and Du Bois, than they have done to help them; and when leaders have been ungrateful to them and got in a false position with regard to the best interests of the race, the editors have been patient with them and covered them up with the garment of charity for the race’s sake. When the leaders have themselves become editors they have frequently forgotten the bridges that helped them over when they came into a good inheritance in the kingdom, as Dr. Du Bois has done, and others.”

Outside of these few comments there has been little real argument, and the Charleston (W. Va.) Advocate says:

“The Advocate holds no brief for The Crisis, still it cannot refrain from calling the attention of those editors who are resenting a statement which appeared in that magazine to the fact that much of their argument is illogical in the extreme.

“The Crisis stated that a very limited number of Negro newspapers have any principle, and but few of their editors know how to use the king’s English. * * *

“Our indignant contemporaries would appear in a better light if, feeling themselves maligned, they would either keep their mouths shut or else speak to the question at issue. There is danger of their protesting o’er much, which would create the suspicion that maybe the doctor was right after all.”

The Denver Star says:

“While we know the criticism which has been so generally noticed by all the leading journals of color stings, we think that its wholesome effect toward the improvement of journalism will follow, yet the Star believes that papers in his list are exceptions. That is our opinion. If the cause which Dr. Du Bois represents is so just, humane and attractive, that the Jew, Jap, beggar, millionaire, young and old are interested deeply enough to give their hard-earned cash to perpetuate and develop such ennobling principles, why blame Dr. Du Bois for the assistance he receives? It is not he (personally) that attracts, but it is the just cause he represents. Then why fight the man personally and not his cause? We know, as well as our fellow journalists, what it means to get out a publication regularly and punctually and that it is no child’s play. Dr. Du Bois knows this and because of this knowledge he suggests and sets a high standard, and by so doing he has raised a tempest among our editors of color.”

This echoed by a white paper, the Utica Press:

“The New York Age, a newspaper for the Negro, is concerned over the charge made by Dr. Du Bois, himself a Negro, that the newspapers published by his race are careless in the use of the English language, unreliable in presenting facts about the
Negro, and that some have betrayed the race to the enemy for cash. Other editors of Negro papers are up in arms over the allegations of Dr. Du Bois, who is referred to as an Ishmael and traitor to his race. Perhaps the statement made by Dr. Du Bois will turn out a blessing in disguise, for it may be the means of improving the Negro papers and inciting their editors to better attempts.

**ROTTEN BOROUGHS.**

S. H. GLESY has written a long letter to the chairman of the Republican national committee:

“In the House and Electoral College the votes which represent the suppressed voters of the South count in the choice of President and the making of laws; a reorganization of the Republican party which would condone the iniquity of 1,000 men in the South having as much voice in Congress and the Electoral College as 11,000 men in the North, by denying the suppressed Southern voters even representation in a Republican convention, would be tearing down the standard raised by Lincoln of a government ‘of the people, by the people, for the people.’

“If Senator Cummins desires to remedy the inequality of which he complains, he better start at its source and enforce section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and reduce the representation of the South in the House and Electoral College.

“By common consent the question of Southern representation in the Republican convention of 1916 is the only question to be referred to the Republican convention of 1914. But will the settlement of this question one way or the other close the breach between the Progressives and the Republicans? In the Progressive convention at Chicago they had one delegate for each Representative and Senator in Congress. The reduction of Southern representation was no part of their program. * * *

“Former Senator Beveridge, in a speech at New Orleans before the Southern Progressive convention, in urging the South to affiliate with the Progressive party, made no suggestion of reduction of Southern representation as a tenet of Progressive faith. Possibly he knew he would not get any recruits for the Progressive party in the South by any such suggestion, as the South never has objected to voting for the Negro, but only to having the Negro vote for himself.”

Meantime the double disfranchisement of the white primary proceeds in the South. Every Evening, of Wilmington (Del.), says:

“In response to the somewhat surprising contention of the Morning News that the restriction, by the rules of the Democratic party of Kent County, of voting at Democratic primaries to ‘white male citizens’ is something new in this State, the Dover Index points to the rules of the Democratic party of New Castle County, which contain the same restriction. These rules were adopted May 10, 1910, but are a substitute for rules previously operative which had contained the same provision. In fact, the written rules of the Democratic party of New Castle County, originally adopted in 1876 and subsequently amended to accord with the primary election law following its enactment in 1889, declared from the first that only white male citizens should vote at Democratic primaries, and no popular primary in New Castle County—established for the nomination of candidates for sheriff and coroner nearly three-quarters of a century ago—was open to Negroes, even after the latter were clothed with the privilege of franchise.”

The Charlotte Observer declares that:

“The insertion of the words ‘white Democrats’ in the requirements to participate in the coming county Democratic primary is simply a public expression of the unwritten law in Southern Democratic circles. Herefore the colored members of the party have had the privilege of taking part in the party primaries, but they have, as a rule, declined to do so, realizing that they were not wanted.”

**THE ‘DECLINE’ OF LYNCHING.**

THE season of rejoicing at the decline of lynching in the United States has been rather long drawn out this year and quite vociferous. Naturally it has been led by the Bourbon Outlook. The Outlook admits to having heard that the editor of The Crisis claims that seventy-five of his people were hanged by mobs in 1913,” but the Outlook waves this little discrepancy aside with slight attention because, “as Dr. Du Bois has accepted as authoritative the Chicago
Tribune's figures for the years prior to 1913, his statistics for that year can hardly be admitted for purposes of comparison."

This naturally settles the matter and we are simply appending two personal communications; one from a minister in the South who bears a name known with honor throughout the world. He says:

"A Negro 'assaulted' a white man Saturday, January 3, at Monticello, Jasper County, Ga. In other words, the black and the white man had a fight and the white individual got the worst of it. In retaliation the friends of the white man carried the Negro about a mile out of town and brutally beat and kicked him. The affair was ended by hanging him. But, strange to say, not one word of this happening has appeared in any paper. The Atlanta papers failed to publish any reference to it."

To this we add some details of the little affair in Leland, Miss.: "The news spread like wildfire and in twenty minutes the entire white population was armed and headed for the cabin which was situated about a half mile from the depot, which is in the center of the town. I looked in every direction and could see men and mere boys, some not over 12 years old, carrying rifles, shotguns, pistols and, in fact, every imaginable thing that would shoot. They were acting as though there was an entire army of Negroes to be taken. The man who had killed the officer submitted to arrest by the mob, which by this time numbered about 400. Placing a rope around his neck he was led to the center of the town and in the presence of women and children they proceeded to hold a conference as to the kind of death that should be meted out to him. Some yelled to hang him; some to burn him alive. It was decided in a few minutes. Willing hands brought a large dry-goods box, placed it in the center of the street; in it was straw on which was poured a tub of oil; then the man was lifted with a rope around his neck and placed in this box head down, and then another tub of oil was poured over him. A man from the crowd deliberately lit a match and set fire to the living man. While in this position the flames shot up at great height. The crowd began to yell as the flames shot upward. In an instant the poor creature managed to lift himself out of the box, a mass of flames. He was fighting the flames with his hands in an effort to shield his face and eyes, and in this condition attempted to run. The crowd allowed him to run to the length of the rope, which was held by willing hands, until he reached a distance of about twenty feet; then a yell went up from the crowd to shoot. In an instant there were several hundred shots and the creature fell in his tracks. The crowd deliberately walked up to the prostrate form and shot the remainder of their guns into his lifeless body. With the flames still leaping into the air, he was pulled back into the fire that was now roaring with boxes and oil brought out of the different stores by men and boys. Every time they would throw on more oil and boxes the crowd would yell as though they were at a bull fight. Standing about fifty or seventy-five feet from the scene I could actually smell the flesh of the poor man as it was being burned. Not a voice was raised in the defense of the man. No one attempted to hide their identity. I looked into the faces of men whom I knew to be officers of the town lending a willing hand in the burning of this man. No wonder the coroner who held the inquest returned a verdict that the Negro came to his death "at the hands of an enraged mob unknown to the jury," because to get a jury in that town they had to get some who participated in the burning. I can never feel toward the white man as I have felt after seeing what I have attempted to describe. After burning the body into ashes the burned bones and ashes were buried in the edge of the street in front of a colored barber shop.

"May God forbid that any other living man will ever see a sight as I witnessed; this is the third Negro who has been killed in this vicinity in the last three weeks. The man burned was named Sam Pettie, known by everybody to be quiet and inoffensive. I write this hoping you may get enough out of what I have attempted to describe. After burning the body into ashes the burned bones and ashes were buried in the edge of the street in front of a colored barber shop.

"May God forbid that any other living man will ever see a sight as I witnessed; this is the third Negro who has been killed in this vicinity in the last three weeks. The man burned was named Sam Pettie, known by everybody to be quiet and inoffensive. I write this hoping you may get enough out of what I have tried to describe to tell your great number of readers what we are up against. To mention my name in connection with this would be equivalent to committing suicide."

The New York Sun said of the most recent diversion in Oklahoma, when the chivalry of the white South lynched a woman:

"She made no disturbance. She died quietly. Quietly the executioners dispersed."
The whole affair ‘went off’ with a tranquil propriety that must be a source of pride to the posse of hangmen, the town, the county, the State—a State which rejoices in all the most modern constitutional improvements.

“No warrants have been issued,” says a dispatch; ‘and public sentiment is with the mob.’ It seems that the sentences of certain Negroes of the county convicted of murder were commuted by the governor. Therefore public opinion approves the murder of this Negress. She is punished illegally because some men of her color have not been punished to the extent of the law.

“A noble, pure Caucasian sentiment is strong in Oklahoma. This execution by mob initiative and referendum should be a warning to the blacks.”

Life is afraid that if it is true that lynchings have decreased, it is a bad sign and asks: “Can it be possible that we are growing sentimental?”

**SIX WOMEN.**

Speaking of lynching and the like, these little bits come to us this month, all worth noting. In California our attention is drawn to Los Angeles and Marysville. A young colored man kissed a white girl in Los Angeles, apparently against her will, and also robbed her of 10 cents. Judge Willis, of the Supreme Court, sentenced him to thirty years in jail. Just about a month before that two of the Marysville rioters had been sentenced to prison. In that riot which occurred August 3, 1913, the deputy sheriff started to shoot a Swedish working girl. Inez Haynes Gilmore tells the rest of the story in Harper's Weekly:

> “Then occurred the splendid episode of the Porto Rican.

> This nameless hero of the hop pickers was a gigantic brown Negro. Nobody knows anything about him. It is likely that all we shall ever know is the magnificent revolt of the last fifteen seconds of his life. In that quarter of a minute, however, he flared to blood-red prominence. When Reardon pointed his gun at the Swedish girl's head the Porto Rican became a whirlwind. He grappled with Reardon, tore the club from his hand, cracked him over the head, seized Reardon's gun, shot him dead, swung about, shot District Attorney Manwell dead, and the next instant himself dropped dead from a charge of buckshot from Deputy Sheriff Daken's gun.”

La Follette's publishes this little story:

> “My, but the day was warm! and the flight of stairs leading to the elevated station was long.

> “I was going down, which was easy. I met her, coming up.

> “She was a young colored woman, of thirty or thereabout. She had a year-old baby in her arms, and a child of two or two and a half was bravely trying to climb the stairs alone. And finding it very hard.

> “It was one of those warm days in early spring, when one still wore his winter clothes. The little child wore a heavy coat and cap.

> “The mother tried to help her, but was herself already overburdened. She carried not only the babe in her arms, but one yet unborn.

> “I met them about half way up.

> “My babies had always resented the assistance of strangers, and I felt that the little girl might resent my help. I, however, took the chance of it and, picking her up, carried her to the top of the stairs. Fortunately she did not protest, but accepted the help, quite as a matter of course.

> “But the mother nearly broke my heart—for with tears in her eyes she thanked and blessed me.

> “It was not simply that I had carried her baby up a flight of stairs. It was that I, a white woman, had carried her black baby girl!

> “I knew it was that which brought the tears and the overwhelming gratitude.

> “The pity of it!

> “Neither of us responsible for our color!”

And in the same paper Mary Autin, the wonderful immigrant girl, is quoted as saying:

> “When my little girl sits next to the little boy whose mother works in a factory all day and her lad uses language he learns on the street and my little girl asks me why he uses such language, it offers me the opportunity to give her the first insight into wrong social conditions, which can only be learned by real contact and experience. When she comes home and tells me of the gibes aimed at a little colored girl in the school, I seize the chance to teach her the inhumanity of such discrimination.”

> “A good Negro is never a problem,” says the Rev. Frederick E. Taylor, of Indian-
woman stepped out and threatened to kill Peace. The men thought she was drunk or full of 'dope' and laughed at her. Suddenly she sprang upon Peace and with one swift stroke drove the keen blade of a knife into his heart. With a scream he sank to the ground and expired.

"Just a short while before, Peace’s father, who is a farmer living near Wagoner, had seen his son and told him that it was about time to go home. He had not gone far enough after that warning to be out of hearing when the murder occurred and he heard his son’s death cry.

"While it was not generally known, it has developed since the murder that Peace had a young wife here in Wagoner and that they had been married several months.

"The mob is supposed to have been organized in the country near Wagoner where Peace’s father lives, and was joined by men in Wagoner when it arrived. The Negro woman did not utter a cry when the mob reached her or any other time, the jailer says; but she fought the mob viciously after she had been taken out of the jail. There is a deep dent in her skull where, apparently, some member of the mob struck her over the head with a six-shooter, but this was the only mark of violence on her body aside from that made by ropes."

A local white paper is forced to remark editorially:

"We shall not say or intimate anything ill of the dead, in the absence of knowledge, especially, but it is significant that the press reports are silent as to the provocation, if any, the Negress received from her victim. If she thus resented an attempt upon her chastity she but exercised her right."

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FROM A NORTHERN WHITE WOMAN.

Mrs. Edward L. Buckley’s subscription to The Crisis expires in . Will you kindly discontinue sending it after this date? To my understanding its influence is inflammatory and in that way far from beneficial to the race.

FROM A SOUTHERN WHITE MAN.

I had The Crisis for a little and may take it again. I think your side of the problem ought to be heard even by Southern white men. I believe you will get a lot of subscribers if you try among them. Thank you for the opportunity.

East Lake, Tenn. H. E. Partridge.
A QUESTION OF POLICY.

The Editor of The Crisis:

I wish the best success of your cause. May I therefore call your attention and that of your readers to certain rather characteristic points in your interesting Easter number of the magazine, in which I suspect that you tend to defeat your main purpose? First, I doubt whether your judgment of the late Mr. Robert C. Ogden was fair. If he did not admire "a self-conscious" Negro, he did not like self-consciousness in anyone. The ideal type of man, black or white, is not thinking about himself. Granting, however, that you put your finger on a certain limitation in Mr. Ogden's democracy, my point is that we ought to give "the benefit of the doubt" to the men of Mr. Ogden's type. If they are not the best friends of the most progressive movement, still let us claim them heartily as friends. Otherwise we tend to halt the procession. To claim them as friends tends to move such men our way. For what end do we talk if not to persuade? To persuade those who agree with us? That is cheap work. We want to persuade those who are on the fence, hesitating whether to come further.

Secondly, what you say of capitalizing the word Negro strikes me again as characteristic of the same attitude (shall I say it?) of carrying a chip on the shoulder. For I must confess that, though brought up in the sturdiest old anti-slavery traditions, I was never taught to spell either Negro or white with a capital. I still object to spell "white" after this new convention, and yet I wish to treat my colored friends as well as I treat white people. I suspect that most people do not know this new style of capitalization, and are quite innocent of the intent to give offense.

Thirdly, I think you go off the line of useful persuasion and create needless antagonism in what you say on page 286 of Mr. Roosevelt's remark that "the best men in the United States believe in treating each man, of whatever color, absolutely on his worth," etc. You and I wish this to become true. Do you imagine that it is the slightest help to our purpose to denounce Mr. Roosevelt's statement as a "falsehood"? Why not better keep the fine sentence in print in every issue of The Crisis, till the colonel comes back from South America? The more people who are made to see this sentence the sooner the world will come to believe it, and act up to it. The oftener you call such a word false the slower you inevitably make human progress toward our ideal.

We wonder sometimes at educated people who seem never to have grappled with the philosophy of evolution! Is it possible that the management of The Crisis, a progressive paper, is still living in the period of dualism, and thinks that we civilize the world in proportion to the number of people whom we can stir up to feel ugly?

Finally, why do you hurt and spoil the touching effect of the story of lynch-
ing at Leland, Miss., by what seems a clear slur at President Wilson and President Eliot? Has either of them ever given encouragement to lynching? Here are ninety millions of people emerging from the barbarism of only a few generations ago. The wonder is that there is so little killing: the fact is that society is steadily setting its face against it. Please say every positive word you like to establish the manliness, the patience and the courage of your leaders. Please do the least possible to arouse resentment of bitterness, which is sure to react upon those who stir it. Please do more of what you are doing every month, to show the growth of a kindly good will among all kinds of people. For good will is the only irresistible power in the universe.

Respectfully your friend.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MR. DOLE.

We publish very gladly Mr. Dole's criticism of THE CRISIS, because of our deep respect for the writer and because he voices a real and vital disagreement with our policy which is continually, in one way or another, coming to expression. It is briefly this thesis: "Don't antagonize, don't be bitter: say the conciliatory thing: make friends and do not repel them: insist on and emphasize the cheerful and good and dwell as little as possible on wrong and evil."

The CRISIS does not believe in this policy so far as the present status of the American Negro problem is concerned. We could imagine many social problems, and many phases in a particular problem, when the watchful waiting, the tactfully conciliatory attitude would be commendable and worth while. At other times it would be suicidal and this, in our opinion, is one of the times. It was ever so. When the Hebrew prophets cried aloud there were respectable persons by the score who said: "Unfortunate exaggeration!" "Unnecessary feeling!" " Ungodly bitterness!"

Yet the jeremiads were needed to redeem a people. When the abolitionists began, not simply to say, but to act as if slavery were a "covenant with hell," there were plenty of timid souls "on the fence, hesitating," who scrambled down hastily on the popular side and were willing to lynch Garrison and ostracize Phillips.

All this might be beside the mark if we had not already tried Mr. Dole's prescriptions. For now nearly twenty years we have made of ourselves mudsills for the feet of this Western world. We have echoed and applauded every shameful accusation made against 10,000,000 victims of slavery. Did they call us inferior half-beasts? We nodded our simple heads and whispered: "We is." Did they call our women prostitutes and our children bastards? We smiled and cast a stone at the bruised breasts of our wives and daughters. Did they accuse of laziness 4,000,000 sweating, struggling laborers, half paid and cheated out of much of that? We shrieked: "Ain't it so?" We laughed with them at our color, we joked at our sad past, and we told chicken stories to get alms.

And what was the result? We got "friends." I do not believe any people ever had so many "friends" as the American Negro to-day! He has nothing but "friends" and may the good God deliver him from most of them, for they are like to lynch his soul.

What is it to be a friend of the Negro? It is to believe in anything for him except, perhaps, total and immediate annihilation. Short of that, good and kind friends of colored folk believe that he is, in Mr. Dooley's charming phrase, "aisily lynched," and ought to be occasionally. Even if 2,662 accused black people have been publicly lynched,
burned and mutilated in twenty-eight years (not to mention the murder of perhaps 10,000 other black folk), our friends think we ought not to disturb the good President of these United States because "the wonder is that there is so little killing!"

It is the old battle of the better and the best. The worst foes of Negro manhood to-day are those compromising friends who are willingly satisfied with even less than half a loaf. They want the Negro educated; but the South objects to Negro colleges. Oh, very well, then, high schools; but the South objects to "literary" training for "niggers!" Dear, dear! Then "industrial" training; but the South objects to training any considerable number of Negroes for industry; it wants them for menial service. Very well, train them as servants and field hands—anything as long as it is "education!" Then we and THE CRISIS rise and say: "But—" Our friends raise deprecating hands; they adjust the sofa pillows, shade the light, and say: "Now, now! Give them the benefit of the doubt!"

Or we clamor for the right to vote. "Of course you should vote," say our friends. "But," says the South, "they are too ignorant and inexperienced; we will vote for them." "Excellent," cry our friends, "vote for them and guard them in their civil rights." "What's this?" asks the South. "We mean their economic rights," say our friends glibly, "their right to work and get property." "Yes," answers the South calmly, "the right to work, and we'll work them." "But—" cries THE CRISIS and the black man who has been worked long enough. "Sh!" answer our friends. "You'll halt the procession!"

That's precisely what we intend to do. For twenty-five years we have let the procession go by until the systematic denial of manhood rights to black men in America is the crying disgrace of the century. We have wrongs, deep and bitter wrongs. There are local and individual exceptions; there are some mitigating circumstances; there is much to be excused; there is much to be said; and yet for the great mass of 10,000,000 Americans of Negro descent these things are true:

We are denied education.
We are driven out of the Church of Christ.
We are forced out of hotels, theatres and public places.
We are publicly labeled like dogs when we travel.
We can seldom get decent employment.
We are forced down to the lowest wage scale.
We pay the highest rent for the poorest homes.
We cannot buy property in decent neighborhoods.
We are held up to ridicule in the press and on the platform and stage.
We are disfranchised.
We are taxed without representation.
We are denied the right to choose our friends or to be chosen by them, but must publicly announce ourselves as social pariahs or be suggestively kicked by the Survey.
In law and custom our women have no rights which a white man is bound to respect.
We cannot get justice in the courts.
We are lynched with impunity.
We are publicly, continuously and shamefully insulted from the day of our birth to the day of our death.
And yet we are told not to be "self-conscious;" to lie about the truth in order to make it "come true;" to grapple with the "philosophy of evolution;" and not to make people "feel ugly" by telling them "ugly facts."

Few admire Mr. Dole, personally, more than the editor of THE CRISIS. Mr. Dole is the type of what the American of the future may be: fine in feeling, delicate in touch, sensitive to the subtle beauties of the world. But Mr. Dole's
feet never walked the way we tread. He
does not know—he cannot conceive this
darker world of insult, repression,
hunger and murder. He and Charles
William Eliot and Woodrow Wilson and
millions of others have given no encour-
gagement to lynching, except by silence!
Except by silence!
EXCEPT BY SILENCE!
Who ever tried harder than the Negro
and his "friends" to use the lie for
social betterment? We have lied about
the South so strenuously that this may
account for the persistent blackness of
our faces. Oh, yes: the South is the
true, tried friend of Negroes; the South
wants them educated; the South detests
lynching; the South loves black mam-
mies and buries them handsomely; the
little playful antics of mobs are but
ebullions of Anglo-Saxon energy or at
worst the faults of "poor white trash,"
who do not count. Moreover, those who
dispute these statements are either med-
ddling white Northerners or impudent
Negroes who want to marry white
women.
All of this we black folk and our
"friends" have been saying glibly and
frequently. We were lying, and we
knew we were lying, to make the "false-
hood come true:" but did the world
know this? Did we not lull this nation
to false security and fatuous insensi-
bility? And is the uneasiness of our
friends at the plain talk of The Crisis
the cause of ugly feeling or the neces-
sary result of ridiculous lies? How far
may we indeed meddle with the truth?
Where is the boundary line between
getting people "to come and believe"
what is untrue and telling them on your
honor that black is white? We have a
sincere desire to see a little brochure by
Mr. Dole—with hand-made paper, deckle
edged and privately printed—on "The
Uses of the Lie as a Means of Social
Salvation." We would like to distribute
a few copies in Heaven among Mr. Dole's
Puritan ancestors and listen to the
ensuing profanity.
It is the palpable evasions of our
friends, and our earnest friends like
Mr. Dole, that are most discouraging.
When we protest at the plain insult of
"negro," Mr. Dole answers that we do
not capitalize "white." But white is
not the correlative of Negro, as Mr.
Dole knows right well. "Black" and
"colored" are the correlatives to
"white," while Negro is used exactly
as the words Malay or German or Jew
or Indian are used. To refuse a word
so used capitalization is a petty and
usually a deliberate insult.
Humanity is progressing toward an
ideal; but not, please God, solely by
help of men who sit in cloistered ease,
hesitate from action and seek sweet-
ness and light; rather we progress to-
day, as in the past, by the soul-torn
strength of those who can never sit still
and silent while the disinfected and the
dammed clog our gutters and gasp their
lives out on our front porches. These
are the men who go down in the blood
and dust of battle. They say ugly things
to an ugly world. They spew the luke-
warm fence straddlers out of their
mouths, like God of old; they cry aloud
and spare not; they shout from the
housetops, and they make this world
so damned uncomfortable with its nasty
burden of evil that it tries to get good
and does get better.
Evolution is evolving the millennium,
but one of the unescapable factors in
evolution are the men who hate wicked-
ness and oppression with perfect hatred,
who will not equivocate, will not excuse,
and will be heard. With the sainted
spirits of such as these The Crisis
would weakly but earnestly stand and
cry in the world's four corners of the
way; and it claims no man as friend who
dare not stand and cry with it.
ATLANTA STRIVING

By

BENJ. GRIFFITH BRAWLEY

WITHIN the last two years Atlanta has offered a peculiar field for study, by those who are interested in the situation and the problems of the Negro in this country. Social conditions have been discussed as never before. Education, housing conditions, religious and moral questions have all been subjected to searching investigation; and from it all has resulted a healthier and saner spirit than the city has known in years.

We begin our review, however, with a distinct liability. A segregation ordinance was passed last summer. It is decidedly unpopular; nobody is inclined to press it very strongly; and, as has been the case with many similar measures, in course of time it will doubtless become less rather than more effective. At the same time the ordinance was passed, with all the hideousness of its "white blocks" and "colored blocks." However we may have advanced within the last year in Atlanta, we must remember that in this instance we lost.

The chief monument to the material advance of the Negro in Atlanta within the last year is the new Odd Fellows Building on Auburn Avenue. This sturdy structure, erected by the Odd Fellows of the State of Georgia, is on a $10,000 site. The building itself cost $115,000, and is elegantly appointed throughout. On the first floor there is space for six stores; the second and third floors hold three large rooms each; and the fourth, fifth and sixth stories are adapted for office use, each holding fourteen rooms. Merely to walk through this excellent building is to receive a new respect for Negro enterprise. But the Odd Fellows have gone further. Adjoining the office building, on a plot of ground 130x100 feet, and costing $53,000, is now in course of erection another building designed as an auditorium. In addition to the main auditorium, the building, which will cost $80,000, will contain eight stores and eighteen offices. All of this work of the Odd Fellows marks a new era in the material progress of the Negro in Atlanta.

The largest single enterprise that has worked for the bringing together of the Negroes of the city within the last two years is the effort for a new Y. M. C. A. building. The campaign for a $100,000 building for Negro young men was begun in February, 1911. Soon the Negro people of the city had subscribed as much as $53,000. The real work of the campaign came, of course, when the pledges began to be collected. Nothing could be finer than the undaunted faith with which a few stalwart souls have stood by their task in the face of all possible discouragement until gradually all classes have been infused with something of their spirit. On the night of Sunday, December 14, a magnificent audience of about 7,000 people of all denominations gathered in the
large auditorium-armory for a great demonstration. Among others the governor of the State spoke, and more and more the meeting took on the character of a great forum for the races. But not only on this occasion have men of prominence worked in behalf of the movement. From Sunday to Sunday, in mass meetings only less large, some of the foremost ministers and business men of the city have worked for the cause. One very busy man, Mr. W. Woods White, a white man of large insurance interests, has week after week done some of the hardest work of the campaign in the arduous tasks of long committee meetings. To-day the building seems assured. So far $15,000 has been collected from Negro people, one man, Mr. David T. Howard, an undertaker, contributing $1,000; and the campaign is still on.

Especially noteworthy was the Southern Sociological Congress, which assembled in Atlanta April 25 to 29, 1913. The congress, of which the session held in Atlanta was the second, conducted its first convention in Nashville in 1912. It is hardly too much to say that the whole movement which it represents means the inauguration of a new era in the history of the South. The thinking class of the South, represented by the teachers, the preachers and the social workers, is beginning to make itself heard. The whole emphasis of the conference was upon freedom of thought and speech, and the tone throughout was one of utmost fairness. Different sessions and committee meetings were held in different representative churches of the city, and the Negro was not only represented on the program, but also took a very active part in the discussions. Such large topics as public health, courts and prisons, child welfare, organized charities, race problems and the church were among those considered. Nearly a hundred men and women, drawn from the ranks of those who are to-day actively engaged in the solution of national problems, delivered principal addresses. Representative addresses that showed the scope and spirit of the conference were: "The Challenge of the South for a Better Nation," by President S. C. Mitchell, of the University of South Carolina; "The Convict Lease and the System of Contract Labor," by Mr. Hooper Alexander, a prominent Atlanta lawyer; "How to Enlist the Welfare Agencies of the South for the Improvement of Conditions Among the Negroes," by Dr. W. D. Weatherford, well known for his books dealing with the South and the Negro; and "The Social Program of the Church," by Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch, of Rochester Theological Seminary. The spirit of the whole congress was fairly summed up in the words of Mrs. J. D. Hammond, a white woman of Augusta, Ga.: "All the old foundations of human life are being tested, that only the unshakable may remain. Justice and opportunity for all—that is the new world cry. * * * As part of all humanity we share the race task, to widen the bounds of justice, to open the doors of opportunity for all, to blend our small lives with that great Power which makes for righteousness for all the races of men."

Another definite mark of progress is the probation officer for juvenile delinquents recently appointed. For two years there has been in Atlanta a special court for juvenile delinquents, evolved from the larger police system. Until very recently, however, there was no special provision for Negro boys and girls who may have become subject to the findings of the court. The matter has now been taken in hand by a committee composed of President Ware, of Atlanta University, chairman; President Hope, of Morehouse College; Mr. Philip Weltner, secretary of the prison commission and probation officer of the city of Atlanta; Mr. J. A. Bigham, associate professor of history and economics at Atlanta University, and Judge Tindall, of the juvenile court. On the basis of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, the committee has appointed as special probation officer for Negro juvenile delinquents Mr. G. W. Moore, a young man who was graduated at Morehouse College in 1912, who has since continued his studies in New York at Columbia, and who at the time of his appointment was teaching at Morehouse. Mr. Moore's duties are to investigate the home conditions of the boy or girl summoned to court; to make to the judge a recommendation that might either send the boy to a reformatory or place him on probation; to watch very carefully those delinquents who are on probation; and as far as possible to find in the neighborhood of the individual case some man who might in a general way act as "big brother" to the boy under consideration. Naturally enough one of the
first things that Mr. Moore found on taking up his work was that facilities for taking care of delinquents were altogether inadequate; there was not even a reformatory for Negro boys. It is pleasant to record, however, that a movement was already on foot for the alleviation of this situation, land for such a reformatory having been purchased not far from Atlanta; and there is hope that before very long Negro boys and girls who need correction will receive better care. In this general connection it may also be remarked that at the police station a matron for colored women, Mrs. Elizabeth Baldwin, has recently entered upon her duties. It is hard for one unfamiliar with conditions in Atlanta to believe that for so many years there has been at the police station no such officer as this. Even now the salary of one who should be officially employed by the city is paid by the joint effort of the Methodist Ministers' Union (colored), the Baptist Ministers' Union (colored) and the First Congregational Church. It may also be here remarked that the study of Negro crime to be conducted this year by the Atlanta conference under the auspices of Atlanta University will very largely be pursued in connection with the work of the committee mentioned above, Mr. Moore and Mr. Bigham together doing a good deal of the heavy work of the investigation.

Among the efforts of the Negroes of Atlanta within the last year along the line of co-operative work must be mentioned the public-school agitation of last summer. This came about very largely as a development of the work of the Neighborhood Union, of which Mrs. John Hope is the general head. This organization, begun in 1908, has developed until it now includes not only the parent branch, but also five other branches. The large purpose of the Neighborhood Union is to improve the social conditions of the city. Since it began its work it has provided a playground for children; has placed several children in homes; has obtained the use of public-school buildings for recreation schools during the summer vacation; has secured the services of four trained nurses for those who are not able to pay for treatment; has aided many needy families; has purchased on Lee Street a settlement house; and generally has improved the lighting and sanitary conditions in many localities. From this organization, which took the initiative, developed the social-improvement committee, which was intended to be of somewhat larger scope and which started the agitation for more and better schools. For years the conditions in the public schools of Atlanta have been deplorable. The Roach Street school has used regularly for first and second grade work a basement which necessitates artificial light on dark days and which is so damp as to injure the health of the children. In several schools the walls are in very bad condition. In some schools, notably the Houston Street school, the Mitchell Street school and the Pittsburg school, the sanitary appointments are so poor that not only is the health of students and teachers endangered, but every invitation is given to immorality. In South Atlanta there has been no school at all for Negro children, although in this section of the city there are hundreds of children whose fathers are taxpayers; and a fact that people in some parts of the country find difficult to comprehend is that in the whole State of Georgia there is no high school for Negro boys and girls. As a matter of fact, however, the greatest grievance has been that throughout the city, through the sixth grade, so-called "double sessions" have been in operation. A teacher handles one group of students in the morning hours and receives at noon another group. She thus frequently handles in the course of the day over a hundred students. The agitation over the public schools came late last summer when it was proposed in some quarters to do away with the seventh and eighth grades in the schools, and to substitute for these grades some industrial features. As a result of the agitation of the whole school situation, not only will the present grades be kept, with the real addition of the industrial features, but there is also promise of another school in the near future.

One of the results of the agitation of the sanitary conditions surrounding the life of the Negro in Atlanta has been the movement for a hospital for the treatment of the contagious diseases of Negro patients. The movement has not been prompted throughout by the highest motives of altruism, as the plea has been made largely on the basis of the protection of white people from infection from Negroes. Whatever the motive,
however, the result is a good one. Already a temporary hospital is in operation; and the movement for a permanent hospital at an early date continues to gather force. Just a few hours before these lines were written the Rotary Club, composed of representative business men of Atlanta, appointed a committee to urge upon the mayor and the council the necessity of providing a permanent hospital in Atlanta for the care of colored people suffering with contagious diseases.

Such are but some of the things which have interested the people of Atlanta within the last year. There are other things, of course. The Standard Life Insurance Company has been placed on a firm basis; and the readers of THE CRISIS will remember the full account of the organization given by Mr. Pace in the January number. The Gate City Free Kindergarten has also continued its beneficent work. Here and there, too, one may observe a change of sentiment. Said Miss Isma Dooly, a member of the regular staff of the Atlanta Constitution, in the issue for February 1: "I have often noticed, with chagrin, that there is a large element of so-called Christian people in the community who cry down any practical effort to help the poorer, more needy element of the colored population. Though the issue may be along the line of better housing, somebody will refer to the seven institutions around the city for the higher education of the Negro. Atlanta is not called upon to support any of these institutions. It is done by the Negroes themselves and by outside people, and both these have a right to build any kind of institution they choose. If we do not like that education, we have a chance to put in the education we do prefer in the public schools for the Negro which we maintain—and that inadequately and badly, as pictures taken of actual conditions can prove."

Anyone reviewing the movements that have been enumerated is impressed by two facts. The first is that almost all of the movements touched upon are closely related. It has seemed impossible for one to be interested in any one of the things commented upon without being interested in all. The Y. M. C. A. committee turned aside in its meetings to the consideration of the Sociological Congress; the Neighborhood Union fostered the public-school agitation; and the Y. M. C. A. campaign has tended more than once to become a focus for a consideration of the whole Negro problem. The other thing to be noticed is the development of the spirit of co-operation among all those in the city, of any class or race whatsoever, who were interested in social progress. People who in most ways are as far apart as the poles have still found that there are some things on which they can meet their fellow men on common ground. The result of it all is that the Negro in Atlanta is having an intelligent and sympathetic study of his problems such as he has never had before.

NEW NEGRO HOMES IN ATLANTA.
THE sixth check for $500 received on March 10 from the committee of fifty and more, of the District of Columbia branch, set this office in a reminiscent mood. It was recalled that during the past year we had been advised many times that a strong branch in the District of Columbia was an impossibility, as very few of the colored people were interested, and those who were would be unable to take an active part in a movement so radical because all held positions with the government or in the schools.

In March, 1913, the District of Columbia branch was permanently organized. Since then its membership has increased by more than 500 and the branch has sent to headquarters, in addition to six $500 checks, about $700 in membership fees and special contributions. This was the first branch to contribute $100 to the salary of the attorney.

These results were largely due to the efforts of the committee of fifty and more, which is really the finance committee of the District of Columbia branch. This committee was organized as a result of the wonderful protest meeting against segregation held in Washington October 27, 1913. Immediately after the meeting a few of the leading colored citizens met and pledged themselves to raise or donate $25 each to a fund of $1,000 to be raised by January 1, 1914, for the National Association. This group soon developed into a committee known as the committee of fifty and more, working under the direction of the District of Columbia branch.

The committee began a campaign which literally combed the city and suburbs. Churches were asked to make their pastors members. The campaign document which the committee used with the greatest effect was a circular letter written by Mr. Neval H. Thomas, who is known to his friends in Washington as the "crusader."

This was widely distributed throughout the community. The Bee published it in full without charge. It was reinforced by letters from the chairman of the committee and sent to the pastors of the churches with a confirmatory letter from a group of ministers. In the churches, in the lodges of Masons, of the Eastern Star, of Odd Fellows, in civic associations and social clubs, in schools, sewing circles—everywhere—contributions were solicited. In addition to mass meetings, all of which have been mentioned in previous numbers of THE CRISIS, a number of members of the branch held a series of smaller meetings to spread the propaganda of the association. Some of the speakers addressed as many as three meetings in one day. One young man made twenty-five talks in a whirlwind campaign. Another organized a little club of night-school students. Each of these contributed 10 cents a week until they raised $35, to make them members of the local branch. The women worked as hard as the men. They not only gave from their own purses with the greatest liberality, but they aroused their fathers, husbands, brothers and friends to the vital importance of the cause of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The results have been remarkable. From rich and poor contributions have steadily come in. The branch has reached the people.

The District of Columbia branch is also achieving success in fighting hostile legislation.

Lack of space prevents our publishing Mr. Archibald Grimké's effective remarks at the recent hearing on the segregation bills before the committee on reform of the civil service. These have been printed in a government publication and may be secured free from national headquarters on application. White friends of the association who were present at the hearing write us that Mr. Grimké's address and personality made such a favorable impression on the committee that largely as a result action on the bills was postponed.

Mr. Grimké also made a protest to the commissioners of the District of Columbia in regard to the delay in the construction of the new colored high school and the congested condition in the present structure. As a result work on the new school has been hastened.

We regret that some of the most enthusiastic members of the committee of fifty and more will not permit us to make personal acknowledgment of their magnificent work for the association. At some future
At the February meeting held in the Sharon Baptist Church many new members joined the association.

**MEETINGS.**

Mr. Villard goes west this month to attend the American Newspaper Congress in Lawrence, Kan. His limited time and many engagements make it impossible for him to accept the numerous invitations that have poured in from branches requesting him to make addresses. He has arranged to speak before the following branches: Topeka, May 14; Kansas City, May 15; Indianapolis, May 16; Cleveland, May 17.

On March 3 Mr. Villard addressed the Garrison Association at the home of Mrs. Henry Villard. On March 31 he spoke at the mass meeting held at the Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn. Other speakers were Senator Moses E. Clapp, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and the Rev. Charles S. Morris. Dr. George Frazier Miller presided. The committee of arrangements for the meeting were as follows: Mrs. Alice Wiley Seay, chairman; Mr. George E. Wibecan, secretary; Mr. E. H. Wilson, treasurer; Mr. N. B. Dodson, chairman of committee on resolutions. Resolutions were passed appointing a committee to take immediate steps to organize a Brooklyn branch of the National Association.

**CONFERENCE.**

As announced in the last number of The Crisis, the sixth annual conference will be held in Baltimore May 3, 4 and 5, with a post-conference meeting in Washington May 6, and a meeting with the National Conference of Charities and Corrections at Memphis, Tenn., during the week of May 8. In addition to the speakers mentioned in the last number of The Crisis, the following will be on the program: Mr. Jacques Loeb, who is well known in this country and in Europe as a scientist, will speak on “The Theory of Racial Inferiority in the Line of Recent Biological Development;” Dr. Howard Kelly will speak on the “Color Problems of Baltimore;” the Rev. S. L. Theobald, on “The Catholic Church and the Negro;” Mrs. Havelock Ellis, on “Democracy and Culture.” Mr. W. Justin Carter, a well-known attorney of Harrisburg, Pa., will speak on “Discrimination in the Professions.”
and Prof. T. S. Inborden will speak on "The Negro and the Land." Other speakers are Mr. Butler R. Wilson, Dr. G. R. Waller, Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, Miss Adelene Moffat and Dr. Joel E. Spingarn. Mr. Moorfield Storey will preside at the opening session of the conference on Sunday afternoon, May 3.

OUR LEGAL BUREAU
BY CHAPIN BRINSMADE
ATTORNEY-IN-CHARGE

URING the past month the attorney has investigated reports of racial discrimination against civil-service employees of the Atlanta postoffice.

The present administration at Washington has been charged with sacrificing the civil service on the altar of political expediency. It has been pointed out that under the income-tax law appointments to the force of agents, collectors, deputy collectors, inspectors and other employees having charge of its execution are made by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and not from the classified service; that the banking and currency bill provides that attorneys, experts, assistant clerks and other employees provided for by it shall be appointed without regard to the provisions of the act of January 16, 1883 (the act establishing the civil service); and that a rider to the urgent deficiency bill revoked all the executive orders which had theretofore placed the positions of deputy marshal and deputy internal revenue collector in the classified service. The author of this rider had stated in offering it:

"I know that there is no office in my judgment under the Democratic administration that could not be better filled by a Democrat than by a Republican. If you call that the spoils system you are welcome to so denominate it."

The discharges at the Atlanta postoffice furnish another illustration. In Atlanta, however, it is a case of violation, at least in spirit, of civil-service regulations instead of a mere elimination of certain cases from their application. On the other hand, in Atlanta the authorities run less chance of serious opposition, because it is the colored employees who suffer, and their removal from the service is popular. They have no votes and no political influence, and they are not represented in Congress. The postoffice authorities know that as to them the law can be violated at will, without danger of retaliation. It is therefore not surprising that, since the change in administrations, approximately thirty clerks and carriers, supposed to be protected by civil-service regulations, have been discharged.

The postmaster claims that the men removed were dishonest or inefficient, that they came in when the civil service meant little. This claim may have some basis in fact, but it is proposed here to tell of a few cases personally investigated by the attorney where such was not the case.

A carrier who had given excellent service for ten years was charged with telling a patron, in reply to her inquiry about her Collier's Weekly, that newspapers were not being delivered during the holidays, but were being destroyed and sold for waste paper. There is a slight conflict between the carrier's version of the facts and that of the patron. The carrier states that he gave the stereotyped answer—that the paper had not come yet. The patron, however, denies the carrier's statement that her paper was destroyed. She states that after she had inquired at the office an inspector called at her house with a prepared statement, which she declined to sign until he had drawn his pencil through the statement that said newspapers were being destroyed. The carrier, therefore, bears out the carrier in his denial of the serious part of the charges against him. In spite of this fact, however, the carrier received his discharge.
Another carrier was charged with not delivering a letter, although informed by the addressee personally on the day before that she intended to move into the house to which the letter was addressed. The facts were that the carrier had not been so informed by the addressee and since the house was barred up when he passed it, and there was a "to rent" sign on it, he thought it was unoccupied. He returned the letter to the office and marked it "not at." On the next trip he noticed that the house was occupied, but by this time the letter had been returned to the sender, who had delivered it in person. On complaint made, the carrier succeeded in getting all the patrons involved to make statements completely exonerating him. In spite of this, however, because he had incurred the enmity of the superintendent, he was discharged.

Another carrier, one who had served two years and had always had an excellent rating, was charged with misdelivering a letter. It appears that there were two firms within two doors of each other on the same street, of the same surname, and in the same line of business. The charge was that he had delivered a letter intended for one of these firms to the other. The carrier went to both firms, ascertained that the delivery had been made by a substitute and not by him, and obtained from the proper addressee a letter to the postmaster stating the facts. The charges had stated that such misdelivery had been a common occurrence. The letter he obtained denied this explicitly, and otherwise completely exonerated him. He was discharged.

Another man had for years served a difficult four-trip business route. He was transferred to a two-trip residential route. Shortly after taking up his new duties he received a letter charging him with omitting to pull his magazine case. The letter further stated that he had been reminded of the magazine case just before starting out on several occasions. In his answer the carrier explained that it was because on his former route he had had no special magazine case to pull that he had found difficulty in getting accustomed to pulling it on the new route. The statement that he had been reminded of it he denied, except that he admitted that the customary bell to warn the carriers to start was rung. This answer was seen by the attorney for the association before it was sent. The superintendent of mails stated to the attorney that this carrier had made no explanation of his omission except that he "had forgot," and that he had not denied being reminded.

The feeling among the remaining carriers is that they are likely to go at any time. Despairing of being able to hold their positions, many resign as soon as charges are preferred against them.

Three carriers found in their mail one morning letters addressed to numbers which did not represent houses. One letter was addressed to No. 225 —— Street. There was no No. 225, but as No. 223 was a boarding house, the carrier resolved to try it there. He left it in his case. Another letter was addressed to No. 280 —— Street. There was no No. 280, but as a person of the same name as the addressee lived at No. 221, the carrier felt justified in casing the letter with the object of getting permission to try it at No. 221. On their return from their trip the three were searched by post-office inspectors, under the direction of the superintendent. It appeared that the letters had been decoy letters. The men's statements were taken down by a stenographer and they were charged with putting the letters in their cases with the object of later converting them to their own use. They were reminded of an order which required carriers to mark up all mail intended for other routes and return it to the distributors before leaving the office. They pointed out that these letters had been addressed to streets on their routes and were obviously not intended for points on any other routes. One of the carriers on being told that he was suspended gave up and resigned. Another did not do so. Later he received charges, as a result of which he will doubtless be discharged.

Another case involved a square conflict of testimony between a clerk and the assistant superintendent as to verbal instructions given by the latter to the former. The charge was that the clerk refused to obey the assistant superintendent's order to put some official mail, which was undelivered, on the parcels-post table to be taken out. His answer stated that his instructions were to tie the mail up and leave it on his desk, which he had done. He further stated that when some days later he noticed that it was still on his desk, he asked the assistant superintendent about it and that he said he
would attend to it. No other charges were made against this clerk. He resigned, convinced that he was doomed.

The postoffice officials are frank to say that it won't do in the South for colored and white clerks to work side by side. No pretense is being made of denying that, so far as the clerks are concerned; the colored employees are being eliminated as fast as possible.

Two clerks were so efficient in their work that no charges could be made against them. One of these men stated to the attorney that on several nights the labels on his mail sacks had been changed in an effort to cause him to make mistakes; that he learned of this in time to get used to the new order. He further stated that a few days later the superintendent of mails ordered him to make out an application for a transfer to a carrier's position, that he had made no request for such transfer, but complied; that he was put on a heavy business and residence route; that the former carrier went with him only one day; that on the second day there was a blinding snowstorm, as a result of which he was unable to make more than one delivery; and that, since the superintendent of carriers refused to give him help unless he paid for it, and he declined to accept help under such terms; he resigned in three days.

The story of the other clerk referred to is to the following effect: He was the only surviving colored clerk in the mailing department, with the exception of one who worked all night, when one morning the superintendent ordered him to make out an application for transfer. He protested, but to no avail. Thereafter his experience was similar to that of the other man. His resignation, however, was caused largely by his becoming sick as a result of the unaccustomed work during the snowstorm. A statement made by the superintendent of mails to the attorney that these two men voluntarily made application for transfer requires no further comment.

Those having the appointment and dismissal of employees in the classified service can exercise a wide discretion. They may not appoint or discharge for political or religious reasons and all discharges must be for cause to promote the efficiency of the service. Beyond this the law does little more than govern the procedure. In form the Atlanta dismissals have apparently complied with the regulations.

No relief may be looked for from the department at Washington, which is entirely Southern in its makeup. The same may be said of the civil-service commission. The work of ridding the classified service of its colored members goes on and apparently will not be checked till public opinion can be brought to bear and a complete investigation had by persons who are unprejudiced and whose only object shall be to see that justice is done.

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**THE "CRISIS"**

By William Pickens.

Thou quivering tongue of fire!
Bring to our land a Pentecost,
The hearts of men inspire
To gain once more the freedom they have lost.
And fire with pristine courage sire and son,
Burn on.
Thou flaring sheet of flame!
Burn like a startling comet high,
Forewarning in God's name
And writing truth on our deceptive sky
Whose quiet aspect has another mien Unseen.
Thou whetted sword of truth!
Thou brandished sword makes tyrants shake,
But stalwart men and youth
From the oppressed are rising up to break
The bonds of bondage and the bars of caste.
At last.
Thou freedom's clarion call!
Wake the oppressed, ring in their ears,
Call them to rally all
As one, unite their strength, shake off their fears,
And fight till freedom's battles all are won—
Call on!
Thou mighty "still, small voice!"
Speak on till thou art clearly heard!
Let the oppressed rejoice
And the oppressor tremble at thy word,
Until the truth is known and justice done
Speak on!
The National Benefit Association was incorporated at Washington, D. C., in 1898, for the purpose of insuring its policy holders for benefits in cases of disability, accident or death. The organization was established with a capital of $5 in a small office, cheaply furnished, with certain of the officers serving also as agents, clerks and janitor. The success of the association is even more remarkable for being established at a time when financial depression in this country was great on account of the Spanish-American War, just closing. For several years a war tax was exacted of the association and business suffered greatly. In spite of this, during the next year, 1899, 995 members were written for the amount of $33,000.

Because of the failure to find a reputable bonding company that would bond the colored agents, each agent is required to pay his own bond. Four per cent. interest is paid on the bonds by the company and agents may draw the entire amount when they cease to work for the association. These agents have written policies in 215,000 homes.

Three forms of policies are issued: Sick and accident, straight life and endowment; persons from one to sixty years are insurable. Last year $45,504.41 was paid in health and accident policies. There is a clause in the health and accident policies providing for permanent disability, for the benefit of consumptives, paralytics, etc. In case of total disability the insured is released from further premium payments and is allowed a lump sum equivalent to the face value of the policy.

In 1902 a difficulty arose with the establishment of an insurance department at Washington. The association was compelled to make out a sworn report before securing license to do business, and this was difficult because it had not been customary and the officers knew very little about insurance departmental rules and regulations. However, the license was secured and in 1904 the first payment was made upon a five-story office building. But again the company suffered through the failure of a colored bank. This bank occupied offices in the same building with the association and had contracted to buy the building. The failure to do this was, of course, a great loss and, in addition, $5,000 had been deposited in the bank by the association. Greater still, perhaps, was the psychological effect the failure had upon the people who seemed to feel that the bank and the asso-
ciation must have been connected, since the two offices were so near together. One thousand policy holders withdrew their support, but by good management the final payment on the home office of more than $10,000 was soon made. The company now occupies three floors of this building, which is illustrated here, and rents two.

All modern sanitary conveniences are afforded; clerks are furnished lockers for their clothing. The offices are kept well ventilated and clean. Office hours are from 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m., and extra pay is allowed for overtime. Vacations, with salary in advance, are granted all clerks and managers and each clerk is allowed an hour off twice a month for shopping. A rest room is provided. The clerks all work harmoniously and loyally.

During the fifteen years of its life the National Benefit Association has paid dividends at 6 per cent. for nine years and at 1.5 per cent. for six years. Thirty clerks are employed in the eight departments: Executive, bookkeeping, correspondence with its bureau of claims, city record, stock, policy and supply. There are 700 agents giving full or partial time to the work. More than
$300,000 has been paid in benefits and there is $4,000,000 worth of insurance in force. The receipts last year were $191,499.24, the surplus earning of $30,730.24 being an increase of more than $5,000 over last year's profits, and 22,052 members were written for the amount of $1,268,428. The resources of the company amount to $250,000, of which $114,000 is invested in railroad, municipal, United States and public-service corporation bonds; $50,000 is on deposit jointly with the District of Columbia and the State of Maryland for the protection of property holders.

Sick and benefit claims are paid promptly. The record for last year was no litigation over a single claim. This year a new scheme has been adopted which will undoubtedly stimulate the interest and efforts of the employees. This is profit sharing, by which each employee, according to his length of service, receives a certain per cent. of the earnings of the company.

The National Benefit Association owns, besides the Washington building, which has been remodeled at a cost of $12,000, a large three-story building in Philadelphia. The spacious ground floor of this building is used for the offices of the association and the two upper floors are fitted up as modern flats and rented. The business of this company is carried on in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island and the District of Columbia. The directors and officers, who are elected directly by the stockholders, are now striving to make the company an old line legal reserve insurance company with a paid-up capital of $200,000 and qualified to operate in all the States, issuing all forms of life-insurance policies for any amount desired. At present this company is operated in more States than any other Negro insurance company, and in each State it is examined and its agents are licensed by the insurance departments.
THE CRISIS has before called attention to the extraordinary frankness of Southern white men in the Southern Sociological Congress held in Atlanta in 1913. Many of these papers have been published in a pamphlet called "The Human Way," and with the sure American instinct for going wrong on the race problem this book has been systematically ignored by the nation; yet it is in its way epochmaking; its message is tremendous. Here are men and young men, Southern whites, saying precisely what THE CRISIS has been trying to say.

How about the church and the Negro? Charles Brough, of Arkansas, says:

"With reference to the religious contributions to the betterment of the Negro, it may be said that our churches have been pursuing a penny wise and pound foolish economy. The Presbyterians last year gave an average of three postage stamps per member to the work. The Methodists averaged less than the price of a cheap soda water."

How about the Negro common school in the South? W. O. Scroggs, of Louisiana, says:

"It is a matter of common knowledge that in the division of the school fund the Negro is not fairly treated."

What about parks and libraries? The same Mr. Scroggs says:

"Inequalities like those in the administration of the school fund are even more noticeable in the case of such municipal improvements as parks, driveways and public libraries."

Does the South want intelligent colored farmers? J. H. De Loach, of Georgia, says:

"In most of the Southern States farmers' institutes are authorized and held in different parts of the several States for the discussion of experts of local farm problems, such as fertilizers, field crops, crop rotation, farm management and the like. These institutes are intended mostly, if not altogether, for white farmers. The Negroes, as a general thing, are not considered."

Is the "Jim Crow" car a decent place of accommodation? W. O. Scroggs, of Louisiana, says:

"The Negro does not get equal accommodations with the whites on railroad passenger trains, although he pays the same fare."

Is the reason of all this discrimination because the Negro does not share the public tax burden? Mr. Scroggs adds:

"The taxpayer is not always the tax-bearer. The white man pays many taxes whose burdens rest upon the black man's shoulders either wholly or in part. Whether the man who hands the money to the tax collector is white or black is of minor importance. That our taxes as at present administered fall most heavily on those least able to pay is everywhere recognized, and from this it must follow that the Negro, in proportion to his ability, bears a greater burden from taxation than does the white man."

Does the South disfranchise simply the ignorant and unfit? Listen to testimony from Louisiana:

"Intelligent and highly respectable Negroes are sometimes disfranchised for no other reason than that of color. * * * There are those who would disfranchise every Negro, regardless of his fitness for the ballot, and their name is legion. Supported by such sentiment in their community, registration officers have even gone to the extreme of rejecting Negro college graduates while registering the most degraded of white men."

Does the Negro get justice in the courts? Charles Brough, of Arkansas, says:

"It is, indeed, a travesty on Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence to send a Negro to the penitentiary for a term of eighteen years for selling a gallon of whiskey in violation of law and at the same time allow scores of white murderers to go unpunished, as was recently stated to be a fact by the governor of a Southern State."

J. H. De Loach, of Georgia, adds:

"Only a few days ago I was discussing the Negro problem with a distinguished physician of one of our larger cities in
SOME FRANK FACTS

Georgia, and I could not but take careful note of his remark that 'in our courts the Negro population never gets justice.' Whether this is literally true or not, it is generally true.

W. O. Scroggs, of Louisiana, adds:

"That the proportion of convictions is greater and the terms of sentence longer for Negroes than for whites has been urged by Southern governors in justification of their extensive use of the pardoning power."

Is Negro crime worse than white crime? This is the testimony of a Southern white woman, Mrs. J. D. Hammond, of Georgia:

"Let it be said also that the conditions of vice and crime found among any part of the Negro race may be immediately matched among the criminal element of the white race."

Is lynching always or usually for the "usual crime"? W. O. Scroggs, of Louisiana, thinks not:

"The only ground upon which they defend lynching is that it furnishes protection to Southern women, but our statistics show that 75 per cent. of our lynchings are for crimes other than the one they are supposed to avenge."

Is mob law defensible? W. D. Weatherford, of Tennessee, says:

"We need a new crusade of a 'Peter the Hermit,' not to rescue an empty tomb from the hands of an infidel power, but a crusade to wrench the helpless and belated from the hands of a maddened mob which puts money above man, which puts prejudice above persons, which puts license instead of law, which uses immoral mobs to uphold morality, which despises and degrades all personality in a so-called attempt to vindicate the wrong of a single person."

Does the Southern white man know the Negro? Mrs. Hammond, of Georgia, says:

"One of the unfortunate things about the relation of the two races is that since emancipation, for the last fifty years, the better element of our white people have had no point of contact with the better element of the Negroes."

What are we going to do about this? W. D. Weatherford, of Tennessee, suggests:

"The same type of agency which can improve the conditions for the white people can improve the conditions of life for the Negro. Humanity is humanity, whether the color be black or white, and I know no fiat of God that makes white any more valuable as a color or any easier to deal with than black."

Is the new relationship simply to be that of master and servant? James H. Dillard, of Virginia, says not:

"We Southern white people now realize two facts in regard to the relationship of the races. First, we realize that the old relationship, so frequently typified in the affection of the black mammy, is one that must pass. Second, we realize that the spirit of no relationship, no responsibility, no cooperation, is impossible. We see that our whole public welfare requires the education and improvement of the colored people in our midst."

Has religion anything to do with the race problem? E. C. Branson, of Georgia, says:

"The Negro problem will be settled on no plane lower than the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount."

Here is the testimony. If it does not sound like the usual sweet and pleasant talk on Southern conditions that is handed the average philanthropist, who is wrong about the South, the authors of "The Human Way" or other folks? Moreover, what does the Southern colored man think about the situation?

This is what one colored man, Dr. C. V. Roman, of Tennessee, said to the Sociological Congress:

"Justice and liberty are for all or for none. * * *

"There has arisen in the South a type of politician that proposes to make the white people happy by making the Negroes unhappy. * * *

"The races know and believe in the vices of each other, but do not know or believe in the virtues of each other. * * *

"A belief that the Negro is unable to defend himself often makes white people tyrannical. * * *

"The doctrinaire ebullitions of the student often become slogans of war among the ignorant. * * *

"Business intercourse is hampered and friction needlessly engendered by a racial chauvinism that leads many white people to disregard the ordinary amenities of civilization in their dealings with Negroes. * * *

"Interstate travel is a veritable nightmare—nothing to eat, nowhere to sleep, imperfect toilet accommodations and a change of cars every few hours."
The seventh annual report of the Church Institute for Negroes is a thoughtful document well worth reading.

Miss Frances Blascoer has published the result of her investigation of the women and girls in Honolulu, in a pamphlet of one hundred pages.

Frankfort, Ky., has published a bulletin of household ethics and industrial training in the colored schools by C. L. Timberlake.

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