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# FOR THE DEFENSE

## DURING 1919

SEVENTY-EIGHT Negroes were lynched in America. ONE was a woman. ELEVEN were ex-soldiers.

FOURTEEN were burned at the stake.

## WHILE

TWENTY-EIGHT cities staged race riots.

In these, MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED NEGROES were killed.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE AD-VANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE sought the facts, placed the truth before the American public, and defended those unable to help themselves.

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JOEL E. SPINGARN, Treasurer

# NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the AD-VANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE

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Spring term opens March 4, 1920 For catalog and other information address

PRESIDENT, J. KELLY GIFFEN Knoxville, Tenn. 

# THE CRISIS

Vol. 19. No. 5

**MARCH**, 1920

Whole No. 113







to be hanged?

This is the pictureof Edgar Caldwell, who is under sentence of death, for d e f ending himself against the crew of a street car in A nniston, Ala. and killing one of them.

His case will be argued before the Supreme Court of the United States, about March 1.



We want 500 Negroes who believe in Negro manhood, to send *immediately* one dollar each to J. E. Spingarn, Treasurer of the N. A. A. C. P., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, for Caldwell's defense.

### EMPLOYMENT

HERE is a great and insistent call for Negroes of education and ability, but because of our scattered habitations, it is hard for the job and the man to meet. From time to time THE CRISIS has personal knowledge of men of ability who want work, and we shall from time to time publish such lists. This is done without charge to any party and further information may be had by addressing the Editor.

"I am fitted for a teacher. My training is as follows: A.B. Lincoln University (highest honors) 1915; A.B., Clark College (Massachusetts) 1916; Instructor in German and Psychology, Lincoln University, 1916-17; A.M., Lincoln University, 1917; Junior Fellow in Psychology, Clark University, 1917-18; Sergeant U. S. Infantry, A.E.F., 1918-19; Senior Fellow in Psychology, Clark University, 1919-20. I am a candidate for the doctorate in Philosophy here in June. My major is psychology; my minor is philosophy."

### THE DAILY HERALD

HE Baltimore Daily Herald is two years old. We have not hitherto spoken of this ven-📶 ture in race journalism because, frankly, it seemed too good to be true. We have had many attempts to start daily papers for Negro readers, but none have lasted longer than a few months and most of them have died in weeks. We feared this same result for the Herald, because the difficulties are tremendous, the cost high, and the question of public demand unsettled. But a colored daily paper that has passed its second birthday, that misses no issues, has strong editorials, and publishes news, is an accomplishment which deserves unstinted praise. Our hats off to William T. Andrews, of Baltimore!

### THE AMERICAN LEGION



the National Adjutant, American Legion, Indianapolis, Ind. Any colored post having difficulty in obtaining a charter, should inform Major J. E. Spingarn, President Amenia Post, Amenia, N. Y.

### DUNBAR



VERYONE familiar with the life of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, remembers his struggle for an opportunity to acquire higher education. In recognition of this fact and in memory of Dunbar, a fund has been established at Fisk University for the purpose of aiding the exceptional student-someone, perhaps, who, with this aid, may develop into another Dunbar. A friend of education stands ready to add a dollar to every dollar contributed to this fund. which is called "The Dunbar Fund." An opportunity is thus afforded all who wish to see erected a suitable monument to Dunbar, to join in the Contributions should be project. sent direct to Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE



HIRTY-ONE with states. a population of 681,325 colored women, 21 years of age and over, in 1910, and at least 750,000 today, have ratified the proposed Woman Suffrage Amendment:

Maine	401	Arkansas 102,917
	176	Texas 161,959
N. H'pshire.		
Mass	12,648	Montana 553
New York	49,300	Colorado 3,861
Pa	62,949	Utah 313
Ohio	33,683	California 6,936
Illinois	34,372	Rhode Island 3,178
Michigan	5,318	Kentucky 73,413
Wisconsin	939	Oregon 443
Minnesota	2,061	Indiana 18,386
Virginia	4,124	Wyoming 494
Missouri	48,057	Nevada 202
N. Dakota	158	New Jersey. 29,866
S. Dakota	220	Idaho 187
Nebraska	2,369	Arizona 635
Kansas	15,289	

It seems probable that at the next presidential election, three million Negro women will have the right to vote.

Let them get ready.

North and South, study clubs should be formed, with teachers and reading matter. Know the government of your ward, county, and state. Master the qualification laws. Register, and pay any necessary taxes.

Get ready.

They may beat and bribe our men, but the political hope of the Negro, rests on its intelligent and incorruptible womanhood.

### JUST LIKE-FOLKS!

E Negroes, in our natural, present state of hyper-criticism say, among ourselves, Grand "just like colored folks!" when something is muddled or forgotten or goes distressingly wrong.

But let us for a moment look bevond: The best civilized people of the world fought each other for four years, when ninety-nine out of every hundred did not want to fight at all; the Peace Conference took three months to arrange for stopping the war; the United States filled the circumambient air with ululations at their delay. Thereupon, this same United States proceeded to take nine months to refuse to ratify the Treaty! The war stopped,-the world was at Peace, the League of Nations was established, and still the United States was at war with Germany. No amendment of the Peace Treaty could get consideration in the Senate until a foreign statesman showed us how: the Pacifists and the War-to-the-bitter-enders rejoiced together at the delay. Protagonists in the fight for democracy, meantime, turned into heresy hunters, to protect the "sacred" rights of property. Workers were scared, browbeaten, and deported, at the very time when work was the demand of the hour. Just when thinking was necessary, the Attorney General and the United States Congress united to make Thought a Crime. For two years we trained Negroes to fight, and now we are stiff with fright, lest they may fight.

And Lansing, and Fiume-but why add? Isn't itall "just like white folks !"

### INFORMATION WANTED

AST summer, Negro farmers in Arkansas organized the "Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America," to better their condition. Robert L. Hill, a farmer, was one of the chief organizers, and the Union was incorporated under state law. When

the trouble occurred in Phillips County, a thousand Negroes were arrested. over twenty-five murdered, twelve sentenced to death, and scores to the penitentiary. Among the victims were four of the most prominent professional colored men in Helena.

Hill was accused of "instigating" this riot. He fled, protesting his innocence. Recently he was arrested in Kansas. The N. A. A. C. P., which is straining every sinew to secure justice in Arkansas, immediately protested by wire, asserting that Hill could not be fairly tried in Arkansas. Governor Allen of Kansas is a progressive, humane man, and listened willingly to the attorneys whom we put on the case—

But-

The sheriff produced a petition signed by three prominent black leaders of Arkansas, asking that Hill be returned to Arkansas!

These men are:

BISHOP J. M. CONNER, African Methodist Church; J. M. COX, President. Philander Smith College; JO-SEPH A. BOOKER, President, Arkansas Baptist College.

THE CRISIS wishes to do no man an injustice, and, therefore, we pause one month to ask:

Bishop Conner, President Cox, and President Booker-did you sign that petition?

If you did-why did you?

### DIVES, MOB AND SCAB, LIMITED

E sat in a massive arm-chair, before a carved mahogany Beneath him lay a desk. Turkish rug, and behind him, through the window, one saw his steel mills, minting millions.

"Yes," he said; "I recognize the new power of the Negro in Industry. He broke the steel strike for us!"

My heart stopped. Merciful God! It is to this, we have come. I saw the squalor and toil and endless hours of the stricken workman. I saw him sink beneath the murk, while at his throat were the hands of my people!

Then to my heart the blood came surging back. Why were these rivals wallowing in the swill and offal of the Steel Barons? Was the work so lovely and the pay so high? No; but because black peonage of the South is worse than the foreign white slavery of the North; because the black worker has small choice: to be lynched, to work for nothing in Georgia and Arkansas, or to be a scab in Pennsylvania. It's better to be a scab. But who forced on the black man this choice? Two men,-the White Worker and the Steel Baron. The white worker, when he said in the South, "You shan't vote," and when he said in the North. "You shan't join my Union! Or, if you do join, you're still a nigger, and I'm white."

In part, then, the guilt lies with the worker: but only in part, and, perhaps, when we think of ignorance and poverty,-in smaller part. The deeper, bloodier, guilt lies with those Masters of Industry, who today, yesterday, and tomorrow, plan to make the petty, human jealousies, hatreds, rivalries, and starvations of workingmen. the foundation of their colossal fortunes. They are the breeders of mobs and lynchings, of unrest and despair. of race war and class struggle. They stand above the squabble, like ringmasters cracking their whips, and at every writhing coil of the long snakelike lash, some white man mobs a "nigger," and some black man takes the bread from the white man's mouth. Thus, in vicious, unending circle, the hate and harm rise, mount, and spread.

### AGAIN, SOCIAL EQUALITY

R. PALEFACE entered his p a r l o r mincingly,—"My dear man," he said, expressively.

"I am Brownson," said the dark man quietly.

"Of course—of course—I know you well, and your people. My father was an abolitionist, and I had a black mammy——"

Mr. Brownson looked out of the window, and said rapidly:

"I have come to ask for certain rights and privileges. My people\_\_\_\_"

"\_\_\_\_\_ suffer; I know it; I know it. I have often remarked what a shame it was. Sir, it is an outrage!"

"\_\_\_\_ yes; we want to ask\_\_\_\_"

Mr. Paleface raised a deprecating finger, "Not social equality," he murmured,—"I trust you are not asking that."

"Certainly not," said Brownson. "I think the right of a man to select his friends and guests and decide with whom he will commit matrimony, is sacredly his and his alone."

"Good—good! Now, my man, we can talk openly, face to face. We can pour out our souls to each other. What can I do? I have already sent my annual check to Hampton."

"Sir, we want to vote."

"Ah! That is difficult—difficult. You see, voting has come to have a new significance. We used to confine our votes to politics, but now—bless me!—we are voting religion, work, social-reform, landscape-gardening, and art. Then, too, women are in politics —you see—well, I'm sure you sense the difficulties. Moreover, what is voting? A mere form—the making and execution of the laws is the thing, and there I promise you that I—"

"Well, then; we would help in carrying out the laws."

"Commendable ambition. Very, very commendable. But this involves even greater difficulties. Administrators and executives are thrown closely together—often in the same room at the same desk. They have to mingle and consult. Much as I deplore the fact, it is true, that a man will not sit at a desk or work at a bench with a man whose company at a theatre he would resent."

"I see," said Brownson, thoughtfully. "I presume, then, it is our business to demand this right to sit in theatres and places of popular entertainment."

"Good Lord, man, that's impossible! Civil rights like this cannot be forced. Objectionable persons must grow, develop—er wash, before——"

"Then I am sure you will help me clean and train my people. I want to join in the great movements for social uplift."

"Splendid! I will have some movements organized for your folks."

"No, I want to be part of the general movement, so as to get the training and inspiration, the wide outlook —the best plans."

"Are you crazy? Don't you know that social uplift work consists of a series of luncheons, dinners, and teas, with ladies present?"

"Um," said Brownson. "I see. I, also, see that in answering your first question, I made a mistake. In the light of your subsequent definition, I see that social equality, far from being what I don't want, is precisely what I do want."

"I knew it !" screamed Mr. Paleface. "I knew it all the time; I saw it sneaking into your eyes. You want—you dare to want to marry my sister." (

"Not if she looks like you," said

Brownson, "and not if she's as big a liar."

"Get out—get out—leave my house, you ungrateful—"

### A NEGRO OFFICER



OME days ago, the following letter was received:

AMERICAN OFFICERS OF THE GREAT WAR 24 Broadway Detroit, Michigan

DEAR SIR:

December 5, 1919.

'There seems to be an impression among officers of the Regular Army, that they are not eligible for membership in the "American Officers." The General Staff of the Society is pleased to inform you that this is emphatically not the case.

"The "American Officers" is founded on practically the same plan as the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, which was formed by and for "Officers and honorably discharged officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps" immediately following the Civil War.

'I have been instructed to extend to you a cordial invitation to become a member. When you read the enclosed booklet of the "American Officers," I am sure you will desire membership in a Society, which holds promise of such great usefulness, not only to its members, but to our country.

'This is the only organization which admits to membership, the officers of every branch of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, thus making it the ready spokesman and common social meeting-ground for the commanding element of the whole armed forces of our country. Its members, already numbering several thousand, are scattered not only throughout every state in the Union, but in Canada, Alaska, Central and South America, the West Indies, the Pacific Islands, Asia, Europe and Africa. Charter membership is still open, and an application blank is enclosed for your signature.'

Yours very sincerely, (Signed) F. B. AINGER, JR. For the Committee.

"As I had had an unpleasant experience once before with one of these patriotic associations, I replied, expressing my appreciation of such an organization and of the honor of membership therein. I then said that I was called in this country a 'colored man'; but that my people had been in the country since before the Revolution, and the ancestors of some of my family had served in the Continental Army; and I concluded by saying: 'I' I can be received as a 100 per cent. American with no hyphen, and no modifiers, I shall be glad to join the Association; if I cannot be thus received, I shall be just as glad to stay out.'

"To this reply the Association sent the following response:

'Your very courteous and thoughtful letter of January 9, has been received, in which you declined membership in the American Officers of the Great War.

'Thanking you for your expression of interest and of goodwill toward the Society, I remain,

> Yours very sincerely, (Signed) F. B. AINGER, JR.'"

### ENGLAND, AGAIN

WO criticisms have been made of the editorial on England in the January number of THE CRISIS. One writer reminds us of the great work of emancipation and the suppression of the slave trade, started by England early in the nineteenth century. The other, would not have us forget the hostile attitude of Irish Americans toward Negroes.

Of none of these facts are we a moment forgetful. In the Emancipation of Negroes, Englishmen, like Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Sharpe, were splendid pioneers; and the riots against Negroes in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and New York, during the nineteenth century, in nearly all cases. were instigated and led by Irishmen. More than this: Today, the decisive influence in the American Catholic Church, which keeps black priests out of her pulpits, is the Irish influence, —for the mother Catholic Church is not, and never was, anti-Negro. Her black priests and bishops have for a thousand years sat in her counsels. and the first Catholic bishop of North America, was a full-blooded Negro.

Again,—it was liberal, far-sighted Englishmen who gave to the world the democratic parliamentary ideal, which all races and colors receive today as civilization's rightful heritage.

Nevertheless, two things are sure: One cannot indict a whole nation, nor can one excuse a national wrong, because of individual right, or past desert.

Ireland today deserves freedom. She has suffered, and suffered horribly at the hands of Englishmen. In Ireland and Russia, have arisen the greatest spiritual movements of the twentieth century. And we who suffer in slavery and degradation,-shall we hesitate to extend a hand of sympathy to the Irish, simply because their descendants in America are so largely the followers of American snobbery? We must not forget that Irish-Americans, like John Boyle O'Reilly and Archbishop John Ireland, and Irishmen like Daniel O'Connell, have always recognized Negroes as fellow-men.

The great services of England to the world and to the Negro race must not for a moment blind us to the fact that today the dominant powers in England are moving heaven and hell to keep black and brown men in economic and political slavery, to minister to British power and luxury.

Let us cite just one instance:

It has been proven by English testimony, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that Sir Starr Jameson, who died November 26, 1917, was a liar and a thief. The British Aborigines Protection Society says:

On August 14, 1893, Dr. Starr Jameson signed a Secret Agreement, under which he promised to each man who would assist him in making war upon the Matabele, the right to take from the Matabele 6,000 acres of their land (conditionally redeemable by the Company, paying £9,000 to each raider.) Some 600 men volunteered on these terms, and thus the total land agreed to be taken from the Matabele, before any Chartered Company's Official entered the country, was over 3,000,000 acres.

But though war was strongly desired, though every preparation was made locally, the difficulty lay with the Imperial Government, who, represented by the High Commissioner, Sir H. B. Loch, for a time refused to allow the invasion of Matabeleland. It was clear that something must be devised to force the hand of the Imperial Government. What is known as the "Victoria Incident" then took place.

A Mashona Chief was alleged to have cut

some telegraph wire. This chief was in charge of cattle belonging to Lobengula. The Company, it was alleged, seized these cattle as part punishment, knowing them to be Lobengula's property. Lobengula sent an impi, "to punish the Mashonas for cattle thefts and for damaging the telegraph wires." This was an act (as Lobengula maintained) of positive friendliness to Dr. Jameson, who had insisted on something being done to "protect" the telegraph wire. The Matabele Impi attacked (July 9) the Mashonas, near Victoria, the headquarters of Dr. Jameson, and killed, it is said, twenty (some say seven, but none saw even that number) Mashonas. Dr. Starr Jameson then ordered the Matabele to leave Mashonaland; they started to return. Thirty-eight Chartered Company men followed, and without (as is officially admitted) any provocation, shot nine to eleven Matabele, including the Chief.

Some days later, Dr. Jameson sent a telegram to the High Commissioner, which included the false statement that the Matabele had fired on the Company's white men—an allegation which the Imperial Authorities only ascertained to have been without a shred of foundation after the Matabele had been "smashed." Sir Henry Loch had, naturally, taken a grave view of this alleged action. Accepting Dr. Jameson's *ex parte* statement, he telegraphed to Lobengula, and thus admonished him:

"When the conduct of your indunas and people became dangerous, not only to the property, but to the lives of the white men, and they dared to fire on the white men, then the limits of patience were passed."

War on the Matabele followed this false statement to the High Commissioner, and a general scramble for their best lands at once ensued. The neighboring Mashonas were robbed of their land, by the simple process of declaring that the Mashonas were at the same time subjects of the Matabele (which they were not), and, therefore, what the Matabele lost, the Mashonas lost, although it is interesting to note that the Company recruited Mashonas to assist in the invasion of Matabeleland.

What happened to Mr. Jameson? He was knighted by Great Britain; he became Prime Minister of Cape Colony; he died rich and respected. His Majesty George V "deplored the loss of one who has rendered such great service to the empire."

This is one incident, but it is an incident of terrible warning to black men. We have a right to suspect a land that honors the thief of 90 million acres. We have a right to ask: Where is liberal England? Where are the spiritual sons of William Wilberforce?



THE CRISPUS ATTUCKS MONUMENT, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, MARCH 5, 1770-MARCH 5, 1920.

# National · Association · for · the … Advancement · of · Colored · People.



J. E. SPINGARN, M. STOREY, M. W. OVINGTON, J. W. JOHNSON, J. R. SHILLADY, Treasurer President Chairman Field Secretary Secretary

The Annual Report of the N. A. A. C. P. will be ready for distribution, in printed form, in March. The following abridged report has been compiled from the secretary's manuscript:

WHAT HAS THE ASSOCIATION DONE?

1. It began, in 1911, a legal fight against segregation, fighting these ordinances in local campaigns, as in St. Louis, Mo., in 1916; arguing the case twice before the Supreme Court, until, in 1917, the anti-segregation decision was secured.

2. It has defeated "Jim Crow" marriage legislation repeatedly, in Congress and in twelve states.

3. From 1913-15, it filed briefs and helped pay costs in the case of Quinn and Beal vs. the United States, which resulted, in 1915, in a decision by the Supreme Court, making the "Grandfather" disfranchisement legislation unconstitutional.

4. It drafted and helped to pass in New York State, a model Civil Rights Bill, in 1914, and furnished needed amendments, in 1918, making this the strongest and most effective legislation of its kind in the United States.

5. It has fought lynching, not only in the courts, but by publicity, making a score of careful investigations, giving the awful truth worldwide publicity, calling a national conference, and securing public condemnation from leading citizens, from the President down.

6. It made the initial move which secured 1,000 Negro officers in the American Expeditionary Forces, and then sent its representative abroad to secure and preserve the facts as to Negro soldiers.

7. It called a worldwide Pan-African Congress, in Paris, after the war and during the Peace Conference, and thus brought the matter of color discrimination to the attention of the civilized world.

8. It has established the Spingarn Medal, to reward the meritorious conduct of Negroes, and it founded THE CRISIS magazine, the greatest Negro periodical.

9. It has fought color discrimination of every kind; legislation in Congress and Legislatures; attempts to refuse places to competent officials, as in the case of Judge Terrell and Colonel Young; attempts to refuse work by Labor Unions; and it has carried a score of successful civil rights cases through the courts.

10. It secured the introduction of resolutions for a Congressional investigation of race riots and lynchings and sought to create nationwide support for the resolu-



GROWTH OF N. A. A. C. P. MEMBERSHIP BY YEARS

tions by an extensive and intensive publicity campaign and by much personal work.

11. It has organized an effective fighting machine of nearly 100,000 members, in over 300 branches,—fighting to make democracy safe for all Americans.

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION IS DOING MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has increased from 329 in 1912 to 91,203 on December 31, 1919. The number of branches has increased from 3 in 1912 to 310 in 1919. The exact figures are:

							B	ranches	Members
1912								3	329
1913								10	1,100
1914								24	3,000
1915								50	6,000
1916								70	8,785
1917								80	9,282
1918								165	43,994
1919	÷.							310	91,203
									,

This membership is distributed as the



DISTRIBUTION OF N. A. A. C. P. MEMBERSHIP



 PRESIDENTS OF SEVEN OF THE LARGEST N. A. A. C. P. BRANCHES

 A. H. GRIMKE
 J. A. GRUMBLES
 W. A. BUTLER

 Washington, D. C.
 San Antonio. Texas
 North California

 W. H. STEWARD
 Louisville, Ky.
 JUDGE E. O. BROV

 F. E. YOUNG
 REV. F. A. CULLEN
 JUDGE E. O. BROV

 Cleveland. Ohio
 New York City
 Chicago, Ill.

JUDGE E. O. BROWN Chicago, Ill.

chart shows; the exact location of the branches is shown on the map (page 246).

It will be seen that this truly is a national organization. No other organization of colored people, for general objects, has any such number of members nor so wide and even a distribution as compared with the Negro population. Nine-tenths of the membership is composed of colored people; there are probably 10,000 white members.

### LYNCHING AND RIOTS

One of the greatest efforts of the National Association is its campaign against lynching and mob violence. The extent of the lynching evil is shown by the following table:

31 years — 1889-1919 — 3,308 persons lynched.

 Negroes
 2,600

 Whites
 708

 Of Negroes...
 2,549 men and 51 women

 Of whites...
 697 men and 11 women

During the year 1919, 78 Negroes, 4 American white persons, and 2 Mexicans were lynched—a total of 84 persons. Ten of the Negroes were ex-soldiers, and one, a woman.

Against this awful evil, the Association communicated, during 1919, with 25 Governors, 7 Chambers of Commerce, and 5 other officials. It received acknowledgment from 5 Governors, 1 Chamber of Commerce, and 1 official.

It sent out to the press, 32 stories of fact and protest. It pointed out to the public the increase in the cruelty and ferocity in lynchings, as shown by 14 Negroes burned at the stake—11 before death—during the year 1919. It called attention to the fact that during the year 1918, 13 victims were taken from the hands of Peace Officers, or out of the jails, while in 1919, there were 34 such victims; and that during the years 1918-19, convictions against lynchers were secured in only two cases, in one of which fines were imposed upon 12 men; and in the other, prison sentences upon 15 men.

In 14 cases, lynchings were prevented by the acts of public officials. In Tennessee, the State Constabulary law was passed, and called "A Bill to Prevent Lynching." In Wyoming, a law against mob violence was enacted. The Constitution of Kentucky was amended, so as to permit the removal of any sheriff or other official for neglect of duty. Five states proposed anti-lynching measures.

In the United States Congress, Congressman Dyer has introduced a bill to make lynching a Federal offense, and at the instance of the Association, Senator Curtis has introduced a resolution, calling for an investigation of mob violence and lynching. A similar resolution has been introduced in the House. Organizations of note have passed special resolutions condemning lynching and asking for legislation. Among these organizations are: The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the Southern Sociological Congress, the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the National Council of the Congregational Church.

Members of the staff of the Association personally investigated 9 lynchings, 1 attempted lynching, 3 race riots, 1 case of deportation, and 1 trial of lynchers.

A National Conference on Lynching was held in New York City, at the instigation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, May 5-6, 1919. The "Call" was signed by prominent citizens from all over the United States. The "Address to the Nation," signed by 150 citizens, including ex-President Taft, Attorney General Palmer, the Governors of seven states, and the heads of leading universities, was sent broadcast.

The Association was active in investigation, publicity and legal defense in the riots at Washington, D. C.; Omaha, Neb.; Longview, Tex., and Phillips County, Ark.

### FIGHTING THE COLOR LINE

Through the active intervention of the Association, together with Senator Harding and Representative Emerson of Ohio, the United States Railway Administration was induced to rescind its extraordinary order, which prevented a person in the North from pre-paying transportation for a colored person in the South who wished to come North.

Through efforts of the Association, attempted discrimination against four colored girls in the dormitories of Oberlin College, was stopped. The Association is still fighting discrimination in the assignment of normal students to practice work in the schools of Philadelphia. In Cincinnati, it is opposing the establishment of a separate colored school. In Washington, D. C., discrimination in the dining-room of the

new Court House, has been stopped. The color line in restaurants was successfully fought in Lansing, Mich., Denver, Colo., and Cleveland, Ohio. Theatre discriminations were fewer, but the Association won a verdict of \$100 for the plaintiff in a case at Syracuse, N. Y. The Association has been fighting discrimination in Labor Unions, particularly the Longshoremen and Ship Workers in Florida, railway employees, etc. In two cases, satisfactory adjustments were promised. On the other hand, the Stationary Firemen and Oilers' Union has voted to admit colored men on terms of equality. The Association sought in vain to have a representative of the Negro race appointed on the first and second Industrial Much effort has been made Conferences. to stop discrimination against soldiers, particularly in cantonments and in the American Legion. We have also tried to secure the retention of colored officers in the United States Army, and this has gained the co-operation of several members of Congress.

#### LEGAL DEFENSE

During the year 1919, the National Association advanced \$100 to aid in the investigation and punishment of a certain body of lynchers; \$300 to aid in the defense of Edgar Caldwell, the Negro soldier on trial in Alabama, for killing a street car conductor. During December, \$5,738 was raised as a Special Legal Defense Fund. For legal defense, commitments totaling \$10,000 have been made. We have been unable to handle many interesting cases, because of the lack of funds,-particularly the cases of John Snowden and Isaiah Fountain, in Baltimore, Md., and the cases of colored soldiers at Camp Sherman, and of Maurice Mayes, at Knoxville, Tenn.

A very important case handled by the Association during the year 1919, was that of Edgar Caldwell, the colored soldier accused of murder, who was turned over to Civil authorities. He was convicted and sentenced to death, but through the work of the Association, a stay of execution was granted by the Supreme Court of Alabama. The court affirmed the death sentence, but later it granted a re-hearing. The Attorney General of the United States was appealed to and finally consented to intervene, and a certificate of rensonable doubt was issued. The case will be heard by the Supreme Court of the United States in March. The Anniston Branch of the Association spent over \$1,500 on this case, and the National Office, \$300.

#### PUBLICITY

Exclusive of the circulation of THE CRISIS and of the BRANCH BULLETIN, 130,000 pieces of literature were distributed during the year 1918; during the year 1919, 427,093 pieces of literature were distributed, an increase of 297,093 pieces.

Mr. Herbert J. Seligmann began his work as Director of Publicity, with the work incident to the National Conference on Lynching, and has become a permanent member of the staff. A considerable amount of editorial comment in leading papers of the country has been given during the year.

The following is a report of the literature distributed during the year 1919:

General—	
Reconstruction and the Negro	9,448
Africa in the World Democracy	2,460
Annual Report	6,772
The Future of Africa	1,922
How the N. A. A. C. P. Began	14.000
Reconstruction and the KuKlux	,
in South Carolina	2,408
Will Ohio Make Good	3,000
Other literature	15,983
	10,000
Total	55,993
Ly nching—	00,000
Address to the Nation	24,000
A Lynching Uncovered	3.135
Burnings at Stake	6,200
Laws Against Lynching	5,375
The Senator Curtis Resolution.	10,000
The Negro Question	10,550
The Mobbing of John R. Shillady.	6,000
Twelve Months of Lynching	10,000
Three Thousand Will Burn Negro	
Other literature	18,182
Other Interature	9,079
- Total	102.521
Organization-	,
Program for 1919	20,000
Why and Wherefore	149,050
Why You Should Enlist in the	140,000
N. A. A. C. P.	53,600
The Work of the Branches	10,000
Other literature	35,929
o mer hterature	30,929
Total	268,579
Grand Total	427,093
	121,000

The total number of copies of the BRANCH BULLETIN circulated during the year 1919, was 27,439.

Whenever there is news of the Association's activities, or anything else of interest, the Association sends out a "story" to a selected list of white and colored newspapers. It then collects clippings from those papers which print the story, in whole or in part. Of course, only a part of these clippings come to the attention of the Association. During the year 1919, the following press stories were sent out, and the following number of clippings were received:

cu.		-	~
	Pres.	s Stories	Clippings
January		5	52
February		8	57
March		4	42
April		15	230
May		19	234
June		10	113
July		10	113
August		16	113
September		13	94
October		10	55
November		10	104
December		14	91
	-	134	1,298

Of the 134 press stories, 45 were on lynching subjects and 89 were on general subjects.

Of the 1,298 clippings received (to January 20, 1920) 923 were from the white press and 375 were from the colored press.

Special articles were contributed by members of the staff of the Association, as follows, during the year 1919:

By Mary White Ovington—

y Mary white Ovington-

Justice for the Negro,

—*The Evangelical Herald* The Gunpowder of Race Antagonism,

-American City, September Mob Violence,

-The Independent, September

By Herbert J. Seligmann-

The Press Abets the Mob,

*—The Nation*, October 4 Democracy and Jim-Crowism,

-The New Republic, September 3 What is Behind the Negro Uprising,

-Current Opinion, September Race War,

—*The New Republic*, August 13 Darkest Mississippi,

—*The Crisis*, July Protecting Southern Womanhood,

*—The Nation*, June 14 Everybody's Say-So,

*—The Chicago Evening Post*, Sept. 13 Chicago in Grip of Rising Fear,

-The New York Call, August 3

By Walter F. White-

Massacring Whites in Arkansas, The Nation, December 6

The Race Conflict in Arkansas, —*The Survey*, December 13

Truth About Arkansas Massacre, —The New York Age, October

Finds No Massacre Plot in Arkansas, —*Chicago Daily News*, October 18 Chicago and Its Eight Reasons,

*—The Crisis*, October Work or Fight in the South *—The New Republic*, March 1

Account of Trials at Tuscumbia,

-New York Evening Post, February 19 Addresses and conferences to the number of 288 were given and held by members of the Association's staff during the year 1919, as follows:

Alabama	1
California	17
Connecticut	6
District of Columbia	4
Florida	1
Georgia	35
Illinois	11
Indiana	10
Kansas	3
	8
Kentucky	1
Louisiana	
Maryland	3
Massachusetts	14
Michigan	28
Missouri	2
New Jersey	15
New York	43
North Carolina	4
Ohio	22
Oregon	1
Pennsylvania	22
Rhode Island	2
South Carolina	3
Tennessee	4
Texas	1
	19
Virginia	19
Washington	
Wisconsin	2
Canada	1

The following figures show the number of miles covered on Association business during the year:

Mr.	White												25,954.3
Mr.	Shilla	dy.											22,709.6
Mr.	Johns	son.											19,556
Mr.	Bagn	all.											11,241
	Town												5,620
Miss	Ovir	igtor	n.	•						•	•	•	3,274
	Total												88,354.9

In other words, representatives of the Association last year traveled a distance equal to three and one-half times the distance around the earth.

### BRANCHES

On December 31, 1919, the Association had 310 Branches, in 43 states and the District of Columbia; one each in Canada, the Philippine Islands and the Isthmus of Panama.

No other organization, we are certain, can boast of more loyal, devoted workers than



are the officers and active members of the Association's branches. In the topical summary, given below, much is necessarily omitted. Particularly, we regret that we are unable to exhibit to the reader the enthusiastic, co-operative spirit of these branches and all that they promise for better Negro citizenship, and thereby for better Americanism. None respond more promptly in time and money, to every demand for service, than do our Branch members.

### LEGISLATION

At Lansing, there was introduced in the Legislature of Michigan, a bill similar to the New York Civil Rights Bill. With the co-operation of our Michigan Branches, particularly the Detroit Branch, and the District Organizer, the Rev. Bagnall, this bill was passed. New Mexico, Providence, Pueblo, and Washington, Pa., were other branches which attempted to get effective civil rights legislation passed. Wheeling, W. Va., failing to secure a city ordinance, has planned to push a bill through the State Legislature. The Ohio Branches, through a special conference committee, worked energetically on this legislation, but were disappointed. Pueblo and Denver co-operated in suppressing a bill prohibiting inter-marriage between the races,\* while Nashville addressed the Governor in behalf of a constabulary bill, which has since been enacted into a law. In anti-lynching legislation, the Branches have petitioned their respective representatives in Congress. The Texas Branches held a conference with the Governor, in the interest of a state bill against lynching.

Atlanta has shown what a Southern branch can do in city legislation activities, by increasing the colored registration from 700 to 3,000 names. Using this vote solidly in the recent city election, it succeeded in relieving the deplorable school conditions in Atlanta, thus securing a new grammar school and a new high school for colored pupils.

Because of a similar increase in registration secured by the Columbia Branch, four

\* The Association, as is well known, opposes anti-intermarriage legislation, on the ground that to prohibit intermarriage is to assert the racial inferiority of the Negro and to open the door wider for violation of Negro Womanhood. The Association, on the other hand, does not advocate intermarriage. men were called for jury duty in Columbia. Asheville encouraged her men in registering, because of her interest in a school bond issue. Birmingham and Falls Church are now carrying on registration campaigns, while Boston is promoting good citizenship by encouraging the naturalization of foreign colored people.

### EDUCATION

Much attention was given to the conditions of the schools in various cities. Better schools in rural districts was an object of Wilmington, Frankfort, New Orleans; Tucson and Asheville asked for more and better buildings: St. Rose secured a five months' session, which encouraged her to work for eight months; Wharton laid plans for three new buildings; Rome reformed sanitary arrangements in one of her schools; the District of Columbia has been battling with the unequal distribution of school appropriations between white and colored schools, while Ypsilanti fought against a separate school. To stimulate a desire for education in their communities, has been the aim of the Falls Church, Plainfield, and Rome Branches, and St. Paul has taken a survey of the children in the high and grammar schools. Des Moines, by forming a Parents and Teachers Association, has tried to bring about a closer relation between schools and parents. One of the outstanding victories in education, is the placing of colored teachers in the Charleston schools, in which the Charleston and Columbia Branches cooperated.

### DISCRIMINATION

The Branches in the different parts of the country, report numerous cases of discrim-Columbus secured action in the ination. case of a nurse who was refused for duty in one of the camps, on account of color. Los Angeles won an important victory in obtaining the admission of colored girls to the County Hospital Training School, despite the opposition of the nurses. Discrimination in the courts was a matter of concern to Pueblo, Wilmington, and Danville. Cleveland succeeded in preventing the establishment of a separate Detention Home for colored girls. There were many cases of discrimination in restaurants. stores, bath-houses, and the like, in which Orange and Toledo were particularly active, the latter handling 24 cases, of which 18 secured satisfaction. The discrimination in bath-houses, municipal and private, was investigated by Salt Lake, Toledo, and Sacramento. Grand Rapids has now under consideration the case of the Congregational ministers who were ejected from a cafeteria.

The District of Columbia continues to investigate discrimination in the employment of the Government. Correspondence with the chiefs of bureaus has brought forth the statement that they do not practice discrimination in appointing colored clerks from Civil Service eligibles.

Discrimination in travel has been investigated by Charleston, Danville, San Antonio, Bowling Green, and New York City. Discrimination in the Y. M. C. A. was investigated by New York, Lincoln, and Pueblo. Many Branches were uniformly successful in having objectionable signs removed—namely, Pueblo, Cleveland, Portland, Denver, Ottumwa, and Providence; Wheeling and Henderson protested against such signs.

Kansas City and Oklahoma City have both had to fight attempts at housing segregation. In Kansas City, the burning of homes and the dynamiting of a church were used to intimidate Negroes.

### CRIME

There have been four cases that Branches have investigated, in which white men killed colored men. Mercer County, Bakersfield, the District of Columbia, and Charleston are working toward the end that these white men shall be punished for their crimes. Through the continued efforts of the Pueblo Branch, the death sentence imposed upon a colored man, for killing the turnkey of the jail in which he was confined, was changed to life imprisonment; his wife was freed of the charge of murder brought against her for having passed the weapon with which he killed the jailer. Dublin, which was the scene of four murders in several days, distinguished itself by bravely guarding the house, in which a wounded colored man lay, from the attacks of a threatening mob. Savannah, Rome, and Atlanta interested themselves in saving two colored men who killed white men in self defense. The District of Columbia is investigating a case in which a white policeman killed a colored man under the pretence of self-protection. Chattanooga now has a case in which a colored man is accused of murder, although he can prove an alibi. Omaha, Orange, Petersburg, the District of Columbia, and Nashville, all had cases of criminal assault on colored women by white men. One of the cases of criminal assault on white women, reported during the riots, was investigated by the District of Columbia, and proved to be false. Eight Branches, Fort Wayne, Johnstown, Nashville, Austin, Dublin, Milwaukee, Beatrice, and New York, worked on cases of assault on colored men by white men. Cases of manslaughter, which the Branches took up, were reported by Montgomery, the District of Columbia, Danville, and New York City. In Birmingham, a colored soldier who was thrown into jail for speaking to a Greek girl, whom he mistook for an acquaintance, was ably assisted by the Branch.

### SOLDIERS

Many were the complaints of discriminatory treatment of the colored soldiers in camps, on trains, in their own home towns, in hospitals, and by the Red Cross. These cases were handled by Columbus, Gary, Wilmington, Nashville, Chicago, New York, and Rockford. The Boston Branch investigated cases of colored soldiers who were kept at menial labor in Camp Devens, long after they should have been discharged. Oklahoma was represented on various war committees. Receptions, picnics, and banquets were tendered by the Branches to their returned soldiers. Among these were Petersburg, Nashville, Providence, Rome, Santa Monica Bay, Selma, Birmingham, and Marshall. Hartford formed an organization among her soldiers.

### SOCIAL SERVICE

Realizing their responsibility towards communities, the Branches their have busied themselves in the social problems around them. The Nashville Branch has tried to secure pay for a social worker who has been laboring to correct evils and abuses among the colored people. Tuscaloosa has had appointed a colored woman probation officer in the Juvenile Court. Lansing is helping the newcomers in her city to become adjusted to their environment. Lynchburg has been cleaning out "red light" districts. and Chicago has been interested in civic problems. Mart and Vallejo have attempted to elevated the moral tone of sections in their cities. Charleston has been of special service to soldiers and widows of soldiers. Surveys and statistics of the colored population were taken by Toledo, Stamford, and Lansing. Co-operative business has appealed to Montgomery and Rome. New Bedford adopted a French orphan. Several Branches now have headquarters and paid workers.

Continued censoring of the press and moving pictures and conferences with editors, in regard to the way in which they featured Negro news, were undertaken by Springfield, Mo., Cleveland, Springfield, Mass., New York, Toledo, Fort Smith, Adrian, and Charleston. Open letters to the press, in answer to hurtful propaganda and with the purpose of improving civic conditions, were written by Tacoma and Petersburg. The Branches generally have tried to acquint the white people with their aims, by sending prominent citizens literature, by securing them as members, and by co-operating with them in enterprises, as Tuscaloosa, Toledo, Bloomington-Normal, Parkersburg, and Keokuk have done.

### RIOTS

In connection with the riots, effective work has been accomplished. The Austin and San Antonio Branches looked after the men who were taken prisoners in the Longview riots; the District of Columbia and Chicago have busied themselves in seeing that their riot victims secure justice, while Omaha tried to prevent the riots by purging her press, and has since attended the courts in the effort to see that justice was done and false impressions were cleared away.

### LABOR

The stand taken by the A. F. of L. at Atlantic City, to admit Negroes to all unions, was of great importance. Now it remains for localities to see that this decision is carried out. The Secretary of the Boston Branch was on the committee to secure employment for returning soldiers. He wisely used his influence against discrimination. Pueblo held a meeting in regard to the organization of colored steel workers by the A. F. of L. Hartford brought to the attention of the Central Labor Union. the mistreatment of colored women by the New Orleans had the tobacco growers. unique distinction of having a union of colored women workers. Toledo was instrumental in the re-instatement of colored laborers, who had been discharged in the New York Central railroad without cause.

In Wheeling, the president of the Branch pledged 2,000 white union men to work for the abolition of the color line. Marion investigated a threatened removal of colored laborers from Huntington; investigations of the steel strike riots in Canton proved that the colored workers were not causing trouble, but were staying away from the mills. One fact noted by the Boston Branch was that the field of labor is broader for the colored man than ever before.

### THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

The greatest conference ever held by the National Association was its Tenth Anniversary Conference at Cleveland, Ohio, June 22-29. There were present 265 delegates, from 34 states; the South was well represented. More than \$1,500 was raised. \$400 of which was for the Anti-Lynching Fund, and the remainder for the General Fund of the Association.

### SPINGARN MEDAL AWARD

At the Cleveland Conference, the Fifth Spingarn Medal was awarded to Archibald H. Grimke, of Washington, D. C.

### ATLANTA

At the urgent invitation of the Atlanta, Ga., Branch, backed by invitations from Governor Dorsey, the Mayor, and the Chamber of Commerce, the Conference recommended that the Directors choose Atlanta as the 1920 meeting place. (At its meeting in December the Board voted to hold the next annual conference in Atlanta.)

The following is a record of office detail and of the correspondence received and sent out by the Association during the year 1919:

Incoming Mail	13,566
Outgoing Mail *	135,181
Visitors to Headquarters	489
Incoming Telephone Calls	2,883
Outgoing Telephone Calls	3,638
Incoming Telegrams	242
Outgoing Telegrams	418
Newspaper Clippings **	6,530

Additions and changes in the Office Staff of the Association were made as follows during the year 1919:

In the Executive Staff:

Mary White Ovington became Chairman \* From January 28, 1919, only. Includes first and second-class mail and packages.

\*\* Of the total amount of 6,530 clippings, 2,874 were received from Burrell's Press Clipping Bureau. The remainder were clipped at headquarters. of the Board of Directors, to fill the vacancy (Increased Expenditures, 122 per cent.) of J. E. Spingarn.

J. E. Spingarn became Acting Treasurer, to fill the vacancy of Oswald Garrison Villard, who resigned in June.

Herbert J. Seligmann was made Director of Publicity.

District Organizers-acting on part time: Robert W. Bagnall, G. A. Gregg, and George A. Towns.

In the Office Staff there are at present: the Secretary, the Field Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, the Director of Publicity, the Director of Branches, the Office Executive, the Office Secretary, and the Bookkeeper, nine stenographers and typists, 1 file clerk, 1 telephone operator, and 1 office boy.

### FINANCES

A comparison of the financial condition of the Association at the close of the year 1919, with that obtaining at the close of 1918, and of receipts and expenses for both years, shows the following:

Receipts for			Increase
the Year	1919	1918	
General			
Fund\$	43,613.15	\$27,862.76	\$15,750.39
Anti-Lynchin	ıg		
Fund	12,391.12	1,551.73	10,839.39
Legal			
Defense .	5,738.27	34.00	5,704.27
Maclean			
Memorial	13.16	5.62	7.54
All Funds (Increased F	861,755.70 Revenue fo	\$29,454.11 r 1919, 110	\$32,301.59 per cent.)
Expenditure.	s for		Increase
the Year		1918	
General			
Fund	\$42,513.97	\$23,422.68	\$19,091.29
Anti-Lynchin			
Fund	15,793.26	3,283.23	12,510.03
Legal			
Defense .	1,000.00		1,000.00
Maclean			00.05
Memorial	162.00	71.75	90.25
All Funds	\$59,469.23	\$26,777.66	\$32,691.57

Balances	. 1919	1918
General Fund	\$4,892.56	\$4,328.48
Anti-Lynching Fund	2,843.53	6,245.67
Legal Fund	4,814.77	76.50
Maclean Memorial	66.50	215.34
Jim Crow Fund	8.00	8.00

Total ......\$12,725.36 \$11,873.99

Following is a statement of the income of the Association by years:

1911													. 9	\$ 5,108.90
1912											•			11,815.15
1913	1													16,841.73
1914														14,030.70
1915														13,094.36
1916														23,521.48 *
1917														14,427.27
1918														29,454.11
														61,755.70
				 		-	~	~	•				150	

\* Includes \$11,539.64 from special antilynching campaign.

### ENVOY

F two things, we Negroes have dreamed for many years: an organization so effective and so powerful that when discrimination and injustice touched one Negro, it would touch 12,000,000. We have not got this yet, but we have taken a great step toward it. We have dreamed, too, of an organization which would work ceaselessly to make Americans know that the so-called "Negro problem" is simply one phase of the vaster problem of democracy in America, and that those who wish freedom and justice for their country, must wish it for every black citizen. This is the great and evermore insistent message of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Will not the reader immediately join this organization and add his mite of brain, brawn and money to the cause?





PETE J. WHITE, OF MOHAWK A. C., (THIRD RUNNER FROM LEFT) WINNING THE 100 YARD DASH ON THE PERSHING FIELD

Times Wide World Photos.

## **EL TISICO\***



55 SF

ANITA SCOTT COLEMAN



"W HAT is patriotism?" shouted O'Brady, the Irish engineer, as peppery as he was good-natured. He was showing signs of his rising choler faster and faster as the heated argument grew in intensity.

He argued that it was a thing men put before their wives, and Tim held that it couldn't be compared with love-making and women.

"Cut it, boys, and listen to this," broke in Sam Dicks, a grizzled old trainman, who had more yarns in his cranium, than a yellow cur has fleas on a zig-zag trail between his left ear and his hind right leg.

"Fire up," roared the crowd of us.

The debate on patriotism had started between O'Brady and Tim Brixtner in the Santa Fé restroom. It was a typical scene,—the long paper-strewn table occupying the center space, and sturdy sons of America hard-muscled, blue chinned, steadynerved, rail-road men — lounging

-A little fluttery thing, all heart and eyes

around it. Over in the alcove, upon a raised platform, three colored men, who styled themselves, "The Black Trio," were resting after their creditable performance. They had given us some of the best string music from banjo, mandolin, and guitar, I have ever heard.

One of them, a big, strapping, ebony fellow, minus an arm, had a baritone voice worth a million, headed under different color. He sang "Casey Jones"—not a clas-\* The Consumptive. sic—but take it from me, a great one among our kind. He sure sang it. . . .

A colored youngster, whom they carried about with them, had just finished passing the hat. It had been all both hands could do to carry it back to "The Black Trio". I, myself, had flung in five bucks, the price I'd pay, maybe, to go to a swell opera.

The guy who played the banjo was a glowing-eyed, flat-chested fellow with a

cough, which he used some frequent.

I lit my pipe, and O'Brady and Brixtner and the rest lit theirs. Sam Dicks was about to begin when the "Trio" showed signs of departing. He left us with, "Wait a bit boys," and went to them. He gave the glad hand to the glowing-eved, coughing one, with a gen uine friendship grip He came back ready for us.

"In the early nine ties I was working with Billy Bartell, the greatest daredevil and the squarest that ever guided a throttle. We made our runs through that portion of the

country which is sure God's handiwork, if anything is. It always strikes me as being miraculous to see the tropic weather of old Mex and the temperate weather of our U. S., trying to mix as it does along the border. It gives us a climate you can't beat—but the landscape, sun-baked sand, prairie-dog holes, and cactus with mountains dumped indiscriminately everywhere, all covered by a sky that's a dazzle of blue beauty, is what I call God's handiwork, because it can't be cal'cl anything else. "At one of our stops in one of Mexico's little mud cities, a colored family,—father, mother, and baby—boarded the train. The woman was like one of those little, pearly-grey doves we shoot in New Mexico, from August to November—a little, fluttery thing, all heart and eyes.

"When they got on, their baby was a mere bundle, so no one noticed its illness. Put it was soon all aboard that a sick kid was on. He was a sick kid, too: so sick that every mother's son on that train felt sorry and wanted to do something.

"The mother's eyes grew brighter and brighter, and the father kept watching his kid and pulling out his big, gold watch. The baby grew worse.

"In some way, as the intimate secrets of our heart sometimes do, it crept out that the family was trying to get over to the U. S. side before the baby died. We still had an eight hour run, and the baby was growing worse, faster than an engine eats up coal.

"The mother's eyes scanned the country for familiar signs. Every time I passed through that coach and saw her, I was minded of the way wounded birds beat their wings on the hard earth in an effort to fly. To all our attempted condolence, she replied with the same words:

"'If he lives until we get home-if he lives till we get home.'

"Billy Bartell always knew who his passengers were. He used to say he didn't believe in hauling whole lots of unknown baggage. So he knew that we carried the sick kid. We passed word to him that the kid was worse, and what his parents were aiming for.

"Well, boys, after that, our train went faster than a whirligig in a Texas cyclone. The landscape—cactus, prairie-dog holes, and mountains, rolled into something compact and smooth as a khaki-colored canvass, and flashed past us like sheets of lightning. We steamed into Nogales. The depot was on the Mexican side, but the coach with the sick kid landed fair and square upon American sod.

"The little colored woman with her baby in her arms, alighted on good old American turf. She turned in acknowledgment to the kindness she had received, to wave her hand at the engine and its engineer, at the coaches and all the passengers, at everything, because she was so glad.

"If the kid died, it would be in America at home."

Old Dicks paused a moment before querying, "Boys, did you get it?"

"You bet," spoke up Brixtner. "That's patriotism. Now, Pat O'Brady! 'Twasn't no man and woman affair either," he cried, eager to resume their interrupted debate.

"Wait a minute, fellows," pleaded Dicks, "wait."

"I want to know, did the kid live?" somebody asked.

"That's what I want to tell," said Dicks. "Eh, you Tim! Cut it, cut it. . . ."

"That little banjo picker was the kid whose parents did not want him to die out of sight of the Stars and Stripes."

A long-drawn "phew" fairly split the air, —we were so surprised.

"Yes," said he, "and he has never been well, always sick. He's what the Mexicans call, 'el Tisico'."

"Scat.... He isn't much of a prize!"

"What's he done to back up his parents' sentiments?"

"He sure can't fight." These were the words exploded from one to the other.

"Do you know what 'The Black Trio' do with their money?" asked Dicks, pride modulating his voice.

"Well—I—guess—not," drawled someone from among the bunch.

"Every red cent of it is turned into the American Red Cross—do you get me?" And old Dicks unfolded the evening paper and began to read.

"Be Gad, that's patriotism, too," should O'Brady. "Can any son-of-a-gun define it?"

### ATTAR

### GEORGIA DOUGLASS JOHNSON

FIRE, tears, and the torture chamber,

'. And the last racking turn of the screw;

Only thus, life attaineth that wonderful brew.---

The attar-of-rose of the heart!

## DARK HEROES OF PEACE



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T is not generally known that at least forty-two colored people have received the Carnegie Medal for heroic conduct. Between the date of its founding, on April 15, 1904, and January 31, 1918, the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission granted 1,461 medals, 22.5 per cent. of which were granted to colored people,—not a bad showing for a folk who form only 10.9 per cent. of the entire population.

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Of the forty-two people thus honored, forty were men and two were women. Six were under twenty years of age; four between twenty and twenty-nine; eighteen between thirty and thirty-nine; nine between forty and forty-nine, and five over fifty.

Eight of these heroes lost their lives as a result of their heroic action. Their deeds included ten cases of rescue from suffocation; nine rescues from drowning; six from runaways; five from railway trains; four from cave-ins; four from burning; two from mad animals; one from an electric wire, and one from an auto truck.

Some of the instances of heroism deserve

special notice: Nathan Duncan, a colored farmer and well digger of West Point, Texas, received the highest award, of a gold medal and \$2,000 for purchasing a farm, for rescuing W. C. Anderson, in 1907.

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"Anderson The official report states: was working in a well, three feet in diameter, forty feet below the surface, when sand slid from the sides and buried him to his shoulders. For a distance of twenty feet above his head, there was an unsupported wall of sand from which other slides seemed imminent. Of the twelve or more men who gathered, all were afraid to go to the aid of Anderson. Duncan was summoned, and, fastening a rope to himself, was lowered into the well. He dug the sand from about Anderson until he was free to the waist, when another slide occurred, which covered Anderson to a depth of ten inches. Duncan escaped being buried by jumping up and grasping a rope dangling over his head, the sand coming only to his knees. Duncan . . . after two hours' work. dug Anderson free, and he was hoisted out. Duncan was then drawn up. After the two



### THE CARNEGIE HERO MEDAL

had reached the surface, Anderson, to test the wall, gave the curb at the top a poke with a stick, and the curb and a large mass of sand fell into the well, filling it to a depth of over twenty feet."

It should be explained that the gold medal is the highest honor awarded, next the silver, and thirdly the bronze. Out of 18 gold medals awarded between the dates mentioned above, one was awarded to a colored man; out of 449 silver medals, 8 were awarded to colored people, and out of 994 bronze medals, 33 came to colored heroes.

Of the eight silver medalists, four lost their lives as a result of their heroic efforts. These were George Grant, who, by stopping a runaway horse, succeeded in rescuing two men of Groton, Connecticut, in 1906; Robert Kenney, who tried to save four people from drowning at Troy, Ohio, in 1913; Henry West of Asbury Park, N. J., who saved two boys from a train in 1913, and Julius T. Malone, engineer in a hotel in Los Angeles, Cal. The hotel was burning and the elevator-man deserted, but Malone ran the elevator and rescued guests, although sustaining burns which two hours later, proved fatal. This was in 1912.

The remaining silver medalists are James L. Smith, who, after the failure of two other men, saved a little child from burning at Sistersville, W. Va., in 1909; James Pruitt, who tried to save two men from suffocation in a well at Walhalla, S. C., in 1911, and did succeed in saving one; Arthur Lockett, who rescued a child from being run over by a train at Jefferson, Ga., in 1912; and W. R. Dyke of Goode, Va., who saved a child from death by burning, in 1913.

Mr. Dyke, who is a graduate of the Virginia Seminary and College of Lynchburg, Va., and Principal of the Goode High School, says modestly: "I received a Carnegie Silver Medal and \$1,000 for going into a burning building, and bringing out a three year old child, one minute before the house fell in."

As a rule, a pecuniary award accompanies the bestowal of a Carnegie medal. These awards are divided into the following classes: Death Benefits, Disablement Benefits, and Betterment Benefits. The first two are self-explanatory, but it may be added that the third class is subdivided into: Business Establishment, Educational Expense, Health Restoration, Home Pur-



W. R. DYKE Carnegie Medallist

chase, Indebtedness Liquidation, Living Expense, and Miscellaneous Aids. No beneficiary receives an award to be used without restrictions. The money must be needed, and a detailed proposition for its use must receive approval.

The Carnegie Fund limits its scope to:

1. Acts in which conclusive evidence may be obtained, showing that the person performing the act, voluntarily risked his own life in saving, or attempting to save, the life of a fellow being, or who voluntarily has sacrificed himself in an heroic manner for the benefit of others.

2. Such acts must have been performed by persons, the nature of whose duties in following their regular vocations does not necessarily require them to perform such acts.

3. Such acts must have been performed in the United States of America, the Dominion of Canada, the Colony of Newfoundland, or the waters thereof.

4. Such acts must have been performed on or after April 15, 1904, and brought to the attention of the Commission within three years of the date of the act.

Readers of THE CRISIS are urged to report heroic deeds and names of those who perform them, to the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission, Oliver Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

## THE CRISIS IN NEGRO LEADERSHIP



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HARRY H. JONES



EADERSHIP among Negroes after the Reconstruction, narrowed down to three types: one type, called the Conservatives or Industrialists, who, led by Booker T. Washington, believed that the basis of inter-racial adjustment was the economic efficiency of the Negro. And that until the Negro became an indispensable factor in American economic life, he should desist from pressing his right to equal treatment in political representation and social legis-These leaders emphasized vocalation. tional training, and confined their political activities to dictating the appointment of Negroes to office. Out of opposition to what they regarded as Mr. Washington's surrender to the white South, men like Du Bois, Trotter, and Pickens headed a second type of leadership, and formed a Liberal Wing. This wing adopted a program of uncompromising agitation for equal treatment of their race in all matters dealing with the fundamental rights of American citizenship. Then there arose a third type cr middle class, led by such men as Kelly Miller, who enunciated no distinct program, but merely emphasized particular ideas drawn from the Industrialists and the Liberals.

The problem then was how to secure to the Negro, chiefly in the South, equal opportunities in education, politics, industry, the courts, and social conveniences. The masses of Negroes accepted their burdens philosophically. It was the exception rather than the rule, for them to resent mob violence, lynching, injustice in the courts, unequal educational facilities, the "Jim Crow" car, disfranchisement, and segregation.

Today, however, we are facing a new situation between the races. This new situation has been created by the pressing national problems of reconstruction, on the one hand, and by the manifestation of race consciousness by Negroes, on the other. Those Negroes who saw service in France, came in contact with the different races from Europe, Asia, and Africa. By the exchange of viewpoints, they found out how the oppressed groups from these continents



H. H. JONES Oberlin. '14: teacher of History and Civics, Lincoln High School, Wheeling, W. Va.; President Wheeling Branch, N. A. A. C. P.

were pressing their claims to self-determination. The sinister propaganda and glaring mistreatment to which Americans subjected them in France, quickened their determination to contend for their rights when they returned home. The civilian Negro, having met his country's call to save food, buy war-stamps and bonds, give his maximum strength to produce foods and materials to win the war; having had his nascent consciousness of manhood aroused by the eloquent preachments of President Wilson, looked for a national response to his demands for justice at home.

He carried his cause and that of Africa to the Peace Conference, only to be shunned



THE LATE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

o\_ put off by unofficial statements, to the effect that diplomatic usage would not permit the presentation of his claims, because they were not presented by properly accredited representatives. In the meantime, thousands of Negroes left the South and came North in search of a "man's chance," and many colored men and women entered industries hitherto closed to them. The adjustment of these newcomers to their new life, in many cases, resulted in a series of grave race riots.

The problems of inter-racial relations, growing out of the war, largely center about these questions: Does the Nation really intend to grant the Negro his full rights of American citizenship, on the same basis as it accords them to white men, or will it continue to evade the issue and trust its solution to fortune and time? Is the Negro to maintain his newly won economic opportunities by seeking alliance with organized labor, or is he to line up with the employing class, or remain neutral in the struggle between labor and capital? What program will the rank and file of southern white men and women agree to, and conscientiously work for, in conjunction with Negro leaders, to remove the various manifestations of injustice from which the southern Negro suffers? What steps can be taken to bring about harmony between the leading factions of Negro thought and action?

Anyone who attempts to decide these questions from the Negro's standpoint, must consider three different types of leadership. In European parlance there is the Right or Conservative Wing, which has as its chief spokesman, Major R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee. This class, taking its cue from Booker Washington, advocates industry, thrift, industrial education, and the doctrine of "non-resistance." Its leaders make no claim to serious study of political economy, sociology, and political science. In politics they follow Frederick Douglass' axiom, that "the Republican Party is the ship of State,-all else is the sea." They believe that the problem of racial differences should be left to southern whites and Negroes to solve, because they understand each other better than the rest of the American people. Their slogans are Expediency and Opportunity.

The second group is the Centre. The majority of intelligent and active Negro leaders belong to this class. Its methods call for agitation, education, legislation, and law enforcement. It has a definite program, and that program in general covers these points:

- 1. Federal legislation against lynching and mob violence
- 2. Equal educational facilities for Negro children in the South
- 3. Abolition of the "Jim Crow" car
- 4. Economic opportunity based on merit, not color
- 5. Equal chance for Negroes to qualify for and fill Federal, State, and Municipal positions
- 6. Fair trial in the courts
- 7. The extinction of the peonage system in the South
- 8. Better housing, sanitary, and recreational facilities for Negroes in cities and towns
- 9. The removal of the color line in the civil, military, and naval service of the Federal Government
- 10. Enactment of Civil Rights legislation by all the states, to remove discrimination against colored people in "public" theatres and restaurants
- 11. Recognition of the Negro's right to vote, and jury service on the same basis as that of white men.

In politics, this wing largely believes that the Negro should fight out his handicaps within the Republican ranks, and seeks to commit that party, when in control of the government, to enforce the Federal laws designed to guarantee the race its rights of citizenship. Some of its leaders accept certain principles of Socialism, such as Co-operation and Federal ownership and operation of railways and transportation. All of its leaders assume an attitude of doubt toward organized labor, because they believe that the recent action of the American Federation of Labor, in voting to unionize Negro workers and withdraw the color line, amounts to a "scrap of paper."

For the first time in the Negro's history, he has a Left Wing or Radical Group. It is socialistic to the core. It believes that the present economic and political order has served its day; that its destruction will come either peacefully or violently, according to the manner in which the capitalists, politicians, and statesmen accept or oppose the change; that all modern wars have arisen out of the economic exploitation of the working classes and weak races, by designing capitalists and profiteers; that the safeguard of the working class in the One Big Union; that the American race problem is economic, not political and psychological; and that its solution is to be had in the substitution of State Socialism for Representative Government.

This group seeks to strengthen its propaganda by\* emphasizing what it alleges to be the weaknesses of Negro leadership in the affairs of the State, the Church, and Industry. Its cause has found many adreents among radical whites and Negroes. In consequence of the appearance of this radical wing and the fertile field in which it has to work among restless Negroes, we are face to face with a crisis in Negro leadership.

Judging from the way the masses of Negroes are thinking, they will cease to follow the Conservative Wing, because outside of its economic program, it offers them no constructive policy of hope. The masses of Negroes left the South in spite of this wing's advice; the Negro Press, in the face of the conservative's admonition, has grown bolder in demanding justice; the Negro church, against his pleadings, is insisting that the white church take a Christian stand for a real brotherhood of man; and the Negro schoolmaster, despite this wing's encouraging words that conditions are becoming better, is protesting against discrimination in public education.

The struggle, as I see it, is between the Centre and the Left Wing. And the issue is joined on the proposition whether the Negro is to wage his struggle in the belief that he can ultimately secure his full American rights, according to American standards of justice, industry and government, or whether he is to ally himself with those who believe that his salvation is to be found in State Socialism. The Centre has these points in its favor: the spirit of equality, running through American legislation; the capacity of the Nation to respond to high ideals in national crises; the active support of many fair-minded whites in their fight to secure justice for the Negro; a splendid record of achievements in the race's behalf in securing legal nullification of the "Grandfather Clause," residential segregation, and peonage. It has successfully opposed segregation of Negroes in



R. R. MOTON, PRINCIPAL OF TUSKEGEE

Federal employment and discrimination in Civil Service; it has contended against legislation by the states and cities, tending to discriminate against Negroes; it has fought against moving picture plays that fostered race feeling; it has carried on strong propaganda against lynching and mob violence; it has given strong support to the race in industry, education, religion, politics, and culture; and has built up effective organizations in all parts of the country, to promote the welfare of the race and the nation.

The Radicals are called upon to consider these questions: If the masses of Negroes should accept their leadership, what adequate substitute can they offer the race for the possible alienation of the support of many fair-minded whites who do not accept their principles? Judging from the present attitude of the white working class in America toward the Negro, what assurance can induce him to believe that the white workers will be willing to give him a "square deal"? Where has their idea of State Socialism functioned successfully for any reasonable period? Did not Germany, the most highly organized Social State in the world, display the same weakness and injustice which they claim adhere in Representative Government? Considering the present strength of the Socialist Party in America, how long must the Negro wait before that party can render him any practical assistance?

The reader will note that I have not considered either the controversial points of alleged inherent weaknesses of Socialism or the causes of its breakdown in Europe, because the former has not been successfully proven, and the latter remains to be considered by dispassionate historians and students of social theories.

These days are intense. The nation sits on a powder keg. No set of men has the right to advocate new principles, unless their principles can stand the test of human experience and needs. The Negro needs a program. America requires an inter-racial platform. Racial cleavage cannot be bridged by expediency and delay, for there are limits to human endurance. The time has passed when the accusing finger can be safely pointed at either race. The two race; must find a common ground to work out their differences in a friendly fashion and in mutual good will. Shall they work according to American standards, customs, and institutions? Or shall they follow European State Socialism? To every Negro who prizes his racial inheritance and believes in its possibilities, I suggest in all candor, that he think seriously which wing he will follow, for upon his choice will hinge the future of his race and, perhaps, the nation's.

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### **CECILIA ISABEL WARREN**



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BRIAN P. O'SHASNAIN

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Who was innocent; OR four years She listened with eagerness And Cecilia cried out-To stories of atrocity and horror "Please don't read such things-Charged against the Huns. They are too horrible!" And she says that the Germans And she wouldn't read the paper herself, Are below the beasts in cruelty. One day I read to her Nor do anything. A story of a lynching Although she is now By Americans, A voter and a citizen, Who came in automobiles. And has two hundred years With their women and children, Of American ancestry And loaned gasolene to burn the Negro Behind her. woman

## TIT FOR TAT

How Colored Soldiers Defeated the REAL Enemy at Grandvillars



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WILLIAM PICKENS



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T HIS is one of the true stories of the war. And true stories are really the more fascinating.

The colored soldiers in this case were the 370th Regiment, largely from Chicago and the South, and the "real enemy" was a white American regiment that was full of Negro-haters.

The people of the little French town of Grandvillars are of the simple-living peasant class, with high ideals of human life, and free from many of the petty motives that spoil much of the rest of the world. They had never seen Americans, and it happened that the first American soldiers stationed among them were colored, the 370th. This regiment was such a good sample of its own colored people in America. running through all the possible colors from white Negroes to black. And yet they were of one heart and soul and mind, and when they marched down the streets of Grandvillars, clothed in khaki, they looked like one solid block of animated, invincible bronze.

It was perfectly natural that these French people should take this first sample as a type of all Americans. That first impression of "l'Américain" became fixed. They thought, and not altogether incorrectly, that the American people were of many varying human hues, and they thought that color predominated.

They also thought, perhaps less correctly, that all Americans had the spirit of these boys: polite, gentle to women, and hearty to all men. The most ordinary peasant woman was treated by these colored soldiers with the same civility which they accorded to the fashionable French women of the town. A colored captain says that he would see several French girls with water buckets on their arms and pushing baby carriages as they descended the hill to the spring; but that when those girls returned from the spring, each bucket would be carried and each baby carriage pushed by some big, stalwart soldier of the 370th.

The people of Grandvillars thought that America must be a place of wonderful democracy! Curiously enough, the colored soldier was the best ally of Woodrow Wilson, and caused the French people to believe the words that emanated from the White House.

Naturally the whole town,-men, women, and children, took this regiment right into its heart; no door was closed to them; nothing was for them too good, or quite good enough. As they anchored the hopes of the French by their soldierly bearing, so also did they gladden the hearthsides with their tales and songs. The girls were charmed when the colored boys exhibited the photographs and extolled the fine points of "the browns" they had left behind .--Well, as long as man is man, there will always arise out of such agreeable society, what arose here-genuine love. The people loved these boys, and these boys loved the people.

And then it happened. A white American regiment came and encamped five miles from Grandvillars. These soldiers of one monotonous hue, were less attractive to strangers than the varicolored men of the 370th. Then, too, they were not so polite; they were colder to the men, and more assuming and direct among the women and girls. They did not say so evenly to rich and poor alike, the euphonious French "good-morning" and "good-evening," bonjour and bonsoir! And when these white Americans went into the homes of the people, after chatting awhile with the young ladies, they might notice on the table the photograph of a brown or black soldier:

"What is this?"

A girl would reply: "O, Monsieur, that is my friend John," (or Sam, or Jake, or whatever happened to be the name of that particular member of the 370th,) "mon bon ami!"

Then hostilities began.

"Your *what*? Why, don't you know that no white person ever associates with them in America? They are not allowed to enterour homes or to speak to any white woman. When a white woman in the United States just speaks to one of those fellows, all other white people shut her out of their homes and never speak to her again!"

The white fellows very naturally laid it on a little thick, in their efforts to cause the puzzled French listeners to grasp the significance of this peculiar thing:

"They are not Americans; they are just niggers. We only allow them to live in our country because their people were once slaves there. But they are not American "Those new Americans tell me that John is bad." Then other girls would pipe in:

"And they told mamma that Sam is bad." —"And they tell father that Bill is bad."— "And they say that my friend is bad."— "And mine."

And strange to say, the very unanimity of the report raised the first confident doubt of it; and more than one would remark:

"Well, it must be a falsehood, for it is impossible that they should all be bad!" Such is the training of the French mind,



"WHEN THEY MARCHED DOWN THE STREETS . . . THEY LOOKED LIKE ONE SOLID BLOCK OF ANIMATED, INVINCIBLE BRONZE."

citizens, and are not even allowed to talk back to white people. And they are very criminal and dishonest; they will steal. They are especially dangerous to women: in our country no white woman dares to go near them unless a white man is with her."

And just like most falsehoods, right here is where it over-shot the mark and laid the foundation for its own undoing; for the girls of the house might be seen to look at each other, indicating that they themselves knew this last to be false. But in spite of their own experiences with these brown beys, they were somewhat disturbed by this brazen ottack. Human nature can hardly trust itself. We are all, more or less, at the mercy of what we hear,—until we begin to confer. So, when the girls of the town would gather in little groups, one would break the ice with a whisper: that it could only think of goodness or baaness as belonging to individuals, and could not attach a moral idea to a race or color. They could not grasp the idea of a bad race, and they thought of worth or unworth as an individual characteristic.

After getting this encouragement from each other, the girls began to confide the matter to their colored friends.

The colored boys then got their heads together, and in strict compliance with the laws of human nature, they began to plan for defense and counter-attack. A strategem was conceived by one of their lieutenants, and he proposed to call all the girls and women of Grandvillars to assemble in convention and hear a speech from him. When the summons went forth, the whole town came out. For because of the good behavior of their men, the officers of the 370th Regiment literally "owned the town." The lieutenant took the platform. He had grown up in New Orleans and could speak excellent French. And this is the barrage which he laid down against the attacking enemy:

"Women and Girls of Grandvillars. We regret to find it necessary to give you fair You have seen for yourselves warning. that the soldiers who are encamped near this village are not real Americans, although they are enlisted in the American Army. Americans are polite; they are not. Americans are cordial; they are cold. Americans are gentle; they are rough. Americans are democratic; these men are snobbish. Americans respect alike the honorable rich and the honest poor: these men worship money, but respect nobody. Americans do not like to disparage their fellow countrymen or their comrades-at-arms; these men have tried without cause to slander us. Americans are brave: these men are not brave, for they do not face us, but they attack us in secret to you.

"Now it is my painful duty to tell you who these men are. Without protest we allow them to live in our country, but they hate us. We are just to them and treat them as men,—as equals before the law; but they are unjust to us and assume an attitude of natural superiority. Many of them are descendants of the German and the Austrian, and have much of the old arrogance of their forefathers. Because of their conduct, we do not associate with them in our country, and we do not call them Americans; we call them— er— 'crackers' and 'pecks'!"

That was a finisher. The soldiers of the five-mile camp were chagrined and "stung," to find the private doors of Grandvillars tightly closed to them, while the 370th enjoyed greater hospitality than ever before. It was a pitiable sight,-this complete and sincere ostracism of the haughty and the proud. It was a heavy dose of their own medicine,-the most terrible thing that could be offered them. If any treatment could cure a man, it should be that. True to their sympathetic nature, the colored boys became really sorry for the white boys, when they saw them in groups on the street corners, looking in vain for society and sympathy,-and sometimes tarrying so late that the military guard would have to order them out at the gate. To be sure, they could visit the public restaurants and ho-

tels; and the French waitress, when she would pass a table where a colored soldier was seated, would stoop low and whisper (not being able to remember the longer epithet):

"There are a lot of those 'Pecks' here tonight."

The proof that our race prejudice is artificial, abnormal, and rather contrary to nature, is the fact that an uninitiated mind, like that of the French, simply cannot "understand" it. It was comical to see them trying to "get it," when the white American was trying to explain. Some colored soldiers and officers were eating in the main dining-room of a hotel. White American officers entered, and seeing a smaller, less elegant dining-room adjoining, they called the proprietor and asked him to put the colored soldiers in the smaller room, explaining that they were "not fit" to eat with white men, etc. You should have seen the face of this bewildered Frenchman, as he endeavored to be polite, and tried at the same time to square his commonsense with this American puzzle:

"Zhentlemen, I do not understand. These other zhentlemen have paid their bills, and they are polite, and you say they are not good enough to eat where you eat,-I do not understand. These men are American soldiers like you and have uniforms like you,-I do not understand,-how can they be good enough to be in the same uniform, and not good enough to eat in the same room? I do not understand. And, my good zhentlemen, I will not compel you to eat with the other zhentlemen,-the little dining-room is open, there is no one in it, why don't you go into it? I cannot ask the others to move, for they are satisfied. You are dissatisfied,-why should I disturb the satisfied one? I do not understand!"

And on and on the bewildered Frenchman plead before this inexorable American god. Small wonder it is that the average white American soldier should lose some of his ardor for France, after such experiences. He was a puzzle to France, and France must have been an enigma to him. Perheps the only way in the world for the white American ever to appreciate this demon which he worships, is to have a chance to feel the full weight of his rod, as did the white soldiers at Grandvillars.
## "NORTHERNERS DON'T UNDERSTAND THE NEGRO"

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SARAH N. CLEGHORN



A YANKEE sometimes wonders if a Southerner, who knows as many Northerners as the average Northerner knows Negroes, would accept the dictum that Southerners know nothing about Northerners, and probably never will?

There are so many other retorts that they might make! Seldom do they whisper, "Coatesville" or "Urbana", "St. Louis" or "Chicago" or "Washington." But it would be their trump card to let us in on some of their secret, continuous, affectionate kindnesses to their old, sick, foolish, shiftless black neighbors, and to let us uncomfortably compare these close personal ministrations with the repugnant indifference to Negro needs, so usual in the North.

Having reduced us to a proper degree of humility, in which we would not be likely to advance our opinions unasked, would it be, perhaps, a constructive move for them to ask for our opinions? Sir Joshua Reynolds liked to submit his advancing portraits to "a fresh eye". He even submitted them sometimes to an ignorant eye, and listened with care to the cook's or the postboy's comment.

The Northerner, accustomed to his own local scale of the subjection of the black American to the white, and often regarding as "normal" and unprejudiced his own local sheaf of discriminations, comes South and finds some, indeed, of these abrogated, but a whole additional layer of which, perhaps, he had heard but had not fully realized the implications. It is true, that it appears to give some Northerners a pleasant sense of prestige to sit in a part of the trolley car forbidden to a colored woman, be she ever so weary and old. Indeed, some of us, after a little residence in the South, become more royalist than the master race in the heart of its own demesne. But to the rebellious among us, and especially to those who before coming South were acutely alive to the race prejudice in our own loca'ity, (be the same more or less-it greatly varies) these experiences are sharply humiliating. What we feel impelled to mak:, is less a protest against Southern custom: in particular than an inquiry into the whole provincial anomaly of our nation-wide discrimination.

For though it is not so heavy a shadow over us as it was in the thirties and forties and fifties, it is still the heaviest of our shadows. We should perceive this better, if it were not ever the human way to concentrate attention on those elements among the repressed classes which manifest their unrest. It is true, that we have lately succeeded in creating and are still perfecting, with our recent mischievous laws, a proscribed class of white workmen, and a set of forbidden beliefs. Some of our legislation, in fact, might well be entitled "Acts to promote bitterness, and divide the nation". But this mischief is fresh; fortunately, the victims are articulate; and impartial and influential liberals are awake to it. It may be partly undone. Whereas, we have settled down for a hundred and fifty years to the abominable idea of maintaining in America a subject race.

What is the practical harm of it? I conceive this to be the immediate reply. whether expressed or not, in the mind of the white American, born subsequent to What ill effects, aside from lynch-1860. ing, which most of us,-he would add-"deplore," (I believe this is the correct term,) do we experience as a nation from the divisions,-political, professional, educational, ecclesiastical, and social-upon which we, alone among civilized nations. insist? Where is the harm of obviously meaning, when we say "Americans," exclusively white persons? When we say "Southerners," meaning only white Southerners? Finding it inconceivable that a colored man-or woman should be asked to dine with whites, except in the houses o recognized radicals, educators, or phila thropists? That a white patient should ca in a colored doctor, or that a novel should have a colored hero or heroine?



THE REASON

This tacit query, "Where's the harm?" seems to show that we have never very clearly envisaged our attitude and the mute principle underlying it. In a word, it is not contact we dislike, but the assumption As an old northern doctor, of equality. long resident in the South, used to point out to his friends there, "You let a colored barber smear lather all over your mouth with his hands." I have myself heard a southern lady, whose colored housemaid habitually sits with her in the drawingroom in the evening, condemn Roosevelt for inviting Booker Washington to lunch. But the housemaid sits there with her apron on.\*

Our unspoken query, "Where's the harm?" is followed in our mind by the further reflection that the colored people seem fairly contented, and that there's none of what we call "danger" in the present situation. By this, we obviously mean to congratulate ourselves and themselves, that the subject race is not an obstinate, aggressive, or vindictive people, likely to try to obtain a richer share in American life by way of the torch and pike. But let us scrutinize a little more closely what we mean, and what we ought to mean, by "Danger". Lives and limbs of the master race, their houses and stores, are probably safe. But conceivably, there are other dangers to the commonwealth we love, than personal injury to members of the possessing classes. Surely we need only to be reminded of these to admit, though perhaps vaguely, that they have existed among other peoples, at other periods,-that they undermined the Roman empire, and undid the Germans. Such a danger. I suppose, we would generally admit a caste system to be. "Un-American" would be the least we could postulate of any theoretic inviolable divisions between But how otherwise can we declasses. scribe the accustomed situation of the races in this country? Is it not caste? Is it not a double standard, which it is laughable to try to run in a democratic harness?

Moral rheumatism is the penalty nations have always paid for keeping down any considerable element of the population. What the French lost with the Huguenots, the Spanish with the Moors, and all the nations of the Middle Ages by their repression and exploitation of the Jews, we stand to lose, and in part have already lost, from our fatuous attitude of self-sufficient contempt toward one-tenth of our popula-The loss we sustain in art, in comtion munity life, in politics, can only look small when we compare it with our loss in moral prestige and democratic sincerity. To be content with one illustration-we hold conventions on recreation, and write books to encourage the spirit of play, while we have the stupidity not to consult the genius of a race as expressive and flexible as ours is self-conscious and constrained. We deplore a restless, driving spirit in business, when we have at hand a neglected multitude of teachers of contentment and relaxation.

It is an expensive policy. And what is to some of us a more damning point about it, it is an absurd one. To put it very bluntly, we are making fools of ourselves, posing, in this unutterable self-sufficiency, as the invariable mentor of our co-Americans—as their amused, indulgent, (and, of course, hopeless,) model.

The first of a series of Acts of Citizenship, essentially as religious as any Acts of Faith, for us to perform, is surely to acknowledge our ignorance. Northerners. it may well be conceded, do not understand the Negro,-and neither do Southerners. The white man, it would be better for us to realize, at once, does not understand the Negro. Indeed, how should he? Has he-(I speak not of honorable exceptions,) ever tried? Has not the thing, the only thing, that he has tried to understand been the relation between the races?-and that solely from the white man's point of view? Shall we continue to talk about "understanding the Negro," when all we mean is understanding merely how to rub along with him as the employer of his docile labor? What the Negro thinks of himself, of his history and his future, his possibilities and our curtailment of them, nothing in our national attitude toward him is likely to persuade him to tell us. He, whom Irvin Cobb calls the most secretive of mankind, is under no inducement to confide in us. To learn anything about his ideas and ideals,

<sup>\*</sup>And this is why I believe the bugbear of intermarriage is really a red herring in such discussions as the present. Marriage is superlatively amenable to the instincts of Nature. If there is, as most of us firmly believe and vividly feel, such a powerful instinct in man to mate with his own race, we need not fear that the practice of democratic principles will kill it. If such an instinct is less powerful than we suppose, lct us bulwark it, not by bolstered prejudices and multiplied humiliations—but by a cugenic law, based on our best science, forbidding intermarriage.

to grasp his Oriental-Occidental philosophy of life, we shall have to treat him with a much graver respect.

There is a model for us, in what beginnings have been made within the past few years in approaching the immigrant from the South of Europe, and trying to secure for our national life the treasures of tradition, of taste and thought, which he has brought. Very slow we have been, in our provincial pride, to take advantage of these, and to assume the essential humble spirit of the learner. But good beginnings have been made; and perhaps some beginnings have even been made toward learning what the Negro has to teach. I speak of those thoughtful few who consult Negro leaders on national subjects in joint conventions and endeavor to interpret the one race to the other in a temper reasonable, disinterested, and soberly constructive. There is in what they say, light and leading for the nation, if the nation cares to rid itself of its one really serious hyphen.

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## A NATION'S GREATNESS



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EDWIN GARNETT RILEY

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W HAT makes a nation truly great? Not strength of arms, nor men of state,

Nor vast domains, by conquest won, That knew not rise nor set of sun; Nor sophist's schools, nor learnéd clan, Nor laws that bind the will of man,— For these have proved, in ages past, But futile dreams that could not last; And they that boast of such today, Are fallen, vanquished in the fray, Their glory mingled with the dust, Their archives stained with crime and lust; And all that breathed of pomp and pride, Like the untimely fig, has died. One thing, alone, restrains, exalts A nation and corrects its faults; One thing, alone, its life can crown And give its destiny renown. That nation, then, is truly great, That lives by love, and not by hate; That bends beneath the chastening rod, That owns the truth, and looks to God!

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## AFTERGLOW



# The Looking Glass

## LITERATURE

S HAKESPEARE in Antony and Cleopatra:

Cheer your heart.

Be you not troubled with the time which drives

O'er your content, these strong necessities; But let determin'd things to destiny, Hold unbewail'd their way.

We have received The Quill, Praiseworthy Muse, Rainbow, Federal Council Bulletin, The Review, The Competitor, Taxation, Liberian News, and the Gold Coast Leader. \*

The Reverend Edward F. Goin issues a pamphlet, Needs of Connecticut Negroes Which Our Churches Can Meet. James L. Gregg, Principal of Hampton Institute, issues Lynching: A National Menace.

## THE DEADLY HEADLINE

VEN the comic papers find it necessary E VEN the conner papers in to comment on the iniquity of the modern newspaper flare-head. We read in Judge:

"Let me write the scare-heads of a nation's newspapers and I do not care who writes the laws," some sinister Machiavelli of a propaganda of unrest might chuckle as he looks over the dailies and hourlies. For newspaper heads, eight columns wide and a foot deep, contribute somewhat to mass neurosis and displacement of the popular spleen.

The headliner jumped on the high horse with the declaration of war and is still riding him hard, thrilling the galleries with spasms at his derring-do. The headliner is rehearsing Alice in Wonderland, with the reader's eyes popping out of his head, his heart palpitating with apprehension, and with ears strained to hear the Republic

crash to atoms with every edition. Now, the function of a newspaper is educational, and only emotive in times of public peril. We are a big people, with big editors and bigger type—each trying to raise the biggest pumpkins on the front page. . . .

Sophisticated folks understand that the scare-head and the American flag are "fine to sell papers;" but there are shoals of fragile intellects whose cerebral tympanums are shattered by this clanging of the firealarm, and, as their brains quiver like crabapple jelly at the stark crape of the header, they see ghosts, liberty shrieking as Kuscio ko falls, and blood on the moon.

There is no doubt as to what the public feels when it reads such a headline as this:

# NEGRO KIDNAPPERS OF THE BLAKE'S BOY ELUDE THE POLICE

Two Who Attacked Mother and Stole Five-Year-Old Son From Her Side in Ventnor, N. J., Baffle All Their Pursuers.

## THEY CHOKED MRS. BLAKE. TOOK PURSE AND HANDBAG.

This was the headliner for December 14. It is true, the following were published on December 15 and 16, respectively:

# MRS. BLAKE WAVERS IN KIDNAPPING TALE

Says Mind Is a Blank on What Happened Friday Night When Five-Year-Old Son Drowned.

# SEA GIVES UP BOY'S BODY; MRS. BLAKE HELD FOR MURDER

But there is no apology in large type, stating explicitly that Negroes were *not* the criminals. And in any event, the mischief had been done.

## SOMETHING GOOD OUT OF MISSISSIPPI

A CORRESPONDENT asks us to publish the following, so that our "readers may have all the facts about Mississippi." We do so gladly, in the hope that this is not the exception which proves the rule.

The celebrated white-capping case, socalled of July, 1918, was disposed of today by Judge E. L. Brien, of Vicksburg, by a sentence of six months in jail and a fine of \$500 each for the four principals indicted for conspiracy.

The case which attracted most attention among the spectators in the courtroom, and which has been a general topic of conversation for the past day or two, was that of the so-called "white-cappers"—Messrs. King, Ford, Hozie, and Shaw, white men who, in July, 1918, took the law into their own hands and punished several Negro women for "slacking" during the war. In imposing a sentence of six months in jail and a \$500 fine on these men, Judge Brien said:

"Mob law must not prevail in this community and when thirteen men go out in the night to inflict punishment on helpless, frightened Negro women, such an act, which has no bravery attached to it, will never be sanctioned by right-thinking people. "If thirteen men should go to any one of

"If thirteen men should go to any one of your homes and mete out such treatment to your wife or daughter, you would call it outrageous and openly say that you intended to kill every one of the thirteen, for your thoughts would instantly leap to killing where the law offered no protection.

"It is a mistake that such an act is not a penitentiary offense. It is only a misdemeanor, according to our law, but the penalty should be at least ten years at hard labor. You men are fortunate in that. If the act had been committed by ignorant Negroes, it might have a different phase and there might be some excuse for you, but I find none.

"Inasmuch as the law only makes your offense a misdemeanor and it is not classed as a penitentiary offense with a penalty of ten years, I am going to impose the extreme

penalty which is allowed me, and that is a fine of \$500 each and a sentence of six months in the county jail. I'm not responsible for your unfortunate position and the law-abiding people of this community look to me to enforce the laws as they are, without favor. Take the prisoners back to jail."

LYNCH LAW IN PARIS **U**GENE DESTEZ writes in Le Petit Bleu of the murder of a black American soldier at the hands of a white American officer whom he had failed to salute. M. Destez concludes:

In the United States, one drop of black blood in a man's veins constitutes the original unpardonable sin. Negroes are made to be martyrized, to be lynched at pleasure. That is anybody's right. "Color prejudice" justifies everything, even crime.

I remember hearing, when I was in New York, in 1900, that a certain large hotel had had the temerity to hire a colored man as steward and that its patrons threatened to get rid of him by violence.

The sensitiveness of American aristocracy is to be explained, on the ground that it is so genuine, of such ancient date! And its titles—they are paid for dearly at times!

Whatever they may think of this prejudice, Americans will have to lessen its manifestations sooner than they anticipate.

Numerous colored soldiers have been campaigning in France. They have lived in our midst, they have made their own observations and drawn their own conclusions. They have been able to realize that here, in the old world, we pay no attention to the color of a man's skin or the shape of his head. We envisage only the heart and the mind. We extend the same grateful admiration to our Senegalese, our Sudanese, our Kabyles, and our Moroccans.

How many of them are about to return to their native country, decorated either with the Legion of Honor, the Military Medal, or the "Croix de Guerre."

Furthermore, in the course of the stay of the American soldiers in France, many a charming idyl has been enacted between themselves—and white women.

Those proud citizens of the "land of liberty" have never sought really to penetrate the heart of the black man. They have always failed to realize what it might contain not only of devotion, of the power to sacrifice and to love—but also of the power to hate.

Let them visit the halls of honor in our schools and colleges,—they will find there the names of all our former colored graduates who have brought distinction to their *Alma Mater* in letters, science, art, and in every field of human knowledge.

One of our colleagues, who has just spent fifteen years in the United States, told me yesterday of the movement which is growing in the black people of America as a result of their long sojourn in France. "A revolution is on foot," he said. . . . Lynch law has no place in our codes.

## JUSTIFYING MR. SHAW

G EORGE BERNARD SHAW insists that Americans are still barbarians and justifies his contention by citing the expulsion of the five Socialists by the New York Legislature. He says:

I suppose it must be regarded as a challenge to direct action and as the deliberate preliminary to a war of political creeds which will be far more frightful than the wars of religion in the seventeenth century.

It is high time for the Mayflower to fit out for sea again.

Americans used to laugh at me for refusing to visit their country without a safe conduct. They will hardly deny now that I had good reason.

Is President Wilson still at large? He is barely safer than was Louis XVI. I, as an avowed and active Socialist of over thirtyfive years' standing, should have no chance at all.

But there is nothing really surprising in the incident. Beneath their mask of civilization, the American States have always remained primitive communities, and primitive communities naïvely persecute opinion as a matter of course.

What would the great playwright think of this attitude of the South as reported by a Mississippi paper?

The Federal Woman Suffrage constitutional amendment was rejected today by the lower house of the Mississippi Legislature after ten minutes of debate.

Cheers and laughter marked the announcement of the vote.

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It would be refreshing indeed to hear his comment on Atlanta's lack of civilization as implied in this account:

Whipping of women at the city stockade, was ordered discontinued entirely by the Prison Committee of the Atlanta City Council today after a police hearing of charges brought by the Atlanta Humane Society, that women had been strapped to a contrivance resembling a chair, and flogged.

## WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT

W HY is it that Negroes so often fail to support liberal movements? Why is it that Negroes are ungrateful to their friends? Such questions are often asked. And the answer is clear: movements that seem "liberal" to most people are often reactionary on the color question; friends, too, are often traitors and we know it even when proof is hard to adduce. But proof comes and here it is in the editorial columns of the leading New Orleans paper which is boosting John M. Parker for governor:

The plain facts of history, which should be known to every well-informed Louisianian, prove that John M. Parker has perhaps rendered more definite service to the perpetuation in the South of white supremacy coupled with racial peace, than any man now in Louisiana public life.

His services in this cause constitute one of his strongest claims to Louisiana's gratitude, and give ground for the most powerful arguments in his behalf.

Here are a few outstanding episodes:

1—When Theodore Roosevelt was president of the United States, it was the Democrat, John M. Parker, who first effectively brought to the chief executive's mind a clear conception of the Southern point of view, its justice and its soundness, and who persuaded him thereafter not to appoint Negroes to office over, or with, white persons in the South, where no end could be served save to stir antagonism and breed trouble. Thereafter there were NO Negroes appointed in the South, save in perhaps a few minor instances in which subordinate officials were responsible.

2—When William Howard Taft succeeded Theodore Roosevelt, John M. Parker, the Democrat, during the brief period when Roosevelt and Taft continued in political agreement, utilized that period, through Roosevelt, to persuade Taft to the wisdom and sound policy of following the same course of action. As a result, few, if any, Negroes were appointed to such office in the South during the four-year term of Taft.

3—When the Progressive Party was organized and Parker was a member thereof, he fought for and obtained a resolution for that party's organization, which would have made that party a "white man's party" throughout the South at the will of the Southern Progressives...

Parker has forcefully summed up his position from the stump, in words that are worth repeating. . . .

"I always have stood for white supremacy and I never took a seat in the Progressive convention until that party adopted unanimously a resolution making it absolutely a white man's party throughout the South."

NEGRO VS. FILIPINO SEAMEN O<sup>UR NAVY</sup>, the standard publication of the United States Navy, ponders on discrimination against the Negro sailor:

In a recent issue, *Our Navy* contended that the American Negro, in the matter of manning ships of his own, similar to having regiments of his own, should at least be given the same opportunity afforded the Filipino.

Filipinos have recently been assigned to the U. S. S. Rizal, a modern destroyer The ship is officered by white men and also quite a few white petty officers. The original intention was to gradually withdraw these white petty officers as Filipinos became proficient enough to replace them.

We are glad to see the Filipino get a chance to man a ship of his own; but we would be equally glad to see the American Negro get the same chance.

Your Filipino is an American, since 1899—or later—when Americans came across the sea to his island home and Americanized him with a Krag-Jorgensen and a gatling gun. In 1919, he is given a ship in the U. S. Navy, named after a Filipino patriot. And right here, we want to say, "More power to 'em!" and "God bless 'em!" and we hope they sure do make good. If the *Rizal* won all the gunnery and steaming trophies in the navy, we'd be tickled to death to acknowledge the efficiency that had been wrought among Filipinos under the Stars and Stripes.

But why not give the American Negro a chance, along with the newly acquired little brown brother from out Bacoor way?....

Our Navy is not particularly fond of the Negro. Our interest is only an interest in the name of Americanism and justice. Justice not only to the black sailor, but to the white one as well. The writer has not been thrown in contact with Negroes to any great extent, but firmly believes that Negroes can make good on their own ships, and that the result would be a greater efficiency for the navy, greater contentment for the white sailor, and greater contentment for the black man.

The officer of the deck on a Negro ship could send a Negro messenger to tell a Negro quartermaster to bring up his flag-sewing machine, and we doubt very much whether the Negro quartermaster would report to the officer of the deck that the messenger had told him that he (the quartermaster) was wanted to "sing a song." That's what happened on the *Rizal*.

## THE NEGRO PRESS SPEAKS

ON

POLITICS

Unless, comments the *New York News*, we failed utterly to grasp the awakened patriotic

convictions of the Republican party, it is now going to atone and redeem itself from its generation of sleek indifference and slothful cowardice. It is going to write into its new platform, unless all signs fail, burning pledges to make America safe for democracy. It is going to pass the Senator Moses' inquiry into the southern franchise, which will expose and at the same time banish the political slavery which now grips millions of sovereign American citizens in the South. . . . We are glad, we said to members of the National Committee, that the Republican party is going to write its policy first, and then select a standard bearer who measures up to that high policy. Unless the next man who sits in the White House rings true to this militant program, unless he crushes political slavery and racial disability, the black voter is forever lost to the Republican party, the Republican party is forever lost to the Republic, and this Republic may be forever lost to the world. The black man, the party, the nation, stand at the parting of the ways. Unless the Republican party mistakes the present temper of the new black American, unless it is willing to foolishly discount the allurements of the Laborites and the siren songs of the Socialists, the Republican party will here and now give its black wing, renewed pledges of its friendship, and thereafter, continuing profs of its justice and its patriotism.

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There is a new day, opines the Baltimore Afro-American, and a new generation, and a new group of young political stalwarts who, wise to the past, skeptical of the present and deeply concerned with the future, are going to ask for a real, old-fashioned show-down in the year of our Lord, 1920. They have sentiment, and they, also, have sense, and they are saying that the old ancient and honorable talk about the "Negroes' debt to the Republican party" doesn't mean a tinker's damn to them, and hasn't a thing to do with Fourth of July. The thing they wish to know, and know indeed is: "Where do we come in?"

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According to the Portland, Ore., Advocate, the Negro is interested in himself and his welfare. He is wanting to know what political party will rise to the emergency and admit the Negro as a citizen of the United States, and as such is entitled to a just and fair recognition at the hands of the governing party.

If there should arise a new party, headed by Mr. Hiram Johnson of California, will that party mean anything more of progress, of justice, of equily, of humanity, than the other parties have meant in the past? The recent action of the Republicans in the House, when the Madden Bill was sent to the scrap heap, has intimated to the Negro just where the Republicans of this country stand. They evidently reason that the Negro has never received anything of importance from the Democrats, and therefore he will not vote for the Democratic ticket; they reason also that the Republican party is the only other party the Negro can look to for whatever he may hope to receive in this country.

But there may come a time when the party seeking control may see the necessity of adding another plank to the platform. There may be added the plank of Common Justice for All Men. Such a plank would make interesting reading, and would offer an attraction, to say the least. Let the third party come forth, show its colors, and offer its policy to the country. The Negro is in a receptive mood just now.

James Weldon Johnson gives ON the statement in the New York Age of the principles of the Washington, D. C., "Correspon-PUBLICITY

dents' Club":

Holding ourselves bound together by a common impulse to resent and resist all efforts in public or private, by speech cr writings, to misrepresent, defame, or dizcredit our race, we have organized "The Correspondents' Club," in order the more effectively to carry out the purposes above stated.

And it is also our purpose to note with equal promptness every favorable comment upon the achievements or character of our race, every generous defense of our rights. and every helpful suggestion for our guidance.

We propose to accomplish our object through letters addressed to individuals, organizations, and publications, protesting with firmness against wrongs, and appreciating with gratitude what appears in our favor.

We hold ourselves bound by considerations of a common interest to keep ourselves informed on the history of our race, on our achievements and besetments, and to read what is said of us by others, so that we may thereby be prepared with accurate information to take prompt defense against any or all misrepresentations.

It will be our purpose not only to carry on this work ourselves, but to inspire others of like mind to do the same thing, with a view to bringing as many as possible, here and elsewhere, within the general plan of our operation.

Finally, it will be our purpose to collect accurate statistics of the record made by our race in every line of worthy endeavor, and to be prepared to furnish these facts promptly whenever needed in our defense.

Mr. Johnson concludes:

This is the age of propaganda, propaganda through publicity. One of the most effective means the Negro can use in his fight is propaganda of this sort. He should use it to the utmost, to change and form public opinion regarding himself. We can think of no quicker, simpler, and cheaper method of doing this than through Correspondents' Clubs.

The Interchurch Movement, ON THE IN- according to the Montgomery, TERCHURCH Ala., Emancipator, is a co-MOVEMENT operative organization of Pro-

testant denominations through their mission boards, home and foreign agencies, and churches, for the purpose of effectively meeting the new demands of the new day. The plans of the Movement call for careful study of the conditions and equipment of each church and the needs of each community surrounding each church. Following such a study, representatives of the churches will meet together and make up a practical program of work based upon facts which have been found. This practical program will aim to meet discovered needs both of the church and community.

## YOU NEVER CAN TELL

HERE is a good story from the Okla-homa City, Okla., Black Dispatch:

As good cometh out of Nazareth, so also it sprang up in the heart of an Oklahoma City policeman.

She got on the street car at Fourth and Broadway, the East 4th Street line, on which black folk have had so much trouble. She looked tired, this little black woman. whose face plainly showed that she had done many a hard day's labor, and who had quite evidently been laboring hard that day. She stood in the door of the coach and when she saw clearly that the small space, designated by the Jim-Crow sign, had reserved for her no place to sit, she went directly past the sign and sat in the next seat beyond. The conductor hurriedly approached. "Get up," he said. "Don't you know you are beyond the sign?" "You can move your sign, for I do not intend to get up," said the lady. "You get up," said the ignorant standard bearer of prejudice, or I will call an officer." He stopped the car and went across to a residence, where he found a 'phone. In a few moments, the strong arm of the law was marching into the car. An anxious colored woman leaned over and whispered to the little black woman who had dared to CROSS THE LINE, "Get up and come back." But the disturber of white peace sat silent and still. The policeman strode forward; he looked at the little black woman, and he looked at the almost two-thirds of the car that had been reserved for whites and still had no one in it. He turned and looked at the conductor, and sternly said, "Move your sign and start this car." The little black woman, who had up to that moment been a little bundle of nerve, almost fainted in her seat. She had no wild dreams of justice, and she could hardly believe that a white policeman had actually walked into that coach and sustained her in her weak attempt to have what was her just due. Well, it all ended in the car starting, but the wilful one rode into the terminal beyond the sign, for the conductor refused himself to obey the arm of the law he himself had called. He was the one who ended breaking the law. AND IT WAS HE WHO START-ED OUT BREAKING THE LAW. THE LAW OF FAIR PLAY, OF THE SQUARE DEAL AND JUSTICE.

A Smithville, Ga.. mob is first to lynch a Negro veteran, who fought bravely in France. Will the American Legion speak out on such an outrage? Silence may be polden, but it isn't always wisdom.-Brooklyn Eagle.

# Men of the Month.

HE late Mary L. Gaines was born in Macon, Ga., being the only daughter of the late Bishop Wesley John Gaines, of the A. M. E. Church. After graduating from Fisk University, Miss Gaines' education was broadened by extensive travel. From her birth, she suffered from physical disability; yet she was full of life, and a natural leader. She was connected with civic movements of Atlanta, Ga., was one of the founders and promoters of the free kindergarten, and was always foremost in the social life of the colored city, being prominent in the "W. G. M.", "The Twelve", and the "Twentieth Century" Clubs.



THE LATE MISS GAINES

appointed Assistant Prosecuting Attorney, and held this position eight years; in May, 1911, he was appointed Assistant Corporation Counsel, and served four years. He had the distinction of representing the City of Chicago as Counsel, before the Supreme Court of the United States, and has represented the colored people of Tennessee and Georgia successfully before that court. Mr. Watkins is at present Assistant United States Attorney at Chicago, and, also, Supreme Attorney of Knights of Pythias of North America; he is serving his second term as president of the Appomatox Club. \* \*

Miss Gaines leaves an aged mother. \*

\*

CAMUEL A. T. WATKINS is a native of Memphis, Tenn., and a graduate of Le Moyne Institute, June, 1888. In 1891, he was admitted to the Bar, and the following year, he appeared before the Supreme Court of Tennessee. In 1898, at Chicago, he was

MR. R. L. BROKENBURR is Deputy Prosecuting Attorney for the Nineteenth Judicial Circuit Court of Indianapolis. He has charge of all forfeited recognizance bond cases in the courts. His appointment was made by Claris Adams, Prosecuting Attorney, and marked the first time in the history of Indianapolis, for a



S. A. T. WATKINS

R. L. BROKENBURR 272

THE LATE MR. SCHMIDLAPP



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF WASHINGTON TERRACE AND ITS ANNEXES

colored attorney to be shown such recognition. During his first month's work, Mr. Brokenburr handled over 159 cases, aggregating \$20,000.

Mr. Brokenburr, who is a native of Virginia, is a graduate of Hampton Institute and of the Law Department of Howard University. He served as president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for three terms and is now chairman of the Executive Committee. In spite of the task of reorganization, he has succeeded in winning for this branch, the largest membership in its history. At present the branch has a membership of 744.

## JACOB G. SCHMIDLAPP was born of German parents in Ohio, in 1849, and died this year. He early went into the cigar and whiskey business, becoming a leading distiller in Cincinnati, and afterward organizer of the Union Savings Bank and Trust Com-Then he branched out into great pany. financial enterprises, and finally into philanthropy. The housing of the poor interested him, and he tried several experiments, finally building a few houses for Negroes. Immediately, there began the education of Mr. Schmidlapp in human relationship. He found out, to his surprise, that Negroes were human, that they had wants and virtues, and he tried to help them, by turning an old dump and ravine into "Washington Terrace," one of the most beautiful residential developments in the country for working people. The experiment proved a good

paying investment and led Mr. Schmidlapp to help other enterprises, like the McCall Colored Industrial School.

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THE late Bishop Alexander Priestly Camphor was made Bishop of Africa at the Methodist General Conference in May, 1916. Previously he had served eight years as president of Central Alabama College, at Birmingham, and in 1896, went to Africa as a missionary, where he remained twelve years, as president of the College of West Africa, at Monrovia.

Bishop Camphor was born in New Orleans, La., fifty-four years ago. He was graduated from New Orleans University, in 1889; six years later, he was graduated from Gammon Theological Seminary, and afterward did post-graduate work. He published a volume on *Missionary Story Sketches and Folklore from Africa*.

At his death, Bishop Camphor was pastor of St. John's M. E. Church, in Orange, N. J. He is survived by his widow and his mother.

THROUGH the death of Dr. David N. C. Scott, Montgomery, Ala., loses a successful citizen. For twenty-four years, Dr. Scott practiced the profession of medicine in that city. He was a progressive man, public spirited and thrifty, owning a modern three-story brick store and office building, which he had erected on North Lawrence and Monroe Streets, one block from the Post Office; and it was largely through Dr. Scott's efforts, that Hale Infirmary became a well equipped institution for colored peo-



THE LATE BISHOP CAMPHOR

THE LATE DR. SCOTT

THE LATE MR. ELLIS

ple in the South.

Dr. Scott was born in Hollywood, Ala., in the year 1870. He studied at the State Normal School, at Huntsville; and at Meharry Medical College, from which he was graduated in 1895, as valedictorian.

One would think that a man of this type would find every encouragement in the South, and for many years, Dr. Scott was apparently highly esteemed by the whites. But when the test came, and the lynching mob broke loose last year, one of their first deeds was to drive Dr. Scott out of town and loot his property. His only crime was that of bailing his brother-in-law out of jail, where he had been incarcerated on a ridiculous and false charge. The two men left the city temporarily, but returned, and Dr. Scott died. The blood of the Negro martyrs is mounting high.

\* \*

A T the early age of forty-four years, George Washington Ellis has finished his earthly career, but not without much work accomplished as an author, a lawyer, and a statesman.

Mr. Ellis' birthplace was Weston, Platte County, Mo. After graduating from the and collegiate departments of the University of Kansas, from which he was graduated in 1893. In 1900, he was appointed a clerk in the Census Department at Washington; two years later, President Roosevelt appointed Mr. Ellis, Secretary of the American Legation to the Republic of Liberia, where he served the United States Government for eight years. While in Liberia, Mr. Ellis made a most interesting study of the indigenous races and published his studies. He was decorated by the Liberian government, and was a member of several learned societies. During 1912-16, he was a member of the General Financial Board of the A. M. E. Church.

Atchison High School, he studied in the law

For two and one-half years, Mr. Ellis served Chicago, Ill., as Assistant Corporation Counsel.

Among several books written by Mr. Ellis, is a volume on Negro Culture in West Africa, containing "specimen stories, written in the Vai tongue, with translations of them. The author was well equipped when he undertook this work."

At the National Museum in Washington, D. C., there is an exhibit of ethnological specimens of Africa, collected by Mr. Ellis.

## S S S UNREST

GOD!

Dip down Thy Hands into the flame ways of Thy Heavens;

Splash back the foaming clouds,

Strain out Thy Suns,

And let the stars drip through, Upon the panting blindness of our ears.

W. E. B. D.



THE NEW COLORED WHITELAW APARTMENT HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.



## INDUSTRY

T HE Fitzgerald Corporation, a syndicate of Negroes in Atlantic City, N. J., has been incorporated and capitalized at \$500,-000, for the purpose of erecting on Arctic Avenue, an eight story modern hotel for Negroes; it will contain 200 sleeping-rooms.

 ∏ The North Carolina Mutual Life Insur- ance Company, of Durham, collected over a million and a quarter dollars last year. It recently added to its Medical Department, the position of "General Medical Inspector," which is being filled by Dr. W. L. Joyner, who holds free clinics for policyholders.

shipyard employs 5,000 colored workmen; the field for extension work is undeveloped. C In Beckley, W. Va., there is a colored incorporated Mercantile Company, which is capitalized at \$4,000.

I The Tidewater Bank and Trust Company, a colored institution at Norfolk, Va., in six months, has passed the half-million dollar mark in deposits.

Colored workers in flour and cereal mills at Chattanooga, Tenn., have organized a union and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

### WAR

L IEUT.-COL. JOHN E. GREEN, formerly Military Attaché of the United States at Liberia, has been detailed to take charge of the Military Department of Wilberforce University.

C Howard University's School of Medicine

has the following war record: 4 members of the faculty served on Draft Boards; 4 were contract surgeons; 150 students enlisted in the Medical Reserve Corps, and 150 of the alumni served as officers and enlisted men; 1 officer was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, while another was recommended for the *Croix de Guerre*; one made the supreme sacrifice. A member of the faculty discovered a reliable gas detector, which was used by the Allies. Models, charts, specimens, and skeletons of the school were used for the instruction of Red Cross units.

C The John A. Logan Post, American Legion of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, has been established by colored men at Seattle, Washington. It has 135 members, with William Vrooman, Commander.

C Colored total illiterates in the United States Draft Army numbered 125,000, or 25.5 per cent. of the total colored strength, while Negroes relatively illiterate numbered 123,000, or 25.1 per cent. The literate class of Negroes numbered 242,000, out of a total of 490,000, or 49.4 per cent.

C Major Walter H. Loving, Philippine Constabulary, retired, has reported at Manila, on special duty in the Philippines, to rehabilitate the Philippine Band, which he organized.

#### THE GHETTO

T HE Poughkeepsie High School has severed relations with the New York Military Academy of Cornwall, because the latter school's football team refused to meet the Poughkeepsie team when they found that it had a colored player—Abe Crooks.

#### CRIME

**F**EDERAL anti-lynching legislation is being considered by the House Judiciary Committee.

 Committee, Washington Branch, N. A. A. C. P., will appear before the United States Supreme Court on March 1, to argue a writ of Habeas Corpus in the case of Edgar C. Caldwell, the colored soldier whose sentence to death by the Civil Courts has been upheld by the Supreme Court of Alabama.

■ Judge Henisler in the Court of Common Pleas, Baltimore, Md., has freed Samuel Lewis, a Negro, who has served ten years of a seventy year term for housebreaking and attempted criminal assault. Attorney O'Dunne declared that the proceedings in the case "bore inherent evidence that the sentence was the product of individual passion, and not a judicial act."

 ${\rm I\!\!I}$  The following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Florala, Ala., January 14, Jack Waters, shot; alleged attack upon a white woman.

Pine Bluff, Ark., February 5, unknown Negro; murder.

Osceola, Ark., — , W. E. Hansel (white), tied to post and burned by unidentified robbers.

#### MEETINGS

THE Circle for Negro Relief, Inc., in New York City, is conducting a monthly series of Sunday evening meetings, the first of which was held at Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, the pastor, presided; Harrison Rhodes, President, and Mrs. Etnah Rochon Boutté, Executive Secretary, spoke concerning the Circle. Readings from their own works were given by Charles Hanson Towne of McClure's Magazine, Mrs. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, and Edwin Markham; Mrs. Marie Peake Johnson sang two of Harry T. Burleigh's songs, with Mr. Burleigh accompanying her; other music was furnished by the Plymouth Quartette, under the direction of Bruno Huhn. The second meeting was held in the Walker Memorial Baptist Church in New York City. The Rev. J. D. Bushell. the pastor, presided; Lieut.-Col. Theodore Roosevelt and James Weldon Johnson were the speakers, and music was furnished by Miss Andrades Lindsay, pianist; Fred R. Work, tenor; Miss Minnie Brown, soprano; Paul Robeson, baritone; Mrs. J. D. Bushell, soprano; and Edward McNamara, baritone. C The Kentucky Negro Educational Association will hold its annual session, April 20-23, in Louisville Six hundred teachers are enrolled in this organization, representing 40% of the colored teachers in this state and an increase of 200% over the enrollment five years ago. The president is Mr. H. C. Russell.

#### THE CHURCH

A N Estey Pipe Organ, costing \$2,500, has been installed at First Congregational Church in Little Rock, Ark. The pastor of this church—the Rev. O. H. Mc-Gowan, organized the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. and is its treasurer.

 $\square$  An \$8,000 edifice is to be built for Mt. Zion Baptist Church at Guthrie, Okla. The Rev. O. R. Short is the pastor.

 ① The National Baptist Convention and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church have set out to raise \$1,000,000 for the drive of the Interchurch World Movement, next Spring. These denominations com-prise a membership of 4,000,000.

#### POLITICS

IN Philadelphia, Pa., George W. Chapman, a Negro, has been appointed Deputy Collector of Delinquent Taxes, at a salary of \$3,500 per year. He will have supervision of real estate assessed at \$36,935,502.

[Colored Republicans in the Twelfth Congressional District, St. Louis, Mo., who form 80% of the Republican vote, are demanding that a Negro be nominated to replace Congressman Dyer; if this is not done, they will refrain from voting the Republican ticket. Aaron W. Lloyd, Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias, is leading the movement.

**(**The Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment was rejected by a 106-25 vote in the Lower House of the Mississippi Legislature, after 10 minutes of debate, because it would give colored women the right to vote.

#### EDUCATION

THE Kansas City, Mo., Board of Education has awarded service pins to seven colored teachers for twenty-five years continuous service; the persons are: R. T. Coles, Principal of Garrison School; Maude V. Thornton, teacher at Garrison School; Sadie L. Thornton, teacher at Yates School; India C. Moore, teacher at Douglas School; Sallie C. Rogers, Garrison Library; Preston Overton, custodian, Lincoln High School; Hardy Smith, custodian, Cherry Street School.

 the N. A. A. C. P., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, not later than May 1.

 The Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company at Birmingham, Ala., has com- pleted at a cost of over a million dollars, a 300 bed hospital for employees and their families. There is in operation. a training school for colored nurses.

#### MUSIC AND ART

**CONVENTION WITH** ETHIOPIA", a historical play in two acts, by Carrie L. Shepperson, has been presented in Little Rock, Ark., by the Girl Reserves of the Blue Triangle League.

 $\square$  The DuBois Dramatic Club of Omaha, Neb., has staged Ouida's novel Under Two Flags, under the management of Ada Hill Smith. Seven hundred dollars was netted in receipts.

Colored scholars and people of talent in New York City have formed the Players' Guild, for the purpose of stimulating the creative arts among its members. "Confidence", a playlet written by James H. Wilson, has been creditably performed before an invited audience. The president of the club is Dora Cole Norman.

 Coleridge Taylor's "Bamboola" was re- cently rendered by Hageman's orchestra in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City. The rendition took a double encore. The Capitol Theatre has featured Taylor's "Hiawatha's Wedding Feast," with singers in costume.

C Aaron Douglas, the only colored student in the Art Department of the State University, at Lincoln, Neb., was selected from 150 students, to make a charcoal sketch of General Pershing. The sketch required seventeen hours; every detail was copied on a scale three times the size of the original. Mr. Douglas is twenty-one years of age.

## THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

L EAGUES were organized in Cambridge, Boston, and Milwaukee during the last year, and the St. John's Institutional Activities of Springfield, Mass., under the direction of Dr. William N. Deberry, became affiliated. Organizations were effected in Atlanta and New Orleans.

 ∏ Three executives have been added to the National Staff,—Alexander L. Jackson, Educational Secretary, with headquarters in the National Office; T. Arnold Hill, Western Field Secretary, with headquarters in Chicago; and Jesse O. Thomas, Southern Field Secretary, with headquarters in Atlanta.

( Mr. Jackson's duties include finding social workers to meet immediate demands, overseeing an intensive course of training for them, becoming acquainted with students in colleges, and recommending courses to those who are interested in social work as a profession.

 $\square$  The Field Secretaries are concerned with meeting calls for organizing in cities where living conditions have become acute, because of increase in the Negro population; and in acting in an advisory capacity where their help is solicited.

 $\mathbb{C}$  Two Fellows are taking a year's training at the New York School of Social Work, on League Fellowships, after having finished College courses. These fellowships are given to applicants who can meet the educational qualifications, including an examination in the School of Social Work, and who indicate their intention to follow social work as a profession.

C Special training classes for preparing Industrial Service Workers, are conducted in Chicago and St. Louis. The League's Executives supplement the work of these welfare men in the plants by holding group meetings with workingmen. Pittsburgh has an organization of welfare workers; Detroit conducts a Domestic Science Training School.

C During last year, placement work was turned over to State Industrial or Federal Employment Agencies and efforts were made in several cities to use the League's Industrial Departments only for securing better opportunities for the industrial worker and for vocational guidance for juveniles. The latter work was especially emphasized by the New York Urban League, which secured the establishment of a vocational guidance bureau in a public school in Harlem, in which there is a large attendance of colored children. In eight cities. 37.184 industrial workers were placed,-a large number of them in skilled or clerical work.

€ One affiliated organization,—the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia—through its Industrial Department, directed contracts to colored firms, amounting to \$117,726.

 $\mathbb{C}$  At the New York League's instance, Boys' Work was undertaken by the Boys' Federation, resulting in the establishment of a club-house.

€ Coöperation between colored and white people has been fostered and increased wherever possible. The League works amicably with all organizations, such as public and private employment agencies, charities, social service departments of hospitals, juvenile, domestic relations, municipal, and other courts, public schools and trade schools, Community Service, War Risk Insurance Service, the Red Cross, and Associations on Commerce. In Brooklyn, N. Y., this cooperation has resulted in the providing of a fund for a woman worker who devotes full time to work among women and girls.

C The cost of supporting this work is constantly increasing: 102,000 was spent in 1918 by the National Urban League and its branches; 149,000 in 1919; and a budget totaling 220,000 has been adopted for 1920. The respect in which the work is held, is evidenced by the hearty manner in which the public responds to the League's appeal for funds. The headquarters are at 127 East Twenty-third Street, New York City, with L. Hollingsworth Wood as Chairman and Eugene Kinckle Jones as Executive Secretary.

 Valentine, Principal of Bordentown Manual Training and Industrial School, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Mary McLeod Bethune, Principal of Daytona School for Girls, Mrs. Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, John W. Davis, President of West Virginia Collegiate Institute, and Mrs. Raymond Robbins, of the Woman's Trade Union of Chicago, were added to the Board of Directors.

( The change of name from National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes, to National Urban League, voted last year, was legally completed at this meeting.

### FRATERNITIES

THE Society of the Sons of Virginia, Inc., in New York, had an increase of thirtyseven members last year, and receipts amounting to \$1,128; its total funds amount to \$4,756. Mr. J. W. Patterson is president. If The Knights of Pythias of Tennessee have resources of \$95,000; there are 475 Lodges and Courts, with 11,000 Knights, 10,000 Calanthes, and 1,200 Juveniles,—a total of 22,200 members.

## SOCIAL PROGRESS

**E** DWARD S. JACKSON, a Negro, has been appointed a police officer in New York City, which makes a total of eight colored policemen.

**(**The Supreme Court of Colorado has ruled by a 7-5 vote, that a boot-black parlor is a "place of public accommodation"; that any places "similar" to any one of those named specifically in the Civil Rights Bill, come within the purview of the bill. The local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. was represented by Attorney E. P. Blakemore, of Denver.

**C** The Board of Education at Lexington, Ky., has named five Negroes as members of the Advisory Committee to select a site for the new colored high school. The Negroes are Dr. W. H. Ballard, chairman; W. H. Fouse, the Rev. Robert Mitchell, Dr. J. E. Hunter, and Dr. T. T. Wendell.

**C** The Société Française of Howard University gave a "Soireé de Gala," in honor of Monsieur Jusserand, the French Ambassador.

C Prince Georges County, Md., has its first colored Deputy Sheriff, in the person of Richard Johnson; Thomas Perry, a Negro, has been appointed Keeper of the County Jail in Upper Marlboro, a position formerly held by a white man.

**(**Thirty colored women at Pittsburgh, Pa., are taking a course in recreational leadership, under the Bureau of Recreation.

C "Billy" Williams, a Negro in St. Paul, Minn., is executive messenger to Governor Burnquist. Mr. Williams' "handshaking" score is 421,200. This score started in January, 1905, when the late Governor J. A. Johnson took office; it continued through the administrations of Governor A. O. Eberhart and the late Governor W. S. Hammond.

C Lillian L. Feurtado is the first colored woman clerk to be employed in the Collector's office at the City Hall, Boston.

C Tally Holmes of Washington, D. C.,

heads the list of leading colored tennis players; A. F. Stephens and C. V. Norman of New York City, respectively, head the second and third groups of ten best players.

C Negroes in New Orleans, La., have opened The Providence Hospital and Training School for Nurses. The property includes four lots, on which there are three buildings.

( Wesley Williams in his physical examination for fireman in New York City, received 100 per cent, the only such average in an examination of 1,700 applicants of whom he was the only Negro. He has been appointed to Engine Company fifty-five, Broome Street. Mr. Williams was born in New York City, August 26, 1897. He has worked two years as a postman and as a mail auto driver. ( C Doctors J. N. Hammons and Griffith Brannon, Negroes, have been added to the City Hospital, Louisville, Ky., as internes.

**(** Among insurance companies planning better conditions for their employees is the Metropolitan, which will pay its agents commission on policies taken out by Negroes, which in the past, agents have been forced to write for nothing.

#### PERSONAL

A Citizens' Reception has been tendered Harry H. Pace in Atlanta, Ga. Mr. Pace has resigned as secretary of the Standard Life Insurance Company, and will become a resident of New York City, where he will devote himself to the publishing business of Pace and Handy.

C Mr. J. D. H. Howard, Editor of the *In*dianapolis Ledger, is dead.

C Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Vandorn in Ja-

maica, L. I., have celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage. Mr. Vandorn is said to be worth nearly \$100,000, most of which is invested in real estate.

### FOREIGN

**I** RRIGATION work for the purpose of growing cotton, has been started in Western French Africa, through an agreement between the government and contractors.

C A colored ex-soldier from America, it is reported from Paris, has made 125,000 francs through buying and selling Army and Navy supplies at Brest.



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Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nel-son (formerly Mrs. Paul Laurence Dunbar) leader in the mobilization of colored women of the country for war work under the auspices of the Women's Committee, Coun-cil of National Defense. Miss Eva G. Bowles, Executive Secretary, in charge of the colored work of the Young Women's Christian Associa-tion. Lieut. T. T. Thompson, Historian who accompanied the famous 92d Division, U. S. A. to France.

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