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

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

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

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

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Treasurer — Mr. Walter E. Sachs, New York.

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POLITICAL.

President Taft has ordered the immediate release of W. S. Harlan, C. C. Hilton and S. E. Huggins, officials of the Jackson Lumber Company, of Lockhart, Ala., who are now serving sentences in Atlanta penitentiary forpeonage. The President extended executive clemency to the men at the request of Senator Fletcher, of Florida, who has been active in their behalf for some time.

Two other men, Gallagher and Grace, convicted at the same time and for the same offense, are not included in the clemency extended to the other three. It is understood, however, that Senator Fletcher has asked President Taft also to release them.

The cases of the five men attracted wide attention. Harlan is a successful lumberman of some wealth. President Taft first commuted his original sentence to six months and a fine of $5,000. Harlan later applied for pardon, and the President refused it. Hilton was sentenced to six months and fined $1,000, and Huggins received a like sentence and fine. Grace, however, was sentenced to thirteen months and fined $1,000, and Gallagher was sentenced to fifteen months and fined $1,000. The general charge against the men was that they had imported foreign laborers from New York to a lumber camp in Alabama, and forcibly detained them there.

The action of the President in pardoning the wealthy lumbermen reminds us of a story of a little girl of eight who lived in an aristocratic section of New York City. She was present when it was announced that a wealthy friend of the family who had violated the law had been sent to jail. The child looked up indignantly and said with conviction: "Rich people ought not to be in jail."

The officials of Annapolis, Md., were in a great to-do over the election which has just taken place in that town. Annapolis recently took pains to disfranchise the Negro voter, but its action has been declared unconstitutional. Pending an appeal the question was what should be done about allowing the black man to vote. A number of officials, finding the problem too knotty for them, resigned. In the end it was decided to disregard the recent disfranchising clause, and Negro voters cast their ballots on the same footing as before the passage of the ordinance.

The Rev. J. Milton Waldron has addressed a letter to President Taft, thanking him for his stand against race prejudice in the army, as shown in his recent letter about the Jewish soldier. Mr. Waldron then reminds the President that there is a race prejudice in the army and the navy against the colored man, and the President is asked to use his utmost effort to eradicate it.

The colored voters of Jacksonville, Fla., made an energetic campaign to elect two Republican candidates for the city council. They published a circular saying that several colored men had been shot by street-car conductors and that nothing had been done about it. The attempt to elect the Republicans was not successful. The Jacksonville Times-Union in an editorial says it does not believe colored people want to see their own race holding office, although it admits that there are "some other circumstances" which contributed to the victory of the regular Democratic ticket. Some changes have been made in the boundaries of the wards which contain a large Negro population so that more whites vote for their councilmen. Moreover, many of the colored men could not mark their ballot correctly in the time allowed. This latter fact, it may be mentioned, is not remarkable, for the Florida ballot is extraordinarily long, and only a man thoroughly familiar with the political situation is able to mark it in the brief time allowed. Few of the officers are voted for directly and a very large number of ballots, even when cast by well-informed voters, may be invalidated.

A Colored Citizens' Association has been formed in Memphis, Tenn., for the purpose of improving the condition of the Negro population. Voters will be registered and urged to pay their poll taxes and try to vote. The colored men declare that they will demand from candidates assurance of park facilities, paved streets in the sections where Negroes reside, and an extension of the sprinkling service to such streets. They will also insist, they say, that Negro physicians be permitted to attend their patients at the city hospital, a privilege which they are now denied.

Representative Caleb Powers recently spoke in Washington in a colored church and made some radical statements. He informed his audience that if there is a race question, the white man is re-
sponsible for it; that the Negroes should stand together and fight for their rights. "I am not afraid of Negro domination," he said. "If I can't match my intellect against that of my neighbor, I wish him good luck and success. So far as lies in my power, the colored man shall have equal rights with the white man."

Senator Clapp, of Minnesota, speaking to colored people, also said recently: "God never made any race for permanent bondage and servitude to other and in the to-morrows to come your descendants will glory in the triumph accomplished through your efforts to-day. There is absolutely nothing in the limitations of color to prevent the black man from being as honest, sober, industrious, and as much service to the community and nation as the white man."

Both these gentlemen doubtless had in mind Senator Bailey, of Texas, who announced not long ago that the South would be "just and even generous" with the colored man if he would "accept permanent inferiority."

The Mexican government declares that it is not satisfied all has been done to apprehend the men who lynched one of its citizens in Texas and has protested to Washington.

**JUDICIAL.**

The West segregation ordinance, passed by the city council of Baltimore on May 15 last, has been defined for enforcement by Attorney Alonzo L. Miles, counsel to the Board of Police Commissioners. The law as construed is broader than the previous segregation ordinance. One of the important features is the clause relative to existing "mixed" blocks. The police will permit either white or colored persons to move into "mixed" blocks. The inspector of buildings is authorized to declare a block a "mixed" block on application made to him by a majority of the owners.

It is unlawful for a colored person to move into or use as a residence any building in a block in which all the residents and occupants of houses, so far as they are occupied at all, are white persons. Penalty, fine $5 to $50 a day.

It is unlawful for a white person to move into or use as a residence any building in a block in which all the residents and occupants of houses, so far as the same are occupied at all by colored persons. Penalty, fine $5 to $50 a day.

Blocks in which there are buildings occupied by both white and colored residents are defined as "mixed blocks." Such mixed blocks are still open to rent and occupancy by either white or colored persons just as they were prior to the passage of this ordinance.

A most extraordinary case, in which two colored men have been punished for the same offense, although it is admitted only one could possibly have been guilty, is reproduced in the Docket, a legal paper published in St. Louis, from the Southern Reporter. It is the case of Toles vs. the State of Alabama. Toles had been found guilty of assault, but his counsel moved to have the verdict set aside, since one John Colvin had already been convicted for the offense of which Toles was now accused. Judge Summerville decided, however, that the verdict must stand. It was true, he said, that the alleged victim had identified Colvin and that it was known only one man entered the house, but what was identification worth under the circumstances? So little that the aggressor might have been Toles instead of Colvin. Therefore Toles should go to prison as well as Colvin.

**ECONOMIC.**

One hundred and sixty-one union Negro miners of Ogden, Iowa, are suing the international president, the Iowa president and other mine officials for more than a million and a half dollars on the ground that they were used, against their knowledge, as strike-breakers. The men are asking for $10,000 each. They claim that when they were imported to Ogden the miners' officials told them there was no strike in progress; that they are denied transfer union cards to the Ogden branch of the Mine Workers' Union, that the local union refuses them membership, participation in the union benefits, and other rights and privileges of union men. They ask that they be permitted to form a union of their own, and that the mine officials be compelled to recognize the union after it is formed, and that they be assured all the rights, benefits and privileges of union men.

Mr. Pinn, of Bethany Baptist Church, speaking before the social workers of Syracuse, N. Y., declared that there are about 1,800 Negroes in Syracuse who cannot find proper living quarters because of prejudice. They also had difficulty in obtaining work, he said. There are only two factories that give employment to colored people. The fact that so many were thus made idle was responsible in part for immoral conditions. Mr. Pinn declared also that they have no place to go for amusement.

New Orleans appears to be concerned over the fact that there is not complete segregation in some factories and workshops of that city. A woman, factory inspector points out that the laundries particularly have white girls, black women and white and black men work-
ing promiscuously. "The white and black employees are prohibited from riding to the factory or laundry in the same compartments of cars, or eating in the same restaurant or confectionery, and yet they are permitted to work all day together."

All of which distresses her, but there is no law prohibiting it.

To get their licenses to work, too, "pretty timid little white girls" have to stand in line with colored girls, and even with colored boys. The inspector thinks there should be separation but hasn't been able to "study out" a way.

**From 1900 to 1910 the number of farms in South Carolina increased by 20,825; but the number owned by Negroes increased by 11,295 against an increase of only 9,530 in the number owned by whites. In a total of 176,180 farms, 96,696, or more than one-half, are now owned by colored people.**

**The City Times, of Galveston, gives some statistics about that city's colored population of 8,000 souls. They are engaged in twenty-nine different industries and professions.** There are three public schools, one Catholic school, together representing an attendance of about 1,200. Over 250 homes are owned in the city of Galveston alone, valued at about $200,000. There are fifteen churches, their property representing about $120,000. There are eight organizations in Galveston, owning real estate to the value of about $75,000. The total wealth of the colored people in Galveston from all sources will fairly represent a sum over $500,000.

**The New England Colored Baptists' Missionary convention, in Providence, voted to send a delegation of 5,000 to Washington, with a committee of fifteen for spokesmen, to tell President Taft of the wrongs the race suffers in the South. None of the details were fixed, but a member of the executive committee said that they would probably gather in a Washington church and ask President Taft to address them, and send the committee to the White House later.** The plan was introduced by the Rev. G. L. P. Taliaferro, D.D., editor of the Christian Banner, of Philadelphia.

**The Rev. E. C. Morris, president of the National Baptist Convention of North America, has been honored by being made one of the American members of the executive committee of the Baptist World Alliance. The colored Baptists of America have now suitable recognition in this international association. Dr. Morris has been prominent in the Alliance since the first meeting, held in London six years ago.**

**An exhibition of mission work called "The Orient in Providence," is planned in Providence, R. I., and representative Negroes have protested against a proposed drawing of the color line. A meeting of colored ministers proposed that their churches withdraw from the movement. "When all other churches are grouped according to locality, the Negro churches are all grouped by themselves," the ministers say in their statement. "This narrow, unchristian spirit is represented by the colored people. It is strange that a 'missionary exposition' in reference to the people of China, Japan and Korea cannot be given in Providence without also giving an exhibition of race prejudice."

**In keeping with its policy of turning its large colored schools over to the management of Negroes as soon as practicable, the American Baptist Home Mission Society has recently named Prof. Z. T. Hubert, president of Jackson College, Jackson, Miss., to succeed Dr. Luther G. Barrett, a white man. Mr. Hubert is a graduate of Atlanta Baptist College, of Massachusetts Agricultural College and Boston University, and has had long experience as a teacher in the Florida State Agricultural College and with the Home Mission schools in Atlanta.**

**RECOMMENDED.**

A council of presidents of the schools of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was formed by the sixteen heads of colleges attending the convention in connection with the Wilberforce University commencement. John R. Hawkins, of Kittrell, N. C., secretary of education, was elected president, and J. A. Jones, of Turner Normal School, Nashville, Tenn., secretary. Special committees on college work and general school management were named.

**The Tennessee State Board of Education is receiving bids for the Negro normal school to be erected near Nashville.**

**The color question in the public schools is before the Supreme Court of Illinois. Aaron Brown, of Quincy, has two children, nine and twelve years old. The board of education of Quincy built a school for the colored children of the**
city, but as it is one and three-fourths miles from Brown's home he refuses to send his children to that school and the board of education will not admit them to the white school near his home. The board of education has prosecuted Brown for not sending his children to school.

In spite of the broiling heat the municipal games for colored boys in Washington were successfully held on the Howard University campus on July 4. The papers remark that the boys were in such good physical shape that only one was affected by the abnormal heat.

A thirteen-year-old colored girl in the San Juan district captured the highest of the several prizes offered in New York by the fly-fighting committee of the American Civic Association for the best essays on "The House Fly as a Carrier of Disease," written by school children. Wille Henderson, the lucky little girl, got a ten-dollar gold piece for her essay, which is an eloquent arraignment of the dangerous fly. "If we only believed," she writes, in her painstaking roundhand, "that the filthy fly was the germ carrier we would not spend so much time disinfesting ourselves and avoiding the houses or streets in which disease may be found. Instead we would clean our rooms, make our homes sanitary and inspect the shops from which we buy our food."

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

The first colored policeman appointed to the police force of Greater New York has been named by Police Commissioner Rhinelander Waldo. His name is Samuel J. Battle; he is six feet tall, weighs 230 pounds, and is twenty-eight years old.

Commissioner Waldo, in addressing a group of forty-four men newly appointed to the period of one month's probation, called attention to the fact that there was a colored man among them. "I am glad to see that there is a representative of the Negro race trying to become a policeman," he said. "He was on the civil service list, and no color or race condition could have prevented his appointment."

Commissioner Waldo, in his appointment of a colored man to the police force, has continued a policy consistent with his former conduct. The Negroes of the city have long known him as a believer in justice to the colored race. The Commissioner is a Spanish war veteran who saw colored troops in action and who appreciated and remembered their fine discipline and courage. When two years ago he ran for Congress in the Fifteenth Congressional District, he won many Negro votes because of his unquestioned admiration of the Negro soldiers and his detestation of the injustice done them at Brownsville. Thanks are due also to Mayor Gaynor, who insists that civil service rules shall be respected. The appointment of Battle to the police force after he had passed a creditable examination was only an act of justice, but it is just this justice that the Negro desires.

Mayor Lambert, of East St. Louis, has announced that when the appropriation budget for 1912 is made up, it will include an item to be used for the establishment of a combination fire and police station to be manned by colored men. This station will be in the Negro section of the city, and the fire-fighters and policemen will deal solely with Negro citizens and Negro property. At this time there are no colored men in the municipal service, except the City Hall and police headquarters mayors and four special officers, who work solely with their own race. "I feel that it is fair and just to both Negroes and whites that the Negro fire and police station be established, because of the number of Negro voters and taxpayers in the city," Mayor Lambert said.

President R. R. Wright, president of the Georgia State College and of the Colored State Fair Association, has received offers of prizes from railroads for the best exhibit grown along their lines and shown at the fair next November. One railroad gives prizes of $100 and $60, another of $75 and $50, and several other roads are likely to follow suit.

The colored people of Hartford, a city in which, as in Providence, there are many of the race, have combined to buy a farm near the city, on which they will care for the wayward youths of their community and provide profitable work for them.

CRIME.

Public opinion in the State of Georgia seems somewhat aroused over a recent lynching and it is possible the offenders may be prosecuted. Two colored men had been arrested, Allen for an alleged attack on a white woman, and Watts for "loitering" nearby in a "suspicious manner." Judge Charles H. Brand ordered Allen brought to Monroe for trial. It was known that the citizens had organized to Lynch the man and Governor Brown asked Judge Brand if he wanted troops at the trial. Judge Brand asked for an evasive answer and referred the Governor to Sheriff Stark. The latter said that Judge Brand would have to ask for troops. No word came, and the man was sent to Walton County in charge of two officers. The train was stopped by a
The mob, several hundred strong, and unmasked, then marched to Monroe, Allen taken off, tied to a telegraph pole and shot, while the passengers on the train looked on.

Both men denied that they were guilty, and there seems to have been no strong evidence against them. Members of the legislature say there will be an investigation and probably impeachment proceedings. Two months ago a Negro was lynched at Lawrenceville, Judge Brand's home town, for alleged attack on a white woman. On that occasion Judge Brand also refused to ask for troops, although urged to do so, saying there was no danger. Two hours later the man was lynched.

Judge Brand admitted to a press representative, in an amazing interview, that he had realized the peril.

"While I want to discharge and have performed every duty which the law imposes upon me," he said, "I don't propose to be the engine of sacrificing any white man's life for all such Negro criminals in the country. Whatever other people may say about it, I shall act according to my conscience and my God. I would not imperil the life of one white man to save the lives of a hundred such Negroes. I am opposed to lynching, but if I had called the military and some young man among the soldiers was killed or some of the citizens of Walton County were killed I would never forgive myself."

A correspondent of the Charleston News and Courier, Ben S. Williams, writes a letter to point out that Southeners should be careful in their lynching lest they kill the wrong man. He tells a story to show how difficult identification sometimes is:

"In your issue of the third inst. there appeared an account in which was correctly stated that the wife of a merchant of the town of Brunson sitting alone on the piazza of her dwelling just at dusk was approached by a Negro man who, coming on to the piazza, used insulting language; that fortunately a loaded pistol, near at hand, was quickly procured by the woman; the Negro fled and was fired at through the darkness but escaped unhurt. The Negro on his first approach gave the name of Reverend Best (the name of a Negro man resident of the town) as his name. The lady knew, slightly, the Negro whose name was used and noticed in the twilight that the color and size of the Negro present were about the same as of Best. So confident was she that she paid to him some change for the bill given him."

"The pistol shots brought persons hastily to the place of shooting and a rapid, eager search was begun for the Negro Best. He was not at home and was not in town. In the early following morning he was found and captured at a Negro's house a mile distant from town by two discreet men. When taken before the woman she said: 'Yes, that is the man; that is Reverend Best.' It looked badly for Best. He was hurried to jail. Developed the following day was that fact that at the time of the pistol shooting Best was on his way to the house in which he was found, and that a Negro man about the age, size and color of Best—resident of the town—was seen on the street near where the firing occurred just before the firing. This man, John Sanders, was arrested quietly by the same two men who captured Best, his spirit of effrontery deserted him and he confessed guilt, gave a detailed statement of the whole affair and went with his captors and dug up at the root of a tree the half dollar he had collected and hidden when it seemed the 'game was up.' John Sanders was hurried to jail and Best was released.

"These are the facts. Now for the conclusion. The husband of the insulted woman was away from home. He is a man of strong passions, violent temper and extraordinarily powerful physique. Had he been near home or had he returned before the landing of Best in jail about the time the intended victim of Sanders was mistaking Best for Sanders, it is quite easy to imagine what would have happened to Best, innocent yet apparently so clearly guilty.

"Had Sanders not been met by the woman with a pistol, had he succeeded in getting into the house and after making his escape as Reverend Best, it is not difficult to imagine a proceeding when Best was captured in which Best, though innocent, would have figured very prominently.

"It is best to be sure you are right before you go ahead."
and several have died since from their wounds, and the surviving members retreated in fast order. A few days after this battle Starr and Davis gave themselves up to the officers of the law, and as popular sentiment was so much in their favor the officers refused to incarcerate them. The old saying that "who are willing to take life but unwilling to give up their own is a true axiom."

**VAGARIES OF PREJUDICE.**

The Clanmorgan-Collins suit in St. Louis has received much attention in the daily press, but it is sufficiently curious to be summarized here. Cora Clanmorgan married John Collins last August. In June the young husband, who is only nineteen years old, sued for annulment of the marriage on the ground that the wife had Negro blood. Though the percentage of Negro blood is very small, it appears that the Clanmorgan family were known by many people not to be entirely white. The laws of Missouri forbid the marriage of whites with persons of Negro or Mongolian blood. Mr. Clanmorgan said that he had opposed the marriage of his daughter but that the young couple had eloped. The case is further complicated by the fact that there is a new-born baby.

Mrs. Collins' sister has been active in the Christian Science Church in St. Louis, where she had been accepted as white. The papers report that a meeting was held to consider the case and that it was decided not to ask Miss Clanmorgan to retire from such positions as she held. The two youngest Clanmorgan children are at white schools.

The St. Louis Republic reporter after a long description of the case remarked that "much sympathy was felt for the Collins family," though he went so far later as to observe that some persons extended a portion of that sympathy to the wife. The Clanmorgans have lived in St. Louis for over 100 years.

**PERSONAL.**

Theodore Cable, Harvard's colored athlete, who broke the university's record for the hammer throw on April 30, competed with twenty-two Harvard and Yale athletes in the international meet with Oxford and Cambridge in July.

Cable is twenty years old, weighs 185 pounds and is 5 feet 8½ inches in height. In his freshman year at Harvard he won the hammer event in the freshman meet against Yale with a throw of 117 feet. His athletic ability is not confined to the hammer, for he won places at Harvard both in the sprints and the hurdles.

publicly, and that the others might attend or stay away, as they pleased. All the boys but one gave in. Wilkinson has been an honor student. He is very light, and some of the teachers did not know he was colored until the six boys made their protest. There was no objection to him wherever until the Clanmorgan case came up.

A Denver physician's automobile ran over a colored man and injured him badly. He was taken in the car and driven to four hospitals. He was refused at all of them though he was thought to be dying. Finally the owner of the automobile took him to his own home.

Application to admit a Japanese girl to the public schools caused a split in the Memphis School Board. It finally resulted in the passage of resolutions declaring that the Japanese are not of the white race, and therefore will not be permitted to share the same privileges in the public schools as white children.

A correspondent signing himself "Protection" writes to the New Orleans Times-Democrat: "While escorting a lady friend to the railroad train one morning during the week past, I was brought face to face with a condition that it would seem could not exist in this Southland of ours, and yet, it was painfully apparent does exist, to the disgrace it would seem of our State legislatures of the past. I refer to the fact probably undreamed of by many of our citizens, that Negroes are allowed free access to the Pullman coaches of our railroads and by payment of the regular fare can occupy seats in these coaches for as long journeys as they care to take, the fare also entitling them to a berth, if the journey be at night."

"Protection" gives a lively description of the horror of the "lady friend," and appeals to the "chivalry and fearlessness" of legislators to "take up the fight for the sake of women and children, their own mothers, wives and sisters." It is a "vital point," he says.
Along the Color Line

Last fall in the handicap games he took first place in the 220-yard low hurdles. This past winter he won second place in an indoor broad jump competition with a leap of 20 feet 7 inches. Mr. Cable is a good violinist as well as an athlete. He is partially working his way through college.

Dr. Burt C. Wilder, of Cornell, the great authority in this country on the brain, has just received a handsome loving cup with the inscription: "To Professor Burt C. Wilder, from a group of colored citizens of Ithaca, N. Y., in appreciation of his services to the race and his unfailing courtesy and friendliness to the colored people of Ithaca." Dr. Wilder said his first definite association with the Negro was as a student at Harvard under Prof. Jeffries Wyman. During the Civil War his observations of the physical and moral courage of the colored troops had convinced him that they could be not only efficient soldiers but worthy citizens, and the publication of these records will be his first duty after retirement from university work.

Miscellaneous.

J Vardaman, of Mississippi, can always be relied on for entertainment of a melodramatic nature. In his capacity of white man’s champion he recently paraded through the streets dressed in white linen in a cart drawn by sixteen white oxen and surrounded by attendants also arrayed in white. Various fair ladies who believe that the Negro should be kept down threw white flowers at the gentleman and the populace generally had an entertaining time.

J Governor Blease, of South Carolina, is having history written to suit himself. It is a disputed point whether or not the Federal army fired Columbia in 1865 when the city was burned. The author of the history of South Carolina which is to be used in the public schools said there was some doubt about it, but Governor Blease said there was none in his mind and ordered the offending paragraph changed. The author of the history obligingly did as he was told and his text book has been adopted.

J "Chocolate" is the stage name of a colored clown in Paris who has delighted that city for twenty-seven years, while in his spare hours he has gone to hospitals and amused sick children. He is now retiring and at a meeting in his honor he will be decorated by the French government.

J Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy in Lincoln’s cabinet, felt that he owed his life to Chester Stanton, his colored body-servant, and on his deathbed requested that the man should be buried beside him. Stanton died a few weeks ago and was duly buried in the Welles plot in Hartford, whereupon a reporter in search of a sensation sent out dispatches to the effect that the “exclusive” owners of cemetery lots objected to the interment to such an extent that they would remove the bones of their own relatives from the pernicious contact. This silly story, of course untrue, was quite widely circulated and believed. Only the New York World, among the papers that printed it, was honest enough to investigate and contradict its own dispatch.

J At last 250 colored children of Memphis have seen the Zoo. For four hours they were permitted to look upon the wonders of that white sanctum, the park, in which colored folk may not walk, though they have always the simple pleasure of paying taxes for it. There were “special deputized executors of the law” to see that their conduct was seemly. As nothing desperate occurred, the children may go again some day.

J It may safely be said that the colored Georgia convict by the name of Neal has established a record for honesty. He was convicted of assault with intent to murder in 1909. His offense consisted of pointing a gun at another, and the jury recommended Neal to mercy. The judge felt that the recommendation was not justified and sentenced Neal to imprisonment on two counts, four years for one and one year for the other. By mistake the man was liberated after having served one year. He presented his case to Judge Edwards and said that he did not know what to do about it but felt he ought to serve his full time. The judge told him to go back to prison, but was so much impressed with the man’s honesty that he himself was mistaken in not accepting the jury’s recommendation to mercy.

J Mrs. Isabelle Worrell Ball made an address, in presenting a play to a colored social settlement in Washington, and said: “If the United States government were to pay ten cents a day to the descendants of the slaves, who tilled the soil in the South during the eighty-seven years that slavery existed in this country, it would be indebted to them more than $11,000,000,000.”

J Life, the humorous weekly, becomes serious in speaking of several recent cases of Negro-baiting in New York. “New York,” it says, “is a cosmopolitan city. It should have more cosmopolitan manners. It is quite intolerable that light-complexioned voters should regard themselves as clothed with congenital police powers for the regulation of voters whose skins are dark.”
Men of the Month

J. E. SPINGARN.

Joel Elias Spingarn, president of the New York branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, stands in the front rank of the younger group of American scholars. He is widely known in this country and in Europe as an authority on literature, especially of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

He was born in New York in 1875, and was graduated from Columbia in 1895. After four years of post-graduate study at Harvard and Columbia he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the latter in 1899, and was immediately made assistant in literature, under Professor George E. Woodberry. He was promoted to tutor in comparative literature the following year; and when Professor Woodberry resigned from Columbia in 1904, Dr. Spingarn succeeded him as adjunct professor of comparative literature; he was promoted to a full professorship in 1908, and was elected chairman of the division of modern languages and literatures in 1910. Phi Beta Kappa poet, 1901; represented the university at the New York University Poe Centenary, 1909. He recently engaged in a controversy with President Butler over a question of academic freedom and was "relieved from academic service" without explanation in March last.

Dr. Spingarn was the Republican nominee for member of Congress from the eighteenth New York district in 1908; this is a hopelessly Democratic constituency, but Professor Spingarn received eight thousand more votes than any preceding Republican candidate. Besides numerous contributions to periodicals, chiefly articles of a scholarly nature and some verse, he has written the following books:

"History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance," 1899; second edition, 1908; translated into Italian, 1905.

"American Scholarship: An Address Before the Congress of Comparative History at Paris," 1900.


"Seventeenth Century Criticism," a
a large part of the credit for the work of the vigilance committee so far. An account of some of the cases taken up by the branch is given under Association notes.

ROBERT N. WOOD.

We give this month the photograph of Mr. Robert N. Wood, the leader of the New York State Democracy, in connection with the success of the colored people in obtaining the long desired Negro regiment. During the last election Mr. Wood's organization did signal service to the Democratic party in sending out literature and in getting the colored men to vote the ticket. Over 250,000 circulars were distributed and there is no doubt but that the colored vote materially helped to elect Governor Dix.

Among the demands made at the time was one for a colored regiment. The Democratic party was virtually pledged to give such an organization. When the election was won the colored Democrats asked for the regiment and made it clear that colored officers only would be accepted. The bill was introduced in the Albany Assembly and was lost, at first, largely owing to the fact that officers in the National Guard rank according to length of service, and it is therefore inevitable that at some future day a colored colonel will take official precedence of a white colonel and the colored man's wife of the white man's wife. On the defeat of the bill Mr. Wood conferred with the leaders of the Democratic party in the State, who urged the Legislature that the measure be reconsidered and the promise of the party to the Negro be kept. The bill was reintroduced and passed, although the governor has not yet signed it.

For sixteen years the colored citizens of the State have been trying to get a regiment of their own. When, at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, a committee of colored men called on Governor Black and asked that a colored regiment be formed they were told that the Negro was not called on to show his patriotism. Governor Hughes, when a similar request was made, referred it to a committee which said nothing about it and later sent it to the Adjutant-General who disapproved it because of "social complications."

Mr. Wood is a good fighter and a born leader, as one must be to hold his position. He was born in Washington and was educated in the New York City public schools. To this education he adds information acquired by extensive reading, especially "along the color line." He is a very ardent advocate of the rights of the colored man and is one of the most active members of the National Association.

GILCHRIST STEWART.

Mr. Gilchrist Stewart, a young business man and the chairman of the vigilance committee of the New York branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was born in New York and received his first education in the city's public schools. Later he went to Tuskegee Institute and to Claflin University. He began the fight for the Brownsville soldiers under the auspices of the Constitution League and went to the spot to investigate.

Mr. Stewart was for some time a member of the Republican County Committee and other political organizations. He has been identified with a good many movements for the betterment of the condition of the colored people on the west side. In the matter of the New York branch the president hands to him chapter in the new "Cambridge History of English Literature," published by the Cambridge University Press, England.

Professor Spingarn has always been deeply interested in the colored race as a race and in its struggle for justice and equal opportunity as an ideal. Last year he founded a little club of the colored men living near his country home at Amenia, Dutchess County, N. Y., the "Heart of Hope Club," with its own ritual of initiation, clubhouse, etc.
OPINION

THE BRISTOW AMENDMENT.

The Bristow Amendment to the bill providing for the popular election of United States senators has not been very favorably received by the press. In our last issue we described the way in which this amendment had passed the Senate by a majority of one vote. Most papers think that the introduction of the amendment was insincere—that the senators who voted for it had no feeling whatever on the question of Negro disfranchisement, but thought it a good opportunity to drag in the Negro question, frighten off the Southern votes and defeat the so-called progressive measure.

The New York World, for instance, calls the Bristow Amendment unnecessary and mischievous, and claims that it was put in for no purpose except to arouse sectional animosity and repeal the movement for the election of senators by a direct vote. It thinks "the fact that Lorimer, du Pont, Gallinger, Gamble, Guggenheim, Root, Smoot, Penrose and Stephenson voted for it explained its real meaning far more clearly than the text itself."

The New York Press, a "progressive" Republican paper, also thinks that nothing shows the insincerity of the Bristow Amendment to the Borah joint resolution more than the character of most of its supporters. "Under cover of protecting the freedom of suffrage in the Black Belt, the promoters of this insincere and unenforceable project intend to deny the people of all the States the right to elect their senators."

The New York Globe thinks the amendment was "fathered of the desire to mix things up."

The Brooklyn Eagle is of the opinion that the effect of the Constitutional amendment in its amended form would be the nullification of the restrictions now imposed by the Southern States upon Negro suffrage, but to this the New York Tribune replies: "There is no ground of power in the Senate amendment which is not as old as the Constitution."

The New Haven Courier-Journal says the issue of direct election of senators has been clouded by the injection of the Bristow Amendment. It declares that "the people of this country have a right to decide what is best for them in the organization of their political household, and if in this regard the Senate has played fast and loose with them, those responsible will feel the lash of popular discredit when the time comes."

In fact, it is difficult to find a paper which approves the Bristow Amendment. They are either silent or vigorously declare that the whole thing was an attempt to defeat a measure that would have benefited the whole population of the country.

The Southern papers naturally object strongly to the amendment. The Montgomery Advertiser, which favors the direct election of senators, says: "The proposed reform is prohibitively dear, if we have to buy it with our complaisant acceptance of the atrocious Force Bill, which a small band of devoted and courageous senators defeated in the last generation when it appeared certain of enactment."

There is practically no voice raised in praise of the amendment giving Congress control over the popular election of senators.

A BRAVE YOUNG MAN.

The Dallas Morning News is the most influential paper in its section of Texas. It publishes in full the oration on the Negro problem by a white lad, Alex. Spence, eighteen years old. The young orator took part in a contest at the high school, and we believe was awarded the first prize. That the boy deserves a prize for the clearness and logic of his address, regardless of subject, is evident. We are informed that the editor of the Morning News has received a number of protests about the publication of Mr. Spence's address, and it is as gratifying to find a Texan newspaper printing such sentiments as to find a Southern white boy entertaining them and expressing them in public, necessarily with the approval of his parents. After outlining the history of slavery and summarizing the progress of the colored man, young Mr. Spence describes the attitude of that portion of the Southern people which urges that the Negro be "discouraged and kept down":

"The advocates of the forceful repression theory, as it is called, usually urge about the following principles:

"1. The 'nigger' must remain a 'servant to the whites.'

"2. He must not be educated, for 'education ruins niggers.'

"3. He must have no political rights.

"4. There must be no justice between 'nigger' and white—if a 'nigger' kills a
white, he must be lynched, if a white kills a ‘nigger’ he must go free.

5. The last and most important, the ‘nigger must be kept down’ and ‘must know his place.’

‘Needless to say, all our modern methods of thought rebel at the idea that one race is doomed to be a ‘hewer of wood and drawer of water’ for another. The logic that Negroes can’t be educated has been shown to be a mistake by the fact that the race has taken education. The argument that ‘education ruins Negroes’ for work is proven false by the fact that the race as a whole has done better work since the war than it ever did in slavery.

The remainder of these principles has for its foundation a mixture of fear and jealousy—jealousy of the Negro’s past prosperity of one is the gain of the other. They believe that the Negro is of more benefit to his community than was his father, yet whom has he crowded to the wall, and whose bread has he taken away?

‘Now let us notice the theories of uplift, which it rests to-day. If we discriminate between men of different races it is only a question of time until we discriminate between men of the same race. I know of an instance where a Negro in Dallas county was given twenty-five days on the county road for stealing a rooster worth about five cents; I know of another, where, through the “peonage system,” a Negro worked a year on a farm for carrying a pistol, while how often do we read of officers murdering Negroes because they thought they were about to do something; the officers are rarely tried, yet what would be the result if the victims were white and the officers black?

“Next, is it advisable to exclude the Negroes from the ballot? Laying aside the fact that history teaches ‘where there are no political rights, civil rights also disappear,’ and granting that the universal suffrage given by the Fifteenth Amendment was a mistake, and granting that the majority of the Negroes are incapable of voting wisely at present, yet I maintain that the taking of the vote from them would be both unwise and unjust; unwise, because a large number of the Negroes have acquired education and property, and to exclude them would necessarily make them discontented and rebellious; unjust because ‘taxation without representation’ is still not right, and governments do still ‘derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.’ Such devices as the ‘grandfather
clause' are strongly to be condemned, not only because they deprive a large number of our citizens of their well-established rights, but because they are educating our white people in the way of deceit and fraud, in the way of legal illegality. They teach us to obey the letter and break the spirit of the law, and in a country where laws are as little respected as they are in this country, this is a most insidious danger.

"Now we approach the last phase, the Negro's position in our society. It is here that the Dixons and Vardamans raise their most strenuous cry, resurrecting that old ghost of 'social equality,' answer every argument with the retort, 'How would you like for your daughter to marry a nigger.' The advocates of the uplift plan do not urge social equality, they do not believe that the Negro is a social equal, but they do believe that in his right to walk down the street without being jeered at, in his right to earn an honest living, in whatever trade or profession he makes himself proficient in, he is your equal and the equal of any man alive. There are plenty of educated, refined Negroes in this town, yet they never intrude, nor ever desire to mix with the whites. They do not ask to attend your receptions, they do not ask to marry your daughters, but they do ask a square deal in the struggle of life.

"I have tried to show wherein it is expedient that we succor these people we brought to our shores, but there is a greater reason than that of expediency, there is a higher law than that of dollars and cents. We are strong and they are weak, we are rich and they are poor. The oppressor suffers more by his actions than does the oppressed, the benefactor reaps a greater reward than does the benefited. Remember, that when you choose, you choose for yourselves no less than for the Negro."

A SOUTHERNER SPEAKS.

Mr. Joseph C. Manning, formerly a member of the Alabama Legislature, has been touring New England to speak against the "Let the South Alone" policy. From the Brockton (Mass.) Times we take a report of some things he said: "The problem in the South is a national problem, and knowing the conditions as I do I am trying to make the people of the North realize what the condition of politics is in the South and to know the seriousness of the situation. It is popularly believed that the big majority of white voters in the South are Democrats. The opposition to the Democratic party, the white vote and the black vote, has been kept down through frauds of many kinds. Ballot-box stuffing and other things have been resorted to by the Democrats, causing the adoption of a new system, whereby the tricks of that party could be met and overcome. The conditions demanded this.

"In the last Presidential election, out of the 800,000 white men in the State of Alabama over 21 years of age, but 125,000 were qualified voters. Of the 200,000 colored men of voting age less than 3,000 of them were at the polls to vote. It is not enough. The last Governor of Alabama was elected on a ballot showing about 75,000 votes, whereas there are, combining whites and blacks, 500,000 male citizens in the State of voting age. The last Presidential election showed twelve Southern States voting for the Democracy on a total vote from these States of less than 1,200,000, which is 800,000 less than the total of colored men of voting age alone, saying nothing of the 4,000,000 whites.

"It was not many years ago that white men enslaved the Negro. Now some of these white men, bent on bossism, are using the Negro to aid in the enslaving of other white men. This is in the form of ballot-box stuffing that is looming up in Alabama.

"I have taken this matter up because I am of the South; I have lived among the conditions and have seen them. The Negro should vote. The same God that created the white man created the black man, and God intended, I believe, that every man should have equal opportunity under the law to protect his own. I have made some pretty definite charges against the Bourbon Democracy, and I have been sustained by the Federal authorities after investigations, but certain localities in the South were made pretty hot for me as a result. To critics who have condemned me in my work I have always replied, as I now say to you, "What I am doing is for the sake of the South itself.""

THE OPEN DOOR.

President Taft, in his letter to Fisk University, observed that industrial education will be the salvation of the colored people, although there should be a few colleges where those who are to lead the people may be trained. The New York World thinks this would have been better left unsaid.

"We do not dislike this expression because it is new or because it is false but because it falls from the President of the United States—the President of whites as well as the President of blacks. We have in this country plenty of men and women learned in pedagogy and sociology who are perfectly able to give us all the knowledge to read or hear on the subject of selected classes.

"It is obviously true that no great nation can be made up wholly of members of the learned professions, but in a republic of equal rights and supposedly
of equal opportunities, if an element or a race is to be set aside and devoted forever to the hard tasks of labor, we should prefer to have the sentence pronounced by somebody other than the Chief Magistrate.

"Too many Americans have acquired the habit of condemning universal education. They fancy a peasantry, ignorant, respectful and content. They fancy also an aristocratic social organization in which they would take places near the top. No doubt we shall have these superior theorists, philosophers, snobs, or whatever they may be called, always at our elbows, but they will exert little influence except as they occasionally beguile men in great positions who ought to know better.

"We advise Mr. Taft to let the subject of education alone. There is no compulsion about college training. Young men and women, whether white or black, who get it by their own exertions are not to be stopped by anybody's ideas on the subject."

MUSIC.

The St. Louis Republic prints a tribute to the Negro as a musician. It points out that when Dvorak wanted melodies for his New World Symphony he could get them only from the American Negro. "Alone of the three racial strains, the Negro has an inalienable native musical inheritance; black laborers in field and forest, black mothers in the whitewashed cabins of the South have a great store of song which belongs to them by right of creation. It has come out of the soul of the race; it is distilled of its melodies and its joys, its oppressions and achievements.

"The citizen of St. Louis doubtful of the musical capacity of the Negro would do well to visit the schoolhouse which stands near Jefferson Avenue, on the floor of the Mill Creek Valley at Papin Street. This school, named for L'Ouverture, the black liberator of Haiti, enrolls 1,600 pupils, which is more than any other in St. Louis. Principal Gordon realizes the importance of cultivating the musical gift the children of his race possess and takes an active personal interest in the work. Two things are specially notable—the quality of tone and the responsiveness to musical ideas. These colored boys and girls sing fortissimo without splitting their throats, like so many blackbirds (no witticism intended). And the beauty and effectiveness of their crescendo passages must be heard to be appreciated.

"Caucasians might as well admit the artistic superiority of the Negro in the matter of susceptibility to music."

The Manassas (Va.) Journal says there is no race problem in that part of the country, and pays a tribute to the influence of the colored industrial school there, and the capacity of the students for hard work and good manners.

"No matter how large the attendance may be at any of their public meetings, neither town nor county has ever found it necessary to appoint a single extra policeman or deputy sheriff, and nobody ever dreams of peril of either life or property in consequence of the presence of the school. The school itself, conducted in the manner in which it is, is a safeguard to both. As to the great racial bugbear about which theorists exploit theories and dreamers dream dreams—social equality. This is purely a personal and private matter about which neither white man nor black man here bothers himself. There is no such thing as social equality among the members of any race itself on the face of the globe. Men and women choose their likes and ignore their dislikes in every community in the world. Men and women who do things in the world never trouble themselves about any question of equality."

The Afro-American Ledger, of Baltimore, says that the accommodations in the colored school of that city are insufficient. The trouble is, it thinks, that there is no one on the School Board who represents the colored race and knows personally the school's needs. There are fair men, it admits, on the board. "And yet, with all this in our favor the fact still remains that, as a separation exists in the entire social and economic life of the Negroes so that the ordinary facilities of gaining a real insight into conditions among them do not obtain, it is essential for the community at large, as well for the Negroes themselves, that some sympathetic and adequately intelligent representative of that race should be a member of the board of administration. Until this obtains the board must be at a serious disadvantage in satisfying the real needs of the situation."

The Portland (Ore.) Leader says: "A Louisiana Negro stole a watering trough, worth $5. He resisted arrest, and a mob finally effected his capture. He was hanged without a trial, and without authority of law. The mob resolved itself into the courts, the law and the State, and acted summarily. Life at the price of a $5 watering trough is very cheap. In no country in the world is it held more lightly than in the United States. If citizens, acting in a mob capacity, take life in defiance of law, what can we expect but that the crooks will also ignore the law, the courts, justice and constituted authority?"
THE NEW YORK BRANCH.

Though the headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are in New York, the Association has for some time felt the need of a New York branch, in order that the national organization might devote all its energies to the whole field and not dissipate them by too much attention to the local problems of New York. As a result the New York branch was formed last winter with the following officers: President, Mr. J. E. Spingarn; vice-president, Bishop Alexander E. Walters; recording secretary, Mrs. F. R. Keyser; corresponding secretary, Miss M. W. Ovington.

The branch proceeded immediately to organize its work and to spread the propaganda of the Association. Meetings have been held in various places, especially in colored centers, in order that the colored people of the city might be brought to realize the need of organization and effective work. Several important cases have been investigated, with more or less satisfactory results. One of the most interesting is the Mingo case.

William Mingo, a colored man of good character, living at 351 West 36th Street, was hired by the Walwood Wine Company as teamster and driver in place of a white man who had to be discharged because of continual periods of intoxication. The stable at which the Walwood company put up its horse and wagon is in 38th Street, where most of, if not all, the other wagons and teams were driven by white men. In addition to these a very rough crowd or gang of white men made it their headquarters for lounging. As soon as Mr. Mingo took up his work all kinds of threats were made against him, not only by the discharged employee but by the gang in sympathy with him. They repeatedly stole things off of his wagon, followed it and purloined goods when he would be on the inside of places delivering orders. This, of course, was much to Mingo's annoyance and to the discomfort of his employers.

On Saturday evening, June 3, when he was driving his wagon to the stable, Mingo was attacked by this crowd of hoodlums, but as he was carrying a hatchet from the store to the stable in order to mend his harness, he held them off until the stable was reached. Putting up his horse, he came out with his wife, who is an intelligent woman and who in the meantime had joined him.

When in the middle of the block and near Eighth Avenue, he was struck on the head by one of this gang. Immediately his wife screamed, "Help! Murder!" and he started to run for the store pursued by the gang, now augmented by large numbers who saw him running. Just as he reached the store and turned to open the screen door so that his wife, who had been running behind him, might enter, a policeman who had been following on his bicycle got off his wheel, and running to the middle of the sidewalk, deliberately, and without any provocation, shot Mingo twice. The man fell half way into the store, and as soon as possible an ambulance was called and he was taken to the New York Hospital, where his wound was pronounced serious, but where he rallied more swiftly than had been deemed possible.

The policeman, to justify his action, sent in a report that Mingo had had the hatchet raised to strike him and that he shot in self-defense. The case came before the Magistrate's Court, 314 West 54th Street, on July 3, Judge Kernochan presiding. The policeman's testimony in many instances contradicted that of the defendant's best witness, Mrs. Mingo, and the judge declared the case should go before the Grand Jury. This will be, probably, some time in September. In the meantime Mingo is out on bail.

The Association secured the attorney, Counselor William Smith, to defend the case and intends to do all in its power to see that justice is secured.

The branch feels that it is especially important to fight the Mingo case to a final conclusion, in order that the police of New York may be made to realize the rights of colored citizens.

Very typical is the Mitchell case: Robert Mitchell was walking along 150th Street, near Walton Avenue, the Bronx, when two young white women suddenly turned a corner, and surprised, probably, by seeing a Negro, screamed. Mitchell was attacked at once by two white men, and seeing that he would not be able successfully to ward them off, he started to run. The two white men were joined by others until he was pursued by hundreds, beaten and cuffed and knocked down until he sank helpless in a doorway through which he was attempting to escape for refuge.
He would undoubtedly have been beaten to death had it not been for Mr. John Huble and Mr. Arthur Graham, two white men, who successfully warded off the crowd, fighting the crowd back and themselves receiving very rough treatment until the police officer appeared. Instead of the officer arresting his assailants or commissioning Mr. Huble and Mr. Graham to do so, he blew his whistle, and upon the arrival of other officers, Mr. Mitchell was taken to jail where his wounds were dressed by a physician, who had accompanied the officers and who was returning from a visit, Dr. Hall.

By the evidence of a Mr. Gregory, a white man, who fortunately had seen the whole thing, the evidence of the girls that Mitchell had sprung at them was so thoroughly discredited that Mitchell was discharged. Mr. Gregory was passing on the other side of the street and saw Mitchell leisurely walking along when the girls turned the corner.

The case was investigated by Mr. Mac-Neal, 219 West 63d Street, who secured Mr. Gregory's attendance at court, as well as that of the other witnesses.

This case illustrates the proposition which has been laid before the Police Commissioner that in the cases where hoodlums are attacking colored men, whenever the officers arrive and have to beat back the crowd, a number should be arrested, even if at the point of revolvers, in order that charges of felonious assault may be brought against them. District Attorney Whitman has promised to prosecute to the utmost extent of the law any bona fide case of these outrages that come within his province.

But the most important work of the branch has been the creation of a New York Vigilance Committee for the immediate investigation and relief of all cases of outrage or discrimination against colored people in Greater New York and its vicinity. The executive chairmanship of this committee has been entrusted to Gilchrist Stewart, whose work in the Brownsville investigation is well known.

The committee will welcome all factions and sections of the community to its membership, regardless of their affiliation with the national organization or local branch, and will make every attempt to stop the outrages which have been perpetrated against colored people in this city.

The city has been divided into districts, each with its "captain," who is to report all cases of injustice immediately to one of his regional offices. A corps of voluntary investigators is also being formed. A campaign of publicity will soon be started, so that all colored people in the city may realize that in case of trouble they should immediately communicate their case to the committee.

The New York Vigilance Committee will feel that its work has been successful when every colored man and woman in the city has come to feel that their rights are safeguarded by a disinterested and responsible body which will leave no means unemployed to give them justice.

THE OKLAHOMA LYNCHING.

After the lynching in Oklahoma of a colored woman and her child the Association sent a letter to the Governor of Oklahoma commenting on the horror of the action and expressing the association's belief that the State would bring the guilty parties to justice. The following reply was received from Governor Cruce. With his permission we print it in full:

June 9, 1911.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Chairman of Ex. Com. of National Assoc. for Advancement of Colored People, New York City.

My Dear Sir:

I was out of the city when your letter of the 27th ult. reached my office, and have had no opportunity to reply to it until this date.

With reference to the lynching of the Negro woman and boy at Okemah, to which you call attention, I beg to state, that immediately after this lynching the District Judge of that district called a Grand Jury investigation to try to apprehend the perpetrators of this outrage. The result has not been satisfactory, but the effort is still being made and will continue to be made to apprehend the guilty parties.

It is not a question of the civilization of our people, as you seem to think. In this connection, permit me to state to you, that our people are just as highly civilized as the people of New York; in fact, more highly civilized than the masses of your people. There is not a State in the Union that can boast of a citizenship more cultured than Oklahoma when you take its population as a whole.

With our Negro population eliminated we can show a higher percentage of literacy than most of the States in the Union.

It was simply a question of passion and race prejudice that resulted in the unfortunate lynching of the Negro woman and boy. An officer in the discharge of his sworn duty was wantonly shot to death by this woman and her son. I thoroughly agree that there was no justification for this lynching, and as Governor of the State I shall do everything it is possible for the Chief Executive to do to see that those who are guilty are brought to punishment.
You are engaged in an effort to advance the colored race, and it occurs to me that if you would let your efforts take a more practical turn you would do this race a greater service. There is a race prejudice that exists between the white and Negro races wherever the Negroes are found in large numbers, world-wide in its scope and by no means confined to the South. On the other hand, the prejudice against the Negroes, when they become a menace by their increasing numbers, is much stronger in your section of the Union than in the South.

You will understand in the county where this lynching occurred that the Negroes outnumber either the white or Indian race. Just yesterday I received a communication from the Secretary of the State, calling my attention to the fact that Oklahoma Negroes were going to Canada, and that there was an effort on the part of the Canadian government to exclude them from that province, and asking that I call the same to the attention of the Oklahoma Negroes to prevent this migration. I hold that the Negro has as much right to seek his fortune where he thinks his opportunities are better as any white man has, and if he thinks he can better his condition by going to New York or Canada, he should be given the privilege of going there. Yet the chivalry of the North, speaking through the Secretary of State, to the chivalry of the South, says, "keep the Negro in the South—we don't want them in our section of the world."

Just this week the announcement comes as a shock to the people of Oklahoma that the Secretary of the Interior, another chivalrous Northern man, has appointed a Negro from Kansas to come to Oklahoma and take charge of the supervision of the Indian schools of this State. There is no race of people on earth that has more antipathy for the Negro race than the Indian race, and yet these people, numbering many of the best citizens of this State and nation, are to be humbled and their prejudices and passions are to be increased by having this outrage imposed upon them by one of the highest officials of the federal government.

If your organization would interest itself to the extent of seeing that such outrages as this are not perpetrated against our people, there would be fewer lynchings in the South than at this time, and you can do a great deal more to aid the Negro by seeing that other people of our section of the country are considered in these matters than you can issuing abusive statements against this country when a crime of this kind is committed.

I am as much opposed to mob law as any man on earth, and don't think that conditions ever justify a mob taking the law into its own hands. Oklahoma is especially favored as being practically free from any attempt to take the law in its own hands. There have been since Statehood six hangings in this State by mob, and four of these were white men.

Our laws are adequate and our juries competent, and except in cases of extreme passion, which no law and no civilization can control, the administration of justice is attended in this State with as little cause for criticism as in any other section of this country.

Very respectfully,

(Signed)  
Lee Causer,  
Governor of Oklahoma.

At the same time the Chairman received the following quite unexpected letter from an Oklahoma citizen:

Dear Sir:  
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Send you a clipping I saw and cut out of the automobile magazine, which, think will convince you, we as a whole, are from the North and are as whole law abiding, and try to give the Negro the privileges of advancements; certainly we have a few of the rougher border element which are fast disappearing.

Very respectfully,

B. R. Harrington.

After diligent searching of the newspapers, and after correspondence with friends in Oklahoma, we cannot find that anything has been done to convict the guilty parties. The Negro knows how difficult it is to secure justice on "simply a question of passion and race prejudice."

DR. DU BOIS IN ENGLAND.

From London the Director of Research and Publicity reports a most successful campaign. The address before the Ethical Culture Society was made to an audience apparently most appreciative. The Society gave a dinner in honor of Dr. DuBois on July 7.

On June 26 Dr. DuBois was the guest of honor at the Lyceum Club dinner. The Lyceum Club from time to time entertains various distinguished guests and assembles other distinguished persons to hear them speak. On this occasion her Highness the Ranee of Sarawak, who was in London to take part in the coronation ceremonies, presided at the dinner. The guests of honor invited to meet Dr. DuBois were: The Countess of Bective; Muriel, Viscountess Helmsley; the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of British Honduras and Mrs. Bury; Mr. Maurice Hewlett, Sir Henry and Lady Johnston, Sir Percy and Lady Bunting, Sir Robert and Lady Morant, Sir Lawrence and Lady Gomme, Sir James Chrichton-Browne, Lady Low, Miss Elizabeth Robins, Mrs. Comings, Mr. Henry Nevinston, Mr. Fairbanks, Mr. Milholland.

Dr. DuBois' address was listened to with great interest. The Bishop of Brit-
ish Honduras and Central America spoke on the subject; Miss Elizabeth Robins, the author; Mrs. Arthur Philip and Mr. Maurice Hewlett also made brief addresses.

Dr. DuBois described conditions in America, the denial of civil rights, the insults and humiliation the colored man and woman must face:

"Why is this? It is not because the American white people are unusually devilish—they are on the whole about the same kind of people that you are and you under similar circumstances in India and Africa have shown similar tendencies. Consequently the Americans interpret the public opinion of Europe as justify them to make what I may call the three refusals:

1. The refusal to treat civilized black men as civilized.
2. The refusal to allow particular black men to become civilized.
3. The refusal to assume the possibility of civilized most black men.

"These refusals involve great and threatening social cost. "Among the whites they give rise to insulting manners toward the lowly; they prevent the contact of the cultured and the undeveloped; they lead to an absurd lack of logic, as, for instance, accusing of bad manners those against whom every effort is made to give them no chance to see good manners, and above all 'crying for purity of race after the whites have been responsible for two or three million mulattoes. Further than this the three refusals lead to injustice in the courts and a terrible paradox in religion, for while professing a religion of humility and equality the Christian Church in America has for the most part refused fellowship with black men. "Among Negroes these three refusals lead to a loss of self-respect or immediate self-assertion; they hinder the natural differentiation into classes according to culture and efficiency, and they force thinking Negroes either into subservient hypocrisy or paralyzing bitterness. "How far now is America's interpretation of Europe's attitude toward the darker world justified? It must be confessed with sorrow that modern European civilization has fallen victim to the temptation of all former civilizations—the temptation of despising men; of assuming that no other peoples are worth consideration and respect but those who share their own culture. The tendency is to assume an inevitable aristocracy of races, with whites at the top and blacks at the bottom. No sooner is this assumption boldly stated, however, than we remember that the same assumption was made less than a century ago concerning classes in the same nation, and that today European culture is largely sustained by descendants of social classes whom the eighteenth century pronounced incapable of uplift. Moreover, science to-day places no meets and bounds to the development of races given the favorable environment and there is no scientific proof that an individual of any race may not reach the highest. For this reason is it not the wisest and best course to refuse to tread the paths of exclusion and human despisery and to see that the gates of opportunity are absolutely closed in the faces of no race or people?"

On July 19 Dr. DuBois spoke before the Sociological Society, of which ex-Premier Balfour is president. Sir Sidney Olivier, Governor of Jamaica, presided. On July 24 he spoke before the Subject Races Society.

Dr. DuBois has met and been entertained by many persons interested in social problems as well as by a number of persons distinguished in literature, Sir Harry Johnston, Sir Percy Bunting, editor of the Temporary Review; Mr. Kier Harding, the labor leader; Mr. Herbert Burrowes, the socialist; Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, the M.P.; Mr. Maurice Hewlett, Mrs. Herbert Ellis, Miss Elizabeth Robins and many others.

The Race of Sarawak has been particularly interested in the problem of the color line in this country. On July 11 she gave a reception in honor of Dr. DuBois, inviting the Archbishop of Canterbury and various distinguished guests to meet him. Receptions to the delegates of the Races Congress have been given by the Countess of Warwick and one of the Indian princes.

INCORPORATION.

The National Association is now a duly incorporated body. The incorporation took place June 19, 1911. Lack of space prevents our giving the articles and by-laws in this issue, but next month we hope to present them to our readers. At the first meeting of the Board of Directors, June 20, the officers already serving the committee were nominated: President, Mr. Moorfield Storey; vice-president, Mr. John E. Milholland; vice-president, Bishop Alexander Walters; chairman of board, Oswald G. Villard; secretary, Miss Mary Ovington; treasurer, Mr. Walter Sachs; director of publicity and research, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

The following appointments of committees were announced by the chairman:

"I believe that all men, black and brown and white, are brothers, varying through time and opportunity, in form and gift and feature, but differing in no essential particular, and alike in soul and in the possibility of infinite development."
EDITORIAL

RACES.

IF THOSE Americans who have long since said the last word concerning the races of men and their proper relations will read the papers laid before the First Universal Races Congress, they will realize that America is fifty years behind the scientific world in its racial philosophy.

Before the publication of this epoch-making volume, THE CRISIS would not dare to express the statements which are contained therein. The leading scientists of the world have come forward in this book and laid down in categorical terms a series of propositions which may be summarized as follows:

1. (a) It is not legitimate to argue from differences in physical characteristics to differences in mental characteristics. (b) The mental characteristics differentiating a particular people or race are not (1) unchangeable, or (2) modifiable only through long ages of environmental pressure; but (3) marked improvements in mass education, in public sentiment, and in environment generally, may, apart from intermarriage—as the history of many a country proves—materially transform mental characteristics in a generation or two.

2. The civilization of a people or race at any particular moment of time offers no index to its innate or inherited capacities. In this respect it is of great importance to recognize that in the light of universal history civilizations are meteoric in nature, bursting out of relative obscurity only to plunge back into it.

3. (a) One ought to combat the irreconcilable contention prevalent among the various groups of mankind that their customs, their civilization, and their physique are superior to those of other groups. (b) In explanation of existing differences it would be pertinent to refer to the special needs arising from peculiar geographical and economic conditions and to related divergencies in national history; and, in explanation of the attitude of superiority assumed, it should be shown that intimacy leads to a love of our own customs, and unfamiliarity, among precipitate reasoners, to dislike and contempt for others' customs.

4. (a) Divergencies in economic, hygienic, moral and educational standards are potent causes in keeping peoples apart who commercially or otherwise come in contact with each other, just as they keep classes apart. (b) These differences, like social differences generally, are in substance almost certainly due to passing social conditions, and not to inborn characteristics; and the aim should therefore be, as in social differences generally, to remove these differences rather than to accentuate them by regarding them as fixed.

5. (a) The deepest cause of misunderstandings between peoples is perhaps the tacit assumption that the present characteristics of a people are the expression of permanent qualities. (b) If this is so, anthropologists, sociologists and scientific thinkers as a class could powerfully assist the movement for a juster appreciation of peoples by persistently pointing out in their lectures and in their works the fundamental fallacy involved in taking a static instead of a dynamic, a momentary instead of a historic, a fixed instead of a comparative, point of view of peoples; (c) and such dynamic teaching could be conveniently introduced into schools, more especially in the geography and history lessons, also into colleges for the training of teachers, diplomats, Colonial administrators, preachers and missionaries.

6. (a) The belief in racial or national superiority is largely due, as is
suggested above, to unenlightened psychological repulsion and underestimation of the dynamic or environmental factors. (b) Since, therefore, there is no fair proof of some races being substantially superior to others in inborn capacity, our moral standard, or the manner of treating others—seeing how under favorable circumstances one people after another rises to fame, and how members of all human groups pass through universities with equal success—should remain the same whatever people we are dealing with.

7. (a) So far at least as intellectual and moral aptitudes are concerned, we ought to speak of civilizations where we now speak of races. (b) Indeed, even the physical characteristics, excluding the skin color of a people, are to no small extent the direct result of the physical and social environment under which it is living at any moment, and hence these characteristics differ measurably both in the history and in the different social strata of one and the same people; and (c) these physical characteristics are furthermore too indefinite and elusive to serve as a basis for any rigid classification or division of human groups, more especially as there has been much interbreeding among all peoples and because race characteristics are even said to distinguish every country and almost every province.

8. (a) The most fruitful cause of race crossing is ill-will—as illustrated by war, conquest, slavery, exploitation and persecution—for where there exists mutual respect the differences in differing traditions, etc., make it almost an invariable rule that intermarriage is avoided—as is shown by any two nations friendly to each other; (b) but intermarriage, we find—contrary to popular tenets—improves the vitality and capacity of a people, and cannot, therefore, be objectionable in itself. (c) The chief drawback to intermarriage between peoples is the same as the drawback to intermarriage between different social classes—i. e., the different traditions of the partners in marriage. (d) Those who dread intermarriage should, therefore, reflect both that there is no such thing as purity of race, and that the rate of crossing decreases with the increase of interracial and international amity.

9. (a) Each people might study with advantage the customs and civilizations of other races or peoples, including those it thinks the lowest ones, for the definite purpose of improving its own customs and civilization, since the lowest civilizations even have much to teach. (b) Dignified and unostentatious conduct and deferential respect for the customs of others, provided these are not morally objectionable to an unprejudiced mind, should be recommended to all who come in passing or permanent contact with members of human groups that are unfamiliar to them.

These are a fair summary of the conclusions of writers who are among the best-known names in modern science. In the next number of The Crisis we shall give some of their views at length.

LYNCHING.

The mob spirit in America is far from dead. Time and time again the disappearance of lynching has been confidently announced. Still this species of murder and lawlessness flourishes blithely. Its sickening details in the last few weeks have been as bad as could be imagined. The cause of this is obvious: a disrespect for law and a growing cheapness of human life. Why should America lose respect for law? Because for years some of its best brains have been striving both in the profession of law and on the bench to show how worthless legislation is and helpless to accomplish its ends. To cite an instance: The Constitution of the United States, the highest law of the land, says that citizens of the United States cannot be disfranchised on account of race or color. Yet every schoolboy knows that Negro Americans are disfranchised in large areas of the South for no other reason than race and color. This is but one instance of our laughing at law.
Why should America count human life cheap? Because it is cheap. Because it is difficult to punish a rich murderer and extremely difficult for a black suspect to escape lynching. Back of the despising of life lies the contempt for men who live. They are not ends, but means—"hands" for doing my work, "masses" for me to contemplate, "niggers" for me to keep down. Their lives, their hurts, their thoughts and aspirations—what is that to me as long as I live and enjoy and rise? Shall my race be disturbed, my fortune taxed, my world turned upside down because six black men in Florida are murdered or a woman and a child hanged by ruffians at Oklahoma? Nonsense. They are not worth it. They can be bought for fifty cents a day. Thus we despise life.

The result is mob and murder. The result is barbarism and cruelty. The result is human hatred. Come, Americans who love America, is it not time to rub our eyes and awake and act?

LONDON.

THERE is in the world no city like London. Nor is its distinction merely a matter of size. To be sure, it is a vast aggregation of men—it gives the visitor a curious sense of endlessness by its very disorganization, by the fact that one can find center after center of busy running life stretching away mile after mile and yet all is London. London has no beauty that will compare it to Paris, no blare and flare like New York. Yet London has an individuality, a tradition and an importance that make it the capital of the world in a sense, true of no other center since the days of imperial Rome. The individuality is peculiar, subtle, striking—yet difficult to express. One sees a busy mart of endless interests, worldwide ramifications, tremendous power. One sees a tradition, a memory clothed in living flesh and word, and a power which makes this city an expression of the empire on which the sun never sets.

This empire is a colored empire. Most of its subjects—a vast majority of its subjects—are colored people. And more and more the streets of London are showing this fact. I seldom step into the streets without meeting a half dozen East Indians, a Chinaman, a Japanese or a Malay, and here and there a Negro. There must be thousands of colored people in the city. They do not, of course, color the world so obviously as in an American city, but one senses continually the darker world.

No pageant to-day in London is complete without the colored representatives. In the two great coronation processions it was the black and brown and yellow Indian princes in the brilliant magnificence of their silk and jewels who shared the plaudits of the crowds with the king himself, and the black Prince of Abyssinia rode among the royal guests.

London is polite and considerate to her darker brothers. There is color prejudice and aloofness undoubtedly here, but it does not parade its shame like New York or its barbarity like New Orleans. Hotel, theater and restaurant stand not only open, but studiously attentive and polite. The courtesies of the street and the tramcar are thoughtfully passed, and in the highest social life colored men and women at the last days of festivity sat at the tables of the highest in the land.

Yet London is uneasy. London is sensing the strength and determination in the darker world and is wondering what it all portends in the future. The unrest in India and Egypt causes deep and widespread apprehension in all England, and the situation in South Africa is being narrowly watched.

What more fitting center then than London for the coming together of the first world conference of the races and peoples of the world! They are to meet not as master and slave, missionary and heathen, conqueror and conquered—but as men and equals in the center of the world, and the meeting will be watched with intense interest and remembered for many a long day.

W. E. B. D.
Views of a Southern Woman

By ADELENE MOFFAT

An Address Before the Third Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

I have been asked to speak for a few minutes at this conference for much the same reason, I suppose, that families at feud with each other in the part of the country from which I came originally choose the county line for the scene of their more explosive undervaluations of each other. The probability of the sheriffs of both counties appearing simultaneously is so small that differences may be discussed in the most carefree manner if only a subconscious sense of geography and a policy of rapid transit across the line be maintained by both sides.

Having been brought up in the South and having lived the latter part of my life in the North, I find myself a Northerner in the South and a Southerner in the North. Since it is this personal point of view that I have been asked to express, I hope I may be forgiven for a too frequent use of the personal pronoun and for quoting personal experiences. I think because I am both Southern and Northern I am more keenly aware than many of the inconsistencies on both sides—inconsistencies of phrase, of feeling and of policy. It seems to me that one of the most important functions of this association is that it will serve as a clearing house for misunderstandings and misrepresentations.

On this race question we seem to be unable to reach real issues because we are to so great a degree governed by phrases rather than by facts; and most of the facts are new and most of the phrases old. I often wonder if there has ever been outside the realm of religion a cause so phrase-ridden. This would be less deplorable if many of these ready diets had not become so distorted from their original intention and application that on both sides of the line we believe we think many things we do not think at all.

We are quite sure we have feelings which it has been clearly demonstrated we have not. We think we have race prejudice in the South, but we have not: we have only caste prejudice; the race prejudice is in the North, and the caste prejudice is growing here. The ways in which caste and race prejudice find expression in the North are beyond the comprehension of the Southerner and arouse his humor or his indignation according to the seriousness of the incident; often according to the extent of the hardship inflicted upon the colored person. On the other hand, the Northerner stands amazed and helpless before the incomprehensible mental processes of the Southerner, his utter lack of logic.

I shall never forget the amazement of a young Southern woman when she first came North to discover that a colored woman had been unable to find anyone to make a dress for her. As she turned around from the stamp window in the post office, a large, not too clean, middle-aged "darkey" fell upon her. "You all from the South, isn't you? Well, the Lord certainly have sent you! Won't you please, ma'm, make me a dress? I came up here to work in the clothes I'm standing in, thinking I could buy me somethin' or git somethin' made, and the store clothes is all too little and too fancy, and I've been everywhere there is to go an' there ain't anybody will make a dress for colored folks. Ain't that the beatenest?" The young Southern lady thought it was. Of course she made the dress, to the horror of some of her Northern friends, saying to herself: "And this is Massachusetts!" She had been accustomed all her life to see the young girls of good family make money for their Easter offerings by sewing for colored people.

On the other hand, a white trained nurse whom I knew in the South is in settlement work in a neighborhood where there are white and colored. She never asks when a case is reported to her what the complexion of her patient is—she goes to white and colored alike. She will care conscientiously and tenderly for a colored patient and perform all those menial offices glorified by her profession without a thought of doing otherwise, however diseased, ignorant or debased her patient may be, but she will not hand her patient's chart to a colored doctor, though he be immaculate in person, of irreproachable morals, and with an education and an accent which she would boast with pride were as good or better than her own!

The artificiality of the barrier between the two races could be shown by hundreds of better incidents than these. It is this artificiality that creates the problems and prevents each race from having the freedom to work out its own destiny. There is no Negro problem except as we
think there is a problem. The problem is a common problem of humanity—it is the problem of bad housing conditions, bad sanitary conditions, bad political conditions, bad industrial conditions, insufficient education, of both white and black.

The white Southerner will come to realize, I think, that what is good for any other race is good for the owned race. There is a growing company of white Southerners who feel that we want for our colored Southerner every advantage and every help, every advancement that has been found to be good for any other handicapped race. The time has gone by, if it ever existed, when there was but one type of Southerner, with but one kind of a political and social creed.

Unfortunately, until comparatively recent times there has been, with one or two notable exceptions, but one kind of Southerner who talked. But the silent minority, silent because speech was useless, has always been larger, I think, than is generally realized, and silence has not been wasted thinking. And the thinking begins very early sometimes.

The little daughter of a friend of mine, a child between four and five years old, was watching one of the colored women washing up the hearth in the nursery one morning. The woman sighed. Louise said, “What make you do lak’ that, Viney?”

“I reckon I’se tired, honey.”

“What makin’ you tired, Viney? Is it cause you’re always washing up the hearth?”

“I reckon so.”

“Is you washing up the hearth all the time cause you’se black, Viney?”

“I reckon so.”

“Oh, Viney, what’s the matter with dis wor’ anyhow!”

It is this “insurgent” element in the South that most needs the help and co-operative sympathy of the North—intelligent, farsighted and progressive co-operation. We feel that the beauty of desolation is all very well; but we like to be sympathized with for present conditions and not for past. We feel that the war was fought a very long time ago, before most of us were born. That forty-five years is a long time to be talking about it. We do not feel in a strong personal way the loss of wealth because we have never had it. We are like the mountaineer who when asked how he was getting on, said: “Oh, tolerable; I’m still a-holding my own. I began with nothin’ and I ain’t got nothin’ yit.”

What we do want is help to outgrow our prejudices and fears, our hysterical politics, which are the result of having had in our country an institution which we have had to defend to ourselves and to the outer world. The North could, and has right to give, a more certain, more vital aid in this direction.

There are two classes North and South, perhaps I should say one class, who form a serious obstacle to the right and speedy solution of our Southern problem. These are the charming people, the charming Southerner who makes one believe that nothing can be wrong in a social system where the people are so delightful. “Just leave them alone! They know how to deal with their questions better than anyone else.” This is the attitude toward them. There are also the charming, sympathetic Northerners who go down south for the winter or less, and say, almost with an air of virtue, “If I lived in the South I should feel just as the Southerners feel.” One is tempted to make the reply of the Italian official to Bismarck, “The explanation is ample, the excuse is insufficient.”

I think the progressive party in the South needs, more than it has ever needed, the moral support of the North and its active assistance in a campaign of education. It is most discouraging to see many intelligent Northerners who would not for a moment tolerate in their own State, no matter what the cost, conditions they acquiesce in in the South, accepting the point of view of the least progressive, least thoughtful Southerners, permitting them unhesitatingly to dictate what shall be the attitude of Northerners in the North—sometimes even treating the aggressive prejudices of silly young Southern students as serious questions, instead of mere provincialisms soon worn off by contact with a broader world. One young Southern student at least received a most wholesome and educative consideration. Soon after her arrival in the North, when her acquaintances were few and her social impulses many, a certain distinguished and delightful New Yorker said to her:

“I am so sorry I can’t ask you to come to the tea I am giving in my studio. There is to be a young colored artist there, just returned from Paris; knowing your feeling I thought it would be more polite not to ask you. Perhaps some other time, etc.” The young take disappointments hard. The other time never came, and this particular student wondered somewhat wistfully if prejudice paid. Some way or other it didn’t seem so fundamental to the preservation of society when she was excluded. If the young colored student had been debarred it would have seemed a patriotic virtue.

The responsibility for race discrimination, whatever the race discriminated against, seems to lie largely upon people who do not hold themselves responsible and who can hardly be held responsible except through an enlightened public
conscience—that is to say, the ordinary citizen going about his business or pleasure. A very large responsibility rests upon all agencies for social uplift. If they do not take the right stand it is hard to expect individuals here and there to do so. The encouraging aspect of the matter is that the difficulties are usually much more imagined than real, and this will be realized sooner or later. In a certain social work, covering a period of some years, there has been the opportunity to observe and compare most interestingly the workings of this unintelligent tendency to race prejudice.

The first to appear on the scene were the Irish, the next were the French Canadians; upon the approach of the latter the Irish rose in a body and demanded that the French-Canadians be excluded, saying that they did not want them coming there, that they would break up the club if they came, and that many of the best members would leave. The reply of the authorities was: "This institution is open to all nationalities and all creeds. The only basis of admission is good character and good behavior. The French-Canadian members fulfill those requirements. The house is here for those who come to it; if you do not come, then you have nothing to say about how it shall be run." The Irish and French-Canadians soon found that they liked each other very well indeed. The Jews were the next to approach. Both Irish and French-Canadians united against them. Again the management stood firm and the results were the same. This experience was repeated with more than fifteen nationalities. Finally all combined against the Negro. The management again withstood the combined pressure, saying cheerfully, "If you all leave, the place can still be run for colored people, and if you remain and make it uncomfortable for them or any other nationality you most certainly will be requested to leave." Again the result was the same as on previous occasions. Almost immediately the whole incident was forgotten.

In a social settlement in Cambridge, in a colored and white district, colored and white have been coming to the house in equal numbers for over fifteen years. So little is the question of color thought of that it not infrequently happens that in selecting persons for a play the young people entirely forget that perhaps some of the audience may feel that the dramatic unities are not being altogether preserved, when a flaxen-haired, blue-eyed boy or girl and a very dark colored child elect to be brother and sister in the play. The Woman's Club has always had about an equal number of white and colored members. The colored people are often in greater demand than some of their white neighbors owing to their agreeable and refined manners.

The distinctive traits of the colored people, those in which they seem to surpass the other nationalities which go to make up the American people, are urbanity, love of music, poetic imagination and social adaptability. Has America so many of these qualities that it can afford to cavil if the gift comes to it wrapped up in brown paper instead of white?

When one looks at what the Negro has accomplished in a generation since the war, when one considers the amount of education he has been able to acquire, the amount of his savings and his investments, when one catches in the literature of his race the strong, clear note of a rising people, a people meaning to rise to the highest American ideals (they know no other), it seems to be no longer a question of the education of the black, but of the education of the educated whites.

THE HEART'S DESIRE.
By Robert W. Justice.
Float ever by me
In countless numbers,
Like waves in the mighty sea,
Strange faces of alien gaze,
Hurrying on to and from the daily strife,
This way, and now that, yet all, all
Foreign, unfamiliar—still I stand and call
In hushed breath, and wait for one
Who passeth by, never.
Yet I fear to leave my lonely place—
My watch-tower of delight where with me
Dwell Hope and Patience;
The one—sweet counselling voice—
Makes day grow short, and I rejoice
When Patience laves my distressed soul
With reason and points to the goal
Where, though faint and dim,
I shall stand face to face,
And in love's sweet embrace,
Find and know My Heart's Desire.
The Congo Express

By VIRGINIA WRIGHT

"Express train for Timbuktu ready!" announced the Parisian papers a few weeks ago. "This way to buy your ticket for the Congo!"

They were not announcing the arrival of some new sort of exhibition with a miniature desert enlivened by real Arabs; they were stating sober fact. If you live in Paris and want to go to the heart of Africa you just go and buy your ticket as you would for any other place.

In short, a railway has been built across the desert from the West Coast of Africa to the Congo, running along the course of the Niger passing Timbuktu, that ancient city of mystery, stopping at Gao, the capital of a mighty empire until the demand for slaves sent raiders across the sands to capture and sell, going on safely and comfortably until it reaches the frontier of the Belgian Congo. It means the rapid development of that part of Africa and the restoration of the civilization so cruelly uprooted two hundred and fifty years ago.

The country is fertile if properly cultivated. The Niger carries wealth along with it and fine crops of grain are being raised along its banks. The Soudanese are industrious and capable, and above all the French apparently are really trying to do the right thing—they want the native to get an education and they respect his point of view. "White superiority" is not the chief clause in their credo.

Timbuktu is becoming a center of trade. Its houses are growing larger and it takes on the appearance of a modern city. The town of Gao, once the capital of the empire, is still a collection of huts, but all along the banks of the Niger busy emporiums are springing up and the natives share largely in the development of the country.

A lively Frenchman, Monsieur Felix Dubois, has written a book in which he gives an account of French progress in the Soudan which is extremely entertaining reading. Seventeen years ago he studied the country. At that time all the papers in France were crying out that there was nothing worth having in that sandy desert. Alone among all the critics, Monsieur Dubois stoutly held to his belief that the country would prove a tremendous commercial asset to the French and that its people would prove the best of citizens.

The Soudanese, he says, is brave at the same time that he is gentle, industrious and good tempered. Crime is almost unknown among them. They deserve, he declares, the best possible education. He thinks that France has done better than any other Colonial power in the country of the blacks because the French soul shrinks from the brutal exploits of the native people and regards color prejudice as a vice rather than as the virtue "certain other nations would make it."
He sees with the coming of the railway and the spread of the French power the return of the old glory of the French Soudan, a glory of which most of us were ignorant until within recent years scholarly men like M. Dubois and others found in Arab libraries and within the walls of Timbuktu itself the story of the greatness of that dead Soudanese empire.

One of the most interesting parts of his narrative is that in which he gives a description of a school he found in the desert. Here the little dark-faced scholars are taught the stories familiar to children of European civilization, but they are changed to give them an African setting. No patriotic American can fail to recognize the origin of this tale:

"During the feast of Ramadan, the father of Saliou gave him a pretty little knife. Little Saliou was very glad. He went out. He cut everything. He cut the grass. He saw a little lemon tree. Little Saliou cut it with his knife. The father of Saliou saw the dead lemon tree. He said, 'If I knew who cut the little lemon tree I would give him fifty blows with the whip.'"

"Little Saliou was afraid. He reflected. He said, 'Father, I cut the little lemon tree. If you strike, strike; if you forgive, forgive.'"

Yes, it is the story of George Washington transferred to the Soudan, on the edge of the Sahara, hundreds of miles from a white settlement. The moral is as poignant as ever, though the setting be a Mohammedan festival, and though the language of little Saliou may possess a tropical exuberance lacking in our own sedate Washington.

There is the story of the sour grapes, too, but as there are no grapes in the Soudan, the fruit is made a pawpaw and the fox, also non-existent in the desert, is a little boy:

"Little Assai sees a large, ripe, yellow pawpaw. The pawpaw tree is high. He climbs a little. He is tired. He comes down. He looks for a stone. He does not see any. He looks for a stick. He does not see any. He raises his head and sees the pawpaw. He says, 'Pawpaws are not good. I do not eat pawpaws.'"

Here is another story which points out the evils of exaggeration:

"Opposite the mosque is a great palm tree. A nut falls. A rat hears it. He is afraid. He rushes into the bush. He sees a hare. He says, 'The palm tree by the mosque has fallen.' The hare goes and says to the dog. 'The mosque of Jenne has fallen.' The dog goes. He sees a cow in the bushes. He says, 'Jenne has fallen.'"

And yet another which indicates the evils of boasting:

"Little Baba goes into the field with a servant. He says, 'The rice holds up its head and is good.' The servant says, 'No, the rice which lowers its head is good. There is something in it. The rice which holds up its head is not good. There is nothing in it.'"

M. Dubois was particularly delighted with the eagerness and intelligence the children showed in telling these stories. The little black hands waved at him madly from the benches, and he says he thought sadly of the children in the rural schools at home, who possessed no "poise" at all before the unaccustomed visitor and promptly forgot all they knew. "How pleasant a vitality, suggestive of a youthful race, reigned here," he reflects.

Above all, the visitor was charmed with the way in which the stories were told. There was nothing monotonous; there was not one word used which seemed to have been learned in parrot fashion. When a story teller hesitated his companions fell over each other in their desire to give the missing word. They almost quarreled to initiate the stranger into the mysteries of the
Soudanese La Fontaine and to explain the meaning of a local word. He went away delighted because he believes that “in every race this pride of knowledge among the young is a most valuable sign.”

This school has been established at Jenne, an ancient city which played an important part in the empire of the Soudan for thirteen centuries. Monsieur Dubois only regrets that there is not such another school at Timbuktu, which was, in the Middle Ages and before that, the seat of the great universities. The Soudanese proverb says: “Salt comes from the north, gold comes from the south, but the word of God and wisdom and history and beautiful tales, they are found only at Timbuktu.” So it would be particularly fitting to have a school established here.

He did see, however, in Timbuktu, many evidences of the benefit of French rule. He commented to one of his Soudanese friends on the many signs of trade he saw on every side, and remarked that these seemed to have grown up in the last seventeen years.

“The truth is,” replied his black friend, “that in the old days we were never safe from attacks by the marauding troops of the desert. Trade was carried on, but every man sought to conceal his prosperity. Bartering was done largely at night and in secret. Of recent years the brigands have been afraid to attack us and we are now able to lead a normal life.”

It was, of course, the slave trade that disturbed the splendid Soudanese empire. Ever since the white man discovered that the black man’s labor could be ex-
ploited in the plantations of the New World the cities of the desert have been laid waste by enemies, who, if they did not have more courage than their black opponents and certainly were morally their inferiors, were able to conquer them by superiority of weapons. When the black man was weakened by perpetual warfare against such tremendous odds, the roving tribes of the empire of Morocco preyed on him still further. Only within recent years has he learned how to defend himself. It is safe to prophesy that now he has learned a lesson, the march of progress in the Soudan will be startlingly rapid.

The railway will put the country in touch with modern ideas and the French are willing to be fair with the people. Although they may fall short of their ideal of liberty, equality, fraternity, it is still an ideal. They are still ashamed when it is violated.

The black Soudanese of the West is coming into his own again. Before very long there may be re-established along the yellow waters of the Niger the old civilization and perhaps even the old power.

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SOME LETTERS

FROM THE SOUTH.

May 8, 1911.

KIND SIR:

I am not an educated man. I will give you the peonage system as it is practised here in the name of the law.

If a colored man is arrested here and hasn't any money, whether he is guilty or not, he has to pay just the same. A man of color is never tried in this country. It is simply a farce. Everything is fixed before he enters the courtroom. I will try to give you an illustration of how it is done.

I am brought in a prisoner, go through the farce of being tried. The whole of my fine may amount to fifty dollars. A kindly appearing man will come up and pay my fine and take me to his farm to allow me to work it out. At the end of a month I find that I owe him more than I did when I went there. The debt is increased year in and year out. You would ask, "How is that?" It is simply that he is charging you more for your board, lodging and washing than they allow you for your work, and you can't help yourself either, nor can anyone else help you, because you are still a prisoner and never get your fine worked out. If you do as they say and be a good Negro, you are allowed to marry, provided you can get someone to have you, and of course the debt still in-
creases. This is in the United States, where it is supposed that every man has equal rights before the law, and we are held in bondage by this same outfit.

Of course we can't prove anything. Our work is nothing. If we state things as they are, the powers that be make a different statement, and that sets ours aside at Washington and, I suppose, in Heaven, too.

Now, I have tried to tell you how we are made servants here according to law. I will tell you in my next letter how the lawmakers keep the colored children out of schools, how that pressure is brought to bear on their parents in such a manner they cannot help themselves. The cheapest way we can borrow money here is at the rate of twenty-five cents on the dollar per year.

Your paper is the best I have read of the kind. I never dreamed there was such a paper in the world. I will subscribe soon. I think there are a great many here that will take your paper. I haven't had the chance to show your paper to any yet, but will as soon as I can. You know we have to be careful with such literature as this in this country.

What I have told you is strictly confidential. If you publish it, don't put my name to it. I would be dead in a short time after the news reached here.

One word more about the peonage. The court and the man you work for are always partners. One makes the fine and the other one works you and holds you, and if you leave you are tracked up with bloodhounds and brought back.

FROM A UNITARIAN CLERGY-MAN. PHILADELPHIA.

To the Editor of The Crisis:

I cannot forbear expressing my hearty sympathy, not only with the work you are doing, but with the way you are doing it. The five numbers of your magazine so far received have been to me of great value—I drew on them somewhat for my Memorial Sunday address on the "Aftermath of Slavery." It is well to have the issue made clear to know where America stands to-day. For all our disappointment, it may help to awaken all lovers of true Democracy and inspire them to fresh efforts to complete the work begun a century ago. Here in Philadelphia—such at least is my impression—race antagonism is relatively slight. Nor has the spirit which inspired the anti-slavery movement wholly died out. Yet even here your appeal is needed—on the one hand for character, on the other for justice and brotherhood. The earlier Abolitionists may have solved or thought to solve the race problem too easily. Neither emancipation nor enfranchisement could suddenly overcome the handicaps of long centuries of semi-barbarism or generations of slavery. Yet real progress has been made; and I believe there are hundreds of thousands whose hearts will respond to your challenge to keep wide open the door of industrial opportunity, of intellectual progress and of social recognition. We want no helot race in this twentieth century. Negro inferiority, if real, is not something to be rejoiced in, but to be overcome, ere it drags us down. And to this end—well, among many things—the children of the freedman, I believe, must not only develop still more widely efficiency and culture and self-control—but be prepared to contend more strenuously for their rights as men. Whatever the faults of the "white man," he has as a rule more respect for the man who knows what he wants and will fight for it.

"Oh," said a colored girl to Dr. Howe on that black day when a mob of whites marched down State Street, back into slavery, "Oh, if he only had the courage to commit suicide!"

Suicide is not called for to-day—but frankly, I believe the role of suffering servant has been a bit overdone.

So keep up the good fight.

Fraternally yours,

K. E. Evans.

A FRIEND OF THE CRISIS.

Before I close I want to express my deep interest and pleasure in The Crisis. There is no better way to keep up one's enthusiasm and to learn more regarding any subject than to take some fair-minded periodical devoted to the subject; for no matter how far away duty or pleasure may take us between times, the regular arrival of the magazine calls us back and common courtesy demands that we at least say "How do you do?" by running over the pages, thereby getting an idea of the contents, and even in the briefest glance always something to stimulate fresh thought. The June Crisis is perhaps the finest yet, there being so many interesting illustrations, while the reading matter maintains the high standard set in the first number. It is impossible to overestimate the influence for good exercised by such a periodical, dealing as this does so fearlessly and yet so fairly with this great problem of our national life.

May we not sometime have pictures of the offices of the association? I feel sure I am not the only subscriber who would welcome them among the other fine things presented from month to month.

Very truly yours,

Katherine Tiffany Sprague.
WHAT TO READ

BOOKS.


McBryde, J. McLaren—"Brer Rabbit in the Folk Tales of the Negro and Other Races." Sewanee (Tenn.) University Press.

This is a study of the rabbit and the fox and the other creatures made famous in Joel Chandler Harris' books in the folklore not only of the South but of other countries.


"Whittier's Correspondence from the Oak Knoll Collections, 1830-92." Edited by J. Albree, Salem, Mass. Essex Book and Print Club.

PERIODICALS.

"A Distinguished Negro." Outlook, June 24.


"In Love-Lady Court." L. Frank Toocker. Everybody's, July.


"The Indelible Stain," Independent, June 22.


HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.


The "Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe," by her son, Charles Edward Stowe, and her grandson, Lyman Beecher Stowe, is a volume of unusual interest. The publication of this biography marks the centenary of the remarkable little woman "as thin and dry as a pinch of snuff," who, amid the difficulties of continued poverty and ill-health brought into the world and reared a family of seven children, yet found time to write thirty books in addition to "short stories, essays, letters of travel and magazine articles well-nigh innumerable."

Those of us who as children wept over "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and wondered if it could be "really true" are both pleased and saddened to learn the stories of the real Legree, Eliza and Topsy. Here, too, we find an account of absorbing interest—an account of the incidents and events in the life of Harriet Beecher Stowe that aroused in her the burning indignation against "man's inhumanity to man" which could not rest until it had written itself down in an epoch-making protest against the institution of chattel slavery.

The sense of having a mission in the world was a dominant characteristic of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Accordingly, in her writings we find "the artist dominated by the preacher and reformer. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was to her a sermon hurled against a great moral evil."

The influence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "The Reply to the Address from the Women of England" upon public opinion in both America and Europe was prodigious. A tribute to the influence of the former was President Lincoln's greeting to Mrs. Stowe on meeting her for the first time: "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war!"

The American public is less familiar with "The Reply to the Address from the Women of England," yet its influence brought about results hardly second in importance to those produced by "Uncle Tom's Cabin" itself. This reply "did much to prevent armed intervention (by England) in behalf of the Confederacy, and it was one of the great influences that changed the sentiment of the English people toward the Confederacy."

Thus to a frail overburdened Yankee woman with a steadfast moral purpose we Americans, both black and white, owe our gratitude for the freedom and the union that exist to-day in these United States.

Dr. Chas. A. Eastman, the Sioux Indian, in his new book, "The Soul of the Indian," says:

"Long before I ever heard of Christ, or saw a white man, I had learned from an untutored woman the essence of morality. With the help of dear Nature herself, she taught me things simple but of mighty import. I knew God. I perceived what goodness is. I saw and loved what is really beautiful. Civilization has not taught me anything better.
"As a child, I understood how to give; I have forgotten that grace since I became civilized. I lived the natural life, whereas now I live the artificial. Any pretty pebble was valuable to me then; every growing tree an object of reverence. Now I worship with the white man before a painted landscape whose value is estimated in dollars! Thus the Indian is reconstructed, as the natural locks are ground to powder, and made into artificial blocks which may be built into the walls of modern society."

The very rare tenth book of the "History of the Ethiopians," by Heliodorus, printed in 1552, was one of the treasures of the recent Hoe sale in New York City. It was bought by Walter M. Hill, of Chicago, for $5,000.

**EXCAVATIONS IN ETHIOPIA.**

The Crisis has from time to time mentioned the remarkable explorations on the site of the ancient Ethiopian city of Meroe, the capital of the great black empire of the eastern Soudan. For more than one hundred years the pyramids of Meroe have been known, but only within the last three years have explorers known that a great city lay buried under the sand not far from them. Professor Garstang, who has been in charge of the work of uncovering Meroe, has just returned from Africa with many treasures and a description of a wonderful civilization.

Great temples, royal palaces, public buildings and splendid tombs have been rescued from the desert. The result shows that the black men were in close relation to Greece as well as Egypt. A magnificent temple in the Greek style has been uncovered. The architecture, the explorers say, in the construction of its columns, as well as in the elegance of their forms, recalls the best Greek works of antiquity and not at all the styles common upon the Nile. The sanctuary is in the middle and raised above the level of the rest of the temple. It was approached by a number of steps in black stone. Its floor and its walls were originally covered with glazed tiles, blue and yellow. A number are still in position. Round the sanctuary was a kind of corridor exposed to view on the outside, to show the processions and the ceremonials of the priests.

In the tombs vases of a special and rare kind were recovered, made of thin pottery decorated with paintings in colors. The subjects were animals, trees or natural features, or with designs stamped upon the clay. In addition to pottery vessels there were in these tombs a variety of objects not merely funerary in character.

In obedience to primitive instinct the dead man was laid to sleep on his bed in his subterranean chamber, surrounded by the things which would be to him the most useful on his awakening. The soldier had his weapons, sword, lance, dagger, etc., all of iron; the huntsman his bow and arrows—even the dogs were sometimes sacrificed with him. The women had equally their beads and their jewels.

Professor Garstang thinks he has found evidences of human sacrifices. The Ethiopians apparently were reluctant to take life, their worse criminals being told to commit suicide so that blood guilt might not rest on an executioner, and the matter of the human sacrifices is not yet settled.

Well-preserved remains have been found of the period of great splendor, six or seven hundred years B.C., when the Ethiopians conquered Egypt. There are also relics of Roman influence, and among the art treasures is a beautiful head which is placed at the end of the first century B.C. The eyes are of alabaster, with the iris and pupil inlaid, while the eyelashes are in bronze. It is twice life size. It is possible that this head represents Germanicus, who is known from the Annals of Tacitus to have made a voyage by the Nile to Assouan.

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By

MARY WHITE OVERTO

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