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THE WHITE MAN'S DUTY.

In the poem of Mr. Kipling which so stirred our hearts a few months ago a large and fundamental truth is expressed.' The white man has a burden to bear. There are and always have been in the ethnological classifications dominant and subordinate races. Islands and even continents bear witness to this fact. Not the most fertile nor the most comfortably situated nations have led in the civilization of the world. Africa is favored with a soil, with geographical, topographical and climatic conditions which might be supposed most favorable to make its people one of the prominent forces in the civilization and progress of the world. It was not the appointment of providence or nature but the character of the people themselves which has kept them a prey of other peoples and races. They are not recognized as a real element in the national forces of the world. They have no literature. Their language is crude and imperfect. Their condition is hardly worthy the name of civilization. That this is true no one can question. A subordinate and not a dominant race occupy this great, rich continent. The same is true of other regions of the world. We are bound, if we are true to the fact, to recognize that there are dominant and subordinate races.

The dominant, which is substantially the white race, has the burden to sustain of bringing civilizing and regenerating forces to bear upon the needy races. This is properly the white man's burden. But in a sense it is negative. He bears that which is imposed upon him by the very conditions of race peculiarity. He has more than simply a burden to bear. There is the white man's duty as truly as the white man's burden. His responsibilities are aggressive and positive and not simply negative and submissive.

In the alarming condition of our own country, especially in the Southern states, the Duty of the white man is written in the imperative. The work of the American Missionary Association, through its schools and churches and army of consecrated missionaries, has

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always been the elevation of the needy peoples among whom the work has been carried on. The agitation of political, social and even religious questions has not been the object of its effort. Nor is this the object to-day. The work would fail were this its object. The undeveloped races must become capable of holding their places in the competition with the dominant race as races, and not simply in individual cases, before they can attain this position of equality. The work lies with the depressed and undeveloped peoples primarily. Higher ideals, physical, intellectual and moral, must be established. But, notwithstanding this, the white man must face his own duties and accomplish his own work. The white man's duty includes, in the first place, self-control. The heinous crimes committed by Negroes in the South, or alleged to have been committed, are crimes that should receive the severest punishment of the law. If law is inadequate, the white man holds it in his power to correct this law and make it adequate. The brutal lynchings, which are in themselves a violation of law, are only a stimulus to the Negro to further violence. The white man's duty involves self-control. This he seems utterly incapable of in the South. Not only does he wreak vengeance on Negroes who are accused of crimes but upon neighboring white men who dare to stand for the legal punishment of crime. It is not that this course on the part of the dominant race is bringing discredit and disgrace upon us in all the nations of the world. This is unfortunate in itself, but it is not the primary evil. The fundamental trouble is that the dominant race is proving by these outrages that it lacks the very element of self-control which it demands of the other race. These crimes of the white man are the most discouraging phenomena of this century. They show that even with his boasted superiority and advanced civilization he has attained scarcely to the self-control of a savage. If crimes similar to those that are committed in the South were committed by the Indians of the prairie, it would be deemed sufficient for the wiping out of a whole tribe. But how much greater is the disgrace, the shame, the crime, when these outrages are committed by the white race, who should be the dominant factor of civilization !

The white man's duty also involves the considerate treatment of a weaker people. The undeveloped condition of the Negroes of the South results largely from the white man's neglect. He has deprived the black man of privileges that he might use him to better advantages for himself. The inevitable fruits of years of subjection in slavery, when the race was kept in enforced ignorance, are being reaped in the harvest of ignorance and lawlessness on the part of the Negro to-day. It is the white man's duty to educate and elevate those whom he has

in the past robbed of natural privileges. It is not simply a burden thrown upon him which he must passively bear. It is a stern duty, for the accomplishment of which he must gird himself. Efforts should not be lessened but multiplied all over the South for the education and elevation of the subordinate races. It is the white man's duty and he fails not in philanthropy but in meeting the just demands of human society upon himself, if he does not accomplish this. It is not whether the black man shall meet his opportunity and be qualified to meet his responsibility, but whether the white man meets his opportunity and is qualified for his responsibility. The disgrace falls to-day not upon the black man but upon the white citizenship of the South. The white man's duty is at once to exercise self-control on his own part and to demand the exercise of the same on the part of other white men so that law shall be administered by courts and not by mobs. It is not a question of the innocence or guilt of those who are accused by mob violence. The disgrace and dishonor is upon the dominant race of America in view of these brutal outrages of the South. Every patriotic American ought so far as possible to utter his protest against the feebleness of a civilization that cannot hold the stronger and more intelligent element within the confines of the law.