RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

AT THE CLOSED GATE OF JUSTICE.

To be a Negro in a day like this
Demands forgiveness. Bruised with blow on blow,
Betrayed, like him whose woe-dimmed eyes gave bliss,
Still must one succor those who brought one low,
To be a Negro in a day like this.

To be a Negro in a day like this
Demands rare patience—patience that can wait
In utter darkness. 'Tis the path to miss,
And knock, unheeded, at an iron gate,
To be a Negro in a day like this.

To be a Negro in a day like this
Demands strange loyalty. We serve a flag
Which is to us white freedom's emphasis.
Ah! one must love when truth and justice lag,
To be a Negro in a day like this.

To be a Negro in a day like this—
Alas! Lord God, what evil have we done?
Still shines the gate, all gold and amethyst,
But I pass by, the glorious goal unwon,
"Merely a Negro"—in a day like this!

—James D. Corrothers in The Century.

❁ ❁ ❁

THE NEW CO-OPERATION IN THE SOUTH.

From the Address of James H. Dillard as Chairman of the Committee on Race Relationships at the Second Meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress in Atlanta, Ga., 1913.

Truth is that the time has come when the earnest and thoughtful white people of the South have determined to face the problems involved in race relationships, and to co-operate with each other, with the colored people themselves, and with friends in the North in promoting better conditions than have existed since reconstruction days.

In those early days of reconstruction the great trouble was caused by the predominating influence of men who, however sincere they may have been, attempted to do the impossible overnight. I can never think of those days without calling to mind an illustration which was being exhibited about the same time in the Old World.

Fifty-odd years ago Italy was an expression, not a united country. There was a bundle of divided States, but not one country as it is today. All great Italians, both statesmen and men of letters, earnestly desired union. Three great men stood out among many as the champions of a United Italy. These were Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour. Mazzini was uncompromisingly in favor of a republic, and worked largely by secret associations and conspiracy. Garibaldi was always ready for fight and for any extreme measures. Cavour was the statesman, the greatest, I think, with his contemporary, Lincoln, in the nineteenth century. Cavour said that a republic at that stage of the game was impossible. He knew that Europe would not allow it, even if the Italians were ready for it. He said: "I will work for the possible. I will take the kingdom of Sardinia and unite Italy around that." And he did.

Mr. William R. Thayer, one of our American historians, has written the standard life of Cavour, one of the greatest books ever written in America. In speaking of Cavour he used the expression that Cavour had "an enthusiasm for the possible." It is a great expression. Most "enthusiasts" have an enthusiasm for the impossible. The impossible may be the ideal, may come later on, but if it be impossible at the time, the highest wisdom is to be enthusiastic for the possible, and to wait.

In our own country, after the Civil war, if statesmen like Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens had attempted less, they would have accomplished more in the long run. Idealists ignore the fact that we are walking on the earth. We humans will not be pushed too fast. We have to grow. If the forward push be too rapid or too far, reaction is inevitable. In all forward movements this is a fact which it is the part of highest wisdom to remember. Sumner and Stevens ignored this fact. I think we may guess that Lincoln, had he been spared to deal with reconstruction, would have taken a different course. I think that, like Cavour in Italy, Lincoln would have had an "enthusiasm for the possible," and would have foreseen that it was impossible to do outright what later events have shown to have been impossible of accomplishment in such hasty way.

But we had the reconstruction days with their trail of ill will. It is needless to dwell on the ugly details. I am not claiming that there were no well-meaning efforts in the process of reconstruction, or that the men engaged were all of them nothing more than selfish and unscrupulous politicians, but we know the results. For forty years the well-disposed have been suffering from the bitterness that was begotten. Let us be glad that what may be called the post-reconstruction period seems at last to be drawing to a close.

This is the truth which I wish to emphasize at this time. I sincerely believe that the day of better feeling is at hand. I believe that the day has come when we shall, if I may say so, start over again and develop right relations in the right way. We Southern white people now realize two facts in regard to the relationship of the races. First, we realize that the old relationship, so frequently typified in the affection of the black mammy, is one that must pass. Second, we realize that the spirit of no relationship, no responsibility, no co-operation, is impossible. We see that our whole public welfare requires the education and improvement of the colored people in our midst. We see that public health depends on common efforts between the races. We see that the prosperity of these Southern States is conditioned on greater intelligence among the masses of all the people. We see that every consideration of justice and righteousness demands our good will, our helpful guidance wherever it can be given, and our co-operation.

Let us hope that the deliberations and discussions of these conferences will tend to promote this spirit of good will and co-operation. Let us hope that by coming together we may learn better how to set ourselves to work to improve conditions. Let us speak out with plainness and honest conviction, and at the same time with good feeling and sympathy.

STATEMENT ON RACE RELATIONSHIPS.

As Drawn Up by a Committee of Southern White Men in Charge of the Conference on Race Relationships at Atlanta, 1913.

Recognizing that tuberculosis and other contagious diseases now prevalent among the Negroes of the South are a menace to the health, welfare, and prosperity of both races, we believe there should be a most hearty co-operation between the health authorities of the various States and cities and the colored physicians, ministers, and teachers. We further believe that practical lessons on sanitation and hygiene should be given in all public schools, both white and colored, and also in the institutions for advanced training throughout the Southern States.

Recognizing that the South is no exception to the nations of the world in that its courts of justice are often more favorable to the rich than to the poor, and further recognizing the fact that the juxtaposition of a more privileged race and a less privileged race complicates this situation, we plead for courts of justice instead of mere courts of law; we plead further for a deeper sense of obligation on the part of the more plivileged class to see to it that justice is done to every man and woman, white and black alike.

Recognizing that lynch law is no cure for the evil of crime, but is rather an aggravation, and is itself the quintessence of all crime, since it weakens law and if unchecked must finally destroy the whole bond that holds us together and makes civilization and progress possible; other things being equal we recognize that a crime is worse which is committed by an individual of one race upon an individual of another race, and that form of retaliation is most harmful which is visited by one race upon another. We further believe that there must be a prompt and just administration of the law in the detection and punishment of criminals, but to this must be added those influences of knowledge and of good will between the races which will more and more prevent the commission of crime.

Recognizing further that the economic and moral welfare of the South is greatly dependent on a better trained Negro in all the walks of life in which he is engaged, and further recognizing that the state is in the business of education for the sake of making better citizens of all men, white and black alike, and thereby safeguarding the life and property of the community and upbuilding its economic prosperity—

In view of this fact, we believe that four definite steps of improvement must be made in the Negro schools of the South. Such steps of improvement are already under way in a number of our Southern States:

1. The schools must be made to fit into and minister definitely to the practical life of the community in which they are located.
2. There must be a larger amount of money put into our public schools for Negroes, thus enabling them to have longer terms and to secure better trained teachers.
3. There must be a more thorough supervision on the part of the white superintendents following the lead of many superintendents already working.
4. We must attempt to furnish to these Negro schools, through public funds, a better type of trained teachers, and to this end more sane, thoroughgoing schools for Negro teachers must be established.

WAS NOT THIS A MAN?

For The Public.

One of the pioneer women of California whose knowledge of the people and events of Western and Pacific Coast life reaches a long way back, and who also lived for years in the South, tells a story which ought not to be forgotten.

In 1849, a Southerner came to California, and went to the mines. He brought a Negro slave from the old farm, whether in Kentucky or Virginia we do not know. From other traditions one learns that this Southerner mined in Tuolumne, in the region made famous by Bret Harte, and that the Negro, his slave, was a corking big fellow, always at work for his master and taking the big end of it.

In 1850 California entered the Union as a free State; of course the Negro was offered wages by others, and was told that he was free. However, he staid right along with his master, working for grub and clothes.

The Southerner was greatly prospered, accumu-