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The Lynching of Negroes in The South.

Its Causes and Remedy.

BY

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood,
For the good or evil side ;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah,
Offers each the bloom or blight,
And the choice goes forever
'Twixt that darkness and that light.

Then the side with Truth is nobler
When we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit
And 'tis prosperous to be just ;
Then it is the brave man chooses,
While the coward stands aside,
Till the multitude make virtue
Of the faith they had denied."

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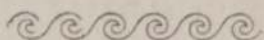
These sermons were delivered in the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian church, Washington D. C. June 4th, 18th, and 25th, 1899. They are sent forth in the hope that they may throw some light on the subject discussed, and may result in some good.

Sermon I.

ACTS 7:57.



“Then they cried with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him.”



AT the April meeting of the Afro-American National Council held in this city, a day of prayer and fasting was determined upon to be observed by our people throughout the country. Since that time an address has been issued setting apart Friday, June 2nd, as the day. After directing attention to the sad condition of things in this country as respects our people, the address closes in these words: “Owing to these and many other calamitous conditions, of which time forbids a recital, unhistoric, unprecedented, and dreadfully abnormal, we are impelled by a sense of duty and the instincts of our moral natures, to appeal to the Afro-Americans in the United States to put forth some endeavor, by ceasing to be longer silent, and to appeal to some judicatory for help and relief. If earth affords none for our helpless and defenseless race,

we must appeal to the bar of Infinite Power and Justice, whose Judge holds the destinies of nations in his hands.

Therefore, we, the National Afro-American Council of the United States, in keeping with the custom in all ages, and among all nations in times of mourning, sorrow, affliction, persecution and great calamity, call upon, and pathetically implore every member of our race, man, woman, and child, to observe Friday, the second day of June, as a day of fasting and prayer, and thus invoke the aid and help of that God who rules in the armies of Heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth.

We also invoke the ministers and churches of all denominations to crowd their churches, in sunrise devotion on the following Sabbath, June 4th, for special song, prayer, and remarks, in keeping with the occasion, either exhortations, or relating experiences, from such as desire to sing, pray and speak: and at one of the hours of regular preaching, that the pastors of the respective churches shall deliver a sermon upon the duties, holy lives, and suppression of all sinful habits, conduct and words, that God the Father of mercies may take our deplorable case in his own hands, and that if vengeance is to be meted out let God himself repay."

It was at first suggested, in connection with this Fast Day, that on the following Sabbath, all minis-

ters of all denominations, and of all colors be asked to speak particularly on the subject of lynching; not for the purpose of stirring up bad blood, not for the purpose of denunciation, but in the hope that a calm, dispassionate discussion of the subject would help to create a healthy public sentiment that will render such outbreaks of lawlessness impossible in the future. I thought then that it was a good suggestion, and think so still. And it is to this subject, therefore, that I desire to direct your attention this morning.

In the subject of lynching, the Negro has a general interest, and he has a special interest. A general interest in that he is an American citizen, interested in all that affects the present and future welfare of this country. He hasn't had very much to encourage his patriotism. He has been oppressed, down-trodden, brutally treated; he has been told again and again, This is a white man's government, and everything has been done to make him feel like an alien. He is still patriotic, however. Whenever the call has come to him for any duty, he has always cheerfully responded. And to-day, there is no class of citizens that would sacrifice more for the honor and defense of this nation than the Negro; there is no class of citizens that has given stronger or better proof of its patriotism. The white man has been willing to die for it, and good reason has he had;

it has been and is still to him, a veritable paradise; the Negro has been willing to die for it, and has died for it, though for most of the time it has been to him a veritable hell. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend, but God commendeth his love to us, in that while we were sinners Christ died for us." The willingness on the part of the Negro to make sacrifices for this country, to freely lay down his life for it, in spite of the shameful manner in which he has been treated in it, has always been a marvel to me. I can understand men dying for a country that appreciated them, that protected them in their rights, that showed some interest in them; but men dying for a country that permits them to be despoiled of their rights, to be discriminated against, to be shot down and driven from their homes, and every indignity heaped upon them, without stretching forth so much as a finger in their defense, is incomprehensible to me. And yet, that is true of the Negro. If the American people needed any proof of the value of this black race to this country, that ought to be sufficient. Such love, such devotion, no government can afford to despise and but few can command. To say that the Negro is patriotic, that he loves this country, that he has given over and over again the most substantial proofs of his patriotism, is to pay him one of the greatest compliments,

is to show him to be possessed of an unusual amount of magnanimity, of greatness of soul. And because he is all that I have said of him, because he is patriotic, the subject of lynching appeals to him, and ought to appeal to every true patriot. For the spirit of the mob cannot prevail in any section of the country without affecting the whole. It begets contempt for law, and encourages a spirit which is subversive of all government. And the prevalence of that spirit means ruin to the whole country.

But in addition to this general interest, the Negro has also a special interest in the subject of lynching, because it is against him mainly that this spirit of lawlessness manifests itself. The great majority of these lynchings are in the South and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the victims are Negroes. His own welfare and happiness, his own safety impels him therefore to take in this subject more than a passing interest.

With these preliminary remarks, let us now calmly address ourselves to the subject. What is lynching? It is the summary execution of an offender, or supposed offender, without due process of law, by a self-constituted and irresponsible body of men. A careful study of this definition will show that a mob implies five things. It implies (1) that there are laws which fully provide for the punishment of the alleged offender, if found guilty. (2). It im-

plies that there are officers who have been entrusted with the execution or enforcement of the laws. (3). It implies all the machinery necessary to establish the guilt or innocence of the prisoner. (4). It implies power sufficient on the part of the properly constituted authority to enforce the penalty of the law. And (5) it implies an unwillingness on the mob to allow the law to have its course. The mob, mark you, is not doing something which the State is powerless to do, but something which it is unwilling to have the State do, and in the way prescribed by law. Unwilling, I say. In dealing with the philosophy of this subject it is important that we note that fact.

Why are these lynchers unwilling to have the law take its course? It cannot be from any fear on their part that the prisoner may escape, through legal technicalities and tricks of the profession, or through any combination of circumstances favorable to him. The combination of circumstances is always against him. The whole machinery of justice in the South is in the hands of the whites; the judges, the sheriffs, the constables, even jurors, with rare exceptions, are all white. These officers are not only ready to execute the laws against him, but alas, are only too glad to do so. His guilt is assumed often, even before he has had a hearing. There isn't the ghost of a chance for a Negro escaping, if

there is a scintilla of evidence against him; even when he is innocent, he can hardly make his escape. Instead of assuming that he is innocent until he is proven guilty, the presumption is always the other way, that he is guilty until he proves his innocence. And that is always a difficult thing to do, especially if the charge against him is made by a white man. The word of the Negro goes for nothing against the word of the white man. Before the war, bear in mind the fact, that a Negro was not allowed to testify at all in a court of law against a white man. And that is still the unwritten law in the South. It is well nigh impossible therefore, for a Negro to establish his innocence if a white man testifies against him, and his only rebutting witnesses are colored men. The presumption always is, that what the white man says against the Negro is true. There is not on record, in all the Southland, a single case where a guilty Negro has been allowed to escape, through any bias in his favor on the part of judge or jury, or through any legal technicalities or tricks of the profession, where the alleged offence was charged by a white person; an accused Armenian might just as soon hope to escape from the clutches of the Turks. Negroes are not lynched in the South through any fear that they will be allowed to escape the just penalty of the law in case of conviction. There isn't an honest, truthful man anywhere who will set up such a plea.

What then is the explanation of this spirit of lawlessness in the South? Out of what does it come? What is the true philosophy of it? It is due partly to a low state of civilization, and partly to race hatred.

(1). It is due partly to a low state of civilization. Say what we will, and I refer to it not for the purpose of reflecting upon the South but simply because, in the discussion of this subject, what we want is the truth,—the plane of civilization there is very much lower than it is in the North. The elements that belong to a savage state, or at best, to a semi-civilized community, are more largely dominant in the South than in the North. The brutal instincts of our nature have acquired an extraordinary ascendancy in the South. The first impulse is to fight, to resort to brute force, to knock somebody in the head, or to fly at somebody's throat. That is true among all classes, rich and poor, high and low, educated and uneducated. Hence almost everybody goes armed. They seem to prefer to settle their differences with fisticuffs, or by an appeal to arms. I clipped from the Post of this city, the following item not long ago; "Okolona, Miss., May 9.—A terrific four-handed street battle occurred here to-day. The participants, Dr. J. Murfee and his son, Howard Murfee, on the one side, and C. D. and W. F. Clark on the other. Knives and pistols were

used, and Dr. Murfee, and his son, and C. D. Clark were killed on the spot, and W. F. Clark was mortally wounded. He died this evening. The tragedy was enacted at noon in front of the residences of Dr. Murfee and Charles Clark, an attorney. Clark had called on Dr. Murfee over a disputed doctor's bill, and they quarrelled, going into the street to fight it out. Clark drew a knife and cut Dr. Murfee's throat, severing the jugular vein. At that moment Walter Clark, a brother of Charles, rushed from his yard and fired four shots into the prostrate body of Dr. Murfee, any one of them would have proven fatal. Then Dr. Murfee's son, Howard, appeared, firing first at Charles Clark, shooting him through the head. Then he fired three times at Walter Clark, one bullet entering the forehead. Walter Clark fired again, shooting Howard Murfee through the heart. Excepting Walter Clark, all died instantly. Dr. Murfee was sixty years of age, and leaves a widow and four children. His son was aged twenty-one. Charles Clark was forty, and unmarried. Walter Clark was thirty three, and leaves a widow and one child." This painful story illustrates what I mean. Such occurrences are liable to take place at any time, and in all grades of society. The most trivial thing is liable to produce bloodshed. It is only a word and a blow. The whole social atmosphere seems to be in a highly inflamma-

ble condition, needing only a word to produce an explosion. As people rise in civilization, as they come under higher influences, these brutal instincts become more and more subdued.

Another evidence of the low state of civilization in the South is to be found in the actual horrors which are constantly occurring there. The scene that was inaugurated at Newnan, it is safe to say could not have occurred in any Northern settlement. Public sentiment has been so educated, that it simply would not have been possible. And yet, anyone who knows the South, knows that there is scarcely a settlement in it where it may not have occurred. This spirit of cruelty, of brutality, is limited to no one Southern state, it is found in them all; it is limited to no section of any one state, it is liable to break out at any point. Newnan was not an exceptionally bad settlement, indeed, it was above the average, it was in the immediate vicinity of Atlanta, acknowledged to be the most progressive city in the South. It was what would be called a good, respectable Southern community, and yet Sam Hose was tortured and burnt to death there, and the same thing might have occurred in any other Southern settlement. All the elements which conspired to make the Newnan tragedy possible, are present in every Southern community.

Still another evidence of the low state of civiliza-

tion in the South is to be found in the kind of interest that is taken in such atrocities. The editor of the New York Sun in commenting upon the burning of Hose says, "The Journal," one of the leading dailies of Atlanta, "treated the occurrence in the spirit in which local reporters write of some great festive occasion. It told of the train loads of Sunday excursionists that went from Atlanta to witness the awful spectacle. It dwelt upon the humors of the day, described what it called 'the rich and magnificent scenes enacted along the route of the Sunday excursion train from Atlanta, complimented the hundreds of ladies who stood on porches waving their handkerchiefs, and smiling approval, as far as they could see it, exhausting the resources of dialect writing to make the narrative racy, and wound up with a tribute of the character of Hon. Hoke Smith's town, and an expression of regret that all of them did not succeed in reaching the scene of the burning alive of Sam Hose in season to witness his agonies.'" The Journal in its description goes on further to say: "The West Point Railroad sold about two thousand tickets yesterday. One of the most animated spectacles ever seen in Atlanta was the struggle for tickets at the Union Depot. So great was the crowd that hundreds could not get there, and had to pay their way on the train, or stay behind. The agent stood in the

depot and yelled: Get your tickets at the West Point office in the Kimball. There was a rush for the office, but when the crowd surged in they found the same kind of fight going on as at the depot. It was the most exciting struggle for tickets ever witnessed in Atlanta. Hundreds of the best men in Atlanta took the trains. It was the best humored crowd that ever left the city, and the most orderly. There was not a drunken man aboard. The only thought, the only fear of the great crowds, which looked more like a jolly party bound for the races than a lynching, was that they might be too late to see the execution."

"The quiet dignity and perfect order of the hundreds from Atlanta at Newnan was notable. Indeed, it formed one of the most interesting features of the day."

"But for the fact that the programme was suddenly changed, and the lynching took place near Newnan, fully five thousand people would have seen the burning near the Cranford home, and of these nearly half were from Atlanta." "The change of programme prevented the Atlanta crowds from seeing the lynching. There was great disappointment, but the crowd was not to be outdone, for two thirds, on arriving at Newnan, went out to view the scene of the burning, scores on foot, hundreds in vehicles, and, though they failed to see the lynch-

ing, at least one man in fifty brought away some memento of the terrible punishment inflicted upon the monster barbarian when he expiated in the flames his most horrible crime."

Nothing, perhaps, could give us a better insight into Southern civilization, than that picture, so graphically drawn by an eye-witness. Think of hundreds of the best citizens of Atlanta struggling with each other for tickets to witness such a spectacle; think of delicate and refined Southern women standing on their porches, and waving their handkerchiefs in approval of the burning to death of a human being; think of five thousand people going out on the Holy Sabbath day to witness such a scene, in "the same spirit as they would go out to witness the races, having but one thought, but one fear, that they might be too late to see the execution."

Still another evidence of the low grade of civilization in the South is to be found in its Prison Lease System, and the brutal manner in which it permits criminals to be treated under that system. No one can become familiar with the facts, with what is actually taking place there, without being horrified, and without being deeply concerned for the future of a section of our country which quietly permits such a condition of things to exist in its midst. The simple fact is, it doesn't seem to touch the moral sense of the people at all. There seems

to be no appreciation of its real character, except here and there. The masses think it is all right, and are perfectly willing to have it continue.

In a civilization such as is found in the South where brute force predominates, where the passions are in the ascendency, where there is little or no self-control, and where the tendency is for the individual to promptly right his own wrongs, instead of waiting for the slower processes of law, such outbreaks of lawlessness as are seen in these repeated lynchings are not to be wondered at. They grow naturally out of such conditions, are incident to that stage of development, and show conclusively that the plane of Southern civilization is low.

The other cause contributing to these outbreaks of lawlessness in the South, is race hatred. By this, I mean that these horrible lynchings of Negroes in the South, are due, in part, to the hatred which the white man feels toward the Negro. I know we hear a great deal of the love of the Southern whites for the Negro, and, if we are to believe what some of our colored leaders say, the Southern white man is really the best friend that the Negro has. That the Southern white man is interested in the Negro, that he feels kindly towards him may be true, it is true in a sense, i. e. provided he keeps in his place. The Southern white man believes that the Negro has a place,—not a place

which he may carve out for himself by dint of perseverance and hard work, by the development of intellectual, moral, and financial strength, just as in the case of any other race; but a place, in spite of whatever qualities he may develop, however praiseworthy, or whatever his achievements might be, in which he must be kept; and that is a position of inferiority. As long as the Negro is willing to occupy that position the Southern white man is ready to befriend him, and to go any length in showing his friendship for him; in other words, it is the old time Negro that the Southern white man loves, the Negro of ante-bellum days, the Negro that stands with hat in hand, and that knows his place. That is all the love of the Southern white man for the Negro means; it is as an inferior that he loves him. This sentiment is prevalent throughout the South. There are some noble exceptions, I am glad to say, but the masses of the people, ninety-nine hundredths of them, feel just as I have stated. Nothing is more firmly planted in their minds than the idea, that the Negro, as such, whether educated or uneducated, whether good or bad, has a place, and that in that place he must be kept.

The Southern white man not only believes this, but it is his fixed purpose and determination to organize Southern society, and as far as he is able, the whole country, on that basis. Hence, in every

way possible, he is seeking to emphasize and to fix permanently the status of the Negro as an inferior. This purpose is written not only in the hearts of the Southern people, but is being written in the organic laws of the land. The legislative power of the several states has been called into play to perpetuate these notions, so that the generations that are to follow will know what their fathers thought, and what their wishes were on this matter. The whole fabric of Southern society, as it existed before the war, and as it is now being attempted to be built, rests upon the assumption of the alleged inferiority of the Negro. Everything centres about that idea; that is the one thing that is never lost sight of. The races may not intermarry, because the Negro is inferior; the races may not ride in the same cars, because the Negro is inferior; the races may not sit in the same waiting room at the depot, because the Negro is inferior; the races may not, while travelling eat in the same dining room, because the Negro is inferior; the races may not even sit in the same pews, in the house of God, because the Negro is inferior; the Negro must be excluded from the ballot box for the same reason, because he is inferior. It isn't because he is ignorant, for there is no desire to get rid of the illiterate white voter. The disposition in the South to cut down appropriations for Negro schools, to curtail as far

as possible his educational advantages, is for the same reason, because he is regarded as an inferior, as not needing what the white child needs. In this fact is to be found also the reason why industrial education for the Negro is so popular in the South; it is because by industrial education, they understand an education that will better fit the Negro to be a servant, to fill the place which they have marked out for him. Even in the great International Sunday School Convention, which held its session recently at Atlanta, the same spirit cropped out. A colored gentleman, one of the delegates, on finding that he was separated from the delegation with which he came, and with which he ought to have been placed in the hall, refused to submit, and insisted upon taking his seat with his delegation. This precipitated a discussion, in the course of which the Second Vice-President, a Mr. Green of Atlanta, said: "We live here among this people. We respect them. We treat them right. We treat them as nicely as we do our own color. But we draw the line when it comes to sitting together in the same pew." And that sentiment was applauded. Why applauded? Because it represented Southern sentiment. Why draw the line when it comes to sitting together in the same pew? Because the Negro is regarded as an inferior, and because, according to the program which is now being

carried out in the South, nothing must be tolerated that will in the least tend to nullify that fact, or to lead the Negro to forget it, or the white man either. There is nothing that the Southern white man is more jealous of, or to which he clings with greater tenacity, than this idea of the inferiority of the Negro. It runs into everything; it shows itself in every way possible. What the law has not done to impress this fact upon the Negro, public sentiment is constantly seeking to do.

Having now before us the Southern white man's view of the Negro, the place which he thinks the Negro ought to occupy, if we are ever to reach a solution of this problem, it is also important for us to know what the Negro thinks of the Southern white man's estimate of him, of the place to which he has been assigned in the social scale by the Southern white man. If he accepts this estimate of himself, if he is willing to occupy this position, the relation between the races in the South is practically settled. But the simple fact is, and it is a fact creditable to the Negro, that he does not accept the Southern white man's estimate of him; he is not willing to be circumscribed by the Southern white man's idea of him. He believes that he is a man, in the broadest sense of that term; that he is entitled to be treated as a man, and that the place for him, as for any other man is to be determined by

his capacity and character and by nothing else. That is the way this black race feels, and there has been in the last thirty years a steady growth of sentiment in this direction. During these years the Negro has been reaching out for wealth, and for education, and for social position, and for political preferment, and for everything else that any other man has been reaching out for, and that shows that he is a man, that he has the same desires and aspirations as other men, and that he isn't going to be content with anything short of the largest opportunities, and the fullest enjoyment of all rights, civil and political, to which he is entitled. That is where the Negro stands today; that is where he will always stand. There isn't the slightest probability that he will ever shift his position, that he will ever take any lower ground than that. Any one who understands the spirit and temper of the Negro knows that this is so. And it is just here where the trouble is; and it is strange that there are some among us who can't see that. The real difficulty in the South to-day is due to what? To the very condition of things to which I am here directing attention,—to the fact on the one hand, that the white man has certain ideas of what the Negro ought be and do, and on the other hand, the indisposition on the part of the Negro to accept those ideas, to be bound by them. If he would fall in with the Southern white man's way of

thinking, with the Southern white man's notions of what he ought to be and do, and what he ought not to be and do, there would be no trouble. The trouble comes from the fact that he has ideas of his own, that his plan of life takes in more than the white man thinks it ought to take in. And yet we are told, as I have already said—that the Southern white man is really the best friend that the Negro has—the Southern white man, who forces him to ride in Jim crow cars, who seeks in every possible way to humiliate him, who is laboring systematically and persistently to keep him in a position of inferiority;—how such a man can be his best friend, and how a colored man can bring himself to believe that such a man is his best friend, is simply incomprehensible to me. The average Negro certainly doesn't think so, and it proves his sanity that he does not. In the breast of the Negro there are aspirations which are in conflict with Southern ideas, and there is where the trouble is.

Out of this condition of things, there has grown a most bitter race hatred. The white man, finding it impossible to bring the Negro to his way of thinking, now begins to hate him, to manifest the most malignant spirit towards him. Every step that the Negro takes, every move that he makes, which runs counter to the white man's ideas of things, tends only to inflame, to intensify this feel-

ing. One effect of this race hatred is, to exaggerate, to magnify the faults of the Negro, and to minimize whatever virtues he may possess. Things that would scarcely be noticed in others, or that would excite little or no comment, call forth the severest criticism in him. A regiment of colored soldiers, passing through a Southern town on its way home after the war with Spain, in a fit of exuberance shoots off a few volleys in the air; straightway it is characterized as a set of brutes, shooting recklessly, and endangering the lives of the citizens of the place. A short while afterwards a white regiment does the same thing, and it is passed over as only a little exhibition of jollification, which the same papers which denounced the Negro soldiers, thought was "not unnatural under the circumstances."

Another effect of this race hatred is seen in the undue severity with which Negro criminals are punished by the courts. No mercy is ever shown them. They always get the extreme penalty of the law. The difference that is made between white and colored criminals in this respect is most glaring. A short while ago I clipped from the Richmond Planet the following: "Justice in this section plays peculiar pranks sometimes. Tom Smith (colored) charged with stealing a silver pitcher from the residence of Mrs. F. B. Robertson (white) of this city was tried in the Hustings Court of this city Tues-

day, February 7th, and given five years in the penitentiary. As the pitcher in question, was silver-plated, and second-hand, it is safe to announce that its value did not exceed twenty dollars.

McNamee, (white) who murdered Atwell (white) was tried in this court several years ago and a jury gave him five years in the penitentiary, thus putting murder and pitcher stealing on the same plane. "A jury in Henrico County Court, which meets in this city, gave a white man, Ford, convicted of rape, for which the penalty is death, only three years in the penitentiary, and a colored man, Green, convicted of stealing a mule, the penalty of which was confinement in the state's prison, ten years in the penitentiary." These are but samples of what is constantly taking place all over the South, and they grow out of this feeling of bitterness towards the Negro.

Out of this same spirit of race hatred grow also, in part, these frequent lynchings of Negroes. The low level of civilization in the South, is in part responsible for them, as I have already said, but race hatred is also a contributing factor. Any one who has studied the subject of the lynching of Negroes in the South will see how true this is. The nature of the offences alleged is not sufficient to account for these frequent outbreaks of lawlessness. Even in the alleged cases of rape, which constitute a very

small percentage of the whole number, there is reason to believe that but for this element of race hatred, the forms which these outbreaks take would be different. There is an element of cruelty, of brutality, of savagery, connected with them that evinces the bitterest hatred. And the same is true in regard to the other causes, as revealed in the list of lynchings; were it not for race hatred it would be impossible to account for them. A colored man is suspected of stealing a hog worth two dollars, and is lynched; a colored man has some words with a white man, and what he says is regarded as impudence, and he is lynched; a colored man asks for a drink of soda water, at a counter where white people are served, and is lynched. Surely there is nothing in the mere fact of stealing a hog, in the mere fact of being impudent to a white man, in the mere fact of daring to ask for a drink of soda water at a counter where white people are served, that could possibly lay the basis for a murderous assault upon him, that could possibly, in and of itself, lead a body of men to seize him and string him up by the neck, or riddle him with bullets. The alleged offence on the very face of it is not the inspiring cause, but only furnishes the occasion for venting a bitter race feeling. No man whose breast is free from hatred would ever think of murdering another for such a cause. The Negro is lynched in the

South, not to answer the ends of justice, not because his alleged offence is deemed worthy of death, according to the standards of civilized society, but largely in obedience to a bitter race hatred.

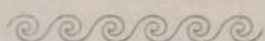


Sermon II.

ACTS 7:57.



“Then they cried with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him.”



ON last Sabbath I called attention to two contributing factors in accounting for the frequent outbreaks of lawlessness in the South against the Negro, namely, a low state of civilization, and race hatred. In addition to these, one other ought to be mentioned,—it is the one that we hear most about, and which, with most Southern people and with many persons in the North, justifies, or, at least, excuses, these outbreaks of lawlessness, and that is the conduct of the Negro himself. The way to stop these lynchings, we are told, is for the Negro to behave himself, to stop committing such terrible crimes.

That the Negro race like every other race has its criminal class, no one will deny. The records of our courts put that beyond all cavil or doubt. That the percentage of Negro criminals is unusually

large, may also be admitted. It is not surprising that it should be so, in view of all the circumstances. Any race similarly situated, would show the same results. It does not prove, as some enemies of the race would like to have people believe, that the Negro is by nature more criminally inclined than other races. The simple fact is, the character of the race as a whole, in view of its antecedents, its history in this country, as all unbiassed and competent witnesses will attest, is remarkably good. The black race is not a race of criminals. The great majority of this race wants to do right, is struggling towards the light, towards a higher and better life. The great majority of this race has no sympathy whatever with crime in any shape or form, and has no desire to shield Negro criminals from the just penalty of the law. Whenever crimes are committed by Negroes, especially crimes of a glaring nature, a sense of shame, of regret, is felt by the better elements of the race; not only because of the crime itself, but also because of its tendency to discredit the race, and to increase the already unfavorable impression which so many have of it. One of the most hopeful signs within the race itself is the development of this feeling of race pride, this desire to see its members conduct themselves properly because of their connection with the race. This feeling is growing among us, I am glad to say; is becoming more and

more pronounced. Again and again I have heard members of the race say, when crimes have been committed of an especially heinous nature, I am sorry he is a colored man, or I am glad he is not a colored man. That, I say, is a hopeful sign. It shows that within the race itself there is a growing desire to do right, and to have its members do right. In spite of the evils that are charged against us, and the evils of which we are actually guilty, the indications are that we are steadily rising in the scale, that we are coming more and more under the influence of the forces that make for righteousness. In spite of the dark prophecies concerning us by those who are unfriendly to us, the indications are that we are coming out all right. And for this I am profoundly thankful. There is no danger of the Negro relapsing into barbarism, into savagery, with the forces at work on him, with the influences that are touching him in various ways for his good.

With these statements, with the distinct understanding that we have only the greatest abhorrence of crime, whether committed by white men or black men, I desire to turn for a moment to the special consideration of the alleged crimes of Negroes in the South in relation to mob violence. The Negro is lynched, it is said, because he is a brute. In a recent number of the Independent, a Mrs. L. H. Harris, of Georgia, speaks of him thus: "The pioneer

in colonial days protected his wife and child from the wild beast with his gun and knife; but to-day in the South every white woman lives next door to a savage brute who grows more intelligent and more insolent in his outrages every year, against whom the dilletante laws of Georgia and other Southern states offer no protection." What is it that makes the Negro a low brute in the eyes of the Southern white man and the Southern white woman? If you take up the catalogue of lynchings in the South, you will find out that a very large proportion of them are for such crimes as murder, house burning, attempted murder, barn burning, stealing,—offenses such as are constantly occurring in almost every community. The thing that makes the Negro a low brute, is not that he kills, and burns, and steals, and commits other depredations; there is but one offence in the catalogue of crimes that makes him a brute, and that is his raping of white women, or his attempt to do so. I know of nothing that is more sacred than the virtue of a woman, whether she be white or black. Every possible safeguard ought to be thrown around her. All that law can do to render her person sacred should be done. I know of no crime that is more heinous in the sight of God, and in the sight of man, or that should be visited with greater punishment than to forcibly wrest that priceless possession from her.

It is a crime against God, it is a crime against man, it is a crime against home, it is a crime against society, it is a crime against progress and civilization. The charge of rape is therefore one of the gravest that can possibly be made against an individual, or a race. It is a charge not to be lightly entertained, or to be accepted without proof of the most positive character.

It is under a profound sense of the gravity of the charge that I approach the subject, and that I ask for a careful and impartial hearing. In entering upon this discussion, bear in mind (1) that during the great civil war, when the men were away from home, and when the women were largely at the mercy of the slaves, that not one act, that nothing that could be construed even by the most sensitive into anything approaching an attempt at raping white women, occurred. That is the testimony of Southern white men themselves. Here is what Senator Vance of North Carolina said, in a lecture delivered in Boston before a post of the Grand Army of the Republic: "Permit me to call your attention to the conduct of the Southern slaves during the war. You had been taught by press, pulpit and hustings, to believe that they were an oppressed, abused and diabolically treated race; that their groans daily and hourly appealed to heaven, whilst their shackles and their scars testified in

the face of all humanity against their treatment. How was this grave impeachment of a whole people sustained, when you went among them to emancipate them from the horrors of their serfdom? When the war began, naturally, you expected insurrection, incendiary burnings, murder and outrage, with all the terrible conditions of servile war. There were not wanting fanatical wretches who did their utmost to excite it. Did you find it so? Here is what you found. Within hearing of the guns that were roaring to set them free, with the land stripped of its male population, and none around them except the aged, the women and children, they not only failed to embrace their opportunity of vengeance, but for the most part they failed to avail themselves of the chance of freedom itself. They remained quietly on our plantations, cultivated our fields, and cared for our mothers, wives, and little ones, with a faithful love and loyal kindness which, in the nature of things, could only be born of sincere good will."

In an editorial in the News-Herald of Jacksonville, Fla. in 1887, occurs also the following: "The Negroes are not retrograding. They are advancing wonderfully. Shame on the Southern soldier who can ever forget with what almost miraculous fidelity they protected the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of the Confederacy from insult, and their

property from injury, while they were far away, confronting an enemy whose triumph was the liberation of the slaves.”

By the side of this testimony of Southern men, I desire also to place the testimony of a distinguished Northern man, whose integrity of character no one will call in question, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson. In a recent public meeting held in Boston, the Colonel expressed himself thus: “It was my fortune to lead for two years a regiment of colored troops. As I never had occasion to distrust them then, although they were taken from the lowest and most ignorant portion of the cotton plantations of Carolina, I always shall feel for the future that they are to be trusted by their fellow citizens; and if their fellow citizens do not trust them, it is the fault of the fellow citizens and not theirs. If they had those innate tendencies to a licentious self-indulgence which are constantly announced in some newspapers, it is absolutely impossible that I should not have found it out. That I should have been with them for those two years, and never have had even a charge brought against their integrity, their honor, and their chastity, is sufficient proof to my mind, that there is no occasion for these charges.”

Bear in mind (2) that since the war down to the present, there have been scattered throughout the

South hundreds of Northern white women who have been engaged in the work of teaching the colored people, and that during all these years there has never been a single complaint of rape or attempted rape from one of these teachers. For some inscrutable reason, while Southern white women have been assailed, these Northern white women, who have made themselves at home among the blacks, and who have mingled freely with them, have been allowed to go unmolested. I have yet to hear the first complaint from these teachers and missionaries on this score. And to-day in the South, in the midst of all this alleged raping of Southern white women, of which we hear so much, not a whisper comes up to us from one of these Northern white teachers.

With these facts before us, with the testimony of Southern white men themselves as to the conduct of the slaves during the war, when the white women, their mothers and wives and sisters and daughters, were in their keeping, and at their mercy, and the testimony of such a man as Col. Higginson, who during his two years with his black regiment never had even so much as a charge brought against their chastity, and the testimony of the great army of Northern teachers that has gone up and down and in all parts of that land for the last thirty years, as to their immunity from insult, assault, or attempted

assault from those among whom they have laboured, let us now turn to the alleged cases of rape that appear from time to time in our papers.

Concerning such cases I observe (1) that the impression as to the number is greatly exaggerated. Every time we hear of the lynching of a Negro in the South, the general impression is that it is for what is called, the usual crime. Even a man like the Rev. George D. Baker, pastor of the old historic First Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, is laboring ignorantly under that impression, or purposely seeks to mislead his hearers. In a lecture delivered by him to his people, May 3, on The Race Problem in the South, among other things he said: "Between 1886 and 1895 there were 1655 lynchings, against 1040 legal executions. Most of these lynchings were in the South, about 80 percent., and undoubtedly this has been due to the peculiarly exasperating crimes against women, committed by Negroes in the South." "Most of the lynchings," he says, were in the South. And when he attempts to account for them, he expresses no doubt but positively asserts—his language is—"undoubtedly, this has been due to the peculiarly exasperating crimes against women, committed by Negroes." And this is the impression that people generally get who are not at the pains to inform themselves, and the impression which the enemies of the Negro are try-

ing to make, as a justification or excuse for mob violence in the South. Such an impression is entirely false however, as the facts will show. The lynching of the Negroes in the South is not due wholly or mainly to their assaults upon white women. President Julius D. Dreher of Roanoke College, Virginia, a native of South Carolina, in a noble article published in the New York Sun of May 11, addresses himself directly to this aspect of the problem. He says—"In the Sun of the 6th inst. 'A Southerner' attempts to defend the Georgia mob for burning Hose and for hanging Strickland on the unsupported testimony of Hose. After saying that 'so long as Negroes outrage white women in the South, just so long will they be lynched for it,' your correspondent shows a state of amazing ignorance by the assertion that 'they do not lynch Negroes in the South for any other crime.' He writes from Charleston, and I take it for granted that he resides in Charleston, S. C. Does he not know that the men who lynched Baker, the colored Postmaster at Lake City, have just been tried in Charleston for that awful crime? Has he already forgotten Phoenix? Does he not remember that a few years ago at Broxton's Bridge, in South Carolina, two Negroes, who were suspected of stealing a Bible from a church, met with a cruel death at the hands of white men? And how could he so soon forget the killing of five

Negro prisoners at Palmetto, Ga., and the recent lynching of a dozen or more in Little River county, Ark., none of these being even accused of rape.

But let us take the record of lynchings for the last year, as kept by the Chicago Tribune, and published in detail early in January, with date, name of person, place and crime, so that, if errors are made, there is every opportunity to correct them. According to the Tribune, which is generally recognized as good authority on this subject, 127 persons were lynched in the United States last year, 118 of these in the South and 9 in the North. Of the total number 105 were Negroes, 23 whites, and 2 Indians. Of the 127 only 16 were for rape, 7 for attempted rape, and 1 for complicity in rape; that is, only 24 of 127, less than one fifth, were for rape or for connection in any way with that crime. For murder, there were 61; suspected of murder, 13; theft, 6, and so on. Mistaken identity cost two unfortunate creatures their lives. These are the facts, and yet a 'Southerner' asserts that Negroes are lynched in the South only for rape. If this is the extent of his knowledge of plain facts, his defence of the mob is scarcely worthy of the name." This plain, simple statement of facts ought to set forever at rest the impression so widely prevalent that Negroes are constantly seeking to rape white women in the South, and that it is for that crime that

they are being lynched.

I observe (2) that of the cases actually reported, of some of them at least, it is known, and well known, that relations of intimacy had previously existed between the parties, and that the cry of rape was raised only after they were discovered. That was true of the Negro who was burnt at Texarkana. A careful investigation disclosed the fact that he had been living with this woman for more than a year. In 1893, the following item appeared in an Alabama paper. "A white girl gave birth to a Negro baby. A certain Negro was suspected. The girl after some persuasion acknowledged that the suspected Negro was the father of her child. She then went on to say, that about a year before, he raped her; that on more than one occasion since she had been compelled to submit to him, as he threatened to poison the whole family if she told." That Negro was taken out and shot to death on the charge of having raped a white girl. Only last year I had a talk with a representative Southern white woman, one of the bluest of the blue blood, who has given special attention to the relation of the races, who frankly admitted that she knew, and that others knew that some of these alleged cases of rape were not rape,—the relation between the parties being well understood. That black men, in some instances, are living in criminal relations with white women in

the South, is a fact. The intermarriage of the races is not only prohibited by law in the South, but the Southern white man, while willing himself to cohabit with colored women out of lawful wedlock, is determined that no Negro shall sustain similar relations to white women, and this is the method which they take to break up those relations when they are discovered. The cry of rape is raised, and the Negro brute, as he is called, is riddled with bullets, or is strung up to a tree. That is the real history of some of these so-called cases of rape.

I observe (3) that the cry of rape is sometimes raised, when there is no intention or attempt at rape. The slightest movement on the part of a Negro towards a white woman, is construed into an attempt at rape. "Trifles, light as air," as Shakespeare has expressed it, "are confirmations strong as proofs of holy writ." A Negro sometime ago narrowly escaped lynching because a white woman, about dark, hearing footsteps rapidly approaching her, as she was walking along an obscure street, and turning around and seeing that it was a Negro, screamed; she assumed that his purpose was to assault her. It turned out to be a highly respected colored man, who was hurrying home from his work, with no thought or intention of offering violence to any one. Every Negro who now attempts to break into a house at night is assumed to have rape in

view. In the Washington Post of May 20th, occurs the following: Mrs. James Wood, of Esom Hill District, Ga. sent a ball into a Negro's brain shortly after midnight last night, escaping the clutches of a Negro assailant who was seeking to enter her bed room. A few hours after the use of the pistol, Mrs. Wood's husband found the dead body of the Negro lying under the window through which he was trying to enter." It isn't even alleged that he had entered the window, he was only trying to enter, and yet he is characterized as a "would be assailant," and a bullet is sent through his brain. What proof is there that his purpose in seeking to enter that dwelling was criminal assault? Who knows what was in his heart? Is there any necessary connection between house-breaking and the crime with which this man is charged? When men are found breaking into houses at night, the presumption is that their design is robbery, not rape. Why should that presumption be changed when it comes to the Negro? Why should a white man who is found breaking into a house at night be dealt with as a would be thief, and the Negro who is found doing the same thing, be dealt with and characterized as "a would be assailant?" We have a right to assume that his purpose was theft; we have no right to assume that it was rape. And yet that statement was heralded all over the country by the press,

and accepted as true by hundreds and thousands of people.

I observe (4) that the guilt of these alleged Negro rapists is a pure assumption ; there is no proof of their guilt. The law assumes that every man is innocent until he is proven guilty ; the fact that he is a Negro does not destroy this presumption. The law also provides how his guilt shall be established. It shall be upon the testimony of credible witnesses, before a jury of his peers, and the evidence must be so conclusive as to put his guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. If there is a reasonable doubt, after hearing all the evidence, he is entitled to an acquittal. That is the law in every state in the Union, and it is a good law, based upon reason and common sense, and simple justice. Until the guilt of a prisoner is established according to the forms of law, we have no right to assume that he is guilty ; it is unfair to do so ; it is treating him, not as we are directed to do by the golden rule, as we would like to be treated ourselves. And yet this grave charge against the Negro is accepted in violation of every principle of right and justice and fair play, and by men and women, too, even in the North, who profess to be animated not only by the ordinary principles of justice, but by the higher principles of Christianity,—ministers of the gospel, elders and deacons and members of the church, although they

know that the alleged Negro rapist is never granted a trial, is denied the sacred right guaranteed to him under the constitution and laws of the land, the right of a fair and impartial trial before a jury of his peers. The Negro is never tried according to the forms of law ; is never given an opportunity of confronting his accusers and of rebutting their testimony by witnesses of his own ; his guilt is assumed on a bare suspicion, or on the uncorroborated testimony of any white woman who chooses to make the charge. Do not misunderstand me ; I am not here averring that these charges of rape, and of attempted rape, are all unfounded, that no Negro has ever attempted to rape a white woman ; it is quite possible that some of them may be true ; but what I do affirm is, that we have no right to assume that they are true ; the Southern white people themselves cannot reasonably expect fair-minded men and women anywhere to believe that they are true, as long as they are not shown to be true according to the forms of law. So far as I am personally concerned, I do not believe, and never will believe these charges until the Negro is accorded a fair trial before the courts, and his guilt established as the law prescribes. That is the position which every fair-minded man ought to take ; that is the position which the whole North ought to take ; that is the position which the church of Jesus Christ

ought to take. The South ought to be made to understand that these reports will not be accepted as long as they rest upon the verdict of mobs. That is not the position, however, of the North; that is not the position of the church; these reports are believed. All over the North, you are constantly hearing of the Negro brute in the South, and of the perils which beset Southern white women from them. It is all accepted as true, and in so far as it is accepted, the North as well as the church is guilty of condemning the Negro upon charges which have never been substantiated according to the method of civilized society. The alleged Negro rapist is entitled to a fair trial, and until he has had that trial, to kill him is a flagrant injustice, a monstrous wrong. It makes it impossible for him to answer the charge; it makes it impossible for the state to prove the charge; and it ought to make it impossible for any reasonable, fair-minded, sensible man to believe the charge. It is a significant fact in dealing with this phase of our subject, that the only right way, the only legal way in which to establish the guilt of the suspected Negro rapist, the South persistently refuses to take. It looks as if they were either afraid of a judicial investigation, or as if, after all, it wasn't the truth that they were after so much as a desire to kill some Negro out of sheer race hatred. Talk not of the silence of Negro preachers on the rapists

of their race, as long as the only evidence of their guilt is the verdict of mobs. When it is shown by judicial process that they are guilty, then it will be time to blame them if they do not speak out. But until this is done, let no Negro minister dare to lift up his voice in condemnation of these suspected members of his race. It would be wrong to do so; it would be a virtual admission that the charges were true. And this ought never to be done; never ought we to accept the verdict of a mob against any man, white or black.

The importance of subjecting all such cases to a rigid examination by the properly constituted authority, as the law prescribes, was never more forcibly illustrated than in the case of Charles Busey, the Negro who was arrested in this District on the charge of committing a rape on a Mrs. Ada Hardy, Tuesday, May 23rd, near the Ridge road. This man, as you will remember, was carried before Mrs. Hardy, and was by her identified as the man who committed the assault upon her. Had this occurred in almost any of the Southern states, Busey would have been forthwith lynched by a mob on the bare, uncorroborated testimony of this woman. The fact that she said, "This is the man," would have been sufficient. Subsequent investigation, however, under the forms of law, showed that at the very time that he was charged with assaulting this woman he was

miles away. So convincing was the proof of the alibi which was set up by him, that at the close of the hearing, a motion for his discharge was made, and was forthwith granted by the presiding judge. Even the editor of the Post, who doesn't strongly object to lynching where the guilt of the prisoner is assured, was constrained to say: "We cannot escape the thought that in Georgia or Mississippi or Arkansas this exculpation might have come too late. There is a dreadful suggestion in this Busey case, a suggestion which we earnestly commend to our Southern friends. There seems no doubt that a mistake has been made, and we are bound to believe that such a mistake made south of Washington, would have resulted in a blunder and an assassination." This case the editor of the Post commends to the Southern people: I would also earnestly commend it to the people of the North as well, who are always so ready to believe the damaging statements that are made against the Negro without any proof whatever, statements that would not be accepted against any man in a civilized community, not blinded by a bitter prejudice.

I know it is often alleged that the Negro brute, as he is called, confessed his guilt before he was executed. In regard to all such alleged confessions, I have this to say: (1). They are always to be received with the greatest amount of allowance. I

have very little faith myself in them. Criminals do not as a general thing confess their guilt. Even where the charge is true, the plea almost invariably is, not guilty. Occasionally, we find a criminal turning state's evidence where others are implicated beside himself, but even then, it is because pardon is promised, because he sees in his confession the hope of escaping the punishment of his crime. No such motive as this, however, can have any influence with a Negro charged with rape or attempted rape of white women in the South; for he knows that death is inevitable whether he confesses or not. Is it not strange that the Negro rapist, unlike all other criminals, should always confess his guilt? Besides, the motive for the publication of these alleged confessions of guilt is apparent to any one who takes the time to think. They are put forth purposely by the lynchers, in order to furnish a kind of excuse or justification for the lynching. The people who take part in such acts of lawlessness and violence are not such fools but that they realize the necessity of providing themselves with some ground of justification in the eyes of those who are looking on from without. And so, the temptation always is to say, he confessed. Of course, if he confessed, that puts his guilt beyond all doubt, and his execution, though in an unlawful way, doesn't seem quite so bad as lynching an innocent man, or

one about whose guilt there is some doubt. The temptation to do this is so strong, that when I read of a lynching I now look almost invariably for the statement, "He confessed his guilt."

From what I know of criminals and the history of crime, and from my knowledge of human nature, the presumption is always against these alleged confessions. Criminals do not as a general thing, as I have already said, confess their crimes; and when I am asked to believe that these alleged Negro rapists almost invariably confess their guilt, I have a right to demand that that fact be substantiated upon evidence other than the testimony of their murderers.

Looking back now over the ground that I have covered, in the attempt which I am making to come to a correct understanding of the condition of things in the South, where all these lynchings are occurring, I called attention to five elements that must be taken into consideration in any attempt that may be made to solve the problem in which we are all so deeply interested, namely, (1). A low state of civilization. (2). Race hatred. (3). The debased moral condition of the Negro. (4). The belief deeply rooted in the mind of the Southern white man that the Negro has a place, and the determination on his part to keep him in his place. And (5), the unwillingness on the part of the Negro to be

thus bound by the white man's idea as to the place which he shall occupy in the social scale. It is out of this condition of things that all the troubles in the South have come, the conflicts, the race antagonisms, the bloody murders, the unjust discrimination, and all the other unspeakable infamies that have disgraced that section of our country for the last twenty-five years; and as long as these conditions continue there will be trouble. And these troubles will increase rather than diminish. These conflicts will grow fiercer and more frequent as the years go by. All the hellish passions now at work will become more and more inflamed, and the retrogression towards savagery, which has already set in, will become more and more pronounced with each passing decade. It is impossible to think of the awful possibilities that lie wrapped up in the present condition of things in the South without a shudder. That there is danger ahead, danger such as has never perhaps, before confronted any nation in the history of the world, no one can doubt who has given any serious consideration to the subject, or who knows anything about human nature. The present race conflict in the South cannot go on without imperilling the interests of both races, and without threatening to turn back the hand of progress on the dial of civilization on this Western continent. It is of the utmost importance that this

fact be recognized now, before it is too late, by all who are interested in the future of this Republic, in the triumph of sentiments of justice and humanity, and in the progress of the kingdom of righteousness in the earth. God, in every possible way is saying, and has been saying during the last twenty-five or thirty years to this nation, in the repeated acts of lawlessness that have disgraced the South, in the bloody murders that have occurred there from time to time, in the horrible burnings and torturings of helpless and defenceless victims without a hearing, in all the infamous laws that have been enacted with a view of nullifying the great Amendments to the Constitution, and in the wail that has continually gone up from the oppressed millions of Negroes in this land,—in all these ways, God has been saying to this nation, and is still saying, beware; take warning; there is danger ahead. And there is danger ahead; danger, not only from the Negro, but also from the savage instincts within the breast of the white man himself. These dangers may be averted. There is yet time to avert them. It is our duty, one and all, to seek in every possible and righteous way to avert them.

With this end in view, two questions suggest themselves, questions that should command the most serious and prayerful consideration of all, white and black alike. (1). Is there any remedy

for this condition of things? And (2), if so, what is the remedy? The discussion of these questions I shall have to reserve for another discourse, as the time is already far spent. This may be said however, no more important questions can possibly engage our attention, or the attention of the American people, or of the Christian church. Upon the answer that is given to them will depend the future of this Republic, and the character of the civilization that is to prevail here. If Christianity has sufficient hold upon the conscience of the nation to mould public sentiment in the interest of right, and justice, and humanity, the Republic will stand; otherwise it will go down, and ought to go down. In the settlement of this question, the very foundation principles of Christianity are involved, principles that no nation can disregard, and hope to have the favor of Almighty God resting upon it. For it is written, "The nation that will not serve the Lord," that will not shape its course according to his Word, according to the great and immutable principles of his moral government, "shall perish." It is not simply, therefore, the future of the Negro that is involved, that would be a small matter with some; but of the nation, as well. The seriousness of the whole matter lies in the fact that the issue underlying it is a moral one. In the last analysis, it is a question of right; and the nation or people that will

not do right, is doomed. I thank God that the Negro, brought here against his will, is now so wrapped up with the very life of the nation, that his rights cannot be permanently denied him, and the nation go on in peace and prosperity. Continued, persistent injustice to him means the moral decline of the nation, and therefore its ultimate extinction. Talk about this Negro question as we will, seek to minimize it as we will, to thrust it in the background as we will, in it nevertheless are the issues of life or death for the republic. It is bound to make it, or to break it. It will develop and strengthen what is best in it, or vice versa, it will develop and strengthen what is worst in it. It is bound to affect it for weal or woe. Out of the struggle through which we are now passing, it will come forth invigorated, and fully imbued with the spirit of liberty, of equality, of fraternity for all of its citizens, irrespective of race, color, or previous condition; or it will emerge from it shriveled and shrunken under the blighting influence of a spirit of oppression, of injustice, of inhumanity.

"The tissues of the life to be,
We weave in colors all our own:
And in the field of destiny
We reap as we have sown."

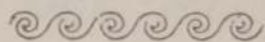
That is true of nations as of individuals. This nation must do right,—or else it must suffer the consequences. The moment it sets up any other

standard, that moment its decline begins. The test of its fitness to endure will be found in the manner in which it settles this Negro question. Upon this issue, it will sink or swim, survive or perish.

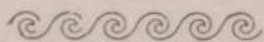


Sermon III.

ACTS 7:57.



“Then they cried with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him.”



IN my last discourse, after calling attention to the awful possibilities that lie wrapped up in a continuance of the present condition of things in the South, and of the duty of all who are interested in the welfare of our common country, and of the progress of the kingdom of righteousness in the earth, to do whatever they can to avert the impending danger, two questions were asked—(1). Is there any remedy for the present condition of things? And (2), if so, What is the remedy? And these are the questions which I desire to take up and discuss this morning.

I. Is there any remedy? I believe there is. The present strained condition between the races in the South is not, I believe, an incurable one. There is nothing in the nature of the Southern white man as such, or in the nature of the Negro as such, which renders it impossible for them to live togeth-

er in harmony, and in mutual respect for each other. These two races have lived together harmoniously in the past, and they may in the future. There is every reason to believe they will under proper influences, and after sufficient time has elapsed for the passions to subside, and for reason and conscience to assert themselves. Already, as a matter of fact, there are Southern white men,—men who were cradled in the lap of slavery, and who fought for the Lost Cause, who have come, in the process of development, to where they find no difficulty in thus mingling with their black fellow citizens and neighbors. I remember some years ago reading a very interesting letter from a missionary of the Southern Presbyterian Church who was labouring in Brazil. He spoke particularly of the fact that he was raised in the South, where he had been taught to look down upon colored people as inferiors, and to treat them as such, but that since his stay in Brazil a great change had come over him in this respect, so much so that he hardly knew himself. “The questions that perplex us in the South,” he said, “never rise to trouble us here.” And, if I may be permitted to speak from personal experience, I can truthfully say, that one of the few white men that I have had close personal contact with during my life, and who was as free from colorphobia as any white man I ever saw, was a South-

ern man. And the same may also be said of some of the most refined and cultivated Southern white women, whom I have had the pleasure of meeting. These, and other examples that might be adduced, show what the possibilities are, what may take place under favorable conditions.

II. What is the remedy? How is this change to be brought about? How are the present discordant elements to be harmonized? Out of this chaos of conflicting passions and interests, how are we to get order, beauty, harmony?

From a careful study of the situation, it is evident that certain things must occur, if there is to be a change for the better. (1). The grade of civilization in the South must be raised. (2). The white man must modify his views of the Negro, or the Negro must modify his views of himself, i. e., must be willing to give up his ideas and accept the white man's ideas as to what he shall be and do, or as to what his social, civil, and political status shall be. (3). This element of hate in the white man must be eliminated. And (4), the Negro must be elevated, the general plane upon which he lives must be raised.

Let us look at these several elements for a moment:—(1). As to raising the plane of civilization in the South. That there is room, and very great room for improvement in this respect will hardly be

called in question by any one acquainted with the facts. In every direction, the evidences of a low grade of civilization are apparent, and these are multiplying rather than diminishing. Neither will it be doubted that an improvement in this respect will be helpful in dealing with the race problem. As the grade of civilization goes up, the brutal instincts of our nature will become more and more subdued—the tendency, so widely prevalent in the South, to resort to brute force in the settlement of wrongs or supposed wrongs, will assert itself less and less, and there will grow up a greater respect for law and order.

(2) As to the Southern white man's modifying his view of the Negro. Before asking any man to change or modify his views on any matter, we ought first to satisfy ourselves as to the character of his views:—Are they right views, or are they wrong views? If they are right, if they have reason and common sense and justice on their side, we have no right to ask him to change them; if they are not right however, we may ask him to change or modify them, yea, it is our duty to do so. To the character of the Southern white man's view of the Negro I desire therefore in this connection to direct attention.

The Southern white man thinks that the Negro belongs to an inferior race, an inferiority not based upon circumstances, but inherent, inborn; in other

words, that God created him inferior, and that in virtue of that inferiority, it is his duty to treat him as an inferior. The meaning of this if I understand it correctly, is, that the rules which obtain between one white man and another white man in their relations and dealings with each other, are not the rules which ought to obtain when the white man comes to deal with the colored man. A difference ought to be made, and that difference is due to the fact that the one is superior, and the other is inferior. That the underlying conception of the relation which the white race sustains to the black race, as here expressed, is untenable, is without foundation in fact, is evident from the Word of God. As we are living in a land where there are 135,000 ministers, 187,000 churches, and over 26,000,000 communicants in these churches; a land where there are 1,305,000 Sabbath school teachers, and 10,000,000 Sabbath school scholars; where there are more than 50,000 societies of Christian Endeavor and upwards of 3,500,000 members of such societies, we may assume that the Bible will have some weight in determining this question. (1). According to this book, which we receive as the inspired word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice, God "hath made of one blood all nations of men," or as it is rendered in the Revised Version, "and made of one every nation of men." And this

agrees with the statement in Genesis as to the origin of the race. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them."

The man thus created was Adam; and "for him God made an help-meet. He caused a deep sleep to fall upon him; and took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib which the Lord God had taken from the man he made a woman, and brought her unto the man. And the man said, this is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of the man." In the third chapter and twentieth verse, we have also this record: "And the man called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living."

Whatever views may be entertained as to the existence of a Pre-Adamite race, the record in Genesis, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth makes it perfectly plain that no such race at present exists upon the earth. For in Genesis 7:23 it is recorded: "And every living thing was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and

creeping things, and fowls of heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth; and Noah only left and they that were with him in the ark." The sixth verse of the same chapter tells us who were with him: "And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark." According to the first statement, all who existed on the earth prior to the flood descended from Adam and Eve, all were created in the image of God. There isn't a hint or suggestion, or anything that could in any way be twisted into even so much as the semblance of an argument in support of the belief that some races were created superior to others, in the sense in which that term is used, by the Southern whites in dealing with the race question. According to the second statement, all races now upon the earth, have descended from the family of Noah; and since the Negro exists he must therefore have also come from that family. If the Bible is to be accepted as authority, the equality of the Negro race in the great human family, with all other races, is thus put beyond all cavil or doubt. From the same parent stock as all the other races, he has come. When the flood subsided, and Noah, and his three sons and their families came out of the ark, we have a miniature picture of the whole human race,—you were there and I was there, the white man was there,—the Southern white man and

the Northern white man; we were all there, white and black alike; and we were there not as superiors and inferiors, but on terms of perfect equality, as members of the same family, having the same common rights and privileges.

(2) According to this Book which we receive as the inspired word of God, the moral standard which it reveals as the rule of life is the same for all races of men. The Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the great principles enunciated in the Thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, are binding alike upon all races. The moral standard isn't one thing for the white race and another thing for the black race; it is the same for both. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not bear false witness. Thou shalt not covet. Honor thy father and thy mother, are binding upon all men of all races. So far as the moral law is concerned, in its application, as revealed in the word of God, there isn't a single thing which favors in any way this idea of one race being created inferior to another. If such a thing existed we would naturally expect to find the difference recognized in the standard of life prescribed for each, but no such difference is found. Since both are required to conform to the same standard, it is unphilosophical to assume such a difference. The Southern white man cannot consistently hold the Negro to the same

moral standard as he does himself, and at the same time affirm his natural inferiority.

(3). In the plan of salvation which this book reveals, and which we receive as the inspired Word of God, no such difference is recognized. All men of all races stand upon precisely the same footing. All are invited. All are equally welcomed. The conditions imposed are the same for all. The same gospel is to be preached to all. All nations, the apostles were directed to go and disciple. And in the kingdom which the Lord Jesus Christ has set up in this world, we are distinctly told, "There is neither Greek, nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond, nor free." "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are all called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all."

The Southern white man thinks that the rules which obtain in the relations of white men with white men, are not the rules which ought to obtain in the relations of white men with black men. This book, which is God's book, however, recognizes no such distinction. It says, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the

prophets." And to the question, "And who is my neighbour?" The Lord Jesus answered by relating the parable of the Good Samaritan, which was intended particularly to show the spirit that should bind all men together, of whatever race or nationality. The neighbour, that we are to love as ourselves, is not the member of our own family, or nation, or race only; but any and everybody, of whatever race or nation,—whether white, or black, or red, or brown, makes no difference. And the same is required by the rule laid down by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It doesn't say, white men are to treat white men as they would like to be treated, or that black men are to treat black men as they would like to be treated, but man as man in his relations with his fellow men is to be governed by this rule.

The Southern white man thinks the Negro ought not to enjoy the same civil and political rights as white men enjoy. The result is, in travelling on railroads, he is not only put off to himself, but is forced to accept for the same fare very much inferior accommodations to those which are accorded to white passengers. And, in hotel accommodations and restaurant service along the route of travel, no provision whatever is made for him. He must carry something to eat with him, or else he must endure

the pangs of hunger until he reaches his journey's end. Hence also, the bull-dozing, and other methods of intimidation that have been resorted to to keep him from the polls, and the various constitutional amendments that have been enacted to deprive him of the suffrage. Such a view is obviously, however, inconsistent with the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, is in direct violation of the provisions of the Constitution, and is contrary to the genius of republican or democratic institutions. In the Declaration of Independence, it is asserted: We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Article XIV. of the Constitution declares: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." Article XV. declares: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." There are no rights guaranteed to white men under the constitution, that are not equally guaranteed to

the colored man. All citizens, whether white or black, stand upon the same footing, are entitled to equal consideration. Distinction among citizens, in rights, in privileges, is the very thing which the democratic idea of government, which has had such a wonderful growth within the century, is intended to combat. From these and other considerations that might be adduced, it is evident that the Southern white man's view of the Negro is wrong. It is contrary to the Word of God; and it is contrary to the expressed provisions and declarations of the Constitution. The Negro is not by nature inferior as he thinks; nor is he unworthy of being treated as other men are treated. He has a good heart, and if he is encouraged, will measure up to his responsibilities and opportunities just as other men.

(3). As to the Negro modifying his views of himself. What are his views of himself? (1). He believes that he is a man; that the same God who created the white man created him; that in Genesis, when it is said, "in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them," he was included in that statement; and that whatever of dignity therefore there is that attaches to man as man, as a being created in the image of God, attaches to him.

(2). He believes that he is entitled to be treated as a man,—humanely, civilly, with the ordinary consideration which one human being owes to another.

(3) He believes that he has the same right to live here as the white man has; that this is just as much his home as it is the white man's home. This is the only home that he has ever known. He has been here as long as the white man has been here. He has laboured as hard for it as the white man has laboured.

(4). He believes that he is an American citizen; and that as such, he is entitled to enjoy the same rights and privileges as other citizens of the Republic.

(5). He believes, that to the measure of his character and capacity, the same opportunities ought to be afforded him of making an honest living, and of improving himself as are afforded to other men.

Is he right or wrong in these assumptions? Are these things true of him, or are they not? Is he a man? Is he entitled to be treated as a man? Is this his home as much as it is the home of the white man? Is he an American citizen, and is he entitled to all the rights and privileges that are enjoyed by other citizens? Ought he to be free as other men are free, to make a place for himself in the struggle of life, conditioned only by his character and capacity? If these questions are answered in the affirmative, as they must be by every candid, right thinking person, then it is not only unreasonable to expect the Negro to modify his views of himself, or to re-

cede from his present position; it would be wrong to ask him to do so. He could not take any other position, than the one he has taken and maintain his own self-respect or the respect of others.

(4). As to eliminating this element of hate from the breast of the white man for the Negro. Race hatred, whether by white men for black men, or black men for white men, is wrong. It is an evil, an unqualified and unmitigated evil, that ought to be eradicated as soon as possible. It is bound to work injury to both races. No good can possibly come from it. Unless it can be removed, very little progress can be made towards the amicable settlement of this grave question, toward a better understanding between the races. That a change here is desirable will be readily admitted.

(5). As to the moral elevation of the Negro. That there is need, and very great need in this direction, the Negro himself frankly admits. He not only realizes that there is great room for improvement, but to his credit, let it be said, he has not been indifferent to the opportunities that have been afforded him for self-improvement. The moral elevation of the Negro is important not only for the Negro but also for the white man. If these two races are to live side by side, neither can be indifferent to the moral status of the other. It is to the interest of the white man to have this black

race elevated. Character is what the black man needs, and character is what the white man needs : and when you have developed the right kind of character in each, one great step will have been taken towards the solution of this race problem.

Reverting now to the question with which we began, namely, What is the remedy for the present condition of things in the South ? How is a change for the better to be brought about ? I answer, it is to be largely through education,—social, political, moral, religious. There is need for light, for knowledge, for careful instruction, line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little. It is by the plain, simple, earnest, faithful presentation of the truth, that we can hope to permanently dislodge error, and so make it possible for the right to triumph. The prayer of the psalmist was : “ O send out thy light and thy truth.” And that is what is needed to-day—light, truth—if these two races are ever to be lifted to where they can look each other in the face and feel toward each other as one human being should feel toward another human being, as one brother man should feel towards another brother man. A campaign of education, wisely, intelligently, fearlessly conducted, is what is needed.

Concerning this education, I observe (1). That it is to be partly destructive, and partly construc-

tive. In the soil of the South certain ideas were planted more than two centuries ago, and they have been growing during all these years. These ideas grew out of the institution of slavery. Under such a system, very naturally, the Negro came to be regarded in a certain light, and to be treated in a certain way. He was scarcely looked upon as a human being. He was regarded as a mere beast of burden, a chattel, a piece of property, a thing to be bought and sold, with no rights which white men were bound to respect. That condition of things lasted for nearly two hundred and fifty years. During all that time the Negro had no voice in anything, he was not even permitted to say what disposition should be made of himself. In 1863, however, slavery was abolished, and the Negro became a free man, and later an American citizen, clothed with the sacred right of the ballot. In view of this change, it is evident, that the old ideas which the masters had of the Negro as a slave, are entirely out of place in the new order of things. These old ideas therefore must be uprooted, and ideas in harmony with the new order of things must be implanted. The Negro, e. g., is not a mere beast of burden: he is a man, a human being, belonging to the same category as the white man. The Southern white man needs to be educated into a recognition of this fact, into the habit of

thinking of the Negro as a human being, and not as some lower form of existence that puts him beyond the ordinary civilities of life. During the anti-slavery agitation in this country, one of the things upon which special emphasis was laid in the beginning of that struggle was, the fact that the Negro was a man. As the abolitionists went from place to place they kept saying to the people: The Negro is a man. The Negro is a man. The Negro is a man. And as that fact sank into their hearts, as they came to realize that the Negro was a human being just as they were, they came to see the iniquity of the slave system, and threw their influence against it. And so, in this work of education in the South, the same thing must be done. The humanity of the Negro must be held up and emphasized. Over and over again that thought must be presented. Everywhere that gospel must be proclaimed. You remember Whittier's noble lines in "The Branded Hand:"

In thy lone and long night-watches, sky
 above and wave below,
 Thou did'st learn a higher wisdom than
 the babbling schoolmen know;
 God's stars and silence taught thee, as
 his angels only can,
 That the one, sole, sacred thing beneath
 the cope of heaven is Man.

That he who treads profanely on the
 scrolls of law and creed,
 In the depth of God's great goodness
 may find mercy in his need;
 But woe to him who crushes the Soul
 with chain and rod,
 And herds with lower natures the awful
 form of God."

And that is just what the Southern white man has been doing to the Negro, and the lesson which he needs to learn is, that the Negro is not to be herded "with lower natures," that he is a man, and must be recognized as such.

Again, the Negro is no longer a slave: he is a free man, and an American citizen. As a free man and an American citizen there are certain rights that ^{rights} Southern white man must be educated to recognize and respect. He may not want to do it: he may find it difficult to bring himself to do it,—he will find it difficult to do, but since it is the right thing to do it ought to be done. And the sooner the effort is made to mould public sentiment in accordance with what is right, the better it will be. The whole trend of education in the South should be towards bringing that section to conform its notions to the new order of things which has been brought about by freedom and which is required by the genius of our institutions.

Again, we are living under a republican form of government,—a government “of the people, by the people, for the people.” The Southern white man needs to be educated to understand that the term “people,” means not the white people only, but the black people as well, that all are included, without distinction of race or color. This is a white man’s government, is the shibboleth of Southern Democracy. That sentiment is widely prevalent in the South. And its meaning is that the same condition of things which existed during slavery shall be perpetuated under freedom. The aim is to make the Negro a political nonentity, to eliminate him entirely from politics. But the Negro can not be justly eliminated from politics under a republican form of government. To do so would be unrepblican. And therefore that sentiment cannot be allowed to stand: it must be changed. The Southern white man must be so educated that he will come to recognize the justness of the Negro’s claim to equal recognition under the constitution. The Negro is here, and he is here to stay: and to stay not as the civil and political inferior of the white man, but as his equal under the laws. And sooner or later that fact must be accepted, not in one section of the country,—in the North and not in the South,—but in every section of it. The right of the Negro as an American citizen must be recognized; and we

must begin everywhere, but especially in the South, to educate public sentiment with that end in view. The education of which I am speaking you will perceive, is not education in the ordinary sense of the term, in the knowledge of books, as carried on in the schools,—in the common schools, in the academies, colleges and universities, but education in the knowledge of the rights of man and respect for those rights; in the knowledge of the great principles underlying democratic institutions, as enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution, and in respect for those principles.

What are some of these rights and principles? The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; freedom of speech; freedom of the press; the right of petition; the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury; the right not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; the right to the equal protection of the law; the right not to be discriminated against in the franchise, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. These are principles that ought to be dear to every true American, and they are principles that lie at the very foundation of democratic institutions. They are principles, however, that are but slightly regarded in the Southern section of our country. There is no freedom of speech there, no freedom of the press. Even white men,

Northern white men or Southern white men, are not allowed to express sentiments not in keeping with Southern, pro-slavery ideas. The man who does it does it at his peril. The reason why R. R. Tolbert of South Carolina is to day an exile from his home, is because he dared to differ with his neighbors. The intolerance of the South is one of its most characteristic features. There is no equal protection of the law, there is no impartial trial by jury. There may be for white men, but so far as the Negro is concerned, it is never thought of. There is scarcely a single principle that goes to make up a government of the people, by the people, for the people, that is not ruthlessly trampled under foot in the South. There is great and pressing need therefore for the most earnest and aggressive educational work in that section along the lines that I have indicated. And the importance of the work lies, not only in its effects upon the South, but upon the whole country. You can not trample upon democratic principles in one section of the country, without feeling its injurious effects in every other part of it. The whole nation, therefore, is interested in this work of educating the South in respect for the rights of man, and for the great principles of democracy.

I observe (2) that this work of education is to be mainly carried on by ministers of the gospel, by

editors and teachers. They can do more than any other class of people to create a healthy public sentiment in favor of justice and humanity. To the ministers, especially, we have a right to look. They are God's representatives, called and commissioned to be the teachers of mankind, in all matters affecting character and life. The book which they are to expound is the Bible, the word of God, which the apostle tells us is "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." The men who fill the pulpits in the South, know as well as they know that they exist, that the manner in which the Negro is treated there is not in harmony with the letter or spirit of that Word. It is their duty therefore, to bring the teaching of that Word to bear upon present conditions, however unpopular it may be to do so. The gospel, that teaches the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the spirit of sympathy, of love, of the strong bearing the infirmities of the weak, of the more fortunate coming to the help of the less fortunate, cannot be faithfully preached in the South without being blessed of God. It may not be popular at first, but it is bound sooner or later to triumph, if persisted in. God has promised that his word shall not return unto him void. I have the greatest faith in the

efficacy of God's truth to win its way and bear down all opposition, if it is faithfully presented.

The press can also do much in this campaign of education. If the men who are at the head of the daily and weekly journals will use the opportunity which they have of inculcating right principles, of keeping before the people the great ideas underlying democratic institutions, of insisting upon law and order, and respect for the rights of others,—for the humblest as well as the greatest, a new order of things will very soon set in.

The teacher can also aid very materially in this work, the teachers in the common schools as well as the higher schools of learning. In the higher schools of learning, where the leaders are being trained, what a splendid opportunity is afforded to a wise teacher who is anxious to correct false impressions, and to set things in their true light, as they ought to exist under our form of government, and under our Christian civilization, to make his influence felt. And in the common schools the teacher can also be of very great service in helping to remove this bitter race feeling. If they have come to see and feel rightly themselves, they will have an influence over the children committed to their care. In the New England states, very much has been done through the schools to inculcate on the children sentiments of kindness to

dumb animals. There has been a wonderful change in these states in this respect. And in the South, if the teachers would set themselves to work, a similar change could be wrought in the sentiments of the white child for the colored child. If the teachers themselves spoke respectfully of colored people, if the tendency on the part of white children to apply opprobrious epithets to colored children and to colored people in general, was rebuked by the teacher it would have its effect, and would hasten the coming of better times. The union of these forces,—the working together of preacher, and teacher, and editor towards a reconstructed South founded upon sentiments of justice and humanity for all,—white and black alike, is what is needed, and what must come sooner or later, if our present troubles are ever to end, if peace and harmony are to prevail.

I observe (3), that the place for this work to begin, is in the church, i. e., among the professed followers of Christ. If there is any class of persons anywhere that we have a right to expect to act upon Christian principles, to treat a fellow being as he ought to be treated, to accord to him all his rights, it is those who make up the Christian Church. Christ's own words are, "Ye are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all

that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." The church, therefore is the place to begin this work.

Let the ministers, and elders, and deacons, and members, those who have come out from the world, and have taken upon themselves the name of Jesus, first get right themselves on this subject; let them accord to the Negro his rights as a citizen; let them treat him as he ought to be treated, as a man and brother, as is required by God's most holy law, which they profess to believe and to follow, and it will not be difficult to get those on the outside to fall into line. The church is in a position to wield a tremendous influence in this matter, if it will only arouse itself to a sense of its responsibilities, and will have the courage to do what it knows to be right. It ought to lead in this matter. Its members ought to set the example to those who make no profession. The time has come, when Christian men and women in the South should cease to consult their prejudices, to be influenced by the sentiments about them, and should look to God's Word, to the example of Jesus Christ, and the great principles which he enunciated and for which his kingdom stands, for light, for guidance in dealing with this race problem, If Christianity is worth anything it ought to be able to adjust these differences;

it is able to adjust them if the principles underlying it are followed. Here is the church's opportunity of demonstrating the power of Christianity to deal with the most difficult social problem. It was Bishop Haygood, I believe, who once said, "In the light of the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, this race problem may be solved." And it may be, but in order to do this the Ten Commandments, and the Sermon on the Mount, must have back of them a living church—a church made up of men and women who are willing to take them up, and put them into their hearts, and live them out, regardless of whether they accord with the sentiments about them or not. *The* question, for the church, is not as to whether it is a popular thing to treat the Negro as a man, as a human being, as a brother; as to whether it accords with tradition, with custom, with public sentiment, but is it right? Is it as he ought to be treated? Is it as Jesus Christ would treat him if he were acting in our stead? "Back to Christ," is the cry of certain theologians to day,—and that is where the church needs to get in dealing with this race problem,—back to the spirit of Christ, back to the great principles which he enunciated for the government of man,—back to the fatherhood of God, to the brotherhood of man; back to loving our neighbor as ourselves, to doing by others as we would have them

do by us. These are the great principles upon which the church ought to stand, and the spirit in which it ought to address itself to every problem, whether it be the Negro problem, or any other problem. In that spirit, it is bound to conquer. There are no difficulties that it may not overcome. If things do not get better in the South, the church will be largely responsible for it. It will be because it fails to do its duty,—to lift up a standard for the people, to let its light shine.

Along with this should also be coupled strenuous efforts to improve the system of public education, both as to the quality of the teaching force, and the length of the school term for both races; and also to multiply and encourage all agencies, such as temperance societies, associations for the promotion of good citizenship etc. that will tend to strengthen what is good, and to counteract what is evil in the community.

A campaign of education, wisely, intelligently, lovingly conducted along the lines indicated, and by the forces enumerated will do much towards bringing about a better condition of things in the South, toward adjusting race differences.

Wonders can be accomplished if we will only make up our minds to go steadily forward as God gives us the light, and with but one thought before us,—the thought of pleasing him, of doing what is

right. Those who are to work among the whites, and those who are to work among the colored should each come to the task with a due sense of the importance—the transcendent importance of the work, and with an earnest desire to succeed. These strifes and dissensions must cease; these race feuds must die out;—but not by the sacrifice of a single principle, not by trampling upon the rights of any one; but by each race doing what is right, by the triumph of law and order, and Christian principles,—the principles of the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount. I have faith in those great principles, and faith in their ultimate triumph. The task is not an easy one however; nor can it be accomplished in a day, or a week, or a month, or a year, or a decade of years; nor will it be accomplished without hardships, sufferings, discouragements. Bryant evidently foresaw all this when he penned his noble poem entitled “The Battle-Field.”

“Once this soft turf, this rivulet’s sands,
Were trampled by a hurrying crowd,
And fiery hearts and armed hands
Encountered in the battle-cloud.

Ah never shall the land forget
How gushed the life-blood of her brave—
Gushed, warm with hope and courage yet,
Upon the soil they fought to save.

Now all is calm, and fresh, and still,
 Alone the chirp of flitting bird,
 And talk of children on the hill,
 And bell of wandering kine are heard.

No solemn host goes trailing by,
 The black mouthed gun and staggering wain ;
 Men start not at the battle-cry,
 Oh, be it never heard again.

Soon rested those who fought ; but thou
 Who minglest in the harder strife
 For truths which men receive not now,
 Thy warfare only ends with life.

A friendless warfare, lingering long
 Through weary day and weary year.
 A wild and many-weaponed throng
 Hang on thy front, and flank, and rear.

Yet nerve thy spirit to the proof,
 And blench not at thy chosen lot.
 The timid good may stand aloof,
 The sage may frown,—yet faint thou not.

Nor heed the shaft too surely cast,
 The foul and hissing bolt of scorn ;
 For with thy side shall dwell, at last,
 The victory of endurance born.

Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again ;
 The eternal years of God are hers ;
 But Error, wounded, writhes in pain,
 And dies among his worshippers.

Yea, though thou lie upon the dust,
 When they who helped thee flee in fear,
 Die full of hope and manly trust,
 Like those who fell in battle here.

Another hand thy sword shall wield,
 Another hand the standard wave,
 Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
 The blast of triumph o'er thy grave."

It is well for us, it is well for all who enter upon the work of uprooting old ideas and replacing them by new ones, to remember this, and to carry with us into this work of education upon which we have entered the magnificent thought, the inspiring hope here expressed. It will be all right by and by. Only let us be faithful; let the good work go on; let us keep the ideal before us and work steadily towards it; and though we may not live to see the realization of our hopes, those who follow us will.

"Slow are the steps of Freedom, but her feet
 Turn never backward; hers no bloody glare;
 Her light is calm, and innocent, and sweet,
 And where it enters there is no despair."

I do not despair. This Negro problem will be solved; and when it is ultimately solved, the Negro will have all of his rights. There will be none to molest him or make him afraid; there will be no disposition to molest or make him afraid. The stars and stripes will mean equal protection to all citi-

zens, in the enjoyment of every right, whether at home or abroad. The principles of the Declaration of Independence will be no longer glittering generalities, mere empty sentiments, but realities, living, vitalizing forces in the life of the nation; America will be no longer, in name only, as we lyingly and hypocritically sing to day, "The land of the free, and the home of the brave," but in reality. It will then, *be* the land of the free. Its citizens, white and black alike, will be free, in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in any section of it. It will then *be* the home of the brave. Its prejudices will have been conquered, and right will have been enthroned in the hearts of the people.



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