

THE CRISIS

■ Publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ■
Selections: 1910-1917





NOVEMBER 1910
FIRST ISSUE

THE CRISIS.

THE object of this publication is to set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice, particularly as manifested to-day toward colored people. It takes its name from the fact that the editors believe that this is a critical time in the history of the advancement of men. Catholicity and tolerance, reason and forbearance can to-day make the world-old dream of human brotherhood approach realization; while bigotry and prejudice, emphasized race consciousness and force can repeat the awful history of the contact of nations and groups in the past. We strive for this higher and broader vision of Peace and Good Will.

The policy of THE CRISIS will be simple and well defined:

It will first and foremost be a newspaper: it will record important happenings and movements in the world which bear on the great problem of inter-racial relations, and especially those which affect the Negro-American.

Secondly, it will be a review of opinion and literature, recording briefly books, articles, and important expressions of opinion in the white and colored press on the race problem.

Thirdly, it will publish a few short articles.

Finally, its editorial page will stand for the rights of men, irrespective of color or race, for the highest ideals of American democracy, and for reasonable but earnest and persistent attempt to gain these rights and realize these ideals. The magazine will be the organ of no clique or party and will avoid personal rancor of all sorts. In the absence of proof to the contrary it will assume honesty of purpose on the part of all men, North and South, white and black.

AGITATION.

Some good friends of the cause we represent fear agitation. They say: "Do not agitate—do not make a noise; *work*." They add, "Agitation is destructive or at best negative—what is wanted is positive constructive work."

Such honest critics mistake the function of agitation. A toothache is agitation. Is a toothache a good thing? No. Is it therefore useless? No. It is supremely useful, for it tells the body of decay, dyspepsia and death. Without it the body would suffer unknowingly. It would think: All is well, when lo! danger lurks.

The same is true of the Social Body. Agitation is a necessary evil to tell of the ills of the Suffering. Without it many a nation has been lulled to false security and preened itself with virtues it did not possess.

The function of this Association is to tell this nation the crying evil of race prejudice. It is a hard duty but a necessary one—a divine one. It is Pain; Pain is not good but Pain is necessary. Pain does not aggravate disease—Disease causes Pain. Agitation does not mean Aggravation—Aggravation calls for Agitation in order that Remedy may be found.

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume One FEBRUARY, 1911 Number Four

Edited by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, with the co-operation of Oswald Garrison Villard, J. Max Barber, Charles Edward Russell, Kelly Miller, W. S. Braithwaite and M. D. Maclean.

CONTENTS	
Along the Color Line	5
Opinion	11
Pink Franklin's Reprieve	15
Editorial	16
Cartoon	18
By JOHN HENRY ADAMS	
Editorial	20
Charles Sumner	22
A Poem by JAMES W. F. STAFFORD	
The Negro as a Soldier	23
By Brig. Gen. A. S. BURT	
Josef Candido	25
A Black Statesman of the Last Century	26
By Dr. FRANCES HOGGAN	
N.A.A.C.P. Meetings	27
Talks About Women	28
By Mrs. J. E. WILHOLLAND	
The Burden	29
What to Read	30
A Library	31



HON. HARRY W. BASS
First Colored Member of the Pennsylvania Legislature. Elected in November, 1910.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
AT TWENTY VESKY STREET NEW YORK CITY
ONE DOLLAR A YEAR TEN CENTS A COPY

FEBRUARY 1911



1900

"The colored man that saves his money and buys a brick house will be universally respected by his white neighbors."

1900

"The colored man that saves his money and buys a brick home will be universally respected by his white neighbors."

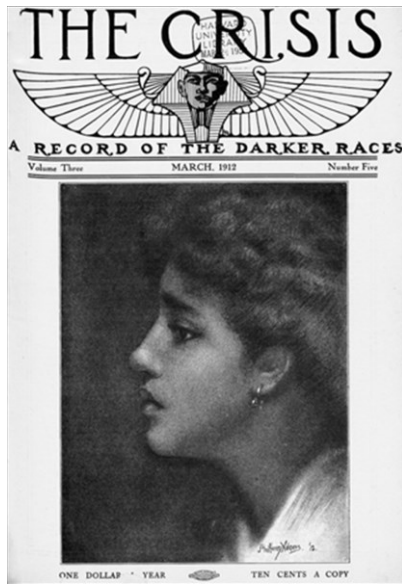


1910

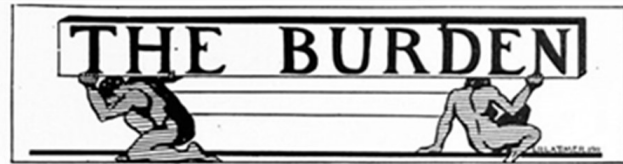
"New and dangerous species of Negro criminal lately discovered in Baltimore. He will be segregated in order to avoid lynching."

1910

"New and dangerous species of Negro criminal lately discovered in Baltimore. He will be segregated in order to avoid lynching."



MARCH 1912



**COLORED MEN LYNCHED WITH-
OUT TRIAL.**

1885.....	78	1899.....	84
1886.....	71	1900.....	107
1887.....	80	1901.....	107
1888.....	95	1902.....	86
1889.....	95	1903.....	86
1890.....	90	1904.....	83
1891.....	121	1905.....	61
1892.....	155	1906.....	64
1893.....	154	1907.....	60
1894.....	134	1908.....	93
1895.....	112	1909.....	73
1896.....	80	1910.....	65
1897.....	122	1911.....	63
1898.....	102		
Total.....			1,521

The alleged causes for 1911 were:

Murder.....	36
Rape.....	7
Attempted rape.....	7
Insulting women.....	4
Assault to kill.....	3
"Prejudice".....	2
"Suspected rape".....	1
Threats.....	1
"Desperado".....	1
Robbery.....	1

there are no loafers among the other races? Or is it on account of the explicit order from the chief of police to arrest Negroes only? A week or ten days ago 108 able-bodied men were arrested and detained in the barracks on suspicion—men who are working every day, or at least whenever an opportunity for work is offered. The "milk in the coconut" is that the farmers want cotton pickers at starvation price and worst treatment, and at the same time there will be races with automobiles very soon—convict labor as opposed to free labor is required to further the money-making scheme of a body of enterprising citizens. Why not lease some of these convicts to the M. & M. T. Co. or O. S. So. Co.? The county has no more interest in automobile races than handling of freight by the companies named. Mr. Editor, I believe the police department could find a number of white loafers whenever they are instructed to look up such."



"LYNCHED"

63
We give the figures above from the Chicago Tribune. THE CRISIS believes that at least 100 colored people were lynched during the year 1911, and, therefore, we shall, in 1912, keep a careful list ourselves.

☞ Palm Beach, Fla., February 3, 1912.
Dear _____:
I am sending you a card, which so aroused me until I purchased the entire supply, with the purpose of enlisting your aid in preventing the publication of such cards. I don't know how to begin this work, but with the co-operation of such men as you, we must accomplish something. Trusting you will give this card and the letter serious consideration, I beg to remain,
Very truly yours,

A part of the card is reproduced here. It is printed in colors and marked "Made in Germany, No. 28,293, by the H. L. Co."

☞ A large number of Negroes are being arrested as vagrants. A letter in the Savannah Tribune asks: "Is it because

THE BOOKS

ARE YOU INTERESTED
IN THE
NEGRO PROBLEM
OR A
PART OF IT

THE MAGAZINE

STUDENTS OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The Souls of Black Folk, DuBois
History of the Negro • Washington
John Brown • • DuBois
Up From Slavery • • Washington
Poems of Paul Laurence
Dunbar
Poems of W. S. Braith-
waite
Race Adjustment • Miller
Negro In the New World, Johnston
Following the Color Line, Baker
Works of Charles W.
Chestnatt
Atlanta University Studies
Negro and the Nation • Merriam
Negro In the South • Washington
• DuBois
Aftermath of Slavery • Sinclair
Half a Man • • Ovington
Life of Harriet Beecher
Stowe • • • Stowe
Mind of Primitive Man, Boaz
Race Prejudice • • Finot
Curse of Race Prejudice, Morton
Quest of the Silver Fleece,
a novel • • • DuBois
Through Afro-America, Archer
Southern South • • Hart
Inter-Racial Problems, Official Record
of the Universal Races Congress

And general readers will find this list embraces the most popular and comprehensive studies of the Negro question. They are the best books by the best writers and thinkers. By special arrangements with the publishers of the books we are in position to make combination offers at remarkably low prices. This offer is good for a limited time only and is made to increase the subscription list of

THE CRISIS
A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

THE CRISIS
the magazine edited by
W. E. B. DuBois with the cooperation of Oswald Garrison Villard, Charles Edward Russell, Kelly Miller and others. The *Crisis* is the organ of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People and is a record of every important happening and movement in the world which bears on the great problems of inter-racial relations and especially those which affect the Negro American.

OUR OFFER:
We have made special combinations with these books in sets of five, ten, fifteen and twenty, together with a year's subscription to the *Crisis*, and will be glad to have the names and addresses of all who find themselves interested in the greatest of problems.

CUT OFF HERE

To the Publishers of the *CRISIS*,
20 Vesey Street,
New York City.
Gentlemen:
Please send, without any cost to me, your descriptive circular offering these sets of books on the Negro Problem and a year's subscription to the *CRISIS*.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____

Mention THE CRISIS.

GREAT NORTHWEST NUMBER
OF
THE CRISIS



SEPTEMBER
1913

TEN CENTS
A COPY

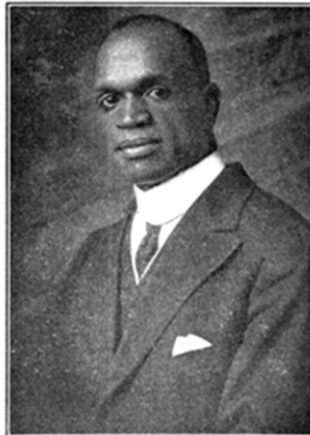
SEPTEMBER 1913



OUR BUSINESS MANAGER.

MR. A. G. DILL, who joins the staff of *THE CRISIS* this month as business manager, is an example of the type of progressive young men who are making themselves felt in colored America. Born at Portsmouth, O., in 1881, he began at the age of 17 to teach in his native town. In 1902 he entered Atlanta University, receiving the degree of A. B. in 1906. He then supplemented his studies at Harvard, where in 1908 he received the bachelor's degree. In 1909 Atlanta conferred upon him the degree of A. M.

While at Harvard Mr. Dill taught in the evening schools of Cambridge, and from



AUGUSTUS G. DILL

1908 to 1910 was Northern secretary and agent of Atlanta University. In the latter year he went to Atlanta, where, conjointly with his duties as associate professor of sociology and organist of the university, he did the work for which he is best known, as joint editor of the "Atlanta University Studies."

■
A CHEMIST.

MR. RICHARD H. PARKER, of Newark, N. J., is a specimen of that *rara avis* among us, the man who prefers to be sought after rather than to seek; who has, as he says, "always avoided publicity," or, in other words, has steered clear of the cuts and writeups which so many of our people, fully alive to the advantages of advertising, have made a prominent feature of the colored weekly newspaper. Seldom, however, has *THE CRISIS* persuaded a man more deserving of honor to emerge from his cocoon of modesty and give to the youth of the race the inspiration and encouragement of the releasing of his own wings for a career far more enduring than that of a butterfly.

Some fifty years ago Mr. Parker was born in Marlborough, Md., where he had the advantage of an elementary education. While in his teens he went to Baltimore, and later to Washington, where he became an apprentice in a printing establishment. After having learned to set type as well as anyone else, he enlisted in the United States navy and became steward of the President's yacht "Despatch." In 1886 he left the navy and became an assistant in the laboratory of the engineer for the city of Washington. Here he began the training and the study which have made him an authority on

MEN OF THE MONTH

223



RICHARD H. PARKER.

asphalt, cement, paving and building materials, and secured him his present position as chief analytical chemist in the laboratory of Col. J. W. Howard, one of the leading engineers and contractors in the country. He continues his independent researches and has frequently contributed to the trade and technical journals.

Mr. Parker had been for twelve years a member of the Society of Chemical Industry, a British organization, before the American Chemical Society decided that it would be honored by including him in its membership. He has the distinction of being, so far as is known, the only colored member of either of these bodies. But there is no reason why he should be the last, if some youth possessing the ability devoted himself to the "patient study and hard work" to which Mr. Parker attributes his success.

■
A JOURNALIST.

TO those who argue that the colored man's opportunities, such as they are, lie only and exclusively south of the Mason and Dixon line, where alone there is no

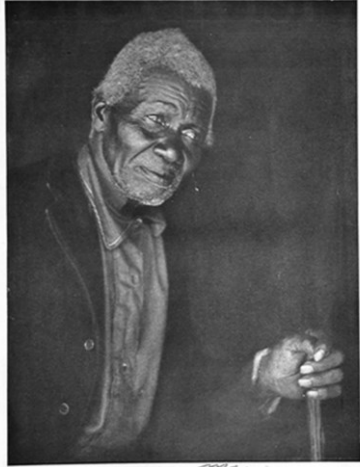
prejudice against the Negro who "has something that the white man wants or can use," the career of Mr. Parker is a glaring contradiction. Another is that of Mr. J. R. Bourne, who is chief proofreader for the Riverside Press, of Cambridge, Mass. Mr. Bourne was born in 1875, at Barbados, West Indies, where he received his education. He was associated with two other colored men in founding the first of the four daily papers now published in that island. In British Guiana and at Trinidad Mr. Bourne divided his attention between prospecting for gold and journalism, serving as a reporter for the *Daily Standard* and the *Argosy* of Demerara, and as the official proofreader for the government of Trinidad. He later held the same office with the Imperial Department of Agriculture for the West Indies. In 1903 he came to the United States, and three years later married Miss Ida May Sharp, of Cincinnati, who had been a teacher at the College of West Africa, in Liberia. Mr. Bourne is a member of the British Institute of Journalists and finds time in his present position for reviewing and private editorial work.



J. R. BOURNE.

The CRISIS

Vol. 9—No. 1 NOVEMBER, 1914 Whole No. 49



ONE DOLLAR A YEAR TEN CENTS A COPY

NOVEMBER 1914

Where Does Your Congressman Stand?

A QUESTIONNAIRE

We hear that darkest Russia promises national unity to Poland, autonomy to Finland and religious freedom to all. What is free America going to do for her ten million colored citizens? To find out the National Association has sent the following questionnaire to all candidates for Congress:

September 22, 1914.

My Dear Sir:

Will you kindly fill out and return the attached questionnaire by October 12? This is being sent out by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to all candidates for Congress of the Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties. The results will be published in THE CRISIS, the organ of the Association which reaches 150,000 readers, in the white and colored press of the country, and in handbills for distribution by our branches.

The names of candidates not forwarding their answers by October 12 will also be printed and colored voters and their friends advised to vote against them. Very truly yours,
J. E. SPINGARN,
Chairman of Board.

1. Will you, if elected, vote against any measure abrogating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?
2. Will you, if elected, vote against—
 - a. Segregation in the federal service?
 - b. Residential segregation in the District of Columbia?
 - c. Segregation in Jim Crow cars in the District of Columbia?
3. Regardless of whether you advocate racial intermarriage, will you oppose the passage of a law making such marriage in the District of Columbia invalid, since the enactment by states of such laws has led to the degradation of Negro women and children?
4. Do you under any circumstances justify lynching?
5. Do you favor the enforcement of Clause 2 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution?

Many nominations have not been received as this goes to press and many to whom

questionnaires have been sent have not had time to reply. One hundred and thirteen replies have been received. Of these 49, listed below, gave favorable answers to all questions. We also give an analysis of the 64 unfavorable and doubtful replies. Replies received after to-day, October 8, will be printed in handbills for distribution to our branches before election. Over 1,400 candidates will receive the questions.

Candidates Who Promise to Vote Right.

The following give favorable answers to every one of the five questions:

THOSE WHO ANSWER "RIGHT"

State	Party	District	Name
Indiana	Republican	5th	Shattuck
Indiana	Progressive	6th	Russell
Indiana	Republican	7th	Moore
Indiana	Progressive	7th	Hibben
Indiana	Progressive	9th	Ford
Indiana	Republican	9th	Parnell
Indiana	Republican	11th	Stricker
Indiana	Progressive	12th	Widney
Indiana	Republican	12th	Lane
Indiana	Republican	13th	Hickey
Kansas	Republican	Senator	Curtis
Kansas	Republican	7th	Simmons
Massachusetts	Progressive	5th	Osgood
Massachusetts	Progressive	7th	Ranger
Massachusetts	Rep. & Pro.	8th	Dallinger
Massachusetts	Republican	9th	Roberts
Massachusetts	Progressive	9th	Newton
Massachusetts	Democratic	11th	Horgan
Michigan	Progressive	2d	Probert
Michigan	Republican	2d	Bacon
Michigan	Progressive	4th	Harvey
Michigan	Republican	4th	Hamilton
Michigan	Democratic	10th	Hitchcock
Ohio	Republican	1st	Longworth
Ohio	Republican	2d	Struble
Ohio	Republican	3d	Brown
Ohio	Democratic	4th	Cunningham
Ohio	Progressive	9th	Whitney
Ohio	Democratic	10th	Mactrollf
Ohio	Democratic	12th	Hogan
Ohio	Republican	14th	Williams
Ohio	Republican	19th	Casper
Ohio	Progressive	21st	Miller
Ohio	Republican	22d	Emerson
Pennsylvania	Progressive	at large	Walters
Pennsylvania	Progressive	1st	Bart
Pennsylvania	Republican	Senator	Penrose
Pennsylvania	Progressive	3d	Wainstock
Pennsylvania	Washington	6th	Drake
Pennsylvania	Washington	7th	Tomlinson
Pennsylvania	Progressive	13th	Stewart
Pennsylvania	Progressive	15th	Stokes
Pennsylvania	Progressive	16th	Heffner
Pennsylvania	Progressive	25th	Lockwood
Rhode Island	Progressive	2d	Ball
Washington	Republican	Senator	Jones
Washington	Republican	3d	Johnson
West Virginia	Progressive	2d	Keim

THE BURDEN

South Carolina, Oct. 7, 1914.

Dear Mr. Editor:

In addressing this letter to you I am endeavoring to find a friend who is willing to aid a worthy one in need. I do not feel that this letter will interest you very much, as, no doubt, you have already received many such letters.

But I realize that there is always a possibility of an honest effort being crowned with success. Hence, my determination to continue. I am not asking alms. I am simply seeking aid to carry me over this crisis, which you will better understand when I explain further on. The situation is this: I am sole owner of 110 acres of good farming land in Cokesburg Township, Greenwood County, this State, 50 acres of which I bought three years ago. I have made improvements on the place to the amount of several hundred dollars, including the drilling of an artisan well, building fences, barn and dwelling house, besides live stock and farming implements. I have been compelled to borrow money to do this. And the last three years have been very unfavorable on account of droughts. Now we can get only 7 cents per pound for cotton, which this year cost me 9 cents to make, not counting my own time. Our notes will be due soon and unless we can get aid from somewhere, will be compelled to give our cotton away for 7 cents, though it would little more than pay the interest. I want to give some one who will give me a chance to pay him, a mortgage on all of my belongings for sufficient money to pay off my indebtedness. Can you point me to such a one? Or, can you point me to one or many who will buy

our 15 bales of cotton at 10 cents per pound? If you can, or if you cannot, you will confer a great favor on me to even just write a letter of encouragement in answer to this.

This is not intended for publication, but should you desire to do so, please withhold my name and oblige.

Yours sincerely,

P. S.—The buy-a-bale movement that is advertised so extensively, does not reach we colored people at all. We do not and need not expect any help from that source. Whatever happens, I will be glad to write you more in detail if you so desire.

COLORED MEN AND WOMEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL

1885.....	78	1900.....	107
1886.....	71	1901.....	107
1887.....	80	1902.....	86
1888.....	95	1903.....	86
1889.....	95	1904.....	83
1890.....	90	1905.....	61
1891.....	121	1906.....	64
1892.....	155	1907.....	60
1893.....	154	1908.....	93
1894.....	134	1909.....	73
1895.....	112	1910.....	65
1896.....	80	1911.....	63
1897.....	122	1912.....	63
1898.....	102	1913.....	79
1899.....	84	1914, 9 months..	35
Total			2,698



MARCH 1915



LYNCHING

SOUTHERN CHIVALRY The recent horrible lynching in Georgia brings even the *New York Times* to its feet. After some shuffling to excuse the South the editorial goes on to say:

"Use has bred a habit. No longer are lynchings committed solely for 'the usual crime.' A case of disorderly conduct, a case of resisting an officer, now supply warrant enough for the organized murder of men and even women. The evil has grown. The time is near, if indeed it is not already at hand, when the fact that a man is 'a bad nigger' will be enough to warrant his assassination by a mob.

"Lynchings are committed mostly by cowards, and quite largely by the riff-raff of the neighborhood, inspired by rum. But in most cases there are a few mob leaders who are men of reputation in the community, and whose activity is the excuse of the whisky-soaked riff-raff who follow them. If an attempt is made to punish them, their standing in the vicinage, their swagger and pose, and the sympathy of their neighbors make their escape a foregone conclusion. Not until these men, the real criminals, are sternly dealt with in some outstanding trial will the reproach that hangs over the South be removed. If some Southern Governor, if some Southern Judge, would show just once real intrepidity and fearlessness of consequences in dealing with what has become a dastardly and common crime, lynching would become as unfashionable as any other felony in that particular State. Let us hope that we may see that day come."

The *Boston Traveler* in commenting on talk about "the industrious Negro," in a Florida paper, says:

"Surely the one hundred members of that Georgia community which last week

lynched a Negro father, his two daughters and a son and filled their bodies with bullets because they beat a policeman who attempted to make an arrest did not treat the helpless victims as though they were 'our own people.' And what would have happened to the Negroes of the community if they had lynched four whites for beating a colored policeman? But the South is constantly reminding us that we 'do not understand,' and we have frankly to confess that we do not, quite."

In another editorial it continues:

"At Monticello, Georgia, a mob of 100 masked men, took from the jail four Negroes, a father, his two married daughters and a son, accused of clubbing a policeman in making an arrest, hanged them to a tree and riddled their bodies with bullets. Could anything more clearly set forth the inherent right of the white man to govern or the moral superiority of the Caucasian over the African? So long as such shocking evidences of brutal depravity are more or less common in the southern section of this country, the rest of the world may well look upon the United States as a semi-civilized land."

The *Courier Herald* of Sagamore, Mich., speaks in the same line.

"This was a grim orgy indeed! What a wild and savage thing it would seem, if a traveler brought back an account of such a carnival of death from the heart of Africa or the depths of the great South American jungle! And yet it happened in our own country, in one of our sovereign states, in free, liberty-loving, civilized America, whose constitution guarantees equality for all!"

The *Press* of Binghamton, N. Y., says:

"There is a very simple way to pre-

vent lynching, always assuming that the fearful and wonderful instrument known as a State Constitution permits it. Put the sheriff under bonds for the protection of his prisoners, and give him, of course, money enough to hire a few capable deputies.

"Southern peace officers want to stand well with their neighbors, but there are some of them who would certainly fight harder to save a \$50,000 bond than they would, otherwise, to save the life of a Negro prisoner. And three or four armed men, with plenty of determination and plenty of ammunition, can scatter any mob the South ever produced."

The *Congregationalist* is a little despondent.

"The lynching of four Negroes in a Southern town because they were reluctant to be arrested shows that the progress of education and good feeling in that part of the country is hardly as rapid as we have dared to hope."

The *New York Globe* writes:

"We profess to be a civilized nation, and in horror raise our hands at tales of cruelties practised by war-crazed soldiers abroad. Yet in cold blood and like veritable fiends incarnate we torture to death our fellow creatures. The time has come to put an end to lynch law in the South."

The Albany (N. Y.) *Kuickerbocker Press* says:

"It must amaze all right-thinking citizens that in this twentieth century a mob of supposedly intelligent white men could, in cold blood, take two women and two men from their homes, hang them one by one and riddle their bodies with bullets.

"The country owes many debts to the sunny southland which has been the mother of some of the greatest of America's citizens, but the South must soon realize that the stigma of lynch law which has made her a hissing and a shame in the eyes of civilization for generations, must be lifted if she would hold her head high in the confraternity of peoples."

The *Evening Telegram* of Philadelphia continues:

"There are places under the American flag to-day where 'nigger killing' is regarded no more seriously than rat chas-

ing, where the eyes of civilized little white children glisten as they recount the scenes of the lynching, and where white men and women are now being offered as sacrifices to this new and insatiable Moloch.

"The lynching impulse is one that a people may indulge only at their own peril."

The *New York World* adds this bit:

"The quadruple lynching of Negro men and women in Georgia is not for 'the usual crime.' It is merely what has come to be the usual manifestation of a cowardly and murderous mob spirit, fostered by a lawlessness which sought a justification in 'the usual crime.'"

Southern papers have, to some extent, spoken out also. The *Louisville Courier Journal*, for instance:

"It seems almost incredible that four persons should have been lynched as the outcome of a mere street row in which no one appears to have been seriously injured. Monticello has made a record for causeless bloodshed that will be hard to live down."

The *Atlanta Journal* writes:

"The resolutions adopted by a mass meeting of the citizens of Monticello and Jasper county on the recent lynching in that community find earnest response in the mind of every Georgian who values his state's good name or who has any sense of justice and humanity. Savage lawlessness seldom grows so monstrous as it did in the mob which hanged four Negro prisoners, two of them women, charged with running a 'blind tiger' and with assaulting the officers who came to arrest them. That was murder, cold-blooded and cowardly and so should it be dealt with, to the limit of the state's legal resources."

And the Columbus (Ga.) *Ledger* is forced to the conclusion that in a typical modern lynching "the original crime is the factor of least importance. The chief cause appears to be a criminal desire for blood on the part of an inflamed mob. Most any offense will serve for a pretext."

The colored papers are naturally bitter. "Great God," says the *Amsterdam (N. Y.) News*, "is there in Georgia no woman bold enough to take up the cudgels for her sex? Will not Georgia's

womanhood fight the new pastime of the mob? Will not Georgia women organize and draw the line somewhere in this disgraceful business? Women have captured the ear of the public before and can do so now. Can Southern white women sit still and see women, of whatever race, manhandled and insulted, lynched and riddled with bullets?"

The Atlanta *Independent* replies incisively to the Governor of Georgia.

"It does not suffice or justify a carnage of crime for our Governor to argue in extenuation of the Monticello outrage what happened in Illinois, New York and Massachusetts years ago. The fact that some years ago Negroes were murdered in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Delaware and elsewhere does not in any sense justify or extenuate or mitigate for the outrage at Monticello. That this great state with 2,000,000 people, immense wealth and unequalled intelligence, should stand idly by and see a whole family shot to death by a lawless mob is almost incomprehensible, and that the Governor should answer those who criticize his state for crimes perpetrated against the majesty of the law and for the barbarous killing of citizens in the hands of the law, with the recital of crimes in other states is both humiliating and execrating to an intelligent citizenship.

"The Governor reasons that one sin justifies another; that murder in New York justifies or mitigates murder in Georgia. There is no need of any longer putting up the stock argument that the members of the mob can not be apprehended.

"It is openly charged by the whites of the South that the Negro conceals his criminal element; that he receives stolen goods and hides that element of his race that violates the law. That is largely true. There is an element of our people that commits crimes and another element that conceals crime. But happily, both these elements are largely in the minority, and it is equally true that there is a large element of the whites of this section that conceals crime, that hides criminals, that covers the mobs and shields them from the strong arm of the law. If this were not true, why is it that the Governor's reward will not ap-

prehend and convict the Monticello lynchers and the thousands of lynchers who, year after year, put many black people to death in the South upon mere suspicion."

There is the usual evidence of discomfort in the South at criticism. The *Times Union* of Jacksonville, Fla., does not see as many "holier than thou" Northern newspapers "as we saw in days gone by. A number of lynchings occurring in Northern states, more brutal than any ever known in the South, convinced most of our critics of the impropriety of throwing stones. We speak of a number of Northern lynchings as more brutal than any that ever occurred in the South because the Southern mob hunts for the guilty man and does not molest others while in several instances in Northern cities mobs have chased and lynched Negroes without any reason to believe them guilty of any offense."

The *Macon Daily Telegraph* says: "If those Northern and Eastern publications which deal in 'ifs' and 'ands' and 'wonders' regarding the attitude of the people of Georgia and the South toward the Monticello lynching, will observe the aftermath of that regrettable affair, and refresh their memories as to similar notorious occurrences in their own sections, they will find less reason to inferentially accuse a people of the act of a few lawbreakers."

And later the *Telegraph* even attempts some half-hearted defense of the lynch-

"It was not 'the usual crime' it is true. But it was an attempt at an exceedingly vicious one, and while its nature does not justify wholesale lynchings, in fairness it must be admitted that there were features connected with it calculated to rouse public passion hotly. This is not an attempt at condonement, but rather at palliation. The affair was terrible, on the face of it, notwithstanding, however, the strongest palliation, and should be thoroughly probed."

There is a disposition to search for causes in this prevalence of mob murder. The *New York Evening Post* says: "Southern newspapers and people have in the main spoken out well against the revival of lynching. Thus 200 citizens of Monticello, Georgia, one of the

disgraced towns, in a mass meeting presided over by the mayor, expressed their disapproval of the mob-murder of four accused Negroes, and promised the Governor their assistance in bringing the guilty to book. The feeling of the local press is typified by the statement of the *Thomasville Times-Enterprise*, that this lynching is 'a blot on the name of the county of Jasper that will never be erased,' and its hope that the state 'will make a sincere effort to mete punishment to those who have so transgressed the bounds of reason and right.' Though neither utterance is quite vigorous enough in view of the dastardly character of the lynching, and the fact that two of the victims were innocent colored women, so far so good. But the time is close at hand when the enlightened sentiment of the South ought to do a great deal more than resolving and deprecating. One of the differences between the North and the South is the comparative ease with which reform organizations are started in the two sections. It is much harder to get men or women in the old slave states to assume an unpopular position; but the time has surely come when there ought to be a strong Southern organization to deal with this matter of lynching and the abuse of the law."

If the *Evening Post*, however, will look to its own columns it will find certain latent causes of the lynching spirit. In a review, for instance, of "The Diary of Adam Tas" the *Post* speaks of the celebrated governor of the Dutch East India Company; Willem Adriaan van der Stel. Van der Stel was a mulatto and the *Post* sagely says that from his Negro grandmother "he appears to have inherited doubtful morals and an inclination towards Oriental splendor which led him into extravagance and consequent oppression."

Of course, "doubtful morals" always come from colored people; never from white people; and an "inclination to Oriental splendor" is peculiarly African. It is this kind of wholesale but subtle condemnation of the Negro race that is the beginning of the lynching spirit.

As the *Utica (N. Y.) Press* says, speaking of the proposed discrimination against Negro immigrants:

"The lieracy test would keep out the illiterate of any degree of black blood as well as an illiterate of white blood. But that alone would not discriminate sufficiently to satisfy the Negro-hating sentiment of the constituencies of these southern statesmen. One of the bitter grievances of these constituencies against the Negro is not on account of any degree of illiteracy, but because of his unwillingness to be content with a continued condition of ignorance and political and economic dependence. The anti-Negro clause of the immigration bill is not aimed at the illiterate Negro of pure or mixed blood, but at the intelligent Negro of whatever blood proportion. Men of Negro or mixed Negro blood prominent in South American countries—and they are numerous—are not likely to contribute zealously to the better or cordial relations the Washington Government is seeking to promote with those countries, when they know there is a law forbidding their entry into the United States."

But back of all this the real trouble arises from the facts like these taken from a white Florida daily paper and referring to Seneca, S. C.:

"Two Negroes are dead a third is believed to be dying and half a dozen white men were wounded by bullets as a result of a race riot at Fairplay, a small village 12 miles from here.

"An hour after the rioting started, whites and Negroes came across the line from Georgia to take part in the fight.

"Trouble between the races has been brewing for days; and came to a head when a white man said to be Woodrow Campbell and George Gibson a young Negro quarreled over Gibson's attentions to a mulatto woman. Negroes sided with Gibson and last night the friends of Campbell formed a mob and took Tom Spright a Negro across the Savannah river into Georgia and gave him a terrible beating.

"Gibson and his father, Green Gibson, arrived on the bridge in a buggy and demanded that the bridge be cleared of the mob so that they might pass.

"Walking to the buggy, one of the men said to young Gibson: 'You are the one we want.'

"Gibson was pulled from the buggy. He resisted and escaped. The escape

only infuriated the mob more. He was chased and after a time caught. Then he was beaten to death. Spright, unconscious and near death, was hurried to a near-by town.

"It is reported that another Negro was killed, but this has not been verified.

"Following the killings and beatings, the Negroes formed in large numbers and attacked the whites. The white men injured are Magistrate W. C. McClure, shot in the face; Paul Marrott, shot in the back, condition serious; Woodrow Campbell, shot in the chest and stabbed; Logan Ramoy, shot in the eye, and several others who were not badly hurt.

"Several of the whites were shot by the elder Gibson, who protected himself behind the bridge. Then he ran and was brought down with a bullet in his back. His gun was broken to pieces and used to beat him to death."

To this we have only to add the recent report on the conduct of white men in Alaska. Dr. E. L. Jones reports to President Wilson:

"The white man's lack of care and regard for the sanctity of the native's homes is the crime of Alaska," he says. "In many sections the wife and daughters are dishonored, and any resistance from the husband, father or brother is overcome by threats and bribes and liquor, until even the men have all their best impulses deadened and seem to be unmanned."



APRIL 1916

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People



THE AUTOMOBILE PHALANX, ST. LOUIS, MO.

SEGREGATION IN ST. LOUIS

THE voters of St. Louis, at the special election held February 29th, decided three to one in favor of segregation. The vote was light, only 70,000 out of a total registration of 140,010; whereas at the election of 1912 a total poll of 130,000 was counted. On both ordinances, the final vote stood approximately 52,000 against 18,000. The majority of the electorate expressed their indifference by staying away from the polls while the active real estate interests set aside 50,000 colored Americans as though all were criminals, lunatics, or afflicted with contagious disease.

The ordinance provides that hereafter no colored person can move into any residence, place of abode, or place of public assembly in any block where seventy-five per cent of the number of such buildings are now used by white people. A block includes the buildings facing each other on both sides of a street. The Building Commissioner is charged with the duty of preparing a map which shall classify every block in the city, and "such map . . . shall be prima facie evidence of the facts." New additions to the city are to be black or white according to a vote of the property owners taken after a month's publication. And a fine of ten to one hundred dollars per day is provided for owners or agents who violate the ordinance.

The act is humorously entitled "AN ORDINANCE TO PREVENT ILL FEELING.

CONFLICT AND COLLISIONS BETWEEN THE WHITE AND COLORED RACES, AND TO PRESERVE THE PUBLIC PEACE," and there is another joker which makes it legal for the white servants employed by colored people to reside in the colored blocks; that is, in St. Louis, it is as legal for a millionaire to borrow from a pauper as it is for a pauper to borrow from a millionaire.

The propaganda in favor of segregation was conducted by the United Welfare Association, a body including some twenty real estate and improvement associations, organized in 1911 for this express purpose; and by the Real Estate Exchange. The special election was the first held on initiative petition since that provision was incorporated in the city charter. The Republic ably assisted the real estate interests, and from the fact that the Central Trades and Labor Union tabled by a two to one vote a resolution condemning segregation on February 27, it is evident where organized labor stood.

Leading the fight against segregation were the St. Louis Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Antioch Baptist Association, a Citizens' Committee composed of one hundred of the most prominent men and women in the city of both races, and the Socialists. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the *Times* were squarely and uncompromisingly against segregation, as was St. Louis

308

THE CRISIS

Laber, the official organ of the Socialist Party.

Astride the fence, if not with one foot in the segregation camp, were the Catholics, the *Globe Democrat* and the *Star*, and the Republican party organization.

As to the first, when it was brought to the attention of Archbishop Glennon that pro-segregation meetings were being held in Catholic School halls, he is reported to have stated that it was a matter of real estate and politics and not a matter in which he should be concerned. After the N. A. A. C. P. succeeded in inducing his friends to bring pressure to bear, the Archbishop at the eleventh hour telephoned the following to the *Post-Dispatch*:

"It has come to my notice that some Catholics have united under parish auspices to promote the segregation ordinances. I wish to state that they are acting not under the head of Catholicity, but as owners of real estate.

"I personally believe that the colored people will best succeed within the lines of their own race and racial associations, but in so far as the teaching of the Catholic Church goes, it does not stand for enforced segregation—neither residential, educational nor religious."

The Republican City Committee was put on record before the election as against the ordinances, and the Negroes depended on them for the defeat of segregation, but early on the morning of the 29th it became evident that where they were not entirely indifferent, the Republican organization was working for segregation.

Interest henceforth centers in the legal part of the battle which has only begun. The first step was to test the validity of the initiative clause in the city charter. The case was handled by Judge Henry S. Caulfield, formerly Judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals, assisted by George L. Vaughn and Homer G. Phillips of the legal committee of the St. Louis Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. Judge Shields decided it valid in the lower court, and on appeal the Supreme Court of Missouri sustained the decision. Judge Henry Bond, who wrote the opinion of the Supreme Court, said:

"The question of the constitutionality of these laws is not now presented for decision. . . . After the lawmaking department of the government . . . has

finished its work, . . . the question of the construction of the completed ordinance becomes one for ultimate determination by the judiciary.

"Nor can it be doubted what judgment would be given if it were shown that a law had been enacted in violation of the fundamental principle upon which the government of the State and nation is founded, or destructive of the legal rights of persons or property of any citizen or class of citizens of the United States."

But though the forces of reaction are thus in the saddle until the ordinances can be nullified by the Supreme Court, the colored people of America can take heart from the nature of the fight that was made against it, and from the fact that the Negro voters of St. Louis finally got together and voted solidly against it.

Through the courtesy of A. W. Lloyd, Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias, their temple at 3137 Pine Street was thrown open as anti-segregation headquarters. A citizens' committee, headed by Rev. John W. Day, pastor of the Unitarian Church, brought actively into the fight such distinguished men of affairs as Mayor Kiel, Charles Nagel, former secretary of Commerce and Labor, Judge Leo Rassieur, William Marion Reedy, Frank P. Crunden, Judge Albert D. Norton, Hon. Hugo Muench and Rabbi E. C. Voorsanger. There was even one real estate man, John P. Herrmann, who not only had the courage to take issue with all the other members of his profession, but who wrote a strong circular and distributed 50,000 of the Lincoln cartoons at his own expense.

The St. Louis Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., under the leadership of its president, Gustavus Tuckerman; Charles Pittman, chairman of the executive committee; and Dr. T. A. Curtis, chairman of finance, organized a corps of nearly a thousand volunteers who districted the city and by means of automobiles owned by colored people, distributed some 310,000 pieces of literature. The secretary of the Branch, Mrs. H. A. Smith, Kathryn M. Johnson, national field agent of the Association, and Attorneys Vaughn and Phillips, set a standard of service, in an uncompromising fight sustained through months of heart-breaking struggle, of which every lover of liberty in America should be proud.

THE CRISIS

To sin by silence
when we should
protest
makes cowards
out of men.

The human race
has climbed
on
protest.

WILCOX
MAY 1 1917

MARCH 1917

MARCH 1917

THE CRISIS ADVERTISER

213

Atlanta University

is beautifully located in the City of Atlanta, Ga. The courses of study include High School, Normal School and College, with manual training and domestic science. Among the teachers are graduates of Yale, Harvard, Dartmouth and Wellesley. Forty-seven years of successful work have been completed. Students come from all parts of the South. Graduates are almost universally successful. For further information address
President EDWARD T. WARE
ATLANTA, GA.

Knoxville College

Beautiful Situation. Healthful Location. The Best Moral and Spiritual Environment. A Splendid Intellectual Atmosphere. Noted for Honest and Thorough Work.

Offers full courses in the following departments: College, Normal, High School, Grammar School and Industrial. Good water, steam heat, electric lights, good drainage. Expenses very reasonable. Fall Term Began September 21, 1916. For information address
President R. W. McGRANAHAN
KNOXVILLE, TENN.

STRAIGHT COLLEGE

New Orleans, La.

Situated on the main thoroughfare of the largest city of the South. Thorough training in High School, Teachers' Course and College, with special work in Music and Manual Training. Teachers represent some of the best universities and music conservatories of the country.

For full information, address
J. T. Cater, Registrar.

TOUGALOO COLLEGE MISSISSIPPI

"The best school for Negroes in the State"—
Bishop Theodore D. Bratten.

COLLEGE

Regular Four Year A. B. Course
Two Year Teacher Training Course

ACADEMY

Choice of Seven Courses—College Preparatory, Agricultural, Mechanical, Home Economics, Commercial, Pedagogical, Musical.
Out in the country. Expenses low.

Write President W. T. HOLMES
Tougaloo, Hinds County, Mississippi.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

(Formerly Atlanta Baptist College)
ATLANTA, GA.

College, Academy, Divinity School

An institution famous within recent years for its emphasis on all sides of manly development—the only institution in the far South devoted solely to the education of Negro young men.

Graduates given high ranking by greatest northern universities. Debating, Y. M. C. A., athletics, all live features.

For information address
JOHN HOPE, President.

WILEY UNIVERSITY

MARSHALL, TEXAS

Recognized as a college of the First Class by Texas and Louisiana State Boards of Education. Harvard, Yale and Columbia represented on its faculty; students gathered from ten different states.

Strongest Music Department in the West
M. W. DOGAN, President

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE, TENN.
Founded 1866

Thorough Literary, Scientific, Educational, Musical and Social Science Courses. Pioneer in Negro music. Special study in Negro life. Ideal and sanitary buildings and grounds. Well-equipped Science building. Christian home life.

High standard of independent manhood and womanhood. For literature, etc., write
FAYETTE AVERY MCKENZIE, President

Morris Brown University

Atlanta, Ga.

Co-Educational

The largest institution of learning in the South owned and controlled by Negroes. Faculty of specialists, trained in some of the best universities in the North and in the South. Noted for high standard of scholarship, industrial emphasis and positive Christian influence. Well equipped dormitories; sane athletics under faculty supervision. Expenses reasonable. Location central and beautiful. Departments: Theology, College, Preparatory, Normal, Commercial, Musical, Domestic Science, Nurse Training, Sewing, Printing and Tailoring. First Semester begins Sept. 28th, 1916. For further information address

W. A. FOUNTAIN, President
BISHOP J. B. FLIPPER, Chairman Trustee Board.

Mention THE CRISIS

THE CRISIS ADVERTISER

214

"FIFTY YEARS OF MEMORABLE HISTORY" TALLADEGA COLLEGE

REV. F. A. SUMNER, M. A., President

600 students, 40 teachers, 800 acres of land, 20 buildings, electric lights, steam heat, hot and cold water, steam laundry, single beds, good board.

Biological, chemical, physical and agricultural laboratories, library of 16,000 volumes, athletic field, modern hospital.

Special features: Moderate expense, high standards, high-grade instruction, wholesome student spirit, positive Christian atmosphere.

Courses based on Carnegie standards: B.A. degree for courses in Education, Science, Classics. B.D. degree for Theology. Additional courses: Conservatory of Music, Preparatory, Domestic Science, Domestic Arts, Agriculture, Bible Institute, Nurse Training, the Industries.

Graduates prominent in varied activities, and accepted for post-graduate work at Yale, Harvard, and similar institutions.

For catalog and information address
L. T. LARSEN, Dean Room 21, The College Talladega, Alabama

THE FLORIDA A. & M. COLLEGE

Tallahassee, Florida

Offers long and short courses in Mechanic Arts, in Home Economics, in Agriculture, in Education and in Science.

For Catalog Address

NATHAN B. YOUNG, President
P. O. DRAWER 524

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL

An Episcopal boarding school for girls, under the direction of the Sisters of St. Mary.

Address: THE SISTER-IN-CHARGE
609 N. 43d St. W. Philadelphia, Pa.

Correct Calling Cards

POPULAR STYLES FOR LADIES OR GENTLEMEN, 100 FOR 50 CENTS OR 50 FOR 30 CENTS, NO EXTRA CHARGE FOR ADDRESS. ALL ORDERS FILLED PROMPTLY. ATTRACTIVE PROPOSITION FOR AGENTS. WRITE FOR SAMPLES AND TERMS

THE HOUSE OF CHOWNING
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

ROLAND W. HAYES, Tenor

Recitals Concerts Oratorio Opera

"An unusually good voice. The natural quality is beautiful. It is a luscious yet manly voice. Mr. Hayes sings freely and with good taste."—Philip Hale, in the Boston Herald.
"A voice of unusual sweetness and calibre."
—Chattanooga Times.

Address: 3 WARWICK ST., BOSTON, MASS.

Mention THE CRISIS

Stenography Typewriting Book-keeping

THE STENOGRAPHERS' INSTITUTE

1. Short Courses in Typewriting
2. Shorthand made as easy as A. B. C.
3. Brief Courses in Practical Book-keeping
We typewrite Letters, Postal Cards, Wills; fill in Deeds and mortgages; Circular Letters cheap.
EDWARD T. DUNCAN, President
1227 SO. 17TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

MME. BRIDGES' SCHOOL OF French Dressmaking, Ladies' Tailoring and Millinery.

Special Courses in Designing, Copying, Draping, Making, Trimming, Finishing, Cutting and Fitting. Special reduction in tuition given to students entering in groups of three or more or to one student taking two or more consecutive courses. Individual instruction. A Bridges Diploma means something to you.
645 E. 35th St. Chicago, Ill.

The Colored Teacher

A Practical Educational Journal

A Department of Methods and Practical Helps for Teachers; a Department of Rural Education; and a Department of Current Educational News, conducted by the best trained teachers; besides Editorials, etc. \$1.00 per year, 10 cents per copy. Agents wanted. Address:
The Colored Teacher, Box 22, Wilberforce, Ohio.

TEACHERS A live agency furnishes the connecting medium in a business way between teachers and schools and relieves teachers of the embarrassment of job hunting.

We have had calls for teachers from Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.

THE MUTUAL TEACHERS' AGENCY
1403 New York Avenue Washington, D. C.