1918

The Negro in typical communities of Iowa

Gabriel Victor Cools
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THE NEGRO IN TYPICAL COMMUNITIES OF IOWA

BY

Gabriel Victor Cools

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE COLLEGE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA IN NINETEEN-EIGHTEEN IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

IOWA CITY, IOWA

1918
THE NEGRO IN TYPICAL COMMUNITIES OF IOWA

PART I

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE NEGRO IN IOWA

CHAPTER II

THE NEGRO IN DES MOINES

Geographical Distribution of the Negroes.

Health Conditions Among the Negroes.

Economic Life of the Negroes.

The Negro and Labor Union.

Politics.

Religion.

Social Life of the Negro.

Education.

Conclusion.

CHAPTER III

THE NEGRO IN CEDAR RAPIDS

Geographical Distribution.

Health, Death, and Birth Rate.

Economic Life.

The Professional Class.

Social Life.

Religious Life of the Negro.

Morality and the Negro.

Poverty and Cooperative Agencies.

Secret Societies.

Education.

Crime.

The Negro and Politics.
CHAPTER IV

THE NEGRO IN IOWA CITY

Health and Death Rate.
Economic Condition.
Social Life.
Religious Life.
Morality.
Politics.
Poverty.
Education.
Crime.
Conclusion.

CHAPTER V

Final Conclusion.
PART II
CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE NEGRO IN IOWA

It will be impossible to give a comprehensive historical sketch of the Negro in the State of Iowa unless one goes back to the days of the Underground Railroad. Because of the close proximity of the Territory of Iowa to the State of Missouri, Iowa became unavoidably one of the strongholds of the Underground Railroad System. Iowa lay in the path of the fugitive slaves on their final lap to Canada, to safety, and to independence. However, because colonization in Iowa began late in the first half of the nineteenth century the people of Iowa did not come into the Underground Railroad movement until the year 1854.

The eastern boundary of Iowa to the depth of forty to fifty miles was opened to the whites for settlement in 1833, immediately after the Black-Hawk purchase. However, it was not until 1843, ten years later, that the region now known as Grinnell was actually opened to white residents, and in ten years white settlers in this region numbered 500. By 1854 a few hamlets of white men had sprung up in Central and Western Iowa.

One of the earliest settlers in southeastern Iowa was I.H.B. Armstrong, a former resident of Fayette, Ohio, who had been familiar with the midnight appeals of the escaping slaves from the adjacent slave holding states. In 1839, Mr. Armstrong moved to the West and settled in Lee County, Iowa. While living in Lee County, he...
became involved deeply in Underground Railroad work especially in connection with the Salem-Denmark route. In 1852, Mr. Armstrong found it necessary to remove to Appanoose County, locating within four miles of the Missouri line, where a number of abolitionists had settled. In this new environment, he found himself even more concerned with secret projects to help the fugitives to Canada.

The lines of travel of the fugitive slaves that extended east throughout the entire length of Iowa were more or less associated with Kansas men and Kansas movements. The route from Missouri was thru Kansas and Nebraska and entered Iowa at Percival. There the first Iowa station was established. From Percival, the line of travel continued northward with stations at Tabor, Lewis, Grove City, Guthrie Center, Adel and finally entering Des Moines. From the Des Moines station, the route pursued an easterly course with stations at Mitchell Valley, Newton, Grinnell, Iowa City, and continued northward until Canada was reached.

The date fixed for the beginning of the Underground Railroad in Iowa was 1854; of this the early citizens of Tabor and Grinnell were reasonably positive. The Reverend John Todd, a founder of Tabor Colony, was positive that the first fugitive slaves arrived in the summer of 1854. Professor Parks of Grinnell assured us that Grinnell was a stopping place for the haunted slaves, from the time of its founding in 1854.

The part which Iowa played in the anti-slavery movement may be illustrated best by referring to the activities of the Quakers of Salem, Iowa, during the first half of the nineteenth century. With the rapid settlement of the Iowa country, its rise to the stage of an organized territory, and the bitter dispute over the southern
boundary question, the troubles of the Missouri slaveholders began. Salem was only twenty-five miles from the Missouri line, and, surrounded by numerous wooded streams, was well adapted for hiding. Because of this physical condition, Salem proved a most advantageous place to the fleeing Negroes.

The unfailing help which the fugitive slaves received from the town in which "the people of plain grey clothes and broad brimmed hats" lived, became widely known to the slaves. Jones tells us that the fugitives were assured of safety no sooner than they reached the little town of Salem. "What with the heavy load of human freight concealed within hollow loads of hay or beneath grain sacks filled with bran, and the strange proclivity of this Quaker folk for midnight drives to unknown mills or markets, large numbers of fugitive slaves were spirited away to safety by the mysterious route which justly gained the name of 'Underground Railway'. Month after month and year after year with Quaker-like precision this work went on at Salem—not a single slave being retaken once he had reached this community. The children in the homes were trained to ask no questions, much less to answer any asked by strangers. They were supposed to have no eyes and no ears concerning this solemn business. Among the adults vague but well understood terms were used in conversing on the subject; and while it is certain that this grave concern was frequently the subject of guarded discussions in the two monthly meetings, still on the records no written reference to the subject is to be found".

The attitude of the Quakers toward the fleeing slaves so aroused the indignation of the slaveholders of Missouri that they
decided to destroy the entire community. "Fruitless were the patrols which the Missourians kept on the road to this Quaker center", says Jones, "At last stung by their failure to uncover the nest of 'nigger thieves', they determined to destroy the entire community. Their determination was never carried out.

If Salem was active in this work of assisting the fugitive slaves to safety and freedom other Quaker communities were not less active. The settlements to the northward in Muscatine, Cedar, and Linn counties constituted new links in the growing chain of Underground Railway stations, and with Springdale as a center they played a part second to none. All went well until one day old John Brown of Kansas fame made his appearance.

"John Brown's connection with this interesting Quaker settlement began late in October, 1856, when, astride a mule, weary and travel-stained, he rode into the little town of West Branch, halted before its only tavern, 'The Traveler's Rest', and from the proprietor James Townsend, received a Quaker welcome which until his death he never forgot. Learning of the strong abolition sentiment in the neighborhood and of the activities of these Quakers in the transporting of fugitives by means of the Underground Railroad, Brown at once realized the advantages of such a place for maturing the schemes he then had in mind---for an attack upon the institution of slavery, this time in the East." Brown made Springdale his western base of operation and from there he made several trips to Canada and to Missouri, returning with fugitive slaves each time. Finally, he reappeared in Springdale December, 1857, with ten companions. By this time, his plan for attacking Harpers' Ferry had been form-
ulated, for, during his stay in the little town, he aroused suspicion by the strange "manœuvres" much like military drill", which he and his companions daily conducted on the lawn.

It was while he was stopping at Springdale that he formed the acquaintance of the Coppoc boys, Edwin and Barclay, who later figured so prominently in his life. About the middle of July, 1859, the two brothers received a summons from John Brown to meet him at the earliest possible moment in Chambersburgh, Pennsylvania. Immediately they began their preparation to leave, and on July 25, Barclay Coppoc went to bid his mother good-by. This interesting conversation took place between mother and son:

"We are going to start for Ohio today."

"Ohio!" said his mother, "I believe you are going with old Brown. When you get the halters around your necks, will you think of me?"

After the attack on Harper's Ferry, Barclay Coppoc, fleeing from the authorities of Virginian, reached his home in Springdale on December 17, 1859. On the day before his brother Edwin had suffered death upon a Virginia scaffold. Thus the mother's parting prophecy was fulfilled.

With Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation passed the work of aiding fugitive slaves, and the Iowa Friends turned to the Freedmen with a view to helping them to adjust themselves to their new conditions and responsibilities. They first devoted themselves to welfare work among the people of color, and later, under the guidance of Isaac T. Gibson of Salem, schools were established in Missouri,
Kansas, and Iowa for the Freedmen. In concluding his discussion on the relation between the Friends of Iowa and the anti-slavery movement, Mr. Jones remarks: "It is interesting, in view of the long and helpful relation which the Friends of Iowa have borne toward this people, to observe but that very few Negroes have ever been taken into membership in the Society of Friends in this State."

It was inevitable that some of the fugitives should settle in Iowa, as they found the Indians, and the Quakers, sympathetic, as well as eager to protect them from their pursuers. In 1863, at the time of the Emancipation Proclamation, there were no less than 1069 free Negroes in the State of Iowa. It is significant to note that it was not until December 8, 1868, that any effort was made on the part of the State to remove the constitutional restrictions embodied in the State Constitution, in order that the black men might enjoy the full rights of citizenship.

Although Negro colonization began early in Iowa, the total population of all persons other than white up to the year 1915, was only 16,744, of which there were 12,894 native born American Negroes. This number was distributed all over the state but denser in the central and southern parts. The tendency of the Negro is to congregate in cities. In cities and towns over 1,000 there are about 10,000, an increase of about 2,000 in ten years. The population in the other half of the state is now about 2,894, a decrease estimated at 1835 in ten years.

The smallest percentage of colored people may be found in towns of 1,000 and under, and in such places the percentage is as
low as one-tenth of one per cent. The largest proportion of colored people is in Keokuk, where they constitute 7.74 per cent of the population. In Knoxville they constitute 5.34; Mt. Pleasant, 5.89; Keosauqua, 4.91; Centerville, 4.38; Oskaloosa, 2.66; Fort Madison, 2.64; Ottumwa, 2.60; Manilla, 2.49; Washington, 2.13 and Mystic, 2.08.

The Negro population in Iowa was fairly stable before the European War, but since the entry of the United States into the war and the withdrawal of white men from the various industries, Negroes in large numbers, are brought in to take their places. In Des Moines alone it is estimated that the increase since the 1915 census was taken is about 500, and in Cedar Rapids about as many. The migration from the South did not materially affect Iowa. It is possible that a few drifted in, but the effect on society, was not perceptible, nor significant enough to change or in any way interfere with the normal order of things.

CHAPTER II
THE NEGRO IN DES MOINES

The State Census of Iowa of 1915 gave the colored population of the whole state as 16,744 and that of Des Moines as 4,475. A conservative estimate to date gives the total stable population of Des Moines as 5,000. The city today is suffering from an influx of men and women both black and white, who are more or less of the nomadic type. Camp Dodge and Fort Des Moines have been the drawing cards for this type of people. They come from all parts of the country and many of them are of questionable character. The records of the police department show a considerable number
of cases held for investigation into their mode of living. A good many of the undesirables are camp followers, and create a difficult civic problem in Des Moines. The writer is not concerned with this class, he mentions it merely to account for the excess of the number mentioned previously.

The city of Des Moines, because of its location, readily appeals to the Missouri Negroes, who are dissatisfied with conditions in their home state. Indeed, it may be said safely that the majority of the Negro population of Des Moines comes from Missouri. It seemed that five out of every six interviewed either came from Missouri or their parents did. Geographical location, however, is not the sole attraction. Better economic opportunities, unrestricted social and educational possibilities, are potent factors in the selection of Des Moines as a home.

The Des Moines Negroes cannot be said to represent the best type of the American Negro. In general appearance, they are inferior to the Negroes in large American cities, notably those of the East, and of the Middle-West. They are not physically inferior but they lack that finesse in the selection of their personal apparel which is characteristic of Negroes, in other sections of the country. This will be considered by some as superficial, but when the fact is taken into consideration that the only side of the black man which the white man sees constantly, and by which he is inclined to judge him, is the external self, then, the necessity to be observant and discriminating in the selection of clothes is imperative. The saying that, "Clothes
make the man", is not only true of the white man but it is doubly true of the black. It is to be regretted that there exist conditions which make it impossible for the two to see the inner lives of each other, but until that barrier is lifted, the Negro will do well to be circumspect in his personal attire.

There is in Des Moines a disposition on the part of the colored people, even among the upper class, to be lax in their personal appearance. This is particularly true among business and professional men. There is no excuse for men of this type to be careless. Their status in the community, by virtue of their exceptional opportunity, is that of leadership. It is to them that others look for example and for guidance. Under such circumstances they cannot afford to be negligent. The editor of a leading daily paper whose editorial expressions have always been friendly to the colored people, said that the colored people were getting along finely and that they were learning among other things how to buy and to wear good clothes. This opinion is significant coming as it did from a "friend of the race". It reflects the general attitude of the whites on the question of the black man's personal appearance.

A person hears often about the good old southern hospitality. Unconsciously its presence is looked for in those people who originated in the South and are pretty certain to find traces of it among them. Not so, however, among the Des Moines blacks. As it was indicated at the outset of this discussion the great majority of the Negroes residing in Des Moines are from Missouri. The general impression of the writer of the colored people of Missouri,
is that they are hospitable. Just why there should be such a remarkable change in the nature of the people in so short a period (less than a generation) is interesting. Perhaps the best explanation which may be offered is the abnormal cost of living. While the cost of living has increased in some instances, more than 100 per cent, the income of the Negro has remained stable.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGROES

Des Moines was formerly an "open town". By "open town" is meant that there was no restriction of any kind in regard to residence so far as the colored people were concerned. They experienced no difficulty in securing desirable homes in desirable environments. Of course there was no attempt on their part to seek residence in the "millionaire section" of Grand Avenue, but in other sections the ability to pay the rent or the purchase price of homes was the determining factor. The question of color was never permitted to interfere with the acquisition of residences. As the result of this freedom, the colored people were able to rent nice homes in wholesome localities. However, within the last decade, conditions have changed considerably. No longer is the black man able to rent a house in every section of the city. While the colored man may not rent a home in certain localities, he may purchase that very house if it is offered for sale. The explanation given for this condition was that the property depreciated in value when it was rented to colored people, and, moreover, the real estate agents found it impossible to rent a house to a white person after it had been rented to a colored tenant. But on the other hand,
the sale of a property to a colored person relieved the real estate agent of any or all depreciation incident to its occupation. However, there was no evidence to prove that such depreciation really occurred.

The changed condition, from an "open town" to a semi-restricted town, did not happen by any natural revulsion of feeling against the Negro by the old citizens. The agitation to restrict the Negro to certain sections originated from sources which were alien to the city. Alien, not only in sentiment but in culture. A southerner is responsible for the changed condition. It is claimed that he arrived on the scene about a decade ago, got interested in real estate, and immediately began his segregating propaganda. To supplement his sinister activities he enlisted the assistance of outside agencies who, in a series of public utterances, advocated residential segregation. From that time on, Des Moines ceased to be an "open town". In the newly opened suburban residential section great pains are taken to prevent Negroes from acquiring property.

On the whole, the Negro residents are fairly well located. Although they are scattered all over the city, the majority of the Negro population may be found, on the West Side. The center of the Negro population on the West Side is Center Street beginning at Ninth and extending over to Fifteenth Street, taking up three blocks on the South Side, and from four to five blocks on the north side of Center Street. What little Negro business there is in the city is chiefly found on Center between Ninth and Twelfth Streets.
The section comprising Center and adjacent streets is the most populous but is by no means the only locality on the West Side in which Negroes may be found in great numbers. A good many Negroes may be found on Grand Avenue, between Fourth and Third Streets, and on Third Street between Grand Avenue and Walnut. There is another group on Mulberry Street from Ninth Street stretching back almost to the railway tracks, including that section of the city formerly known as the "redlight" district. Crossing the Rock Island tracks and going south from Fifth Street almost back to the Des Moines River, there is another small settlement. This section is particularly interesting. It is a kind of potpourri of the races. Poor whites, poor Mexicans, and degenerate Negroes mix indiscriminately, forming one of the most complex social problems for the city. It is hard to realize that human beings could be satisfied to live in such wretched and miserable hovels. Huddled together in tumbled-down, filthy and repulsive looking shacks are depraved looking men and women whose souls, apparently, are dead to all the stimuli of twentieth century civilization. Children are born and reared, that is, those who do not die in infancy, in that filthy and wretched environment.

Across the river, in the neighborhood known as South East Des Moines, there is found still another group. This group is better off than that on the other side of the river. The two races are fairly well mixed. Housing conditions are superior to those of their neighbors across the river. In this section there is a group of people (black and white) who intermarried when Des Moines was an "open town", when Negroes were fewer and the feeling against them less intense. These people, were forced to colonize there
by the sheer weight of Negro public opinion. There are many Negroes living in East Des Moines. The greatest number may be found to the south and north of the State Capitol. At Highland Park, properly speaking, Lake Park, there is a distinct settlement of Negro miners. Highland Park is situated about ten minutes' ride from Des Moines and is reached either by street cars or the interurban. It is said, that the entire colony is peopled by the descendants of a certain man, C. G. Brown, who settled there years ago. The settlement, however, is not self-sustaining as the miners do the bulk of their business in the city.

In addition to the sections of the city which have been mentioned, there are scores of Negro families in desirable or rather exclusive neighborhoods. The word exclusive is preferred because all the neighborhood except the south eastern and south western districts in which the colored people may be found, are desirable ones. In fact, the Center Street settlement, is located in the heart of the city, being four or five blocks from the business district. Sanitary conditions are satisfactory. It is difficult to judge the attitude of the community towards Negro neighborhoods since there are no distinct Negro settlements. Lake Park might be mentioned as an exception, but even there one finds the Negro with the white element of the community fairly well mixed. It is safe to say, however, that the city is impartial in the observance of its sanitary regulations.

HEALTH CONDITION AMONG THE NEGROES

It is not the easiest thing to get accurate statistics in regards to health conditions of individual races in Northern communities, and Des Moines is no exception. There has never been
any attempt to make a racial classification of diseases, and the
the information which follows was obtained from different persons
who are connected with the City Health Board. From the latter source, it was learned that out of the three hundred and eight infectious
A
diseases in the year 1916-1917 there were not more than ten colored
cases. Less than ten Negro homes were quarantined. More accurate
data are kept of the death rate. Here was found that out of a total
of 1,353 deaths in 1916, 66 were colored, or 1.3 per cent. One
point which is worth mentioning, is that Orientals and Mexicans are
classified as colored. However, the number of Mexican and Oriental
origin is relatively small and would make no appreciable change
in the percentage of deaths. It will be seen from these figures
that the mortality among the blacks is relatively low and compares
favorably with that of the whites, which is about 1.2 per cent.

No attempt has been made by the City Health Board to classify
the diseases from which the colored people died, but by consultation
with two Negro physicians it was possible to obtain a fairly close
estimate. One who has been practicing in the city for a number
of years, said that most of the Negroes died from diseases of the
respiratory organs---tuberculosis, pneumonia, and chronic heart
troubles. The other agreed with him, adding that there is no
essential difference between the causes of death in Des Moines and
those of other large cities. "Colored people", he said, "will
close their windows tight at night, no matter where you go". The
information received from the first physician it is believed, was
fairly accurate and reliable.
The health of the colored people is normal. There is absolutely no ground for any belief on the part of alarmists that the blacks are dying faster than they are replaced by natural growth. The birth rate is keeping pace with and is actually outgrowing the death rate. Health conditions, however, could be much better. A large amount of sickness is due to ignorance of sanitary measures. The percentage of tuberculosis is high and will remain high, until the colored people learn that fresh air is just as essential to the human organism as food and drink. This disease is found chiefly among the lower classes who live— rather are forced to live— under conditions which favor tuberculosis. Dingy, damp, unventilated, over-crowded, and filthy shacks do not, and will never, produce healthy, sound, and efficient individuals, be they black or white.

In regard to the chronic diseases of the heart which have such a high toll among the blacks, the same thing is true as in the case of tuberculosis. Four factors are responsible for the prevalence of these diseases: (1) lack of knowledge of sanitary measures; (2) lack of knowledge of proper dietary measures; (3) prolonged rigorous physical labor; (4) dissolute, in other words, "fast living", which presupposes venereal diseases. These four causes are the chief factors which contribute to the weeding out of the Negroes.

In some quarters the word Negro seems to be synonymous with everything despicable and vile. This opinion grew out of the alarming reports based on generalizations made after the study of a few cases of diseased Negroes. That the percentage of sexual diseases is high, no one can deny, but if a comparative study is made of all cases it would be found that, after all, the condition among the Negroes compares favorable with that among the whites.
The city Negro, as compared with the rural Negro, furnishes the greatest quota of diseased individuals. In Des Moines, according to reliable authorities, sexual diseases among the blacks are relatively high, and center chiefly around syphilis and gonorrhea. Considered from the standpoint of age, it may safely be said that the younger generation, those between the ages of 18 and 25 years furnish the greatest percentages. Individuals between the ages of 25 and 45 years are relatively free from the disease. Considered from the standpoint of sex the male cases greatly outnumber the female. "Nine out of every ten patients which come to him for medical assistance are men", as one authority puts it. The ratio is almost two to one. The ages between which infection appears are 18 and 30 years.

There are reasons for this large number of diseased blacks especially among the women. One reason which readily suggests itself is the double standard of living, and this applies not only to the men but to the women, indeed, it might be said that it applies more to women. This point will be discussed later under a different heading. The second and the chief cause for the high percentage of the diseases among the Negroes is ignorance, and this includes both male and female. Ignorance among the men is relative. A man can readily tell whether he has been victimized before the disease has taken root. This intelligence is due to greater freedom of intercourse between the men. But that is as far as his knowledge of the disease and of its dangers goes. There are those who consider it a natural thing to nourish a case of genito-urinary inflammation, especially after it has past its virulent stage. It is not that they are not willing to get rid
of the disease but the sacrifices which they will have to undergo are too great. Indeed why waste time, money and pleasurable indulgences, to cure something which causes no pain! One can readily see how dangerous to the health of society is such an unintelligent being. He goes on his merry way spreading death and desolation and leaving behind him a trail of diseased persons.

The ignorance of the women takes a different form. It is absolute. It is said that scores of colored women infected with venereal disease of some kind, come to consult a physician, with absolutely no knowledge of the kind of disease with which they are infected. The condition among married women is pathetic, they are even less informed than single women. This gross ignorance of even the symptoms of the diseases is not only instrumental in spreading the disease, but it lessens the opportunity for early treatment and permanent cure. A great amount of home treatment is resorted to before the family physician is consulted, and when at last his professional advice is sought he finds a well-matured case which has rooted itself firmly in the system of the victim.

Then there is the question of poverty. Indeed it is doubtful whether poverty or ignorance is responsible to a greater degree for the high rate of venereal diseases among the blacks. The majority of the Negroes that are infected with sexual diseases are living below the poverty line. It would be unreasonable to suppose that these people would be able to engage the services of high-priced specialists from their meager earnings. When it is taken into consideration, that the average income of the Negro is only $10 a week, out of which he has to meet the weekly necessary
obligations which a family, and sometimes a very large one incurs one must wonder at the low death rate in Des Moines.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NEGRO

The economic opportunity of the Negro is somewhat limited, but considering the fact that the city is a commercial rather than an industrial center, one must conclude that it is relatively good. The chief industries in which Negroes are employed are coal mining, railway shop and track work. There is only one carpenter who is recognized as such. He holds the membership card of a carpenters' union in Missouri. In the plastering trade the black man is well represented. There are said to be a large number of plasterers, who manage to keep themselves employed in spite of the hostility of the unions. There has never been any attempt on the part of these plasterers to form a union of their own. Whether a union would increase their opportunities, (which are already good) is debatable, but it would help to standardize their wages.

That the Negro plasterers are holding their own against the whites is conceded by all who are familiar with labor conditions in the city, nevertheless, the Negro's lack of proper training is a great drawback to him when the question of a big contract is involved. There seems to be a unanimity of opinion among both the white and colored people who are interested in this question, that the black plasterers' educational limitations places him at a disadvantage when he tries to compete with the white plasterer. In the matter of accurate estimate he would have to seek the advice of one who is skilled in mathematics, while the white man would need no such assistance. The logical sequence of such a state of
affairs is that the black plasterer must satisfy himself with jobs that do not require a great deal of mathematical calculation. This was found to be the opinion of not only Negroes, but also that of the State Commissioner of Labor. There are one or two individual plasterers who are capable men; for example, a case was reported in which a colored plasterer undertook and successfully completed a contract to plaster a large house in the restricted, millionaire residential section of Grand Avenue.

The following is a list of the various occupations in which the blacks are engaged:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Stationary Engineer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>Coal mining</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar Tender</td>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>Pool Room (owner and attendant)</td>
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<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>Custodian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bootblack</td>
<td>Employment Agent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carrier (mail)</td>
<td>Hotel Manager</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chauffeur</td>
<td>Janitor</td>
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Professional Class Male

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dentist</th>
<th>Minister</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Druggist</td>
<td>Notary Public</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
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Physician

Female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrator</th>
<th>Saleswoman</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service</td>
<td>Seamstress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manicurist and Hair Dresser</td>
<td>Stenographer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policewoman</td>
<td>Matron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Waitress
On the whole, the Negro's economic future is a hopeful one. In many of the industries from which he was long shut out, one finds him occupying positions of trust which require a great deal of skill and perseverance. The railroad shops and round houses within which the Negro, formerly dared not look, are now opened to him. The Street Railway Company which, heretofore, had never given Negro labor even a passive consideration is now employing Negro workmen in its shops in skillful and quasi-skillful positions. Negro workmen may now be seen along the street car tracks doing the repair work and handling the compressed air and welding machine. Commenting on this transformation, (or should it be called evolution?) the State Commissioner of Labor said that this invasion of colored workmen into the more skillful industries is taking place not only in Des Moines but all over the state wherever there is an industrial concern of any kind. So marked has been this transformation within the last two or three years that he was forced to enquire into its causes. Invariably his inquiry met with the answer, "scarcity of white labor".

The presence of the black man in the various industrial concerns in such large numbers suggests two questions. In the first place, how is the Negro adjusting himself to his new environment? and in the second place, can he measure up to the standard established by his white fellow-workman? From all indications the colored man is holding his own. And why shouldn't he? The Negro is the most malleable of all races. No sooner does he get into a new situation that he begins to shape his life by imitation and by adaptation according to the environment. But no matter how flexible the Negro might be it is unquestionably true that he is handicapped by his educational limitations. The Commissioner of
Labor, commenting on this phase of the question, said that the Negro's lack of education is the greatest drawback to him in the field of industry. He pointed out, for example, that the complicated, or rather, the complex twentieth century shop methods which require more than ordinary intelligence to master, and then he asked, how is the unintelligent Negro to grasp them. The Negro, coming as he does from localities in which even the most rudimentary form of education was denied him, is by no means the most fertile soil in which to sow any kind of seed. His education, then, must be necessarily exacting and the process of orientation a slow, and, on the whole, a painful one fraught with a great deal of loss to the employer. But the Negro's willingness to learn, to a great extent shortens the period of apprenticeship, if so it may be called, and more than compensates the management of the concern for the incidental loss.

As to the question of the Negro's shiftlessness, the Commissioner of Labor did not think that this characteristic was peculiar to the Negro, indeed, he thought that the white workman was more shiftless than the colored. However, neither the white worker nor the black is to be blamed. Shiftlessness is chiefly the result of unemployment, which, in turn, is largely the result of seasonable occupation. The army of white workmen who are thrown out of work at the end of certain seasons, to wait until the next season arrives has become a problem which taxes the imaginations of social workers. Men going from place to place in search of work acquire the roving habit which readily passes into shiftlessness. Both white and black are victims of circumstances. With the white man it is a
revulsion against conditions of labor against which he has combatted for centuries. With the colored man, on the other hand, shiftlessness, although the result of a revulsion against any form of manual labor, is not a form of degeneracy; but, on the contrary, is the state of mind in which he finds himself after having been freed from three centuries of enforced, unprofitable labor. This is the stage of transition between this unprofitable labor and the freedom to bargain for his labor. His is a hopeful case, while that of the white workman is becoming somewhat alarming.

The alacrity with which the Negro is abandoning the menial labor to which he had been tied down for centuries to take advantage of the new opportunities which are opening up to him in Des Moines attests the hopefulness of his case. There are those who look upon this movement with deep foreboding. So accustomed have they been to have Negro do the dirty work that they feel alarmed at his promptness in recognizing the new opportunity. They say, of course, the Negro is losing out in the menial fields in which he was identified. But the Commissioner of Labor, and other prominent men are not at all alarmed; on the contrary they see in this "losing out" process a new era for the black man. The Commissioner, in commenting on the "losing out" idea thinks, that the colored people ought to rejoice rather than be sorry as there is nothing attractive about menial work. The fact that everybody, who is able, abandons it for other occupations attests its unattractiveness.

It is necessary to refer frequently to the opinion of the Commissioner of Labor. He is thoroughly conversant with every phase of labor activities, not only in Des Moines but the State.
As a man who had filled several executive positions in labor unions before he entered this new field, the Commissioner's experience and opinion are of such a value that an investigator cannot afford to underestimate.

THE NEGRO AND LABOR UNIONS

It must not be supposed that the black man's entry into various industries is looked upon with favor by the labor unions. Indeed, the unions are fighting the Negroes for every inch of the ground and yield only when overwhelming pressure is brought to bear upon them. The attitude of the labor unions toward any form of Negro labor is a peculiar one. The unions claim that their hostility is due to the fact that the Negro workmen do not join the unions. How little truth there is about this statement is best illustrated by the fact that even those who come to Des Moines from the South with union cards, find that their cards are not honored. The truth is the Negro is not wanted in the unions.

Mention may be made of two cases, in which colored men, a carpenter and a plumber, coming from Missouri with union cards, and in good standing in their local chapters, did not receive the recognition to which they were entitled. The carpenter was not technically kept out, but he might have been told that he was not wanted, as he became a permanent fixture on the waiting list. The plumber, however, was not so fortunate, as his card was not honored.

The miners' union admits Negroes unreservedly, into membership. There are about six coal mining camps in the vicinity of the city which furnish employment to Negro miners who, in turn, form approximately one-half of the total number of employees.
The Miners' Union cannot afford to boycott the Negro miners, for to do so would be to court disaster. This fact the executives of the Union have fully recognized, and have shaped their policies to meet the situation. The Negro miners share in the administration of the affairs of the Union, and, as far as it is known, are well represented.

The point of view of the Commissioner of Labor on this subject is an interesting one. Speaking about the hostile attitude of the labor unions toward the Negro workman, he thinks that the former eventually will be forced to recognize the latter; if not in fairness to the men themselves at least for self-protection. He admits the existence of prejudice in the labor unions, but he thinks that the feeling will wear off in time. He relates an incident in which the white unions were instrumental in causing colored unionists to lose their positions. The incident centers around a Labor Day. The Colored men, members of the Building Trades Union and working on a building, wanted to attend the Labor Day parade. The bricklayers did not want to lay off and a deadlock ensued. It was suggested that the matter be submitted to a vote on Saturday preceding Labor Day. This was done and the bricklayers lost. They took the decision in bad faith and "framed up" on the Negroes. There were a few southern white workmen on the job who had always objected to the presence of the colored men in the union, and consequently caused a continuous friction. The bricklayers, taking advantage of this situation, urged the colored men to go on strike in order to force the white southerners out and they promised to support the colored men. The colored men not keen enough to see the well laid scheme, yielded. They went out on strike; the
bricklayers, contrary to their promise, continued to work, and moreover, undertook to perform the work of the Negroes until white men could be secured. The colored men never went back. It is interesting to note that the Commissioner thinks that the colored man has no superior in the building trades.

The Commissioner thinks that the unions are often made the scapegoat by employers who, because of their personal attitude, are opposed to colored labor. Too often the objection to Negro labor comes from the employers themselves. On the whole, the Commissioner thinks that the attitude of the labor unions, or any other prejudiced factor, is narrow. They expect too much from the black man. What it took white men thousands of years to acquire they expect the colored man to acquire in a single generation. The colored man, he concludes, should be given a decent chance to earn an honorable livelihood and he is going to get it. The war has hastened the time somewhat, but it is bound to come.

NEGRO BUSINESS

Negro business is in its nascent stage, and centers chiefly about Center Street on the West Side and on Twenty-seventh and Murray Streets on the East Side. The kind and number of business enterprises in which Negroes are engaged are as follows: Restaurants, 12, pool rooms, 6, barber shops, 6, grocery stores, 4, shoe repairing shops, 3, cafes, 5, bars, 2, panatoriums, 5, hotels, 2, newspaper, 1, real estate agencies, 2, employment agency, 1, drug store, 1, and soap factory, 1.

The location of the Negro officers training camp at Camp Dodge may be said to have supplied the Des Moines Negroes with the business impulse. Before the establishment of the camp, Negro business was in a state of stagnation.
The number of restaurants was given as twelve but as a matter of fact there are only two which are in any true sense restaurants. The others are more or less unpretentious places which cater to the less discriminating classes. The aggregate value of all, their internal fixtures and stock on hand is abo$$15,000. A brief description of the interior of a cafe will be of interest.

The cafe was in the basement. There were half a dozen tables over which were thrown pieces of brown paper which functioned as table cloths and these were not in any sense clean. The concrete floor was unclean and irregular with no sign of having been washed in a decade. And to add to the grotesqueness of the place a new Victrola was being displayed in a conspicuous position. A detailed description of this place is given because it is fairly representative of the others.

The two, previously mentioned located also on the West Side. One sees in them an attempt at conforming to some kind of hygienic standards. They were kept fairly clean and the service, at least, was not repulsive. The smaller of the two, was a little more inviting than the other. It is possible that this attractiveness was due to the fact that it was opened a little later than the other and was carried along by its newness. A better explanation for this difference, however, will be found in the nature of the proprietors themselves. The proprietor of the smaller place was more attentive to the conduct of the business. Everything was new, from the soda water fountain to the chairs, and the tables were covered with clean white cloths—a decided improvement over the brown paper covers.

The five cafes, were decidedly of a better type. They were clean. One had the preposterous name of "Cafeteria". Although
it had none of its characteristics. In addition to the dining room lodgers were accommodated. The service was clean in each case. The proprietor's wife was found to possess some unusual ideas about the business in which she was engaged. She seemed to be thoroughly conversant with the latest suggestions in the running of restaurants, and yet she was satisfied with her one-table "cafeteria". The reason advanced was that she was getting old and could not be worried with the responsibilities which a larger place would impose. Her home, by the way, is one of the nicest Negro homes in the city. Here was talent going to waste, there is no doubt that such a woman would make a success of a restaurant enterprise of large dimensions.

The pool rooms and barber shops were of the type of Negro enterprises of that kind which are found in large cities, although exceptions might be taken in the case of the latter. There is only one really sanitary Negro barber shop in the city equipped with modern sanitary appliances. Modern appliances, of course, presuppose modern ideas, but with the majority of colored barbers there does not seem to be any logical connection between them. It is the hardest thing to wean a black barber from the idea that he must economize on towels. Another feature in connection with these shops is adjoining rooms in which card games were played and which served as a "piece de resistance" for the barber shop loafers. There were bootblack stands placed indifferently in some corners of the shops.
The grocery stores were of the type of those which are to be found in suburban districts. The stores were all fairly well equipped and organized. One was particularly interesting. The proprietor was a middle-aged man of sober and unpretentious appearance. The store was well stocked and presented a prosperous appearance. The question of Negro patronage was not a problem to him. They realized that it was their business and they came there to spend their money. "I endeavor to give the people what they want", he said, "and make them feel that they are welcomed here. I show them that I appreciate their patronage." That constituted his formula for success. This man also conducts an employment agency which places people of both races.

The two hotels belong to the same proprietor. Neither deserves strictly the name hotel. One of them a fairly new three story building, is more of a light apartment house. The other is less modern in structure and takes on more characteristically the form of a hotel. The proprietor also owns the weekly paper called the "Bystander". This paper is a four-page sheet which records the weekly happenings among the Negroes in Des Moines and adjacent communities. It contains no editorials; nor does it aim, so far as could be ascertained, to shape the policy of the race. In a sense it is more of an advertising sheet than a weekly newspaper.

The drug store forms the center of attraction for the colored people from every section of the city. It is situated on Center and Eleventh Streets, and is operated by its owner, an Iowa University graduate pharmacist. The store is about the size of any ordinary drug store which one observes in the residential sections of a large city, although it lacks perhaps the finished
touch which these stores possess. On the whole, it was holding its own with the other drug stores in the neighborhood.

There was no occasion to ask the proprietor whether or not his business was good. That was evident. His soda water fountain in spite of the winter season was doing a flourishing business. Colored patronage was not a cause for worry for him. He was fairly on his way to sound prosperity, and this was reflected in his home. He had completed recently a stucco house which was reported to be the most valuable Negro home in Des Moines. The proprietor is courteous, accommodating, and takes a personal interest in his customers.

Finally, the soap factory which manufactures a soap, the invention of the proprietor, to clean rugs, and material of that nature, is a paying enterprise which nets the proprietor a nice income. Aside from this enterprise, the proprietor is said to be a liberal investor in real estate and possesses several valuable properties in the city. He has a daughter who graduated from the State University and a son had attended the State College at Ames, and was one of the two colored mail carriers in the city.

In the other occupations such as stationary engineer, blacksmith, shoe making, tailoring, etc., the Negroes are doing well. Contrary to the prevalent belief that they were losing out in such occupations as janitors of large office buildings, or as they prefer to be called, stationary engineers, it was found that these people were not only holding the ground gained but were making inroads into the white field. The high pressure boilers which, it was believed, would cause their discomfiture because
of their complexity, merely added to the zest of these men. Practically all the large office buildings and department stores are cared for by colored men who in many instances supplanted white men.

There is no ground for the belief that Negroes were losing out in the domestic and personal occupations. For example, it was found that the waiters were satisfied with conditions and were not in the least worried about the baseless canard. Many men were leaving this form of occupation to enter into the more lucrative industries which heretofore were closed to them. This withdrawal should not be interpreted as "losing out" to the whites. It should rather be called a promotion, and this would be more accurate.

The relations which exist between white employers and Negro workmen are relatively cordial. No trace could be found of bitterness among the Negro employees against their employers. And the few white men interviewed expressed their praise of the Negro in the highest terms. One white man who has had years of experience with Negro workmen expressed himself thus: "The Negro is human; all he needs is decent treatment and that to a great extent determines his attitude." But it must not be supposed that the Negro workmen are faultless, indeed their weakness and intellectual limitations are often very trying to the white employers of labor.

The number of well-to-do Negroes in Des Moines is small, hardly reaching a score. There are many who pose as prosperous but who in reality are merely tools of higher powers. To estimate the cash wealth of the colored people is a difficult affair but
it is safe to say that it lies between $200,000 and $250,000 or about $50 per capita. It seems that the necessity of sacrificing some of the superficial things of life for the preservation of the more tangible ones has just become apparent to the colored people. But, however, late this consciousness was in coming it has certainly imbedded itself in the very soul of the majority of the people, and has converted them into a thrifty, judicious, and sagacious group. Everywhere one sees manifested the result of the newly awakened consciousness. Everywhere enterprises spring up, mushroom like, small to be sure, but destined to blossom, under care and nurture, into really significant economic units. All that is needed is the proper incentive, and the external pressure, in the form of color prejudice, sinister and undemocratic without doubt, is supplying the impulse. The effect of this color prejudice no matter how favorably it affects the economic life of the black man, is certain to create or arouse a bitterness in the hearts of the people which might have been safely left in its dormant state.

THE PROFESSIONAL CLASS

There are ten Negro professional men viz.; lawyers 4, physicians 2, druggist 1, dentist 2, civil engineer 1. The ministers of the church are not included, they will be taken up under religion. The interesting thing about these professional men is that the majority of them are graduates of the State University. The most conspicuous professional man, from an intellectual standpoint, is S. Joe Brown, lawyer, notary public, and real estate operator. Mr. Brown received his bachelor's degree in 1904, was elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity, studied law, and later took his master's degree.
The lot of the Negro lawyer is none too promising. Forced by no fault of his own to depend solely on the patronage of his own people, he finds himself, restricted almost wholly to a single phase of the profession—the criminal phase. There has not yet been developed any big business or corporation which might retain colored lawyers as their legal representatives. Nor are there many cases in which constitutional questions are involved. Consequently, an ambitious lawyer to whom criminal cases do not appeal finds himself in a somewhat precarious position.

The other three lawyers were not so fortunate in the matter of education as Mr. Brown, but are nevertheless successful. One who makes a specialty of criminal cases is the oldest colored member of the bar. Two years ago, he ran for a municipal judgship and received the hearty support of the white and black voters of the city. He was defeated by a narrow margin, but even today it is believed that his defeat was due to the fact that the voting machine was not working in one or two of the precincts in which he expected complete support. It is said that he spent little money in his campaign and all the white candidates usually closed their campaign speeches by appealing to the people to support him. Mention may be made in passing of another lawyer, who practices occasionally before the Des Moines bar, but whose office is located in Buxton. This gentleman is said to be one of the greatest students of the Negro problem in the state and has been on more than one occasion a candidate for the State Legislature. He is president of the Iowa State Bar Association and a member of the United States Supreme Court Bar.

The other two lawyers are not active practitioners. One was
for several years United States Consul at Porto Cabello, Venezuela, and is now the manager of the Army Club. He is also engaged in real estate transactions. The fourth devotes his time to the publication of a weekly paper, the "Bystander" and the managing of the two hotels which were previously mentioned. He is said to be one of the most prosperous Negroes in Des Moines.

There are two physicians, one is comparatively new in the city having been there less than a year; yet he stated that he was doing well. The other had all the appearance of a prosperous man and was a good example of the cultured Negro. He showed the effects of his college and home training in his manners and in his general deportment. He was courteous, approachable and quite conversant with the health conditions among his people. In answer to the question whether or not he was patronized by the Negro, he answered that not only Negroes but also the whites, about five per cent of his practice was among the whites.

The two dentists have more work than they can possibly do and practically all comes from their own people. However, the atmosphere of one of the offices which was visited was not particularly impressive. It is possibly difficult for a dentist to keep his work shop clean, but conditions could be improved with a little more effort on his part.

The Civil Engineer is a graduate of the State University, and while there played tackle on the football team. He is now engaged in the contracting business and, it is said, does a yearly business of $5,000.
NEGROES BUYING HOMES

One of the most encouraging signs in the life of the Negro is his awakening to the realization of the importance of owning his home. Until about a decade ago, Negroes in the city were indifferent as to whether they owned homes or not. They had no occasion to worry as to where to go to rent clean and decent homes in desirable localities. Des Moines was an "open town", men were measured not so much by the color of their skins as by their ability to meet their obligations. But good things do not last forever, they pass out of life prematurely either by the pressure of external forces antagonistic to their existence, or by virtue of the goodness itself. In this case, however, it was through the influence of external agencies that housing conditions, so far as the Negroes were concerned, underwent a complete change of front. So far the movement for owning homes is still in its infancy and gains new impetus as it grows. It is difficult to say just how many Negroes own their homes for there are no statistics kept, but a near approach to the number would be 300 owning homes and about 500 buying homes on the installment plan.

The types of homes compare favorably with those of the whites in similar circumstances. Considering the fact that the average income of the Negro workman by the week is between $10 and $12, it must be concluded that they are doing even better than the whites. The value of the homes owned by the colored people ranges from $1,500 to $3,000, with one exception, that of a pharmacist, which is valued at $5,000.

As a whole, the homes were well kept, and practically all were found to be clean, comfortable, and showing evidences of great care
in the choice of furniture. As might be supposed the homes of the better class, and that includes the professional men who are, because of their training, leaders, were exceptionally noteworthy. It is not infrequent for one to find, even in the homes of the educated, pictures of white persons hung on the walls.

The interior of one home was especially striking. In the case of this home there were pictures only of Negroes of note. There was not a single picture of a white person displayed. Only one reason can be advanced for such singular discrimination----race consciousness. A series of pictures of eminent Negro men is being issued now, and it was gratifying to note that in every home visited there was one hung up in a conspicuous place. In one of the homes there was evidence of over-furnishing, but that was an exception. The greatest fault noticeable was a lack of harmony in the color scheme of the interior decoration of the majority of the homes. But considering the fact that most of the housewives were "middle-aged" some allowance might be made for the absence of this latest artistic touch in the home. The younger generation, with their knowledge of home economics acquired either in school or through the "literary" periodicals like the "Independent" would be expected to introduce the science into the home.

The houses are equipped with the modern sanitary and hygienic conveniences which are found in all well regulated homes. As might be expected there are exceptions. The homes just described are those of the better class, as suggested at the beginning; but there are others that are also to be considered---the homes of the poor, for example.

There is no essential difference between a poor white man's
home and that of a poor black man. The conditions which one finds in both are revolting. Both peoples are forced to live on starvation wages. However, the poor white man has the advantage over the poor colored. For some unaccountable reason the black man is expected to maintain a home on a much lower income than even the lowest of the white man's income. Moreover, because of his color he is usually able to find a house in a little more healthful locality than the black man, and at a much lower rental.

The conditions in the homes of the poor blacks were not very encouraging. There was evidence everywhere of familiarity with the dealers in second hand furnishings. There were attempts to keep the places clean but they were not always successful. A great deal of ignorance as to proper hygienic measures is characteristic of the poor blacks, indeed the same may be said of a goodly percentage of the better class also. As for most of them, cleanliness is unknown to the world in which they live, and when poverty is added to the ignorance the situation becomes aggravated. In some of the houses there were no inside closets nor any of the elementary conveniences of a home. Oil lamps were generally used, and even in the places where there were gas fixtures the oil lamp was preferred, the reason advanced being economy.

There is no greater evidence of the colored man's musical instinct than that which these humble Negro homes present. The musical instrument—piano, victrola, or phonograph—is there competing with the dirt for supremacy in the dingy little parlor. The one woman above all who is identified with social service among
her people, related the case of an indigent colored family, of seventeen members, from Indiana. This entire family was mentally and physically dwarfed. Not one of the fifteen children ever went beyond the third grade in school. The father was working but, as might be expected, could not make both ends meet, and so he applied for assistance. His home was visited by this good woman and the conditions under which they lived filled her with pity. The peculiar thing about this case was the presence of a victrola and a refrigerator in that wretched hovel. The crowning feature of the unfortunate affair came when on pay day the father bought ten gallons of ice cream for the family!

Something may be said about those who are engaged in buying real estate on the installment plan. Buying homes after this method may seem to be a perfectly proper and highly moral procedure when viewed from a distance. But when we approach the situation with a critical turn of mind we would find it to be not so encouraging. Out of the approximate 500 families that are buying homes on this scheme, it is highly probable that none of them will ever succeed in paying off their indebtedness. It was not possible to get exact figures of those who have succeeded in wiping out the debt. As a matter of fact no one knew of any.

The opinions of the two colored real estate men in the city are significant. As in all such cases one of them is more pessimistic than the other. Both are lawyers, one with considerable experience in the field. One asserts categorically that the installment system with its apparent advantages is bad. He points out, in the first place, that the purchaser only gets a contract and not a deed of sale to the property. He, the purchaser, is
required to live up to the provisions of the contract and should he fail to do so the contract becomes null and void and the money paid down by the purchaser is forfeited. In the second place, the purchaser is required to meet all financial obligations in the form of taxes, water, insurance, and repairs, in connection with the property. After all these expenses have been undergone, the owner of the property, upon non-compliance with the provisions of the contract, may have the contract declared null and void, and the purchaser thereby loses his investment. Below are two clauses which appear in one of these contracts.

"All improvements placed upon said premises shall be and become a part thereof, and shall remain thereon until final payment for such premises is made, and all improvements thereon shall be insured, against loss by fire, lightning, high winds, cyclones, or tornadoes, and kept insured until the purchase price is fully paid by the second party, for----dollars, with loss payable to the first party, in a company to be selected by the first party, or with such agent, bank or place of deposit as he may designate.

"In case the second party shall fail to make the payments aforesaid, or shall fail to perform his agreements herein contained or any of them for a period of thirty(30) days from the time they and each of them should have been made, or performed, the time and times of such payments and performances being the essence of this contract, then and in such event the first party may, at his election, declare this contract void, and all rights existing or derived hereunder shall utterly cease and determine, and the premises aforesaid, together with all improvements placed thereon, shall revert to and invest in the said first party, without any
declaration or forfeiture, or act of re-entry, and without any act whatsoever by the said first party to be performed; and all payments made hereon or hereunder, prior to such default, it is expressly agreed, shall be the ascertained and liquidated damages resulting to the first party by reason of such default, and the second party shall have no right, either in law or equity, for reclamation of compensation for monies so paid or improvements made; and if the second party, or any other person or persons, shall be in possession of such premises, or any part thereof, he or they will peacefully remove therefrom, or in default thereof, he or they may be treated as lessees holding over unlawfully after the expiration of a lease, and may be ousted and removed as such."

These two sections explain the whole scheme of purchase by installment. Whether it embodies any of those democratic ideals toward which the American public is aiming, there is very strong doubt, but the fact still remains that hundreds of poor men and women have swung into this system as the means to secure for themselves a roof to avert exposure to the weather. It is not surprising that so few succeed in paying off the debt. The poor man who does not want to become a public ward thus finds himself between the devil and the deep sea. Whichever way he turns, whether to the landlord as a tenant or to the real estate operator in the capacity of an installment buyer, he gets the worst of the transaction.

However, a remedy is suggested by one of the real estate men. He suggested the accumulation of more money in order to make an outright purchase; then the purchaser would give a mortgage on the
property for the balance. The advantage of this method over the other is quite obvious. In the first instance eventual ownership is doubtful, and in the second instance ownership is secured outright. All that which is needed on the part of the prospective purchaser is a little patience and perhaps more self-denial.

The other real estate dealer admits that the installment system is not the most advantageous, but he thinks it a decided advantage over mere renting. He is satisfied that the outright purchase is a better method of purchasing a home. This view, that is, the advantage of buying on the installment over renting, was found to prevail among most of the people consulted. The installment plan in spite of all its imperfections secured for the individual at least a decent place in which to live.

It would be an imperfect account of the economic life of the Negro in Des Moines if this subject were to be closed without saying a word or two about the part which the colored people are playing in the economic development of the race.

Heretofore the Negro business man, or the prospective Negro business man, was confronted with one great problem---the problem of patronage. He knew that he could expect no patronage from the whites. His concern was over the patronage of his own people. The black man, in spite of the reputation, unmerited to be sure, which he has had forced upon him as being the symbol of shiftlessness, is a much stable individual. The thing which determines the attitude of the colored man is the treatment to which he is subjected. In this particular, he is not different from any other individual. Given fair and decent treatment, the black man may
be depended upon to live up to the most exacting requirement, whether in business, religious, or political relations. The Negro was getting his money's worth from the white business men in town, and there was no reason to believe that he was going to change his patronage for any racial altruism. Nevertheless, this is exactly what happened. No sooner had a Negro business that could satisfy his peculiar needs been established than he changed his trade from the white establishment to that of his own people. The support which the Negro business men received from their brothers in black was so sudden that it almost swept them off their feet.

There are two reasons which may be given for the prompt support, which the Negro business received; the first may be found in the influx of colored people, small as it is, from the South. These people, accustomed as they were to trade with their own people in the Southern communities, eagerly sought for, and gave their business to the Negro business man. The second reason, is that the black man is tired of being patronized by the white business men. He feels within himself that the white business man is only solicitous about his money and cares little for his personal welfare. So long as there were no other channels through which his needs could be met he was satisfied, or rather, was compelled to accept the situation such as it was; but when the opportunity was presented to trade with people who had more than a passive interest in his patronage, he gladly embraced it. And the colored business men seem to have caught the idea and have thus far succeeded in making their own people feel that their interest in them went beyond their pocket books. Courtesy was the prevailing order in every business place, and at times it was even overdone to the embarrassment of the recipient. If the economic future of the Negro depended on
the patronage which the business men receive from their people it is safe to say that a bright future awaits him. The Negro business men, however, must awake to the unusual opportunity which has come to them. Although there is no fear of a reversion to the old order of things, for the group spirit is aroused and spreading, yet there is danger of drifting into a false idea of economic security. If the Negro business men wish to maintain the patronage of their black brothers they must make up their mind to live up to the unequivocal ethical standards which make for success. They must get away from the idea that the mere fact that because they are Negro business men the colored people must patronize them, poor and bad service to the contrary notwithstanding.

POLITICS

The political life and affiliation of the black man in Des Moines may be summed up in this sentence which was received in answer to an inquiry into the political life of the Negro: "All Negroes are born in the Republican Party," and one may add Des Moines Negroes are no exceptions. From all the information which could be gathered it must be concluded that the great majority of the Negroes who go to the polls on election day vote the Republican ticket. A statement made by a colored lawyer who is thoroughly familiar with the political situation was particularly interesting.

In regard to the colored man's allegiance to the Republican Party, it was said that one might hear a great deal of noise among the Negroes before election day expressing unequivocally their contempt for the Republican Party. One may even hear of the threats...
to bolt the party; but there is seldom if ever anything to the threats. The less scrupulous would do this to get a "rake off" from the Democrats, while those who are honest resort to this harmless deception to create the impression that they are acting independently of the majority of the Negro voters. But that is as far as both elements go; when election day comes they both are found casting their votes solidly for the Republican candidates.

The Negro vote in Des Moines, and in the State of Iowa for that matter, has relatively no effect on the politics of the community. Whether he voted for the Republican, the Democratic, or the Progressive party, would matter little in the determination of an election. The City of Des Moines is overwhelmingly Republican. The Negro vote merely swells the majority. It cannot be a decisive factor for the simple reason that there are not enough voters. The Republican party, therefore, is independent of the Negro vote. A change of political allegiance, on the part of the Negroes, that is to say, going over to the Democratic Party, would have no important effect on that party. Although it would increase the number of votes cast for that party it would not in any way influence the election. Realizing this fact, neither the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party makes any serious bid for Negro support. If any appeal is made to the Negro it is done merely as a matter of campaign routine.

The effect of such a condition upon the average Negro's valuation of himself as a political unit is apparent. There is not much enthusiasm displayed in political questions. He stays at home on election day and consoles himself with the thought that the "white folk" will get along without his vote "anyway". He assumes an attitude of indifference toward this most important obligation of
citizenship. Below are two tables which are intended to throw light on the relative strength of the Negro vote in Iowa:

**Table I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negro Males of Voting Age</th>
<th>Per Cent of Vote W &amp; B</th>
<th>Per Cent of Vote W &amp; B</th>
<th>Per Cent of Vote W &amp; B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>5,220</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>5,758</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>6,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negro Males Entitled to Vote</th>
<th>Per Cent of Vote W &amp; B</th>
<th>Per Cent of Vote W &amp; B</th>
<th>Per Cent of Vote W &amp; B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>5,230</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>5,758</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>5,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table I, the number of Negro men of voting age in 1905, was 5,230 or eight-tenths of one per cent of the total number of male voters in the state. In 1910, there was an increase of 528 over 1905 and the percentage was nine-tenths of one per cent. In 1915, the number reached 6,157 and the percentage, instead of increasing, decreased by one-tenth of one per cent.

Table II gives the number and percentage of Negroes in the State entitled to vote. In 1905, there were 5,230 male Negroes who were entitled to vote and they formed eight-tenths of one per cent of the total number of male voters entitled to vote. In 1910, the number was 5,758 and the percentage nine-tenths of one per cent. In 1915, there was an increase of 128 voters over 1910 and the percentage remained at nine-tenths of one per cent. It will be seen then, that the Negro's vote, constituting only eight or nine-tenths of one per cent of the total number of voters in the state, puts him out of the race as a decisive factor in city, county,
or state elections. The political parties can afford to look down upon him with impunity and the Negro voter must be satisfied with the negligible portion of the political plums which is handed out to him grudgingly.

The number of political positions which the Negro is occupying in Des Moines is small. For example, in the Post Office Department there are 8 colored employees: 2 maids at $26.50 a month; 2 janitors at $55.00 a month; 2 letter carriers at about $100 a month; 1 fireman at $66.50; 1 janitor at $55.00. The local government employs 5 men: 1 janitor at $70.00 a month; 1 clerk at $125; 1 machinist at $100; 1 dump man at $60.00; and 1 janitor, police department, at $70.00 a month; also one policeman and one policewoman. The State employs seven Negroes as follows: In the Historical Society Building, 1 porter at $75; 1 guard at $65. In the Capitol 1 messenger at $75; 2 janitors at $70 each; 1 fireman at $1,000 a year; 1 postmaster at $1,100 a year. It is to be regretted that more important positions are not held by the Negroes in governmental affairs, but considering their voting strength and the preparation which they have made to qualify them for better offices, one may conclude that the representation is in direct proportion to the population and service to the party in power in the state.

In regard to corrupt and illegal use of the ballot it was assured by Negro politicians, that the practice is dying. The Negro, they think, is beginning to realize that his vote has a much greater value than any sum of money which he may be offered. Close scrutiny at the polls and elsewhere has revealed no irregular practice. Asked whether they thought the Negroes were satisfied
with white leadership, they replied, that they were not. The colored voters are following the leadership of the white politicians because no capable Negro leader has arisen among them. Whenever such a leader appears he will have no difficulty in getting proper support.

RELIGION

The first colored man asked about the condition of the Negro church replied: "Every Negro in Des Moines belongs to the Church." And he came near telling the truth, but his mind was incapable of differentiating between church members and church devotees. Church members are those whose names are carried on the rolls of the various churches as a sort of "camouflage". On the other hand, church devotees are those who really constitute the backbone of the different churches. They meet their pastoral obligations regularly, and though their religious fervor keep alive these institutions. Of the former there are many in Des Moines, embracing about two thirds of the Negro population. The latter class constitute about one-third of the population. Since the church is the tangible manifestation of the religious spirit of the people it is proper that the part which they play in the life of the people should be defined. There are fourteen Negro churches in the city. Out of this number, however, only eight may be properly called churches. The number of churches and their denominational connection follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Baptist</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist, A. M. E. Zion</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethel A. M. E.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of God and Saints of Christ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Jumpers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Baptists and the various types of Methodists are the strongest. They number between them about 2400 members. The Congregational Church, which was one of the strongest Negro religious institutions in Des Moines, has so weakened within the last year or two that it cannot support a pastor. This came to pass because a small body of its members undertook to convert it into a temple of worship for a select caste. The Holy Jumpers, and the Church of God and the Saints of Christ, with an approximate membership of 250 each, are the mediums through which the ultra emotional and sensational express their peculiar religious impulses. Their places of worship are small shacks which are more or less out of harmony with modern ideas of sanitation. It is not necessary to enter into any discussion as to the ethical value of such institutions. They may have their place and fulfill some singular service in the lives of their adherents. That is a question which their members must decide for themselves. However, after making a careful survey of these religious institutions, the conclusion reached was that they are agencies through which the unlicensed and sensuous passions of their adherents find expression. Nothing seems more paganistic than the antics in which these people revel.

The two most prominent denominations are the Methodist, with its subdivisions, and the Baptist, also with two subdivisions. The most prosperous church is the Saint Paul's Methodist Church, with a standing membership of 900. A new brick church is now being built on the corner of Crocker and Twelfth Streets at an estimated cost of $45,000. When completed it will be the most beautiful
as well as the most modern Negro church in the community. Facilities are to be provided for a social center in the basement where the young people will find wholesome recreation. The present church occupies a site on Second and Center Streets. The writer attended one of the Sunday services and was struck by the sobriety with which the service was conducted. The sermon was timely, and, although not scholarly, was far from being mediocre. The pastor is comparatively new in the field. Yet it is through his untiring efforts that a new church is in process of erection.

Supplementing the immediate and direct religious activities of the church, there are various agencies such as the Sunday School, with a membership of about 200, and auxiliaries and clubs, each of which devotes itself to some peculiar phase of church work. Some of the activities with which these clubs are identified are the raising of funds for maintenance, assistance and visitation of sick members, and the attending to the charitable work of the church.

The Sunday School is not so well attended as it might be. The reason for this is because the church is not centrally located. It is too far from the group center. Parents of children who cannot find time to accompany them to the Sunday School hesitate, because of the great distance, to send them to the church unattended.

Another Methodist A.M.E. Zion Church, the membership of which has passed the 500 mark, is located on Fourth Street, East Side. The value of the church which has a seating capacity of about 300 is estimated at $2,500. It has also an active Sunday School as well as auxiliaries and clubs, the functions of which are similar to those of other churches.
Ashbury M. E. Church, which is situated on Crocker Street, has a membership of about 100, and conducts its services in a basement. The church originally owned its plant but on account of its inability to meet its obligations it was taken over by creditors. In spite of this disadvantage the church continues to exercise its spiritual influence. It also has an active Sunday School and auxiliaries and clubs which attend to the general welfare of the church and its members.

The most successful Baptist Church is the Corinthian on 15th and Linden Streets. This church has a membership of 500, and is valued at $25,000. It is fairly modern in structure and amply provides for the spiritual comfort of its members. The actual work of the church, like the Methodist, is supplemented by the work of the auxiliaries, clubs, and Sunday School. There is an active Sunday School with a membership of over 100. Attendance is regular and a normal average is maintained throughout the year. The work of the auxiliaries and church clubs centers in raising funds for maintenance, visiting, and ministering to the sick and needy of the church.

The other churches are the Maple Street Baptist, East Maple Street, with a membership of about 100; the Union Baptist on 16th and McCormack Streets, also with a membership of 100; and Bethel A.M.E., with a membership of about 200. These are more or less similar in their functions and do not differ in policy from the larger churches.

The idea of church always suggests a wholesome influence, not only upon the members but upon the community in general. Inquiries and observation had partly convinced the writer that there was
something lacking about the churches in the city. All about, one saw young men and young women who were virtually going from pillar to post in search of recreation. This condition was more noticeable among the young men. Nothing is more natural, for, women, no matter how restless they may be, are more inclined to remain at home, at least during the day. This is not true with men, however. Those who were not working swarmed in the pool rooms, barber shops with their mysterious side or back rooms, drug stores, in fact in any place which offered the slightest possibility for social intercourse. Inquiry as to whether there was a Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in the city for colored persons, received a negative answer. Further inquiry as to what the church or any other agency was doing to furnish wholesome recreation for these young people was answered also in the negative.

It was not in the least a matter of surprise that the attitude of the Negro Church on this most vital social question should be a passive one. Negro Churches are often bitter enemies to all forms of recreation. In this they seem even more reactively than the white churches of similar denomination. The task was to seek the cause for any condition which appeared abnormal, but realizing the delicacy of all questions of a religious nature it seemed best to interview first the laymen of prominence in the various churches, and then the ministers.

From them it was learned that the churches had done nothing up to that time in the matter of furnishing recreation for their young people. They all admitted that the situation was an alarming one which needed immediate attention and remedy, but only
comparatively few thought the churches ought to commit themselves to any program of recreation. A few were willing to compromise on some form of recreation but drew the line strictly on dancing, billiards, pool, and card games. Indeed they could see nothing but eternal damnation waiting those who participated in these forms of recreation, no matter how innocent they might be.

These inquiries brought out a few surprising results. One of the most prominent Negroes in the city, prominent both in religious and in secular life and a graduate of the State University, from whom the writer was fully expecting a liberal opinion on the matter of recreation, expressed views which were just about the most narrow received.

Another interview was held with the most prominent colored woman, not only in Des Moines, but throughout the state. She is one of the most active members of the Baptist Church, and in addition is a real active social worker. Through her individual effort she was able to establish a home for girls, a semi-settlement house, of which more will be said later. She had a really liberal point of view on the question of recreation for young people under the sponsorship of the church. Her thought was that the churches were making a mistake in not furnishing wholesome recreation for the young people. She explained how she was trying to meet the situation in the home in which she is interested; but the influence and scope of her work was limited. A few business men and one or two professional men stated categorically that the attitude of the churches on recreation was responsible for the unhealthy state of affairs among the young people.
The ministers interviewed were almost unanimous in the belief that it was not within the province of the church to furnish recreation, and especially recreation of the kind which the young people demand. The most reactionary among them was a Baptist preacher. He did not seem to recognize any wholesome effect which recreation may have on the moral conduct of young people. Dancing, pool, card games and all commercialized amusements came within his pastoral taboo. The pastor of St. Paul's A.M.E. Church entertained a more liberal view and recognized the responsibility of the church for the spiritual, moral, and physical welfare of its young people.

On the whole, religious conditions in Des Moines are far from being wholesome. Too much emphasis is laid on the "bread and butter" end and not sufficient on the spiritual side of religion. One influence seems to be potent in the subordination of the spiritual to the material side of religion, and that is competition. Competition between the churches is keener than competition between the business houses. Its visible effect may be noticed in the composition of the congregation, and the spiritual influence exerted in the community. It is said that the size of individual contribution to the Sunday offerings and other collections was the sole qualification for a high position in the church. A rather deplorable situation is thus created. Churches with a high sense of spiritual rectitude are forced to tolerate the presence of persons whose private lives are the reproach of the community, because they know that if they were turned out they would be received with open arms by the competing churches.
SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NEGRO

If the religious life of the Negro is lacking in moral healthfulness, social conditions among them lack much that would recommend them to a social worker. There are many agencies which contribute to the existing state of affairs. The first and most potent is lack of wholesome recreation; the second is the absence of a pure moral ideal; the third is the want of strong unselfish leadership; and the fourth, plain ignorance.

In the first place there are no Negro recreational centers in Des Moines where young and old may find some form of amusement to satisfy their peculiar needs. Unlike other large cities of that size, Des Moines does not boast of a single Negro amusement house, either commercialized or otherwise. Not even the moving picture---has attracted Negro capital. A public dance hall and a Masonic Hall seem to satisfy their desire for recreative centers. There are no club houses either open or restricted, and the better class of people, whose cravings for recreation cannot be appeased by the kind of amusement which a public dance hall offers, find themselves without means to satisfy this natural impulse.

The public dance hall is a skating rink converted into a dancing pavilion which provides cheap pay-as-you-enter dances for all those who are able and willing to pay the price. There is an attempt at legal regulation, that is, the city ordinance requires that there be a matron in the hall to supervise the dancing and to see that young people who are under age are not allowed. There is also a special policeman on duty to preserve order. But dancing is wholly promiscuous and the supervision lax. The hall was visited and young girls, under age were found dancing with persons who had all the appearances of hardened criminals! It appeared to be a
place of rendezvous for questionable adventurers, and it was found
difficult to reconcile oneself to the presence of young girls in
that atmosphere. On inquiring of some of the prominent church
people what was being done to wean these young people from such
an environment; the answer was—"Nothing". The question,
"What are the mothers doing?" also received a negative answer.
The mothers were, some of them, powerless; others were indifferent;
still others could see no harm in it. When asked where they
expected to recruit the mothers of the future generation, it was
evident that they had not given that matter a thought.

There was mentioned above a home for young girls conducted
by a prominent Negro woman. One of the problems which this
conscientious woman is trying to solve is that of furnishing
wholesome recreation for the girls. Some of the activities in
which this home is engaged are the providing of lectures, sewing,
classes in domestic science, and wholesome social intercourse.
Her effort to counteract the influence of the public dance hall
is very commendable, but because of her religious affiliation
she must not go far in this direction. For example, dancing,
which is the chief attraction for young people, is not permitted,
dancing being one of the forms of amusement which is unequivocally
tabooed by the Baptist denomination.

Under wholesome socialization, the girls are taught the
rudiments of etiquette as the proper manner to meet and entertain
young men, and the proper form of control. This is no easy task.
The girls, who are accustomed to meet their male friends in the
most informal manner, cannot get into the spirit of the work.
Moreover, to one who spends sixteen hours, more or less, in a white woman's kitchen where nothing but drudgery occupies her time and that often supplemented by abuse, instructions in etiquette have the same effect as mockery. Any time spent in this form of activity she considers as so much precious time wasted out of her well-earned eight hours for rest, or perhaps, out of the society of her male companions.

Her social service work extends beyond the home itself and takes up the problem of juvenile delinquents. Homes are sought and the juvenile offenders, who are paroled under her care, are placed, and those who cannot be placed in the community are sent to Davenport. Care is taken to see that the homes in which these young malefactors are placed have a wholesome and healthful atmosphere.

There are no girls' organizations to furnish amusement of any kind except that provided by the churches, to the hundreds of young girls that are growing up in the community. Many attempts have been made by the girls themselves to organize clubs but none have had more than a short existence. The greatest difficulty seems to be that the girls lack the qualities which make for the success of such undertakings. They lack woefully the proper incentive; in fact, they are not ambitious. Conditions among the young men are different. They, at least, try to maintain organizations which may be brought together to furnish wholesome recreation. For example, the "Royal Eight Club" comprises eight young men who at their own expense hold monthly dances for their
friends. These dances are private in every sense and are properly chaperoned, the entire expense being borne by the members themselves.

Even if the girls are without any means whereby amusement of a non-commercial kind can be furnished, the women are well supplied, or rather, over-supplied with organizations. There are at present twenty clubs other than the church clubs which furnish women recreation of all kinds. Among these are the local Chapter of the National Federation of Women's Clubs, and ten state federation clubs. The activities of these clubs may be classified under five headings: educational, social, economic, political, and recreational. Under the educational heading such studies as dramatic art, literature, including Negro literature, and the fine arts, are conducted. There are also study clubs which take up special, live, and timely questions as well as instructions in health and hygiene. Under the heading social, social service work is undertaken, and a young women's department is maintained. Under economics, household economics is taken up, and all the phases of the maintenance of the home are intelligently discussed with effective suggestions for improvement.

Under the heading political, the women are taught the significance and the proper use of the ballot, the workings of the party machinery and the organization of the state and federal governments. Under recreational there are to be found various agencies looking after proper recreation for children, and those affording recreation and amusement to the members themselves. The dramatic club occasionally presents plays of a classical nature, while other
agencies like the card clubs furnish recreation of another kind.

Finally there is the University Women's Club which is made up of college and university women of color. It has a membership of fifteen all of whom are married and reside in Des Moines. The activities are purely literary and there is an attempt to keep alive university and college traditions. Aside from these fifteen college women there are about five others scattered over the state, making a total of twenty college women in the state. Then there is the local chapter of the National Association of Colored Women's Club. This association consists of several departments, chief among which are the W.C.T.U. and the social service. The president of the local chapter is now engaged in raising funds to build a memorial to Frederick Douglas at Anacosta, Virginia, the home of the great and indefatigable agitator and leader.

The municipality of Des Moines does not provide any distinctly Negro recreation ground. However, a small recreation ground on Ninth and Park Streets furnished recreation for both white and black children. The playground is in charge of a colored matron. Among the forms of amusement, there is a wading pool which is well patronized and which is inadequate for the number of children in that neighborhood.

There is no single place to which may point as the Negro social center. Properly speaking there are as many social centers as there are denominations, for each church is in itself a social center. The disadvantage of having such a diversity in the social life of the people is obvious. As might be expected under such
existing conditions there is no concerted action, competition is created, and a mad struggle for supremacy is the result. Competition between rival churches may be legitimate, healthy and, even desirable, but when carried to such an extent that it threatens the destruction of the solidarity of the group, it is time to put a limitation upon it. Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the importance of having united social action within the social group. At present the people experience the greatest difficulty in coming together in order to carry into execution any definite program which they believe will be to the interest of the Negro community. The situation is a grave one, yet there is no immediate remedy in sight.

There is no instance on record in which the whites and blacks have come together for social purposes. It is true that Negro entertainments of a higher order, such as when some distinguished and talented person of color is brought by some organization to Des Moines for the purpose of raising money for some project or other, are attended by white persons who sympathize with the Negro, yet the number of those who do is so small that it is in reality negligible. The opening of the Army Y.M.C.A. (colored) the opening of the Army Club, also colored, and an emancipation celebration were attended during the Christmas holidays. These occasions constituted epoch making events in the history of the colored people, and were widely advertised, yet the total number of white persons attending was less than twelve.

There is no perceptible tendency toward a lowering of the social barrier between the two races. Both blacks and whites are equally determined that there shall be no promiscuous mixing of
the races. The relation between them is more strained than it had been within the past decade, and the gradual influx of Negroes, swelling the number, tends to add to the restrictions imposed on the colored people. Speaking of strained relations does not mean that there is any active hostility. Indeed, there seems to be the greatest cordiality between the two peoples.

Discrimination against the blacks is practiced everywhere, but it takes more active form in the theatres, restaurants, and hotels. In few restaurants in Des Moines are colored people served. In the theatres they are given inferior seats in remote sections of the house; in a few playhouses orchestra seats for the evening performances are denied them, while they may obtain such seats for the matinee performances. There are no first class or second class hotels that will accommodate colored people. One or two of the inferior hotels furnish accommodations, but even in these the accommodations is limited.

Inter-marriage between colored and white persons is tabooed by both races. The sentiment is even very strong against such alliances. There is no statute in the State of Iowa which prohibits inter-marriage, but licenses for such marriages are usually denied under some pretext. Among the ministers of the church inter-marriage is discouraged, and it is said that no white minister would marry a white and a black person. There is said to exist a secret understanding between the ministers of both the black and the white churches not to perform such marriages. This agreement, however, is not always respected; moreover, no definite information on that question could be secured from reliable sources.
The prevailing idea that Negroes are willing to undergo any sacrifice provided that they eventually are received on a "social equality" with the whites does not bear out in any section of the country, and Des Moines is no exception. Miscegenation of any kind is regarded as the violation of the taboo, and persons who so offend the group find themselves automatically deprived of their places of usefulness within it. In other words, a marriage between a colored and a white person brings down the disapproval of both their groups, and ostracism is the penalty exacted for the offense. So pronounced is this idea that some who disregarded the custom and contracted such alliances were forced by the sheer weight of the group disapproval to withdraw from the Negro community and establish a sort of a colony on the East Side. Speaking of this situation, a colored man of high standing in the Baptist Church said that in one or two cases white persons who had so married, evidently in all sincerity, made several attempts to affiliate themselves with the church but were forced to drop out because of the cold reception which they received.

The writer lived in a house where a colored army officer lived with a white wife, a woman, by the way, of fairly good intelligence. It was most amusing to listen to the remarks exchanged by the colored women of the house. In the first place they could see no good in, and had little respect for, a Negro who took unto himself a white wife. In the second place no argument or persuasion could induce them to believe that the woman was anything more than a common, hard-pressed prostitute who grabbed this colored man
as a matter of last resort to save herself from degradation. The
fact that the woman was working as a stenographer in the city did
not cause them to modify their preposterous conclusion. It was
another case of the cat and the dog and there is no reason to
believe that white women would be any more reasonable in their
attitude toward a white man who married a black woman. Such a
feeling will always exist so long as our social order remains
unchanged.

The information gathered on the matter of illicit relations
between the two races was proof that there is not much danger in
that direction; nevertheless, conditions are not entirely satisfac-
tory. The fact that such relationships do exist means that racial
consciousness has not been thoroughly aroused. Illicit relations
between two peoples is a pathogenic social condition which needs
the immediate attention of social surgeons. If legal inter-
marrige tends to menace the purity of the white race, surely
illegal relationship is a greater menace.

The opinion of various white persons prominent in the state,
county, and municipal activities of Des Moines on the Negro and
Negro life in the city caused one to wonder how much better the
life of the black man might be in Des Moines, and throughout the
country, for that matter, if one-third of all white persons were
as liberal-minded. It is assumed that the gentlemen and ladies
interviewed were sincere, and that the opinions expressed repre-
sented their honest convictions. "The trouble with the white
people", said a high state official, "is that they expect more
of the colored people than they themselves would be willing to
give were they to be called upon. Those white persons who are
afflicted with race prejudice exhibit extreme narrowness of mind. To expect the Negro race in fifty years to accomplish what it took the white race thousands of years is more than unreasonable. There is no wrong that the Negro commits that a white man will not duplicate. The thing which the Negro needs is an opportunity and that is just what he is not given". This opinion is typical of those entertained by all interviewed.

A white person was not met who thought that the Negroes were not doing well. All were proud of their black fellow-citizens. Every one referred to the new movement among the Negroes—the movement, or ambition, to own real estate—with as much pride as the Negroes themselves displayed. "For the last five years," one prominent state educator remarked, "I have been watching the evolution of a certain colored man's home which I pass every day. This case is mentioned because it is fairly typical of what the colored people are doing to acquire property. This colored man first began with a small house to which he made yearly additions and now owns a comfortable home with nice back and front yards which are just as neat as any white man's home". The only trouble that can be found with these liberal-minded persons was that there were too few of them to provoke a readjustment of the social order.

On the whole the social life of the Negro in the City of Des Moines is not very healthy. There is need of an entire reorganization of the social fabric, and the creation of a higher social standard, with a higher value placed upon it. There should be better means adopted to safeguard the purity and innocence of the
younger generation. The lack of a strong social leader in the community is responsible to a greater or lesser extent for the unhealthfulness of social conditions. But the absence of such a leader should not deter the people from the husbanding of their future human resources.

MORALITY

It is no easy task for one to undertake to discuss the morals of a community in which he has lived only two weeks. There is every justification for any one who might take issue with the result of this rather brief period of observation, but when it is understood that this short observation in the field is supplemented by the opinions of reliable persons who have lived in the community the greater part or all of their lives, then a strong approach to authenticity would seem to be given to the findings of the observer.

The survey was undertaken with an open mind, nothing having been heard, either favorable or unfavorable, about the morals of the blacks of Des Moines. Any impression gained or any conclusion formed was the result of reaction toward conditions as they were seen, or as they were related by persons whose sincerity and honesty there is no reason to question. However, it is particularly unfortunate that such an investigation should be made at this time, for conditions cannot be said to be normal. The war and the Negro training camp at Camp Dodge have completely changed the economic and social life of the people; and especially is this true of the moral condition of the community. This state of affairs is not true of the blacks alone. The daily papers of Des Moines during the short period of residence were running sensational
articles about the growth of vice in the community since the arrival of the white soldiers. White is specified because the parties to the controversy were not in the least concerned with vice in the Negro community. Taking into consideration, then, the abnormal conditions, this section, if it is to be of any value, must be considered to a great extent as the point of view of the people themselves, whose knowledge of conditions goes back beyond the entry of the United States into the European War.

In the discussion of religious conditions in a previous section, mention was made of the peculiar situation in the Negro churches. It was pointed out that women and men, particularly women, whose reputations were questionable were permitted to hold high offices in the church. The reason which was assigned for this was keen rivalry between the churches. The question now presents itself whether the church is not merely reflecting the temper of its congregation? Todd in his "Theory of Social Progress", tells us that a congregation on entering the church does not leave its morals, traditions, and customs, at the door, as one leaves one's rubbers and umbrellas. Nothing can be truer than this. Now since the church tolerates, and would even go to the extent of cannonizing a creature of ill-repute, will not the congregation do the same in its secular life? The answer to this question is obvious. The church is no better than its congregation. If the moral standard of the church is low it must necessarily follow that the moral standard of the congregation is not up to par.

A visit to a public dance and what was seen there---girls below age dancing with men bearing all the earmarks of immorality---would set one thinking, and his thought would go beyond the girls
to the homes from which they came—to their parents, especially their mothers. It required no other incentive and the very next day the inquiry into the moral life of the people was begun. The information which was received was far from reassuring.

From the information gathered from all sources, it is to be inferred that the moral life of the Negro in Des Moines presents the greatest problem to the social group. A double standard of living appears to be the ideal toward which the majority of the people is unconsciously striving. Indeed virtue seems to be subordinated to licentiousness. The majority of the people, it would appear, have set up an ideal, which, if pursued, would transmit to the future generations an inheritance of immorality and degeneracy from which they would be slow in recovering.

Marital infidelity seems to be practiced without restraint and without regard to its effect upon the home. "There are more broken homes in Des Moines", said a man who is in a position to know, "than any one would imagine; and since the Negro officers' training camp was established last June at Camp Dodge the number has more than doubled. It seems," he continued, "that the colored women think of wrecking their homes so that their ill-conceived ideas of sexual independence may be carried out". He went on to relate instances in which women openly defied their husbands in order to satisfy their feminine curiosity. This is called "feminine curiosity" because all the cases cited by this gentleman were instances in which the women were in fairly comfortable circumstances. In the case of the embryo officers there may be found some reason, for it is said that women will lose their heads in the presence of a uniform even though it be a convict's.
But a well-balanced woman with a healthy sense of the irreparableness of a damaged reputation would exercise the greatest control in the presence of even the irresistible uniform. The fact that she does succumb to its allurements shows an individual constitutional weakness which is dangerous in a person into whose hands is placed the destiny perhaps of children.

The opinions of the leading colored women were not less discouraging. One of them, whose optimism on the race question oftens leads her to underestimate the gravity of the problem confronting the virtuous women of the community, admitted that the situation was not satisfactory, but she thought there was still some hope left of remedying it. She thought a great deal was being done toward alleviating the moral condition of the women by the local chapter of the National Federation of Women's Club, through a system of lectures at regular intervals. But she concluded that we cannot accomplish a great deal with the attitude of mind of the saner women themselves as it is. "In our clubs", she continued, "there are members active and holding high offices, whose reputations would make any one blush. Yet they are tolerated, are even given the opportunity to aspire to leadership. What can we do in the face of that?"

The opinion of another woman, also colored, the wife of a prominent business man, followed the same trend of thought. She has not been long enough in the community to become adapted to conditions, consequently her opinion ought to carry some weight. "Really", she said, "I don't know what to say of conditions in Des Moines, but I know they are terrible". She belongs to the
dramatic, economic, social, and study clubs. "Our study club is handicapped because of the fact that many of the members are imperfectly educated. We have therefore, to go slow in order that they may keep up with us. There is no lack of clubs", she added "the thing which is lacking is sound moral principles among the women and a lessening of the spirit of competition and rivalry". She attributed the prevalence of the double standard of living to the desire of the women to outdo one another in those things which are superficial. Some of them with limited incomes resort to immoral practices in order to realize sufficient money to carry on the social competition. She cited conditions in one of her clubs as an example. "The members", she said, "take turns at entertaining the club after meetings which are usually held in their homes. The serving of a light lunch after meeting was introduced and at once took root. The members have seized upon this social formality and made it an occasion to outdo one another, and as a consequence what was once a light lunch has evolved into elaborate spreads with no saying where it will end. I know some of the members are not in position to provide the kind of spread which they furnish. I hesitate and often refuse to accept the hospitality of some of the women because I know their moral principles are not sound. My circle of friends is very narrow. It is not because I wish to be exclusive, but it is simply a matter of personal protection. There are very few women here that I consider fit morally to associate with, and yet I meet them everywhere in polite society. What can we do!" An underlying fatalistic trend is noticeable. It is useless to kick against the pricks.
The opinion of another woman of the race, public spirited, a public officer, philanthropist, social worker, and a woman of unquestionable reputation whose opinion carries with it the seal of authority, is given. She was more practical. She could not help being so, for her daily work brought her into contact with realities—the practical side of the human question. She smiled, when asked about the morality of the community. "If you were to come to me," she said, "and were to ask me if you could get a young woman that would make you a good wife, I would have to stop and think, and think for a long time, and when I got through thinking I would hardly be able to name a dozen. That sounds very bad, doesn't it? Yet it is true. But", she went on to explain, "there are a number of good women in Des Moines—married women, middle aged—whose reputations are unblemished. Ah", she said, "if you were in my place, if you had to be in the police station every morning and had to help some of our women to get out of trouble with the law, you wouldn't think a great deal of them!"

"What brings them into conflict with the law so often?" was asked her. The writer had already examined the police court records for the last two years and possessed at least a fair knowledge of the line of cleavage between the women and the law.

"Keeping and being found in disorderly houses, and drunkenness," she continued, "Sometimes I am shocked, on finding women, considered from all appearance, respectable, sane, and moral, locked up in jail awaiting trial. Of course, I hustle them out on parole as fast as I can and send them home before they are missed".
"And who do you think is responsible for this condition?" she was asked.

"Many things are responsible", she replied, "but the greatest of all are the men, the worthless, good-for-nothings, who live from the proceeds of the women's immorality. These women, some of them hard working, resort to the trafficking of their bodies to maintain able-bodied men in ease and comfort. The majority of well-dressed young men you see hanging around pool rooms all day long belong to that breed of degenerates. I believe a good many of these young women are morally irresponsible". She then went on to relate the case of a particular young woman whom she befriended. She was of degenerate parents and she too was the victim of syphilis, and apparently feeble-minded. Time and again she would go out to some filthy hovel and pull her out of the clutches of some degenerate man.

For the younger generation she had nothing very encouraging to say. She thought their parents were responsible. "Wherever that idea of a double standard of living came from, whoever introduced it into the life of the people, it certainly has taken a firm hold, and goodness knows where it will end."

Perhaps the opinions of two prominent men who come into contact with the people in their daily life may add more weight to this estimate. "I am in a position to know a great deal more about the people in Des Moines," said one of them, "than the average man, because of the nature of my business. I must say that I am bitterly disappointed with the women here, especially the young women. I am also disappointed with the young men. In fact, it
would be better if I were to say that the whole social life of the people is far from being satisfactory. I refer to the morality of the community. Mind you, I do not mean to infer that all the people are immoral, what I mean to say is that the moral condition of the community could be much higher than it is at present. I do wish that something would happen to make our young women and young men realize that virtue is the greatest goal toward which all human beings should direct their course. Here I am with a family, and really there are not fifty families in the city that I would invite to my house, because of their questionable lives. Yet they hold prominent places in our churches and the women's organizations. Why, some of these very women have been convicted for immoral conduct.

"Can't you people do anything to better the situation?" she was asked.

"Who is going to attempt it? I see the need of a reform but I couldn't take the initiative for it would ruin my business."

"Why can't the women initiate a sort of moral boycott?"

"It wouldn't work. Moreover, they wouldn't know where to begin and where to end. In other words they wouldn't know where to draw the line. You see, the good women are helpless."

The opinion of the other man is as follows. His business is so vitally interrelated with the moral conduct of his people that his opinion is considered hardly second in importance to that of the public spirited woman whose opinion is given above.

"Yes," he began, "there is no way to get around it. The morality of the colored people in the city could be a great deal better. Many cases of women are brought to my notice who occupy
high places in our church and society whose conduct is far from becoming. Take the number of women who are taken to police headquarters for keeping and being found in disorderly houses. Now a good many belong to the church! While a great percentage of the delinquents are professionals, many are women who had no business there. I attribute this condition to two things—the police and the worthless men who prey on the women.

"I say the police are responsible in part because of the fact that they will not give publicity to cases involving women who are in fairly good circumstances." He cites an instance in which the facts of a raid upon a colored disorderly house leaked out to the press. The person involved held a fairly prominent position in the society of the community. The next issue of the papers which printed the account of the raid came out with a denial from police headquarters of any knowledge of having raided the house in question. Another means of concealing the identity of the persons found in these houses of disrepute, is to allow them to register in the police record under an assumed name. He believes that if every case were given the publicity which it deserves there would be a decided change in the moral conduct of the people.

Speaking of the parasitic men who live on the price of the women's chastity, he said, "I have naught but utter contempt for them, and I have less respect for a woman who condescending to sink to that level. There is absolutely no sane reason why a woman should traffic her body to support a strapping, healthy-looking degenerate".
In answer to a question he added: "The mothers are responsible for the presence of the young girls at the public dance halls. The mothers do not seem to exercise any kind of control over their children. What kind of generation can we expect from future mothers who spend their evenings in public dance halls with persons of questionable repute?"

Social conditions, as stated before, are not normal. There you have a training camp with over 4,000 young colored men, the greatest proportion coming from Alabama, illiterate, crude, and in all probability vicious, thrown upon a community heretofore in a slumbering condition. The novelty of the thing itself may cause the people, especially the weak and sentimental element of the community, to lose their heads. And in addition to that you have the inevitable camp followers.

However, there is no reason why the morality of the community should be so lax. There are enough strong, moral men and women to reconstruct the social order. The greatest need is for a leader, but is the group capable of producing such a person?

The moral situation of the Negro community, as it has been portrayed, presents a rather gloomy spectacle. But conditions are not all bad. There is a stronger force for good, a force which represents the concerted efforts of hundreds of colored women whose strong moral character is irreproachable, and this force is at work within the social group, bent on creating a moral atmosphere in the community; and thus to offset the sinister influences that are at work trying to undermine the moral stability of the Negro community. After all, the same conditions exist
in the white community as one finds in that of the Negro. In the winter of 1918, a very live war was waged by two white factions in the press about the moral conditions of the white community. One faction held that the city of Des Moines was the refuge of an army of disreputable women and men who preyed on the white soldiers from the army training camp. The other faction was equally positive that Des Moines was the most moral city in the West. Recently however, the daily newspapers of Des Moines announced that the city has been purged of its vicious class. This fact is mentioned here merely to show that the city suffered generally from an epidemic of vice which threatened the stability of the social order. This vice wave affected both the Negro and the white communities in the same manner. The one point which it is important to note, therefore, is the persistent and determined efforts of the women of moral integrity to stamp out this immoral influence from the community. The Negro women cannot receive too much praise for their part in the noble struggle.

THE NEGRO AND CRIME

If Des Moines is imbued with a cosmopolitan spirit in all her governmental functions, that is, if she observes no racial differences in recording governmental statistics, the city is scrupulously observant in one phase of the life of the community—that of criminal statistics. In this connection alone was it possible to get detailed and definite figures, thanks to the courtesy of the chief of police, who placed the record of the department at the disposal of the writer.

In looking over these records care was exercised so as not to take into account, except as a possible basis of comparison,
crimes committed since the entry of the United States into the World's War, and especially since June, 1917. However, it will be interesting to note that during the month of June (1917) more arrests were made than during any previous month. The number was 959, the nearest approach to it was 950 in March of the same year, and 950 in August, 1916. The officers' training camp for Negroes was established in June, 1917. The number of arrests among colored people then was 94, the highest number ever attained, and in July it broke even the high June record by reaching 141. The peculiar thing about it is that the total number of arrests was only 783. The reason is obvious. It is not because the Negro population became suddenly crime-mad, far from it. The cause may be traced to camp followers—camp despoilers would be a better name—who swarmed down upon the community from all over the country, man and women alike. Most of the arrests were made for gambling and intoxication, or purposes of investigation. In the last case they were usually released promptly.

The police record began in April, 1916. Consequently, the figures were taken from that time to December of the same year. The total number of arrests, black and white, for the nine months ending December, 1916, was 6,776. Of this number, 621 were colored. The total average per month was 753, and for colored alone 69. The percentage of crime committed by the blacks for the nine months according to population was 7.1 and that of whites 5.9. The Negro population of Des Moines constitutes 3.84 per cent of the total population. One point which must be
taken into consideration is that arrest does not necessarily mean guilt or conviction. For example, out of the 621 Negroes that were arrested during the period beginning in April and ending in December, 266 were released after investigation. The following table shows the number of arrests made each month from April, 1916 to December, 1916.

**TABLE III**

NUMBER OF NEGROES AND WHITE PERSONS ARRESTED APRIL, 1916-DECEMBER, 1916, AND PROPORTION OF ARRESTS AMONG EACH RACE TO POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total No. of Arrests</th>
<th>No. of Negroes</th>
<th>No. of Negroes Convicted</th>
<th>% of Negro Population</th>
<th>No. of whites arrested</th>
<th>% of white population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These arrests and convictions were for the following offences: assault and battery, carrying concealed weapons, unlawful assault, larceny, gambling, intoxication, being present in disorderly houses, and vagrancy. In the month of April, for example, there were 4 cases of assault and battery; 2 of carrying concealed weapons; 2 of unlawful assault, 1 of larceny, 1 of vagrancy, 13 of frequenting or keeping disorderly houses. About twenty per cent of those
arrested and convicted were women, the greatest proportion was for drunkenness, and keeping or being found in disorderly houses.

These figures serve to bring out two points, first, that the percentage of criminality among the Negroes in Des Moines is 1.2 greater than that among the whites; and, second, that the percentage of criminality is high among the women, that is, if 20 percent is considered high. The percentage of white women offenders corresponds to that of the black women. The figures for the women must be accepted as merely approximate because of the leniency with which the police are inclined to treat women offenders.

The thing particularly noticeable about these figures is the nature of the offences for which the women were arrested. According to the records, drunkenness and presence in or the maintaining of disorderly houses were the chief offences. These two kinds of offences it would appear, go hand in hand in a "dry" town. One thing which suggests itself that the number of such houses—"buffet flats"—must be large, and the enforcement of regulative laws lax. The degenerating effect of these dives upon the morality of the community needs no analytic eye in order to be seen. It is small wonder then, that the morality of the group is in such a state of stagnation.

In explaining the high percentage of crime among the women, one of the Negro lawyers said that a good many of the women arrested belong to that type who traffic their bodies to support men in ease and comfort. To secure trade these women must
frequent these disorderly houses, and when these places are "pulled", they, and not their degenerate dependents, are arrested--the men being many miles from the scene. There is no law which can reach these parasites. This fact is well known to the police but they are powerless. However, an attempt is being made on the one hand to arrest the men and women as they land from the trains, and on the other hand, through a system of inspection for sexual diseases inaugurated by the Health Department, the habitual offenders are isolated. But this is a bold process, since there is no statute authorizing such proceedings. The lawyers naturally receive big fees for their service in rescuing these women on writs of habeas corpus.

Crime among the colored people does not differ radically from crime among the whites. Now and again a crime-wave sweeps over the city and for two or three weeks at a time Negroes get involved in grave offences. The crime of murder is very uncommon among them.

Juvenile delinquency is alike in both black and white children with the advantage on the side of the colored. In proportion to the percentage of child population the colored delinquents are in the minority, according to a former probation officer. The current idea that Negro criminals are more desperate than the whites is unfounded in this expert's opinion. The attitude assumed towards these men, and the kind of treatment extended determines their behavior. In his experience as probation officer he does not recall ever having cause for complaint about the desperateness of colored offenders.

The high percentage of crime among the colored people in Des Moines corresponds to the condition all over the country, especi-
ally in the South. While in the South and in many of the Northern states this situation is inevitable because of the double application given to the law, namely, one application to the white offender, another to the colored offender. There is no reason why such a condition should exist in Des Moines, where every effort is made to decide cases on their merits rather than on the texture of the hair or the color of the skin. There can be only one reason for this, and that is, "repeaters". Take the case of arrest and conviction for gambling. The convicted man pays his fine, goes out, repeats the same offence, and returns again, giving, as usual, an assumed name. This is the only satisfactory reason which can be advanced for the greater percentage of crime among the Negroes than among the whites.

**POVERTY**

Extreme poverty is practically unknown among the colored people. So few cases of indigency were reported that the Secretary of the Associated Charities was led to conclude that the colored people were prosperous. The idea which is gathered from this impression is that the blacks no matter what their economic status in the community may be, do not seek aid, to any great extent, from the charitable institutions of the community. The percentage of needy cases among the Negroes reported to the Associated Charities is smaller than those among the whites. However, there are a few families and individuals who find it somewhat difficult to keep their heads above water, and which, in consequence, are compelled to apply for assistance.

During the fiscal year ending December, 1917, the Overseer
of the Poor handled 146 cases. Twenty-seven of these were colored and the balance white. Of the twenty-seven cases, nineteen were still on the list on January 2, 1918, and were distributed as follows: ten desertion, nine widowed and sick. Of this number only two cases were permanent, and the others temporary. According to the Secretary of the Humane Society the number of colored widows applying for coal is much less in proportion to population than among the whites.

In seeking the cause of this alleged prosperity, it was found that the blacks were really in circumstances which made them self-supporting. The percentage of the involuntary unemployment was very small. Indeed, it seemed that everybody who was physically able and cared to work found plenty to do. On the other hand the churches were doing, through their church clubs, all in their power to relieve their distressed members. Then there were the women's clubs with special departments to take care of indigent families and individuals. In other wards, effort is being made within the social group to take care of its needy cases.

SECRET SOCIETIES

There are at least fourteen Negro Secret Societies in Des Moines, six of which are women's branches of the male organizations. So far as it was possible to ascertain there were two Masonic Lodges, one Odd Fellows; one Knights Templar; one Knights of Pythias; one United Brothers of Friendship; one Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World. The women's societies were: one Household of Ruth, North Star, Eastern Star, Daughter of Sir Knight, and Court of Coelnthe. These societies are most
of them friendly societies of a more or less benevolent nature. They take care of their members during illness, and in time of distress; take care of them when they die; care for the dependents of the members after their death until they become independent; and some establish and maintain orphanages and Old Folks' Homes for their people. Of these fourteen societies only the Masonic Lodge possesses its own home, and that was acquired recently. Practically all the other societies meet in the Masonic Hall. The property of the other societies consists chiefly of their equipment and bank deposits. It was impossible to ascertain definitely the value of such property, or the numerical strength of the societies.

EDUCATION

It cannot be said conscientiously that education is the most popular item on the life-program of the Negroes in Des Moines. There are other factors, it would appear, which have greater attraction for them. If the records are correct, and there is no reason to doubt their accuracy, it may be concluded that the future Negro citizen of Des Moines will be characterized by an intellectual mediocrity. The evidence all points to the fact that the ambition of the Negro youth, so far as education is concerned, does not go beyond the high school. Indeed so few finish the high school that one is constrained to believe that this ambition does not reach even as far as the senior class.

Records of colored high school students attending the three high schools are not available. However, the East High School, where the majority of the colored children attend, reports that three or four are graduated every year and that there is an
attendance of about forty. It should be observed that it is almost impossible to obtain the record of colored school children as no attempt is made to keep them separate. Neither the records of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, nor those of the Superintendent of Schools, give any information as to color of students. In response to a questionnaire sent to the principal of East High School the following reply was received: "In regard to the Negro school children attending East High woul say that in a school of this size no distinction is made nor comparison is made in any way."

The questionnaire which was sent to the principals of the elementary schools was answered by only the principal of the Irving School where the great majority of the colored children attend. It covers in detail every grade from the kindergarten to the eighth grade. There were embodied in the questionnaire four questions: (1) scholarship, (2) application, (3) general intelligence, and (4) deportment. Duplicate copies were made by the principal and forwarded to the teachers of each of the grades and these were sent to the writer as they came from them. A summary of the reports follows: (1) The Negro students are from one to two years below the average of the white child. (2) In music and art they excel. (3) They lack the power of concentration, consequently are not good students in mathematics or any subject which requires concentration. (4) They lack initiative and must be supervised continuously. (5) Deportment on the whole good, but are inclined to be over-sensitive and usually stubborn. (6) On the question of general intelligence opinion seems to be equally divided. (7) They are inclined to be resentful when they
think that they are hurt.

The report is somewhat discouraging but an optimist would point to one item of the report as something to be thankful for, viz. the spirit of resentment for alleged injustice. It shows that the future generation of Negroes will not be satisfied to endure the indignities heaped upon it by the whites. If there is any lesson to be gained by this report let it be that race consciousness among Negroes has passed beyond the realm of speculation. It is reality itself. Today even the youth of the race have caught the spirit and are showing their resentment.

In the field of higher education, the blacks of Des Moines can hardly claim a proportional representation in the various state educational institutions. There are four girls attending the State University. As figures of Negro enrollment in other colleges and universities are not available it is fair to say that these four girls are the only colored representatives of Des Moines. There are two colored students at Drake University neither of whom is a citizen of the city.

There is no evidence to show that the younger generation is particularly ambitious. In this city, with one of the best opportunities for intellectual enlightenment, there are only two young people taking advantages of the colleges, and neither is a citizen of Des Moines. It was only possible to learn of three young men who made any effort at intellectual betterment. One after attending Ames for some time, dropped out. There was no reason why this particular young man should have left school, surely not from necessity, for his parents are said to be the wealthiest in the community. Then two went East, one to the
Boston Conservatory of Music, and the other to the Medical Department of Howard University, Washington, D.C. The latter finished his course in medicine and was commissioned an officer in the National Army; the former who went to study music in Boston has not yet completed his course of study. A young lady, received her degree from the State University of Iowa, and went South to teach.

In a conversation with the Assistant State Superintendent of Public Instruction concerning the relatively small number of colored young men and young women attending the high schools and colleges, he expressed no surprise that the number was so small. On the contrary, he seemed to think that they were making a favorable showing, and the percentage of those getting an education, no matter how low, should be a matter of encouragement rather than of pessimism. Colored people, according to him, have to overcome two impediments: that which the traditions of their own race set up against them, and that which the white man sets up. To accomplish these two things it takes more time than the colored people have had thus far. Western civilization is not the product of one or two generations. It is the result of the persistent efforts of hundreds of generations. It should not be expected of the black people, only a generation removed from slavery, to measure up fully to the best principles of western civilization.

Colored people in Des Moines are doing better now than they had formerly been doing; they are buying their own homes and getting into some kind of business. "But", he concludes, "they are not living up to their full opportunity".
The opinions of two colored women who are prominent in the social life of the community, themselves college bred, are interesting. One attributes the fact that so few young people graduate from high school to "poor clothing" and not to the thought that they are forced to drop out to go to work. The inference is that the young people are allowing their misdirected self-consciousness to come between them and an opportunity for self-betterment. The opinion of the other woman is somewhat more illuminating. She says that the young people drop out of school because of discouragement. For some reason or other, they believe that "cheap" social activities are much more to be desired or sought after than education. She points out that over-socialization and books do not mix very well and in consequence one pursuing the former must neglect the latter. The discouragement comes in when year after year they find themselves converted into fixed ornaments in the same room. They drop out blaming everything and everybody except themselves. There are too many "cheap" social affairs to which the young people are welcomed unquestioned. The lack of proper parental control lies at the bottom of the whole situation. This last opinion sums up the case pretty accurately.

CONCLUSION

Conditions among the Negroes in the city are far from being socially healthful. Of course it is realized that the period of observation during which the situation was sized up was too short to afford a searching analysis of the existing state of affairs. But if the fact is considered that a great amount of the informa-
tion which is set forth in this chapter was obtained from old residents, black and white alike, it may be fair to say that this conclusion is drawn from actual facts, and not from hasty and superficial observation.

That conditions are not what they ought to be is admitted even by the most optimistic Negroes themselves. In spite of the fact that optimists point with pride to the marvelous development of Negro business, and to the Negroes greatly enlarged economic sphere, one cannot help seeing that these achievements are of recent date, and that they owe their accomplishment to the abnormal condition created by the war. If one gathers sufficient courage to take a retrospective view of conditions before the eventful days of 1914, when Europe was plunged into a state of warfare, and the citizens of the warring nations hastened back to answer the call of their respective countries, leaving large gaps in the various industries to be filled by Negroes, one would ask, what was the Negro doing to keep up the burdens which civilization has forced upon human society?

There is no evidence to show that the economic condition of the Negro was perfectly satisfactory. The door of opportunity was closed to the occupations which assured him a living wage. The field of personal service with which he had been identified was gradually being encroached upon by foreigners. There is only one industry (mining) out of which he was not being forced. It must not be considered that the Negroes had become less efficient. It was simply because it had ceased to be a fad among the white
people to have Negroes about them as personal servants. It had become more fashionable to have a white valet, butler, chauffeur, waiter, janitor, cook and maid, than a black person in similar capacity.

The Negroes reaction to such service must also be taken into account. The colored people were gradually coming to realize that there was nothing particularly elevating about personal service; not that they abhorred it but because they were not getting a square deal even in these menial positions. Moreover, personal service carried with it the stigma of slavery, and the younger generation wanted to get as far as possible from the conditions to which their forefathers were bound down. The wholesale abandonment by them of the occupations of a personal character, to take the places left vacant in the industries, shows their attitude toward personal service.

Then the question of Negro business forces itself upon our attention. There is no reason why the handful of Negro businesses in the community could not be raised to the standards of white business. There appears to be a painful lack of knowledge of the simple fundamental principles of business. Perhaps it is too much to ask of these people who are just starting out on this venture to conform to all the rules of the game. The prevailing idea, however, is that a good beginning assures a successful and continuous career. To put up a hovel somewhere and call it business and expect it to evolve into a sound, paying business is more than the writer can understand. It seems that it would be sounder policy to make a good start and let the whole concern be attractive,
inviting, and satisfying. To have on hand what the community must buy, make the people feel that their patronage is wanted, and after it has been secured do all in one's power to keep it. This is not the attitude of the colored business man, in general, but it is encouraging to note that the majority of the business men in Des Moines are beginning to realize this fact and are making use of it to their success.

The Negro's position in politics seems to be a hopeless problem. There are too few of them to make any appreciable impression on the two contending parties in the city. It seems that better use could be made of their ballots if all the voters would form themselves into a league and act as a unit on political questions; not that such a proceeding would upset the equilibrium of the party in power to any appreciable extent, but it would impress the leaders somewhat as to the advisability of pleasing voters who cast their ballot solidly. Moreover, each Negro voter, in the event of the formation of such a league, could be made to contribute certain sums monthly or annually to a treasury for the purpose of making contributions to the campaign funds of the party to which their support might be given. This may be the means to offset the disadvantage occasioned by numerical weakness. It is by rendering material service to the political parties that the Negro may expect adequate protection from civic encroachments, and a fuller representation in the government of the state.

To do this, however, the Negro needs to be educated, not merely going to school and dropping out before the high school is reached, but going through high school, and if possible through the higher
institutions of learning provided by the state. Thus far the young Negroes have not been able to grasp the full significance of high intellectual training. The fact that the few who do realize this prime necessity have to leave Des Moines in order to find appropriate opportunities to utilize that training should not deter them nor deprive them of the ambition for the fuller enjoyment of life. But that is just what is taking place. Practically all the young men and women who are wasting their opportunities for a liberal training ask, when the question is put squarely to them, "What's the use? We'll never get a chance!" It is no easy task to get around this fact, but to try, to be prepared, should fill one with satisfaction at the end in knowing that one has done one's duty. After all, that is all that can be expected of any one. The burden of responsibility, then, will be shifted to the side of these who have deprived him of the opportunity to display his ability.

A word may here be said in regard to the preliminary education of the Negro children. There is no doubt that it would be to the greater advantage of Negro children if their preliminary training were entrusted to the care of their own people, who are naturally more sympathetic. Complete isolation from contact with white teachers is not advisable but where there is a number of colored children in a school, it is suggested that competent colored teachers be employed.

This scheme is suggested as a compromise between those who are opposed to separate schools and those who favor it. It is without doubt that Negro children would derive more benefit from
separate schools with facilities equaling those of the white schools. The reports received from one of the schools proved that although there is a great deal of sympathy on the part of white teachers for the colored pupils, yet a greater amount of sympathy would be necessary to teach Negro children than the white teachers can conscientiously manifest. White public school teachers are not immune from race feeling. They too are imbued with the idea of the fundamental intellectual inferiority of the Negro. They approach the Negro child with that idea and the child is placed on the defensive, that is to say, he is required to prove that he is intellectually equal or superior to his white schoolmates. If the child is an exceptional child and is able to shift the burden of proof over to the other side then he is grudgingly allowed to "get by." Ordinary children naturally suffer for their "intellectual inferiority."

Another reason for separate schools is the fact that the ordinary public school curricula are not wholly adapted to the peculiar needs of the colored child. There need to be added a few subjects which in truth should be taught at home, by parents, but which, on account of the ignorance of the parents, or the lack of sufficient time, are not taught. Reference is made to personal hygiene, or just plain personal cleanliness, Negro history, race altruism, race cooperation, individual sacrifice for the welfare of the race, independence, and finally race loyalty. These subjects, with the exception of the first, have no place in the curricula of public schools, and yet, so far as the welfare of the Negro race is concerned, these are just as
essential to the Negro child or more so than Latin, mathematics or modern languages. If these subjects could be incorporated into the curricula of public schools where Negro children form a goodly percentage, then there is no necessity for a separate school. This attitude, on the separate school question, is distinct from that of those who advocate separate schools for direct economic motives. The welfare of the race is more important than the supplying of a few individuals with teaching positions.

So far as the unhealthful social conditions among the Negroes are concerned, nothing short of a complete reorganization of the social order would bring relief. But such reorganization must be evolutionary, not revolutionary. Yet the evolution must not be too slow, for something must be done soon to head off the present trend. There is no reason to believe that any decisive action will come from within. The people are too deeply entrenched in their present mode of living to undertake self-reorganization. Those who recognize the gravity of the situation are the business people—the better class—and these are too selfish to take the initiative. Fear of financial loss, loss of popularity, or some imagined fear of business boycott causes them to be cautious, perhaps even over-cautious.

If there is to be any reorganization it must come from the outside, and must be undertaken by an individual who is fearless, tactful, intelligent, sympathetic morally strong, and, above all, an experienced organizer—a good field for a social engineer. His first duty would be to redirect the path of the young people by providing amusements that are more attractive and wholesome than those which the public dance halls furnish. Then he must
direct his attention to the older people, using whatever method the exigency of the situation demands. Finally he must seek to unite the competing factions of the better class. It will not be an easy task, but there is hope of success if proper methods are resorted to. What is needed is a disinterested social leader. One with no axe to grind, no family feuds to settle, no self-aggrandizement to seek. The outsider coming in will be free from all these impediments and there is no saying how much he may accomplish in a short time.

Finally a general shake-up is needed in the religious life of the people. Competition between the churches must cease. An inter-denominational league should be formed by the pastors of the various churches to promote unity, brotherly love, and sound morality among the members of the churches. And again, religion must be further rationalized. There is yet too much emotion and superstition in Negro religion. Less emphasis should be laid on the pacifist side. The Negro preachers cannot afford to preach pacifist doctrine to their congregations. Already the Negroes are too meek. The only doctrine which should be preached to colored audiences is the doctrine of aggressiveness—"an eye for an eye." This aggressiveness does not necessarily mean belligerency. One can be aggressive yet peaceful. But by all means the divine right of the powerful white masters, the principle of turn the left cheek to the assailant if he smites thee on the right cheek,—all this must be blotted out of the theology which the Negro learns in seminaries. If these principles conflict with the teachings of the Christian church—the Christian religion—then one of two things must be sacri-
ficed. Either Christianity must go or the welfare of the Negro must be sacrificed. And the Negro minister cannot afford to sacrifice his race upon the altar of a white Christianity. Has he not had enough experience with the white Christianity to know its attitude? There are only two churches today who have come out squarely against the persecution of the Negro, and they are the Catholic Church and the Friends. With the latter's attitude the writer is not sufficiently conversant to be positive, but there is every reason to believe that it is most friendly. The Catholic Church, however, has set her face squarely against Negro persecution, as the yearly messages from the Pope through his cardinals take a categorical stand against Negro persecution.

When it is said that there are only two churches that have come out squarely against Negro persecution there is no wish to convey the impression that other churches have not done something toward the alleviation of conditions among the colored people. Indeed, the Presbyterian Church, the Episcopal Church, and the Congregational Church, have all done wonderful work among the colored people of the South. There are many educational institutions in the South today that are supported wholly or in part by these churches, and in which may be found white teachers who have sacrificed their social relations with the white south in order to minister to the intellectual needs of the ignorant blacks. For these humanitarian acts too much praise cannot be given to the individuals who have so unselfishly sacrificed their social prestige among their southern brothers.
What is meant is that the Catholic and the Friends, the Catholic particularly, are the only denominations that have come out squarely for equality of opportunity and all that it implies, whether social, political, economic, religious, or educational.

The teaching in colored schools in the South by certain individuals in the face of open hostility of a part of the community, requires some courage, but that does not necessarily mean a change of attitude on the part of the churches to which these individuals belong. One of the stories which is given wide publicity in the south is that the Yankee women go down south to teach, yet they visibly shrink from contact with the Negro child. This may be an exaggeration of the point, but the fact still remains that those churches that are maintaining schools in the south, lose their enthusiasm for the Negro cause when the question of contact arises. A concrete case is reported by a white woman in New York City in a study of Negro School Children in that city.

One of the greatest problems which the school authorities in New York City have to face is that of keeping delinquent Negro girls out of the public schools. The homes for delinquent girls maintained by the state are inadequate, and Negro girls are not always welcomed in them. To avoid sending these delinquent colored girls to prison, they are usually paroled and returned to the school. In this particular instance the authorities, not willing to let the girl go free, nor willing to allow her to return to school, called up all the churches with homes for such girls, and all replied that they could not accommodate colored girls. The Catholic Church was then called upon, and without
a moment's hesitation the unfortunate girl was taken in, not because they had made any special provision for colored girls, but because a colored girl in distress to them was a girl in distress, religion, race, color, notwithstanding. The point is that the Catholic Church practices what it preaches—the brotherhood of man—and the other churches either do not practice it or do so half-heartedly. The Roman Catholic Church, then, is a friend in all particulars to the Negro.

Finally, if the welfare of the race conflicts with the teachings of the Christian Church by all means let the Christian Church pursue its heavenly career, and let the welfare of the race be the paramount thing. The religion of the Negro should be race-consciousness, race-perpetuation based on sound moral principles, and there is no one fitter to preach that religion than the ministers of the Negro Church. Let this principle supplant the doctrine of subjugation which is forced upon the black man by the Christian Church. If Christianity is to be maintained as the religion of the Negro it must undergo a thorough sifting at the hands of the ministers, and all those elements which tend to interfere with the healthful aspirations of the black man should be dropped. This is no time to quibble between sentimentality and duty. The line has been definitely drawn. The duty of the Negro theologian is to stand by his race, through thick and thin, though the heavens fall.
CHAPTER III
THE NEGRO IN CEDAR RAPIDS

Cedar Rapids, like Des Moines, received its Negro population principally from Missouri. With a population of 301 colored persons in 1915 representing an increase of about 128 over 1910, the number has steadily increased until today the number is estimated at 1,000. This represents an increase, for the period of three years, of more than 400% over the five year period 1910-1915. It is easy to account for this phenomenal increase. The withdrawal of a great number of men from the various industries to take up arms either here or abroad left a number of vacancies which had to be filled. There being no white labor available Negroes were brought in from the border states, especially Missouri, to fill the openings. Then, too, the coal mines at Puxton having closed down the Negro miners flocked to Cedar Rapids to take up the places left vacant by the white workmen.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

As in Des Moines, the Negroes may be found scattered all over the city and on both sides of the river. However, the majority lives in that section of the city known as Oak Hill which is about five minutes' walk from the packing houses. And again a goodly number may be found on the West Side, on Eighth Avenue and "H" Street, and in the immediate neighborhood.

The Oak Hill Colony is without question the more wretched of the two. The streets are not paved and only on one street are sidewalks to be found. The houses are wretched, half-tumbled down one-and two-room cabins which are, most of them, placed
The yards are all filthy, with privies standing from ten to fifteen feet from the houses. Water for the use of the community is drawn from wells, and one well was seen in a whole block.

A number of white families also live in the neighborhood under identical conditions. They are chiefly Bohemians who are working in the packing houses.

It must not be supposed that all the Negroes in that section live under the conditions which have been described. There are about half a dozen families who are in distinctly better circumstances. They live in better homes, and represent a type of civilization much higher than that of their brothers who are across the way from them.

The colony on the West Side, on Eighth Avenue and "H" Street is not so large as that on Oak Hill, and the sanitary condition is much superior. The homes are decidedly more habitable than the cabins on Oak Hill.

HEALTH, DEATH, AND BIRTH RATE

Health conditions are comparatively normal. There is no reason to believe that the Negroes of Cedar Rapids cannot stand the strain of city life. Health conditions compares favorably with those among the Negroes in Des Moines. The kind of diseases are the same and the percentage is similar. The diseases with which the Negroes are especially affected are: diseases of the respiratory organs, chronic diseases of the heart, and venereal diseases. Tuberculosis and pneumonia are most prevalent and they exact the largest toll. Tuberculosis is the greatest
enemy of the illiterate blacks. To ascribe this to constitutional inferiority of the black race is to do the race a grave injustice. The high mortality rate among the Negroes from tuberculosis is due not to constitutional inferiority as some white publicists would have us believe, but rather to the extreme ignorance and poverty of the majority of the black people. In a preceding section it was pointed out that the majority of the Negro residents of the city lived in one and two-room cabins usually resting flat on the ground; with no proper sanitary accommodations either within or without. The majority are without shutters to shut out the cold and damp air; and finally, the Oak Hill settlement, where the majority of them are to be found, is just a short distance from the packing houses. Add to these unsanitary conditions the inability to provide sufficient fuel to keep the cabins habitable, the inability to procure food of the right kind, and ignorance of even the most elementary principles of personal hygiene, and what have you? Are these the kind of conditions which make for a strong physique capable of resisting the invasion of tubercular germs? Reverse the situation and place the white race in the filth in which the poor blacks live, and notice how well the whites would withstand the ravages of tuberculosis. Indeed, the wonder is that so many Negroes survive and not that so many succumb.

The number of deaths among the colored people in 1912 was twelve, and in 1913, eight. The number of deaths among the whites for the same period was 404 and 564 respectively. Thus it will be seen that although the number of deaths among the white population increased from 404 in 1912, to 564 in 1913,
an increase of 160 over the previous year, the number of deaths among the colored people actually decreased from twelve to eight; and this in the face of a rapid increase in population. More recent records on the death rate of the city were not available consequently it cannot be shown whether this decrease in the death rate continued to increase or remained constant.

The birth rate, according to information, more than kept pace with the death rate. Although there is a growing tendency on the part of the young matrons to avoid additional domestic responsibilities incident to child birth, yet there is no reason to believe that the race, in Cedar Rapids, is threatened with extinction because of the lack of natural increase of population.

There are three distinct types of Negroes in Cedar Rapids: the illiterate, reckless type which is more or less nomadic; the literate irresponsible type which is fairly stationary; and the responsible literate type which works regularly, maintains a family, buys a home, and supports the religious and social institutions. The illiterate and nomadic type is overwhelmingly in the majority. It supplies the greatest percentage of the delinquents and creates a civic problem which is difficult to handle. The literate, irresponsible class also furnished a great percentage of the police court characters; works long enough to provide itself with food and a little extra with which to gamble, and makes no contribution to the economic, social, or religious life of the group. The bulk of the economic, social, religious, and political responsibilities falls upon the shoulders of the literate, responsible type. Most of them are well-
behaved, honest, intelligent, industrious, respectable, serious, homelov- ing, dependable, and progressive. This type naturally forms the upper class and it is through its efforts that the Negroes are winning the respect of the white citizens. This type draws its members chiefly from Illinois and Missouri.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The Negro's economic life centers chiefly about personal service and the less skillful industries. There are only four Negro owned and operated business places. There are two combination barber shops and pool rooms and two boot-black stands. One is doing a good business and is patronized equally by whites and blacks. The chief Negro occupations are as follows:

**Men**

- Barber
- Bootblack
- Carrier (mail)
- Chauffeur
- Janitor

- Laborer,
- Packing house, starch and oat factories
- Porter
- Railroad and commercial
- Street Paving, Building trades

**Women**

- Domestic service---maid, cook---Manicurist.

**Professional Class**

- Dentist,
- Ministers,
- Nurse.

The present economic possibilities of the colored people are as good as any one could desire. With four of the city's main industries opened to them and with the assurance at least of a living wage, there is no reason why they should not avail themselves of the opportunity to get a better foothold in the community. A casual observer would conclude that the Negroes are taking advantage of the economic opportunities that are opened to them, but when one takes the trouble to investigate
conditions it will be found that the colored men are not living up to their economic possibilities. It is a problem to get a large number of Negro workmen to work a straight week. Commenting on this situation, an influential citizen said that the majority of the colored workmen seem to be satisfied to work one week, draw the week's pay, and lay off and take it easy until the week's earnings are consumed. There are notable exceptions, indeed, and some of them are saving their money and buying homes.

The majority of the colored men are employed in the starch, and Quaker Oats factories, the packing house, and by the street paving company; all are employed more or less in the capacity of unskilled laborer. There are a number of the younger men employed as porters of all kinds, a few janitors and chauffeurs, a few in the building trades; three bootblacks with stands at the Interurban and Union stations; and about twelve railroad porters.

In the four principal industries Negroes are to be found, their wages range from twenty two cents an hour to thirty-five cents, and often more. Eleven hours constitute the working day. The average income of the Negro is $12 a week, much below the $15 average of the white laborer.

There are three Negro professional men and one professional woman: one dentist, two clergymen, and one professional nurse. The clergymen are pastors of the two Negro Churches, Baptist and Methodist respectively. The dentist is a University of Iowa graduate of the class of 1917. Before he went to Cedar Rapids there had never been a Negro dentist in the city. He is a member of the Cedar Rapids Dentists' Association and enjoys the respect of his white colleagues.
Before leaving this section a word should be said about Negro patronage of Negro business. One of the first things which struck the writer upon arriving in Cedar Rapids was the absence of Negro restaurants. In a city of that size, with a Negro population of approximately 1000, one usually expects to find at least one restaurant owned and operated by colored people for the group, but not so, with Cedar Rapids. It is not, however, that no attempts have been made to establish such places. Indeed, only recently one Negro restaurant proprietor was forced to close his business. A grocery store operated by a colored man was forced to close for lack of patronage. It will be seen, then, that it is not through lack of business foresight that there is not more Negro business enterprises in Cedar Rapids. It is lack of support.

No business, however well financed, can last any length of time unless it receives public patronage, and Negro business, which is seldom ever established on a sound financial basis, is no exception. Negro business, moreover, meets a greater handicap in that it receives its patronage wholly from Negro sources. However, in the case of the restaurants and grocery store mentioned, it was not on account of lack of finance. It was simply a matter of lack of support from the Negro social group. A careful investigation of the situation was made by the writer and some interesting points came out. The first was that the older Negro residents of the city do not believe in patronizing any Negro business, and another was that those Negroes who support Negro business are the new comers from the South. A prominent man speaking about this situation said that the older Negro residents do not seem to have confidence in the ability of their people as they would sooner
pay higher prices for the same service in a concern conducted by white persons than to patronize their own people.

This condition may be accounted for in two ways: one is ignorance of the actual achievements of Negroes in the world beyond the borders of Cedar Rapids, and the other is jealousy. A third reason may be advanced, indeed, one which is more potent than either of the other two, and that is lack of race-consciousness. Not until the Negro is coerced out of his extreme individualistic spirit by the various forces which are brought to bear upon him, will he learn to appreciate the efforts of his people, and learn to interpret Negro welfare by a broader vision.

NEGROES AS HOME BUYERS

It is a little difficult to ascertain definitely just how many Negroes own homes as no separate records are kept of such transactions but from sources which are more or less reliable, was learned that there are about thirty-four colored persons who are either buying or already own their homes. Eleven own their homes and twenty-three are buying. The value of the homes range from $900 to $5,000 and one real estate owner owns a farm in connection with his home. If these figures are correct, and there is no reason to doubt their accuracy, it will be noticed that the number of home buyers is relatively small, and represents about 3.4 per cent of the Negro population. The movement to buy homes is apparently a recent one and scarcely dates back ten years.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NEGRO

There is a similarity between the social life of the Negro in Cedar Rapids and that of Des Moines which gives one the impression that the former community is copying or imitating the
latter. There is, of course, the numerical difference which, without doubt, plays an important part in the social rivalry, but when this difference is overlooked and the two communities are compared one finds no essential difference between them. Social rivalry alluded to is no idle speculation. In a conversation with one of the leading colored residents, attention of the writer was arrested by her frequent reference to the social life of the colored people of the capital city. And among the younger people the same tendency was noticeable. As in the case of Des Moines, Cedar Rapids is unfortunate in not having a strong and disinterested leader. It must not be supposed that either of the two communities is afflicted with the disease of intellectual dead levelness, on the contrary, the variations in intellectual attainments are just as great among the Negroes as they are among the other racial elements of the two communities. In the case of the Negroes, however, an element of selfishness has crept in which has made the subordination of the self to communal social ends impossible. In both communities the competition for social supremacy goes merrily on and the welfare of the communities continues to suffer for lack of social cohesion or solidarity.

The churches continue to be the social centers for the people, but the indications are that the hall of the Knights of Pythias will supplant them if a reorganization of the churches does not take place soon. The young people are restless and the older people are impatient with the conservatism of the churches. The writer attended one of the social functions which was held at the hall and saw there that evening old and young church and non-church members all mingled together in complete social harmony.
Apparently there is nothing significant about that, but if one takes into consideration the attitude of the two Negro denominations, on the question of dancing and dance halls in general, the seriousness of the situation will be appreciated. This situation suggests another important question, that of recreation.

There is no distinct Negro recreational center. Public recreation as provided by the community, is opened to all the people irrespective of color, but for reasons best known to themselves the colored people hesitate to take advantage of it. The inference is that they are not wanted by the white people. The only kind of amusement which the Negroes have is dancing, and all their dances are more or less public, and dancing is promiscuous. There is no attempt at public regulation or supervision. Children of fourteen dance side by side, and with persons of doubtful reputation. In this respect, if in no other, the situation in Cedar Rapids is similar to that of Des Moines. The greatest problem for the people and the church is to provide healthful recreation for the young people. No action may be expected from the two churches, as their attitude on dancing or on any other form of amusement is unequivocal. Amusement is in their view an evil which must be discouraged, consequently it cannot be expected that they will undertake any recreational program to counteract the influence of the unregulated public dance hall.

It is, perhaps, too much to expect any action looking toward the amelioration of conditions from the people outside of the church. It would be unfair to accuse them of criminal negligence, for, no one interviewed was able to
recognize fully the danger of promiscuous dancing in an unregulated dance hall. To them it is perfectly in order as one said "Why, our best people attend these dances." The young people themselves are perfectly satisfied with the conditions. One of them, who had attended a Negro educational institution outside of the state, and who, was of a literary trend of mind, told the writer that he had made several attempts to organize a literary club, but he could not succeed in getting the young people sufficiently interested to keep it active longer than a week. "They prefer to go to the dance halls", he concluded. Among the young men there is a social club with a very limited membership. This club aims to furnish amusement, especially dancing, to its members and their friends but even the amusements which they furnish are often public or semi-public.

Socially, the women are more fortunate than the men. Aside from the church clubs, which in a measure furnish some form of social entertainment, there are three federated women's clubs with a total membership of about eighty. Among the activities may be mentioned the art, the social service, the philanthropy, health and hygiene, and other activities which are not very important. The activities enumerated are such that they aim not only to make their influence felt within the club but also in the whole community. The art club exhibits its production in bazaars organized for that purpose and the proceeds are used in relieving indigent and distressed persons. The social service and philanthropic departments not only busy themselves among their members but also extend their services to the needy people of the social group. The department of health and hygiene
could be more active, but the fact that the personnel of the department represents persons who lack a thorough knowledge of the subjects involved, makes any effort in that direction worthy of commendation.

Socially the two races do not come together. There is even a more pronounced line of demarcation in Cedar Rapids than there is in Des Moines. The reason advanced by the people is that the white population is made up principally of foreigners, and they are less friendly to colored people. This is not regarded as a valid reason. On the contrary, the experiences of scores of persons of color throughout the country, is that foreign whites, possibly with the exception of the Irish and English are more friendly to Negroes than the American white stock. Two reasons for the situation in Cedar Rapids suggest themselves. First, the inferiority of the type of Negroes and secondly, their intellectual inferiority as compared with their black brothers in Des Moines.

Miscegenation is negligible. There is one case where a white man married a colored woman. Illicit relation between the two races is small as compared with Des Moines. The fact that the two peoples do not meet socially does not mean that they are completely isolated from one another. In discussing the economic life of the Negroes mention was made of the fact that they did not support the efforts of their own people looking toward economic betterment. The reason is that the white business men are very courteous toward the colored people. In the majority of the restaurants, the colored people are served with out any
question about their race or color. In the theatres and moving picture houses there is an attempt at segregating them. However, this movement is a recent one, and it is claimed that it followed in the wake of such theatrical productions as the "Nigger" and Thomas Dixon's "Birth of a Nation". On the whole the relation between the two races is cordial and there is no reason to believe that there is any danger of its becoming strained.

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE NEGRO

There are two Negro religious denominations, the African Methodist Episcopal and the Baptist. The Methodist Church is forty-four years old, and was the first Negro Church established in the city. It held undisputed sway over the religious life of the blacks until four years ago when the Baptists organized a mission, and two years later purchased a church.

One would expect that a church which has been in the field for forty-four years and the only religious organization in the community, would be a strong organization, at least numerically, but it is not so. The membership is only 108, and of that number only fifty are active supporters. The value of the church plant is estimated at $3,000 and it is free from all incumbrance. The parsonage, which is valued at $2,000 is still weighed down by a heavy mortgage. However, an effort is now being made to pay off the indebtedness. There are two active church organizations which are looking after the financial and social interests. The board of stewards is in charge of the financial end while the missionary society attends to social service. There is an active Sunday school with a membership of fifty. The number of young people in the church is forty, or a little over 37 percent of the total membership.
There is an absence of a progressive spirit and this lack of progressiveness is reflected both in the plant and in the membership. Looking at the church from the outside one cannot help seeing everywhere the ravages of time. It does not seem that any repairs have been made to the building since its construction forty-four years ago. So far as membership is concerned, there is no need of scientific analysis to see its conservativeness. If a religious institution cannot get together in forty-four years more than fifty active members out of a population of approximately 1,000, then, one must conclude that there is something lacking in the organization. That something is progressiveness. The church is not keeping up pace with the times, and the people that it is supposed to reach have gone ahead and have left it behind in its blind conservatism.

The Baptist Church is comparatively new, having been organized only two years ago. The estimated value of the church is $7,000 of which $5,000 has been paid within two years. Money is now being raised by the various church organizations to pay off the $2,000 mortgage. The church has a membership of about eighty, forty of whom are active supporting members. There is a Sunday school with a membership of about seventy-five. The two most active organizations are the B.Y.P.U., and the Women’s Missionary Society. The functions of these clubs are well known and therefore it is unnecessary to enter into details.

The program which the Baptist Church is following is more aggressive than that followed by the other. The fact, that its members have been able to pay $5,000 towards the purchase price,
in less than two years, speaks encouragingly of the future of the organization. The pastor, who has been ministering there for less than a year, is much pleased with the work of the people. But while the efforts of the members have been concentrated on "paying off the mortgage", the church should not lose sight of its mission. An active membership of forty may seem a large number to those who are immediately connected with the organization, but when one compares even the total membership, which is only eighty with the total population it reveals the alarming situation. The church is not reaching the masses. In this particular, the two colored churches are facing the same situation.

The limited influence which the churches are exerting in the religious life of the colored social group may not be a cause for serious worry among the church leaders, but looking at the situation from the outside one is forced to conclude that they are not altogether successful. Figures may not mean anything to the church leaders, but when two churches between them cannot muster together one hundred live active members from a population estimated at one thousand, then, the seriousness of the situation becomes a cause for more than idle speculation. If the churches in their spiritual capacities cannot reach the masses, then some other agency must be found which will reach out and awaken the religious sentiment of the people. On the other hand, if the people are able to live their lives without being subjected to the restraints of reactionary religious institutions a great deal of credit should be given them for their initiative, for it would point out the fallacy of the argument that no people can progress without religion. Of course whether or not the non-church going Negroes have a religion is another question.
MORALITY AND THE NEGRO

In a group where an element of control, whether religious or social, is lacking there is usually to be found a strong tendency toward the disregard of all moral propensities. In Cedar Rapids with no definitely organized social group, nor an effective religious body with far-reaching influence, is no exception to the rule. The morality of the people "could be better", said one of the masters, with great reserve. Another Negro of influence when asked about the morality of the Negroes replied that the morals of the people were not of the best. He hastened to point out, however, that there are scores of individuals whose moral conduct is irreproachable, but they are hopelessly in the minority. In this minority he included the older residents and a few of the young people whose parents are still exercising wholesome influence over their lives.

Cedar Rapids is unfortunate in that it draws its Negro population from sources which are not morally scrupulous. The Negroes who come to the city, either for the economic advantages or for irregular living, are of the illiterate class. The majority of them arrive in the city with no attachments save the clothes on their backs, and very often they are without the whole suit. It goes without saying that such persons who, from all appearances, have not fully emerged from the nomadic stage, will have little or no conception of moral principles. Their presence in a community in such large numbers not only lowers the moral standard of the community but also creates a situation the gravity of which cannot be underestimated.

The effect of the immoral influence of these nomadic people is first felt, or rather, noticed, among the young people,
especially among the young men. The young men are first affected because they are brought into contact with them either in their working places or in the pool halls where they seek recreation after the day's work. Through these young men the unwholesome influence reaches the young women and thus the cycle is completed, and a perfect medium for the propogation of immoral relations and standards is created.

The fact that the future welfare of the group depends entirely on the integrity and the fineness of nature of the younger generation who fill up the gaps which are left open by the passing of the older generation led the writer to inquire more fully into their mode of life. Their attitude toward education is passive. Morally they are hopelessly lax, and the worst of it is that there is no immediate remedy in sight. Marriage among the young people is frequent, but it would appear that the marriage license is often, indeed, too often used as a legal permit to practice licentiousness. The double standard of living, instead of being frowned upon, as is the case in all morally conscious communities, is, to a certain extent, tolerated by the majority of the group. The moral degradation which such a situation engenders does not seem to affect the group conscience of the majority. There is in this case, as well as in all cases of this nature, a minority whose moral integrity is so strong that it buoys up the ship, causes an equal distribution of the heavy cargo, and enables the badly-loaded ship to continue its journey. Just how long can the ship travel under such disadvantageous conditions is a question which maritime conditions must determine. The situation
is grave and relief can come only through the recreation of moral values, under the direction of a morally conscious group and a reorganized church.

POVERTY AND COOPERATIVE AGENCIES

Extreme poverty is practically unknown among the Negroes. Naturally there are cases of indigency which occasionally come up for treatment but on the whole the Negro is in no way a public burden. This situation is interesting from two standpoints because, first, the Negro's income is far below the minimum income of the white workman; and secondly, because group organization among the Negroes is less definite than group organization among the whites. What are we to gather from these facts? Is the Negro with an income far below that of the white man, and a group organization able to withstand better the ravages of poverty? In proportion to population the Negroes receive less public assistance than do the whites. If the above inference is not correct, that is, that the Negro is better able to withstand the adversities which are incident to a state of poverty, then, an explanation must be sought elsewhere.

The public charity organizations in the city do not receive many calls from the colored people for assistance. However, this does not mean that the needy cases go unattended. The social service department of the colored women's club, and the social service work of the two churches, have managed to take care of the majority of cases of indigency that have come to their notice, and thereby keep their troubles within the group. It is interesting to know, perhaps, that colored people, no
matter how low in the economic scale they may be, will not refuse assistance to a needy brother. Nor will they appeal for public aid until all efforts for self-help have been exhausted. This characteristic cannot be said to be true only of the poor blacks as one finds the same situation among the poor whites. There is a freemasonry among poor people which surpasses any class feeling which exists among the upper classes. In the case of the Negroes this freemasonry is even stronger than among the whites, and as a result the colored people are more secretive about their condition than are the whites. This fact, perhaps, comes nearer explaining the smaller percentage of indigent persons of color.

There are no cooperative organizations among the colored people, and the indications are that there will not be any for many years to come. The people have not yet entered into that first state of mind in which the conception of cooperative action for the welfare of the group prevails. There is still lacking in them the element of race consciousness which is the fundamental basis of cooperative action.

SECRET SOCIETIES

There are six secret societies, three for men and three for women. The three male organizations are the Masons, with a membership of twenty-eight; the Odd Fellows, with a membership of twenty-five; and the Knights of Pythias, with a membership of thirty-six. The women's organizations are the Household of Ruth, with a membership of thirty; the Court of Calenthe, with a membership of twenty-one; and the Eastern Star, with a membership of twenty. Of these six organization the Masons alone
have a home of their own which is valued at $300 or $400. All the other organizations hold their meetings and other functions in the Pythian Hall. This hall is leased by the Pythians and they in turn sublet it to the other organizations. These organizations are more or less benevolent in nature and are committed to elaborate social programs.

EDUCATION

Education is by no means the piece de resistance, so far as the Negroes are concerned. Indeed, the idea of school seems to convey less meaning here than it does to the Negroes in Des Moines. Out of an approximate number of 300 young persons of school age only about 150 are attending the public schools of the city. Six out of the 150 are attending the high schools, and the last to finish was a young woman, who graduated four years ago. The number who have graduated from the high schools of the city from time immemorial does not exceed ten.

It is said that the Negro children make a brilliant beginning in the high schools but that they drop out before the four year course is completed. They drop out to go to work, not, however, because they are compelled to, but because they lack the spirit of persistency. The general argument is that the community offers no opportunity to a colored youth with high school college training. They point to the few who finished the high school course and ask, "What did they get?" Aren't they doing the same kind of work that we who didn't finish, or we who never went to high school, are doing? What's the use?" they conclude, with a fatalistic air. It is no easy task to convince them that the time spent in high school is not an economic waste.
The school children of the lower grades do not seem to fare any better than the high school children. The majority leave school before the seventh and eighth grades are reached. Their argument is essentially the same as the argument advanced by the high school defaulters. Time spent in school acquiring higher education is so much time wasted, for the economic opportunities which are opened to young people of color are such that even those with the most naive minds can readily grasp them. There is no essential difference between the Negro school children in Cedar Rapids so far as their intellectual ability is concerned. But latent as are the desires of the Negro youths of Des Moines for higher intellectual training, the desires of the colored youths in Cedar Rapids are even less fully aroused. The fact that in all these years they have not had a single young person to graduate from the higher institutions of learning in the state proves their indifference toward a fuller development of their mentalities.

CRIME

According to the police authorities, crime among the colored people does not constitute a police problem. They readily admit that the Negroes are not all model citizens, but in proportion to population they are positive that the percentage of crime among the black is considerable below that among the whites.

The kinds of offenses with which the Negroes are particularly identified are: gambling, disorderly conduct, assault and battery, and "bootlegging". In the case of the last offense a good many cases involve Negroes who come from neighboring cities.
and towns to Cedar Rapids to get their supply of liquor, and who are caught in the act of transporting the liquor. Of the more serious offenses, such as murder, burglary and arson, the Negroes are practically free from participation.

Gambling is the "piece de resistance" to the Negro, and when he finds himself in a community in which there isn't some other form of amusement where he may find an outlet for his surplus store of energy, he will very probably seek, or be led to, a gambling house. Once there, there is no saying to what extent he will go. It often happens, however, that he winds up in the police court.

Crime among Negro women is negligible, and it is chiefly in the form of disorderly conduct. The majority of these offenders come from nearby cities and towns. While a number belong to the professional type of misdemeanants; some of them are first offenders who get entangled in the network of the law. Juvenile delinquency is uncommon, and when any case comes up all possible consideration is given it. The incorrigibles are sent to Davenport where they are cared for in the state institution.

THE NEGRO AND POLITICS

As a political factor the Negro voters are of no especial significance so far as the political parties are affected by them. There are approximately 300 legal colored persons of voting age and of that number approximately two-fifths do not go to the polls on election day. The influence of the Negro voters in the city's politics is similar to the influence of their Negro brothers in Des Moines. There are too few of them to affect an election either way, and even out of their small number practically one-half neglects to cast a vote at the elections.
The majority of the colored voters who go to the polls cast their ballots for the Republican organization. Just how many Negro Democrats are in the community is a rather difficult thing to ascertain; it is safe to say, however, that the number does not exceed a score.

The Negroes are not represented in the municipal government by members of their race. In the post-office department there is a colored mail carrier, and during the legislative session of 1916-17 they were represented in the state government at the Capitol by an assistant post mistress. Today the Negro citizens, forming 2.5 per cent of the total population of the city, have no representation either in the municipal or county governments. The question arises whether voters who are contented to stay away from the polls on election day and thus neglect to perform the primal duty of citizenship would really be interested in having a member of their race hold an office of any kind in the municipality. The fact remains, however, that even though the local government were willing to give the Negro element of the community a respectable representation, that is, a representation other than in the less skillful departments, it would not find a lay person intellectually prepared. Moreover, the Negro population is so helplessly in the minority that it is not fair to hold the government morally responsible for not according the blacks a place in its organization.

CONCLUSION

The Negroes in Cedar Rapids present a situation which is peculiar to that community alone. There are two points on which they differ radically from Negroes of other communities. The first point is their irreligiousness. In the discussion
of their religious life it was pointed out that there are less than one hundred active members of the church. This situation tends to challenge the widespread opinion that Negroes are fundamentally religious. In interpreting this situation as a refutation of that widespread belief, one must take into consideration the relative activities of the church leaders, their capacities for leadership, and their social point of view. Indeed, this last aspect is the primary factor in the growth of the influence of the church.

The other point in which the Negro population of Cedar Rapids differs from the Negro population of other communities in the North, is the absence of a thorough-going and comprehensive group or race consciousness. This feature in the development of the race is so new that one cannot hold a community blame-worthy for not having adapted it. When a large city like Des Moines, with a population of over 5,000 and with persons of higher intellect, is just realizing what race consciousness means, Cedar Rapids may justly claim immunity from group disapproval.

One reason for the existence of this situation is isolation from the world of thinking Negroes. The only means by which we are apprized of the thoughts of people outside of our own narrow world is through the press and its literature. If one has not cultivated a taste for literature, then, it goes without saying that he will be entirely ignorant of the thoughts and feelings of persons outside of his little world. This is the case with the Negroes in Cedar Rapids. Their intellectual
limitations which they have forced upon themselves because of some ill-conceived materialistic idea of the uselessness of a higher intellectual development, have left them practically devoid of any taste for literature. There are, naturally, a few worthy exceptions, but these exceptional cases are not strong enough to redirect the course of the social group.

The situation in Cedar Rapids cannot be considered unique from all angles. It is unique only in so far as it is the only community, where limitations, are placed upon the Negro's exercise of the rights of citizenship which has not developed race consciousness. There are it is true, many cities in New England with Negro populations approximating that of Cedar Rapids which have not been more than touched by the current of race consciousness which is sweeping over the Eastern states. But social conditions in that section of the country differ essentially from social conditions in Cedar Rapids. There the people have not felt the pressure of race prejudice keenly enough to affect their consciousness. Thus segregation seems to have the effect of arousing, in the colored people, race consciousness, in certain localities.

The colored population of Cedar Rapids, then, differs from the colored population of other communities from two angles, that of religious devotion, and that of race altruism, or to be more precise, race consciousness. The first point of difference is capable of being remedied, but it is not by any means an easy task. To bring about a change in the religious tendencies of the group the church will have to be reorganized on a broader and a more positive plane. It will have to substitute for the
narrow program of preparing souls for eternity, a social program which will be more inclusive, and which will attract those elements, in the group, that consider the preparation for this world of equal, or of greater, importance than preparation for the world to come. To one who is unfamiliar with the traditions of the Negro churches, such a substitution may not seem to involve any great sacrifice of religious principles; but as a matter of fact it does. The Negro church is entrenched deeper in the traditions of the past than is the white church. Add to this assiduous clinging to traditions; a church personnel that is recruited from a none too enlightened class of Negroes, and you have a situation which is almost irremediable. There is no immediate hope for bettering the situation. So long as the Negro church remains static, especially in regard to its social program, so long as the Negro clergymen are recruited from students of the old school of theology, so long will the church fail to meet the social and religious problems which a twentieth century civilization has forced upon it.

In regard to the second point of difference—the lack of race consciousness—the hope is decidedly better. The development of race consciousness within the Negro community is merely a question of time. Two factors will influence its development viz., education and migration. The former will necessarily be a slow process because of the fatalistic attitude which the young people are taking toward higher education—in fact toward education on the whole. The effect of the latter—migration—would be to supply new energy and thereby accelerate its motion
where it tends to slow down. Persons of the highest integrity declared that the two churches were being supported almost entirely by the "new-comers". This step, without doubt, marks the beginning of the influence of the "new-comers" in shaping the social, economic, and religious destiny of the group.

Economically, the Negroes future or more accurately, his immediate future, is secured. It is necessary thus to modify the statement because the question arises as to whether Negro labor will be retained if the white labor which they have replaced is to return after the war and seek reemployment in the industries from which they were drawn. The Negro laborers readily filled the breach which the withdrawal of white laborers from the industries created, but it cannot be said that the Negroes are living up to their best possibilities. The type of Negroes that are employed in the various industries is of that character which marks the bulk of the shiftless class of the race. The majority do not believe in working the year round. Work for them is the means by which their immediate needs may be satisfied, and when these needs are met and a margin left over, they are ready again to "take things easy". No employer however tolerant, would willingly submit to such irregularities if there is another source from which he may draw his labor. The Negro was asking for an opportunity in the industries from which, in normal times, he was barred. War has forced open the doors and the Negro has been swept in by the same current. How long he will remain in is for him personally to determine. However, it will be well for him to keep one point in mind—shiftlessness cannot insure a permanent place in any field of human endeavor.
The greatest single social need of the Negroes is that of strong, moral, and disinterested leadership. There is no saying to what an extent such leadership may influence the group. It is out of the question to suppose for a moment that such a leader would spring up from the group. If by some peculiar manifestation of fate such a leader should arise from within, then, his service could be utilized to a better advantage. But there is little possibility of such an accident ever occurring, at least under existing conditions. This leader, then, must come from the outside, and come with sufficient capacity, tact, and vision to reconcile the church with the social trend of twentieth century religion, and at the same time keep his fingers on the pulse of those elements in the group which the church cannot reach. Although cooperating with the church, the leader should remain independent, for no sooner does he show the slightest sign of being influenced by the church than he would lose his hold upon the whole situation.

The question arises as to how and what method the leader should use in meeting the problem. There is no better medium through which the people might be reached than the Y.M.C.A. By this is meant an organization for all the people and not for the élite solely. There is no such organization in the colored community but a little financial sacrifice on the part of the people for the purpose of establishing such a place would more than compensate them in the long run for their generosity. It is not meant to suggest assistance from the white people. It is yet to be proved that assistance from the whites is not detrimental to the Negro's final realization of
independence from the whites.

The building and equipment secured, (they do not have to be elaborate), his first step would be to reach out for the young people who can be reclaimed, especially those who are still under the influence of their parents. These can be trained and be converted into valuable aids. Then he should turn his attention to the masses that are beyond the pale of the influence of the church. These he could reach by securing permission of the directors of the various industries who employ colored labor, to address the men during their luncheon period. There is no reason to think that the employers would refuse their cooperation. In this way the habit of thrift, the necessity for cooperative group action, the importance of putting in full time at the industries with which they are identified, in fact any constructive ideas could be preached to them, not necessarily as a sermon, but as a heart to heart talk with the men. Finally he would direct his attention toward the various factions within the church. Here he would meet greater opposition and inertia but with patience and perseverance he would convert them into valuable social assets by the redirection of their social point of view.

To complete the program. It would be suggested that the sustaining of the establishment be by small weekly contributions rather than the yearly lump sum which is the custom today. The reason for this change in the method of securing revenue is that the contributors would feel the pressure less by making these small weekly payments. The problem which the presence of women would naturally create could be solved by having the
women's activities in the daytime. This is a tentative program, much is left to the discretion of the social engineer. Many new problems would have to be handled according to the exigency of the moment.

The leader would have to arouse in the people or instil into them a sense of higher value so far as education is concerned. It would be his duty to teach the young people that education is not necessarily a means to an immediate end. He should try to change the purely materialistic value which they place on education by teaching them that material gain is merely one phase of education, and that education is the only means which is afforded us for a fuller enjoyment of the world of untold phenomena in which we live. He should also impress upon them the preparatory aspect of education that those who failed to prepare themselves intellectually would be considered criminally neglectful. He should impress upon them that preparation whether mental or physical, is the fundamental duty of good citizenship.

The problem of Negro education in Cedar Rapids is the same as that of Des Moines. The recommendations which have been made in regard to the situation in Des Moines may be made to apply to the situation in this city with certain modifications to meet local needs. It is a difficult task to refute the argument that education does not change the status of the black man in the eyes of the white man; but if the Negro's point of view is changed, that is, if he makes the good opinion of his own race the thing to strive for, then, education would have a different meaning to him, and a higher value would be placed on
high intellectual attainment instead of that crass utilitarian value which education to them seems to presuppose.
CHAPTER IV
THE NEGRO IN IOWA CITY

The entire Negro population of Iowa City numbers less than fifty. This number does not include the Negro students who are attending the State University, for, without exception they are here merely as students and maintain their citizenship in the places from which they came. There are, up to the time of writing, twelve families, with ten children ranging from three months to sixteen years. The unmarried element of the community is composed of units of a more or less floating nature, who come into the city and go out again leaving no trace behind them.

The Negro population of the city is scattered all over the community. The streets on which they may be found are College, Dodge, Dubuque, Jefferson, Linn, Clinton, Madison, and Governor. In no instance are there more than two families living on the same street, and even then they are so widely separated that there is no close contact between them. The Negroes all live in desirable localities, side by side with the whites. As far as it has been ascertained there is perfect harmony between them. Both races seem too absorbed with their own business to spare the time to find fault with one another.

The relation between the blacks and whites is typical of condition as it exists in communities in which the Negro population is small. There is a fair degree of freedom of intercourse between individuals but not as groups. It is said by old residents of the community that relations between the blacks and
whites are more strained than they have been in the past. For example, whereas it had been possible for colored persons to secure accommodations in hotels in the city unreservedly in the past it is somewhat difficult to do so now. The colored people themselves are unable to account for the change of front. It is possible that sentiment against Negroes is being aroused by white persons coming from different sections of the country, especially from the South. The segregation idea, however, has not infested the restaurants, theatres and other public places to any appreciable extent. In one of the theatres some form of segregation was tried and abandoned within the last two years. On the whole the people receive fair treatment in the restaurants, amusement places and other places of business.

The barber shops are closed to Negroes. Under no consideration would any of them wait on a person of African descent. In one or two shops Negroes are given some consideration on Sunday morning either before or after the Sunday business; but even then the person must be an acquaintance of the barber.

HEALTH AND DEATH RATES

Health conditions among the Negroes are normal. There is no case on record in which any Negro resident of the city was confined either at home or in a house of detention for contagious diseases.

The death rate among the colored people is also normal, in fact no death has occurred in the community in three years.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

In a community in which the Negro population is less than fifty one cannot expect much effort to be exerted toward cooperative action for the economic betterment of the group. Indeed,
the number is so small and their interests seem to be at such variance that no group action exists. The economic life of the people is so completely merged with that of the whites that it would be inadvisable to try to differentiate them. Some effort might be made, however, to ascertain the economic status of the blacks if for no other reason than for scientific curiosity.

Practically every Negro in Iowa City is engaged in some form of personal service, the great majority of the men being engaged as porters, and the few women that are working being engaged as household servants. The occupations in which they may be found and the approximate number engaged in each case follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caterer, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauffeur, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractor, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdresser, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House servants, 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitors, 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic (automobile), 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterer, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teamsters, 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen by this list that only two persons—the engineer, and the hairdresser—are to any degree in independent circumstances. The engineer is a graduate of the State University and last October (1917) earned his commission as a lieutenant in the National Army. The hairdresser has lived in the community for a number of years and is doing a fairly successful business, her patronage coming exclusively from the whites. Aside from this hairdressing establishment there is no Negro business of any kind in the community.

REAL ESTATE OWNERS

One feature which is worthy of note in the life of the Negroes is the eagerness to own real estate. Among the twelve
families residing in the community five of them own their homes.

A table of the homes and their approximate value follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of homes</th>
<th>Approximate Value</th>
<th>Kind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$3,500</td>
<td>2 story wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$3,500</td>
<td>2 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$6,000</td>
<td>2 &quot; stucco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>2 &quot; wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>2 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOCIAL LIFE

The social life of the Negro in the city is negligible. Aside from an occasional dance or card party there is no social intercourse between the people. There are not enough of them in the community to form a social group. Moreover, the few that are here are of various degrees of culture. This fact alone would make free intercourse impracticable. Close proximity to Cedar Rapids, where every class finds enough of its kind to form a social group, makes the people in this community indifferent toward one another.

The social relation between the whites and blacks is definitely marked off, and although there is no hostility between them the line of demarcation is so drawn that it forms an absolute barrier. Not even the colored students who represent the best type of Negro manhood and womanhood (most of them) receive any better consideration than a police character. There are a few instances—notable instances—in which a few of the colored women students have been made the recipients of the hospitality of one or two white women of the community. But it must be
understood that the element of social intercourse as between white women and black women as women was entirely absent. It was rather the case of the superior patronizing the inferior—a sort of home missionary work among the semi-destitute blacks.

INTERMARRIAGE

There have been three cases of intermarriage in Iowa City so far as it was possible to ascertain, and all three cases are of white women who have married colored men. Two of these women are widows, at least one is a widow and one remarried to a white man after the death of her colored husband. Between the three there are three children everyone of whom is attending school. Of the white woman whose colored husband is still alive it may be said that she is perfectly satisfied with her condition. There are so many "wild cat" stories about the brutality of Negro men that one would naturally expect the white wife of one of these monsters to be cowed, wretched, and a living symbol of maltreatment. Fortunately for the Negro race, there was unfeigned cheerfulness in their home when visited, and from the information which was gathered from those who are on the most intimate terms with them, there is absolutely no reason to believe that her existence is made any more wretched with a colored husband, than the existence of other white women with white husbands in similar economic circumstances.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the people is somewhat dormant. Those who are religiously inclined are so few that they are unable to maintain either wholly or in part any minister of their own. For the past twelve months there has been only one service in the little church.
The church itself is large enough to accommodate the colored people, but it does not seem that their cooperative efforts can reach the point which will induce a Negro clergyman to go out of his way to minister to their spiritual needs. The minister who is supposed to officiate here, claims that this parish was not included in his pastoral route and has therefore dropped it out.

As might be expected, the church belongs to the African Methodist Episcopal Denomination. Its approximate value is $1,500 and is a small frame building situated on Governor Street, between Bowery and Burlington Streets. In its active days it served not only for a place of religious worship but also as a social center for the colored people. Literary programs under the auspices of the colored students were formerly held every Friday evening. With the closing down of the church this weekly program has to a large extent been suspended. Through the courtesy of the University young men's fraternity literary programs are held occasionally in their chapter house. These programs are usually well-attended and a great deal of enthusiasm is manifested.

A small number of these people attend white churches and are welcomed by them. Just what the attitude of the white churches would be if the Negro attendance was of any great proportion is a matter of speculation. However, there is no reason to believe that their attitude would be different to the stand which other churches of the same denominations have taken in other communities. This attitude has been to discourage the colored people from attending. Baker tells us that even in
Boston the white preachers have denied membership in their churches to colored people. 27

MORALITY

In a community in which there is no group action and scarcely any group intercourse, where the population is so small that there is but a faint outline of a group, it is somewhat out of place to consider such a question as morality. Morality presupposes intercourse and when intercourse is slight, morality becomes a matter of speculation as to what would happen if intercourse were more general. In Iowa City there is practically no intercourse between the colored people.

This creates an interesting situation for, one would expect, that in a community where there are only twelve families of the same race, there would be more or less frequent and general intercourse between them. But we find a different situation. The reason for this state of affairs is that there are three distinct classes in the small Negro community. There are about three families that set themselves off as the élite, and if the colored students are to be given any consideration in this study they would fall into this class, for, there is free intercourse between them and the families in question. Then there is the middle class, which is made up of the resident families of the porters and other workmen, and finally there is the lower class, which is made up chiefly of the drifting element of the community. This last named class has no status in the community and is regarded by the middle class as a menace. Why their presence should be the concern of the middle class is obvious. These people drift in here in search of work or for other motives, and
unavoidably come in contact with the porters and other working men in the community, and even become a factor in economic competition. The fact is that the class division, in this small community, has made free intercourse impossible, and the question of morality thus becomes an individual rather than a group question. To pass upon the morals of individuals who are more or less isolated is a difficult problem. To determine this we must revert to the police as the guardians of public welfare, and they, in regard to Iowa City, are loud in their praise of the conduct of the Negro residents.

POLITICS

The political influence of the Negro in Iowa City is unimportant. Those few who do take interest in political questions vote the Republican ticket. Hardly a score of them are qualified to make use of the ballot. They have no representation at present on the employment list of the municipality.

POVERTY

No Negro in Iowa City is a ward of the city, for all of them are able to carry on their self-sustenance independently of outside assistance. Every one of the Negroes is working and able to provide for himself and family. In this connection it is worth while to note that the fact that there is no indigent family in the community does not indicate that the Negroes are any too prosperous. The income of the Negro as indeed in all communities, is scarcely ever more than enough to enable him to live on the border line of poverty. The average weekly income of the white unskilled workman is fifteen dollars, that of the
black man is somewhere between ten dollars and twelve dollars. It is said that a white man cannot support his family on an income of fifteen dollars and that the income barely provides for actual necessities of life, with no margin for recreation, medical attendance, etc. Now if a white man cannot support a family on an income of fifteen dollars a week, is there any reason to suppose that a black man can support a family on a weekly income of ten or twelve dollars? So far as is known the wave of philanthropy, if there is such a thing, has left the producers of commodities untouched, and they have not been found guilty of discriminating in favor of the colored workman in the prices of their commodities.

The colored workman, then, far from being prosperous is having a tremendous struggle to keep himself from being submerged by poverty. If the Negroes of Iowa City have managed to keep out of the poor house, it is because their capacity for making personal sacrifices is greater than that of the white man.

EDUCATION

The percentage of literacy among the colored people in Iowa City is high, almost 100 per cent. The children of school age are all attending school. There are at present four in attendance at the city and the University high schools, two of whom are non-resident, and four attending the elementary schools. In addition to these high and grammar school children, there are twenty-four classified colored students, eight women and seventeen men, in attendance at the State University, and two unclassified graduate students who are taking special work in modern languages. A classification of the students follows:
CLASSIFICATION OF NEGRO STUDENTS IN STATE UNIVERSITY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Arts</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate students</td>
<td>2 (unclassified)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of this number four men and seven women are citizens of the state of Iowa.

A word might be said here in connection with the relation of the Negro College student to the Negro residents. In the section on morality among the people, casual reference was made to the relation between the upper class and the Negro students, to the effect that there was free social intercourse between the students and the Negro families of the upper class in the community. However, it must not be supposed that the Negro students exert any influence over the lives of even this narrow little circle. There are two reasons why they do not. In the first place, the intercourse is not frequent enough, and in the second place, the students have neither a definite point of view of their own nor an influence to exert.

If the students' presence in the community does not affect that element in the community with whom they have some common point of interest, it goes without saying that they do not in any manner touch the lives of the other elements. Between them and the two lower Negro classes in the community there is no social intercourse, and moreover, there is, what should be called a passive hostility between them. From the point of view of the citizens the Negro students are overbearing and arrogant. The students, on the other hand, believe that these persons should be
allowed to pursue their various ways free from any interference on their part. The situation is interesting, because on one side you have a number of young people who are destined to become leaders because of their advantage and on the other side the people who are expected to be their supporters in the future years. Will maturity teach the young intellectuals a lesson?

CRIME

According to the police authorities, the Negro residents of Iowa City are just as law-abiding as the white residents. They also claim that the great majority of cases of conflict with the law has come from the floating element—not the residents—and even under this consideration no particular fault can be found with the Negroes in the community.

The offense with which these nomadic persons have been identified is that of illicit sale of liquor, or "bootlegging" as it is popularly called. Offenses against the person and property are rare and are of the less serious type.

CONCLUSION

Negro life in Iowa City is typical of Negro life in communities in which the colored population is not large enough to form as independent social group. In these communities the Negroes usually live a life of complete isolation, but when the number is small they usually lose their identity by being absorbed into the life of the whites. Iowa City belongs to the first category. Here we have a community in which the Negro population is too small to sustain group life, and yet too large and heterogeneous to be absorbed into the life of the whites.
There is only one course left to the Negroes and that is cooperation with the whites, who are in the majority, in order to perform their duties as citizens.

There is no reason, however, why the colored residents of the city, assisted by the students, should not be able to maintain the little church on the hill. Here again we find evidence of the lack of cooperative spirit. With very little cooperative effort the conditions of the church could be met and a minister's service secured on the non-resident plan. And so far as the relation between the students and the people is concerned, it certainly could be more cordial. There should exist between them a spirit of mutual helpfulness crystalized into community service. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. The solidarity of the Negro race depends not only upon the fitness of its leaders, but also upon the cooperative action of the masses and the leaders. If the leaders are too "distinguished" to descend to the level of the masses in order to lift them to a higher level, then, a situation is created in which you have an over-developed head placed upon a frail and undeveloped body; the head being too heavy for the other parts, the whole structure must topple over. The Negro students should guard themselves against the possibility of losing confidence of their less fortunate brothers. They should regard their education as a trust rather than their individual property—a trust to be shared with the less favored.
Perhaps it may seem presumptuous that an individual should assume to pass judgment on the entire population of a given race of people residing in a great commonwealth, after having studied the conditions under which they are living in only three communities. The limitation of such a study is realized, in fact, it would have given a greater degree of satisfaction if time had permitted a more exhaustive study of the situation. In that case any conclusion which might have been drawn whether favorable or unfavorable, would not provoke as keen a resentment as this conclusion may arouse. In the first place, the study would have covered a wider area, and in the second place the observer would be brought into closer relationship with the people of a larger number of communities and thereby become acquainted with the peculiar problems which these communities have to face. For it goes without saying that no two communities are confronted with the same problems. A cursory glance at these problems would lead the observer to conclude that they are similar, but a closer analysis would soon convince him of his error. For example, in the three communities which were studied certain problems presented themselves in at least two which at first was regarded as similar but which, upon further observation, it was discovered to contain certain features which made them radically different. Take the question of the absence of leadership in Des Moines and Cedar Rapids, for example; while
in the former city there is no dearth of persons who were mentally and morally equipped to assume the role of leadership, the latter city could hardly boast of any one outside of the ministers of the church and the other two persons of profession who were either mentally or socially equipped to undertake such a task. However, the existence of minor features, features which in themselves do not alter the main facts in the case, do not necessarily change the whole aspect of the question. The main fact of the absence of leadership remains substantially the same whether or not there is material on the scene which could be utilized.

This study was made in three cities which are supposed to be typical of such communities in the state. The general characteristics are supposed to be the same, the fact that a community happens to have a score or more individuals added to its population does not materially change the character of the community. A numerical increase would merely swell the number of the various units in the community. For example, Des Moines within the last three years has added about 500 persons to the group and yet the character of the community remains practically the same. What happened was this; the contending elements within the group hastened to win over the newcomers to their respective sides and swelled their numbers. The gap, which had existed between the various factions before the advent of the migrants, was widened rather than bridged. The numerical increase in their respective sides filled them with a new sense of power and rekindled in them the spirit of hostility. The same thing would be true of Iowa City. The addition of a score
or more of colored families to the Negro community would not materially affect the present situation. The newcomers would simply "fall in line" and follow more or less the custom of the community by aligning themselves with the various groups. The mere question of a small difference in number, then, does not affect the character of a group.

From an economic standpoint it may be said that the Negro in Iowa has a great deal to learn. First, he must learn to make the maximum use of the opportunities which the war has opened to him. A colored professional man said that Des Moines was a money town and that all the people black as well as white, cared for was to make money. This conclusion was accepted with a great deal of reserve. No one is prepared to say categorically that Des Moines is not a money town, but the rest of his statement must be questioned. There is no sign of that extreme eagerness on the part of the colored people to take full advantage of their economic possibilities. To be sure there was not a great percentage of idleness in the city during the period of observation, but there was a sufficient number of idlers in the pool rooms and barber shop back rooms to prove that work was not universally appreciated.

The European War has had a most beneficial effect on the economic life of urban Negroes in all industrial or commercial centers. The Negroes in Des Moines and in Cedar Rapids have not been benefited to any lesser degree. Indeed, it is a puzzle to understand how the social groups in these two communities managed to carry on their sustaining life before the war.
It is admitted that the coal mines in and about Des Moines supplied work to the Negro miners, but all the members of the community were not miners. The personal or domestic service furnished employment to a few, but even in this form of occupation the blacks were being supplanted by the poor whites. In Cedar Rapids conditions were different; the Negro population was smaller and the avenues of employment were more numerous than those in Des Moines.

The Negroes in these two communities, and indeed in all similar communities in the State of Iowa, have, for the first time in the history of the state, been given an equal industrial opportunity with the whites. Whether they are to be retained or not depends on how efficient they prove themselves to be. There is no danger that the black men will fail to adjust themselves to their new situation, and become less efficient than the white men. The danger, rather, is in their lack of adaptation to the continuous system of operation in the industrial field. A considerable number of Negroes do not understand, or do not care to understand, that they must work six days in a week, and four weeks in a month. Their idea is that a man should work and accumulate a small sum of money to last him two or three weeks and then lay off to "take things easy." Some writers attribute this indolence and others to the lack of adjustment to the wage scale and so forth. As a matter of fact no dogmatic or arbitrary conclusion can be drawn concerning the black man's apparent indifference to continual labor. While there is an element of indolence and an element of ignorance of the wage scale yet the real and fundamental cause is lack of decent treatment and adequate compensation.
The Negro is an American, any other opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. As an American he feels that he is not getting a square deal at the hands of those who give him employment. He is either underpaid or made to work longer hours for the same pay which others before him had received. This feeling that he is not treated fairly arouses in him a keen sense of individual injustice which expresses itself in bitterness both against the employers and the work itself. It is thus that he assumes at best a spirit of tolerance toward work and comes to regard it as a necessary evil, yet an evil to be shunned as much as possible. In the industries in which he is given a square deal there is no complaint about his indolence or his shiftlessness.

In the second place, the Negro must learn to cooperate. Lack of cooperative action in business, in social work, and in religion is without doubt the greatest drawback in the lives of the people in all the three communities. In none of the three communities has the spirit of cooperation in the economic field made itself manifest. There is not a cooperative economic organization in any of these cities. In Des Moines the handful of Negro businesses is owned and operated by private individuals. These individual efforts spring up here and there only to die for lack of sound financial support and intelligent management. There is no conceivable reason why there should be a dozen or more small individually owned restaurants with no special claim to the kind of business which they purport to represent, when with a little cooperation between these twelve owners or more a respectable, representative, and well-financed restaurant could be established. The wisdom of patronizing the commercial-
ized amusement houses where they are "Jim Crowed" when with a little coöperation between the well-to-do members of the race an amusement house of their own could be established where they and their families and their people would be treated with some decency was not apparent. Nor could there be any reason why their dead should be buried by white undertakers, and their insurance policies written by white men for white insurance companies that have special rates for whites and special rates for the blacks, when a little coöperative action would secure them undertakers and insurance agencies from their own people.

It cannot be expected that Cedar Rapids or Iowa City would launch an elaborate program for group maintenance, but something might be done especially in the former city to better the economic condition of the group. For example, there is no reason why a restaurant, a grocery store, and a drug goods store could not be maintained by the Negro community. There should be no difficulty in establishing and maintaining such places by the coöperative action of the group. There are enough well-to-do Negroes in Cedar Rapids to finance adequately such a project and to take proper means to insure its success.

Of Iowa City nothing of any consequence may be expected through coöperative action except the support of their church which has been closed on account of financial difficulties. The Negro population is too small to undertake any economic enterprise of their own. They must be satisfied to throw in their lot with their white neighbors as citizens of the municipality in mutual cooperation.
From a political standpoint the Negroes of Iowa must content themselves with playing a minor rôle in the scheme of government. There are too few voters in the State to affect appreciably the status of the political parties, and especially the party in power. "All Negroes are born in the Republican Party", is the formula already quoted, of a colored professional man in Des Moines, and they may just as well had been born in the Democratic Party for all the difference that it makes when the Negroes' welfare is concerned.

The helplessness of the Negro voters in the state in bringing pressure to bear upon the politicians for the recognition of their just rights, and the adoption of the means to have them respected by the public, will be seen when their voting strength is brought to light. In 1915, the number of colored male persons of voting age was 6,157 or .8 of one per cent of the total number of male persons of voting age. In the same year, the number of colored male voters who were entitled to vote was 5,886 or .9 of one per cent of the total number of male persons entitled to vote in the State. These figures illustrate the relative weakness of the Negro vote even when it is taken in its entirety. This numerical weakness throws the Negro population at the mercy of the white voters with no means of redress.

But the Negroes must not despair. There are other effective means which may be employed to force recalcitrant party candidates to recognize their presence in the commonwealth. But these means may be employed only in communities in which there is a considerate density in the Negro population---Des Moines, Keokuk,
Davenport and Cedar Rapids. In these cities the Negro voters may concentrate their efforts on the candidate who offers them the best assurances for their welfare. To do this the Negroes would have to cooperate as they have never done before, renounce all their former party allegiance, and organize themselves into a league, or into a distinct party. The league or party may be given a statewide character by establishing branches in all the communities in the state in which the Negro voters exceeded twenty. In order to raise revenue to carry on the operation of the organization, certain weekly or monthly contributions could be required of every member of the organization. The funds thus raised could be placed into a treasury from which it could be drawn only for the purpose of contributing to the campaign funds of the party or a candidate to whom their support had been pledged. It could also be used for the purpose of maintaining a lobbyist at the seat of legislature to influence legislations in their favor. In the communities in which the number of voters fell below twenty there could be organized local chapters to consist of voters within certain adjacent areas. The contributions of the locals would be turned over to the central treasury, where they could be utilized for the purposes already mentioned. In the event that financial assistance is required by a local to carry out a certain local political program which is designed to better its condition, then the required sum could be drawn from the central treasury on proper warrant.

This scheme is not advocated as a panacea for all political evils which may affect the Negroes of the state, but it is confidently believed that the adoption of such a program would have some effect on the political situation. The Negroes cannot
hope, by pursuing an individualistic course, to achieve anything in politics. What is needed is intelligent numerical and financial coöperation. By this means alone may they hope to maintain the self-respect of the group.

The social life of the Negroes is far from being the most desirable social condition in the state. Its greatest need is social order based upon sound ethical principles. The present order, which is characterized by self-gratification and self-aggrandizement, must give way to the new order which is characterized by self-sacrifice in the interest of the community. Nowhere is there a greater need of reorganization than among the women. The moral standard of the women needs to be raised to a much higher plane of excellence. A new ideal based on the purity of womanhood should be substituted for the ill-conceived idea of a double standard of living.

The men, too, come in for their share in the system of reorganization. In the first place, they must be taught to respect their women more than they do. In the second place, they should be taught to assume the burden of family sustentation more fully than they have been doing, so that their women may be withdrawn from personal service. This action will enable them to take up their places in their homes as the logical molders of the minds of the future generation. In the third place, the men should demand a higher standard of morality from the women than they have hitherto required.
How by whom and how this reorganization should be undertaken is a serious problem. Society is an organism which cannot be changed by the striking of a magic wand or by the stroke of a pen, or even by revolution. All changes must go through the slow process of evolution. Moreover, society is made up of humans who possess natures of their own. Human nature although changeable is not apt to change overnight. It, too, must run its cycle before it is ready to redirect its course. Realizing these facts, then, it behooves one who would undertake to reorganize society to recognize the necessity of proceeding with care and even with extreme pains. The nature of the society which he undertakes to change must be thoroughly analyzed and all its structures and functions duly noted. The conclusion is that the social enterpriser will have to come from the outside. The task is a delicate one which will require a great deal of sacrifice, a number of compromises, and a great deal of self-effacement which an individual within the group would find somewhat too taxing.

The task of the social enterpriser, however, will not be easy. In the first place, he will have to be very resourceful in the matter of tact and common sense; in the second place, he will have to be thoroughly equipped mentally; in the third place, he will have to be a person of unquestionable integrity, and possess strong moral qualities; and in the fourth place, he will have to be an organizing genius. These qualifications are considered most essential for any social enterpriser if he is to make a success of the undertaking. In the conclusions to the chapters on Des Moines and Cedar Rapids a program was outlined
which such a person would have to pursue, it is necessary, therefore, to restate it. The same plan could be used to advantage with slight modifications in any large Negro community in the state.

If the Negroes of Des Moines, Cedar Rapids, Iowa City, in fact, if the Negroes in the State of Iowa wish to lift themselves above the level of their forbears, they will have to take greater advantage of the facilities that are offered by the state for a fuller development of the intellect. The number of Negro children and Negro youths who are taking advantage of the excellent educational opportunities is too few to be of any credit to the race. Especially is there a need for a greater representation in the higher institutions of learning and in the high schools of the state. When one considers that out of a total of twenty four colored students that are attending the State University only nine are from Iowa, six of whom are young ladies, the seriousness of the educational problem among the Negroes of the state is impressive. And this condition is not only true of the State University, it is also true of the other universities and colleges of the state. Indeed, it might be said with no fear of contradiction that all the colored students in attendance at those institutions are outsiders.

In the high schools the situation is slightly different. Instead of having the majority of the high school pupils coming from outside of the state, exactly the reverse condition exists. In Iowa City, for example, there is one outsider as against three Iowa pupils, and the outsider is there merely through force of circumstances—making up credits for college entrance requirements.

The Negroes, then, must first of all learn to develop a taste
for education, and secondly, they must take advantage of the facil- ities for education which the State of Iowa offers. As to whether the form of education which is offered in the elementary schools is the right form for the colored children there is entertained no grave doubts. The curricula as they now stand are too object- ive to be of any appreciable service to the Negro child. What the Negro child needs is a form of education which is more or less subjective. The educational situation has already been dis- cussed at length, in Chapter II, therefore, no reference will be made to it except to call attention to the need of a change in the curricula of elementary schools to meet the peculiar needs of the colored child. This need is national rather than local or sectional.

Finally there is the matter of religion. In this connection two questions suggest themselves; the first is, whether there is not an over-churching in some of the communities, especially in Des Moines? The second is, whether the religious philosophy of the Negro Church is not based on a wrong premise? To both questions an affirmative answer should be given. Taking up a specific community—Des Moines. There are fourteen Negro Churches in the community; two Baptist, one Congregational, three African Methodist Episcopal Zion, two African Methodist Episcopal Bethel, one Methodist Episcopal, one Church of God and Saints of Christ, and four Holy Rollers. If the total number of the colored popu- lation were to be divided equally among the fourteen churches, each church would receive as its allotment 357.1 persons. This calculation is made on the hypothesis that every person of the community is identified with the church (which is not so, in fact).
On this basis there would be apparently no over-churching, but looking at the situation from a different angle it will be seen that the over-churching condition is a reality.

According to our figures there are five A.M.E. Churches (two Bethel and three Zion). From the information which could be gathered, there does not seem to be any fundamental difference between a Bethel Methodist and a Zion Methodist. Now if the inference is correct, why is it necessary to have five churches of the same, or of practically the same denomination in a community of that size? It seems logically conclusive that two, or even three, churches located at strategic points could take care of the Methodists of the community. Two Baptist Churches are essential because of the geographical distribution of the people. But why four Holy Jumpers Churches? Surely two churches could adequately take care of the 350 of this particular type of Christians.

The tendency to over-church communities is nation-wide, but its national characteristic does not furnish it with a plea for its justification. Over-churching is no more justifiable in Des Moines than it would be in Iowa City. In both instances there would be the same element of wastefulness. The greatest evil of over-churching is the waste of capital, not only on the structure but also in the maintenance of the organization. The Negro is not so rich that he can afford to plunge his capital into a non-productive concern. The capital which is invested in these superfluous churches could be utilized to a greater advantage by the race in the establishment of cooperative industries which would give fitting employment to some of its despond-
ent high school graduates. One wonders after all whether the numerical increase of the Negro church is not at the expense of the economic life of the Negro.

The second question—whether the religious philosophy of the Negro Church is not based on a wrong premise?—must be answered in the affirmative. No one who is familiar with conditions as they exist in the Negro Church may deny the fact that Negro religion is hopelessly out of date, and stubbornly reactionary. Borrowed almost wholly from the religion of their white masters, the Negro ministers have managed to construct a religious philosophy which is simply the crystallization of all the impractical and pacific doctrines of the white church. To them what is is because the "good Lawd" made it so. They do not believe that progress is the fruitage of conscious and persistent human effort; to them progress is written in the order of things—"the Lord will provide." If an aggressive-minded person can find comfort in such doctrine as "turn the other cheek", or "leave everything to God," then the Negro church is the place for him. It must not be considered for a moment that this attitude is characteristic of the Negro Church alone. Indeed, the white church is only now awaking from its long slumber. The process of adapting itself to the twentieth century idea of religion is slow, yet there are unmistakable signs of progression toward that idea.

The Negro church needs to be reorganized on a rational basis. Its point of view should be changed from that of blind individualism to collective service, in other words, its point of view should be social rather than individual. It should shift its
point of emphasis from that of saving of individual souls from eternal damnation to that of making the souls of the whole group "fit", in order that they may enjoy that peace and blessing which a full life in this world offers to an unselfish soul.

There is no reason why the young people in Des Moines and in Cedar Rapids should be allowed to drift to perdition under the very nose, so to speak, of the Church. Why have a church if it cannot be made to serve the people? Is the church above the people, or is it an instrument of the people? When a churchman confesses his inability, or the inability of the Church (which is equivalent) because of its "moss-backed" or fossilized dogmas, to save the younger generation from a life of degeneracy then it is time to burn the churches and banish its disciples, for, it has outlived its usefulness. The young people must be saved from a life which holds for them nothing but eternal despair; and it is the duty of the Church to save them, its dogma to the contrary notwithstanding. If its dogma conflicts with a social program which would reclaim the young people then the dogma should be modified. The duty of the Church should be to prevent while there is time--to keep the young people in the right path--rather than to wait for an opportunity to convert, when, perhaps, it may be too late.

The Negro Churches in Des Moines, Cedar Rapids, and throughout the state, since these two communities are typical, should be strengthened. The Church should be made the standard bearer of morality. The weak-kneed attitude of the church toward those immoral members who contribute to the collection with largesse
is producing a demoralizing influence over the church body. If those persons whose conduct is not all that the church expects of them go unrebuked, and if the young people become aware of the moral imperfection of these people, and especially if these very people are sanctified by the church, it goes without saying that the young people would try to emulate them without any sense of wrong doing. The delicacy of the situation is realized. It is also realized that the tenure of service of the ministers depends on how well they please the congregation, and that with them it is a question of "bread and butter". Nevertheless a minister who tolerates this condition in his church simply because his bread and butter must be secured, forfeits all claim to sound moral leadership.

The church, to fulfill its mission, must be purged of all its vacillating leaders who are weighed down by obsolete traditions and fossiliferous dogmas. Young blood with twentieth century ideas should be infused into the church and thereby raise its tone. Already there is a faint sign of such a transformation, and such as it is, the people should welcome and rejoice over it, for it is the vanguard of a new era in the history of the Negro church.
REFERENCES

PART I

1. Frances Blascoer--Colored School Children in New York City.
4. Ibid Negro Health and Physique-Atlanta University Studies. (Ripley pp. 58, 457, 465)
5. Ibid Negro Health and Physique-Atlanta University Studies. (Sergi pp. 248-9, 254)
6. Ibid Negro Health and Physique-Atlanta University Studies. (Deniker p. 63)
9. Frances Blascoer--" " " " " " p. 151.
15. Ibid " " p. 139.
16. Ibid " " p. 141.
22. A. J. Todd--Theories of Social Progress--Chapter IV.
27. Ray Stannard Baker--Following the Color Line--pp.300,249,250.
28. Kelley Miller--Race Adjustment--"Eminent Negroes".
31. Ibid " " " " " " "
32. Ibid " " " " " "
38. Ibid Negro Crime--p. 56.
Two constitutional Amendments were necessary to admit the Negroes as citizens of the State of Iowa. The first amendment gave him the right to vote by striking out the word "white" from Article II, Section 1; the right to be numerated as a citizen was granted by striking out "white" from Article III, Section 33; restriction to become member of the state legislature was removed by striking out the word "white" from Article III, Section 34; reapportioning districts from which members to the legislature could be drawn was sanctioned by striking out the word "white" from Article III, Section 35; finally eligibility to the state militia was made possible by striking out the word "white".
54. Mr. A. L. Urick--State Commissioner of Labor.
55. Mr. George Woodson--Lawyer-President, Iowa Bar Association.
56. Census of Iowa, 1915.
57. " " " , 1915.
58. Mr. C. M. Young--Secretary Human Society-Des Moines.
59. Mr. Frank Joseph--Assistant State Superintendent of Public Instruction.
61. It will be interesting to note that in New York City advertisements appear in the Daily Newspapers for help, and it would would be unusual if one did not see advertisements which read as follows: "Wanted--Porters-white $40, colored, $30; laborers white, 50 cents an hour, colored, 40 cents an hour."
63. The Metropolitan Insurance Company has higher rates for Negro policy holders because, it is claimed, of the higher death rate among Negroes.
64. A. J. Todd--Theories of Social Progress--Chapter XIV, p. 232.
PART II
SUBMITTED AS SUPPLEMENT
TO PART I
THE NEGRO IN NORTHERN COMMUNITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

PART I

There are some well-intentioned persons who, either because of their utopian optimism, or their lack of information on the momentous questions of the day, are inclined to argue that there is no such thing as a Negro problem. It is possible that these persons refuse to recognize the tense relation which exists between the white and black citizens of the United States, as one which is peculiar to any particular race. That is to say, they prefer to regard the question in its broader aspect—that of a race problem rather than in any more restricted sense. But whichever way one is disposed to look at the problem, the fact still remains that there are vital, critical, and delicate questions which the presence of the black man in the upper portion of the western hemisphere has raised, and which sooner or later must be solved. Call it the race problem, the Negro problem, or the white man's burden, if you wish, but the essential fact remains that there is a problem which the nation must face squarely before many moons have set.

I am not concerned with the incidents leading up to the Civil War nor of those which are connected with the slave trade; that which interests me is the present status of the Negro as a citizen of the United States, who is supposed to enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities incident to such citizenship. More especially am I interested in the condition of Negroes residing in the northern part of the United States, for here at least he is supposed to come into the full enjoyment of
citizenship. It will be noticed that I say "supposed." I do so fully conscious of the significance of the implication which it carries with it. It is a notorious fact that even in the New England States—the cradle of independence and democracy—the Negro is deprived of the fundamental rights which are guaranteed him by the Constitution, on no other ground save that of the color of his skin.

There is such a problem in this country as the Negro problem; the opinion of any optimist to the contrary notwithstanding. However, there is this one point which is frequently overlooked. There are two sides to the Negro problem, the white man's side and the black man's side, each side being clear and distinct from the other. The Negro problem from the point of view of the white man is one of self-preservation. It is a question of preserving the purity of the white race, from a chimerical band of marauders; the guarding of his industry against the invasion of a hoard of parasites; the protection of his farm lands from an avalanche of ruthless despoilers; and finally the partitioning off of the black man into undesirable localities where the Negro race would become extinct by the sheer force of unfavorable conditions. Or as Dr. DuBois puts it: "To keep him (the Negro) from all positions of authority; to prevent his promotion to higher grades; to exclude him entirely from certain lines of industry; to prevent him from competing upon equal terms with the white workman; to prevent his buying land; to prevent his defense of his economic rights and status by the ballot".

The Negro problem, viewed from the standpoint of the Negro
himself, is that of race-existence; it is the problem of gaining a foothold somewhere in the body politic where he may establish a base from which he may issue forth to compete with the white bread earners. He recognizes that successful competition presupposes adequate preparation and so he has undertaken to equip himself mentally and physically for the life-and-death contest. The Negro, however, is not content merely to accept the white man's civilization as he has found it, but wishes to make valuable and lasting contributions to it, in order that he may be more permanently identified with western civilization.

The white man seeks to justify his attitude toward the Negro on the ground that the black race is mentally, physically, and morally inferior to the white races. To prove his argument he fortifies himself with an avalanche of unscientific generalizations which purport to establish beyond the benefit of a doubt the superiority of the white man. He points to western civilization, throws out his chest exultantly and asks: "What has the black man done to equal this--my civilization? Isn't this the result of the white man's superior intellect?"

Apparently it is, but actually it is not. Achievements--inventions--are synthetical; they represent improvements made by certain individuals upon best ideas of other individuals in certain definite lines. Now some of these ideas may have been borrowed from races other than the white race. Now if this is true (and there is no reason to doubt it) then, to attribute the splendor and grandeur of western civilization to the unique mentality of the Aryan race is nothing else than
an ethnological blackmail. There is absolutely no scientific basis for any assertion of fundamental racial superiority or inferiority. All scientific investigations thus far have tended to disprove all ideas of psychical and physical superiority of any one race.

Let us examine some of the scientific discussions on the mental and physical characteristics of races. Dr. Du Bois in his "Negro Health and Physique," quotes from Sergi, as follows, who denies that Greek and Roman civilization were Aryan. "In opposition to the theory of a migration from the north of Europe to the west and then to Africa," says Sergi, "I am on the contrary, convinced that a migration of the African racial element took place in primitive times from the South towards the North. The types of Cro-Magnon, L'Homme-mort, and other French and Belgian localities, bear witness to the presence of an African stock in the same region in which we find the dolmens and other megalithic monuments erroneously attributed to the Celts— we have no reason to suppose that the movement of emigration in the East of Africa stopped at the Nile Valley, we may suppose that it extended towards the east of Egypt, into Syria and the region around Syria, and thence into Asia Minor. It is possible that the immigration encountered the primitive inhabitants, or a population, coming from North Arabia, and mingled with them or subjugated them". In conclusion he says, "(1) The primitive population of Europe originated in Africa; (2) the basin of the Mediterranean Sea was the chief center of the movement whence the African migration reached central and
northern Europe; (3) from the great EurAfrican stock came:

a. The present inhabitants of Northern Africa.

b. The Mediterranean races.

c. The Nordic or Teutonic races.

(4) These three varieties of one stock were not 'Aryan' nor of Asiatic origin; (5) the primitive civilization of Europe is Afro-Mediterranean, becoming eventually Afro-European; (6) Greek and Roman civilization were not Aryan but Mediterranean.

Perhaps these are not sufficient proof to discredit the white man's belief in a superior white race; consequently I shall quote a few more passages from Du Bois. He quotes from Ripley who takes issue with the idea that the Teuton remained true to his primitive characteristics. "If therefore," says Ripley, "as all consistent students of natural history hold today, the human races have evolved in the past from some common root-type, this predominant dark color must be regarded as the more primitive. It is not permissible for an instant to suppose that 99 per cent of the human species has varied from a blonde ancestry, while the flaxen-haired Teutonic type alone has remained true to its primitive characteristics."

And Sergi, commenting on the type which remained in North Africa says: "The area of geographical distribution of these African populations is immense, for it reaches from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, from the Equator, and even beyond the Equator to the Mediterranean. In this vast area we find, when we exclude racial mixtures, that the physical characteristic of the skeleton, as regards head and face, are uniform, but the physical
character of the skin and intermediate parts, that is to say, the development and form of the small parts, vary. This uniformity of the cranio-facial skeletal characters, which I consider the guiding thread in anthropological research, has led me to regard as a single human stock all the varieties distributed in the area already mentioned. In the varying cutaneous coloration, I see an effect of temperature, of climate, of alimentation, and of manner of life.

Wishing to be more explicit Ripley tells us that, "One point alone seemed to have been definitely proved; however, marked the contrast between the several varieties of human species may be, there is no corresponding difference in anatomical structure discoverable. Pigmentation arises from the disposition of coloring matter in a special series of cells, which lie just between the translucent outer skin known as the cutis. It was long supposed that these pigment cells were peculiar to the dark-skinned races, but investigation has shown that the structure in all types is identical. The differences in color are due not to the presence or absence of the cells themselves, but in variations in amount of pigment therein deposited. In this respect the Negro differs physiologically, rather than anatomically from the European and the Asiatic." And Sergi concludes: "We may therefore conclude that as residence under the equator has produced the red-brown and black coloration of the stock, and residence in the Mediterranean the brown color, so northern Europe has given origin to the white skin, blond hair, and blue or grey eyes. I believe we may consider this (color difference) a beautiful example of the formation and variations of
external characters among a section of the human race which from time immemorial has been diffused by migrations between the equator and the Arctic Circle, and has formed its external characters according to the variations of latitude and the concomitant external conditions." Ripley, commenting on the texture of the hair, says that there are only two extremes of hair texture in the human species, the crippled Negro hair and stiff wiry straight hair of the Asiatics and American Aborigines. The Negro hair is flat and ribbon-like while the Asiatic hair inclines to be cylindrical; other types of hair are the result of crossing of these two types.

Now as to the relative size and weight of the Negro brain and the white man's brain. Ripley, tells us, "Equally unimportant to the anthropologist is the absolute size of the head----neither size or weight of the brain seems to be important----The peasant and the philosopher cannot be distinguished in this respect. For the same reason the striking difference between the sexes, the head of the man being considerably larger than the head of the woman, means nothing more than avoirdupois." Deniker tells us that great stress used to be laid upon the degree of projection of the maxillary portion of the face by anthropologists twenty or thirty years ago, as a characteristic trait of certain skulls; however, it does not seem to play such an important part in the classification of races. It produces too many varieties to be taken as a distinctive character of a race.

Monroe N. Work, commenting on the prevailing tendency to draw hasty conclusions based upon imperfect generalization,
said that the total number of brains that have been examined in America with reference to size is about 500, and in Europe 200, making a total of 700 brains. Upon this small number are generalizations based concerning the hundreds of millions of Negroes in Africa and the twenty or more millions in the western hemisphere. Among these persons of color there are to be found variations as great and of the same kind as those found among white races. Moreover, in estimating the weight of the Negro brains no account was taken of age, stature, social class, occupation, nutrition and cause of death. These factors, either separately or together, would affect both the weight and structure of the brain. And while some investigators like Peacock, Boyd and Hunt find that the Negro brain is lighter than that of the white man, Donaldson found that the average weight of the Negro females brain, 1108 mm. to be greater than the white females, 11.03 mm.

Perhaps we need to go still a little further in our effort to discredit the white man's idea of his superiority. We are told that the white man's brain has more elaborate convolutions and deeper fissuration than the black man's brain. Of this Du Bois says, "It is not apparently taken into account that fissuration and convolution depend upon several variables. As for example, a brain possession of an extensive cortex with the elements incompletely associated can be a much folded brain, because in order to apply it to the surface of the cerebrum it must be thrown into many gyri. On the other hand, the association fibers may be so develop
associating fibres may be so developed as to increase the central mass, thereby giving a larger surface to which the cortex may be applied and thus tend to increase the cortical folds. These facts with those from comparative anatomy respecting the fissuration and convolution of the brains of beasts and birds, seem to indicate that there is no certain relation between brain convolution and intelligence. These facts, in connection with the well established fact that those characters which are said to be distinctive of particular races are found with more or less frequency in other races, seem to indicate that what has been described as being peculiar in the size, shape, and anatomy of the Negro brain is not true of all Negro brains. These same peculiarities can no doubt be found in many white brains and probably have no special connection with the mental capacity of either race.

These scientific facts, it would seem, have more than discredited the white man's boastful idea of his superior mentality as well as his superior physique. Now as to his moral superiority. Frances Blascoer writes, in her report of colored school children in New York City, "Among the general needs brought out by this report seems to be the one of raising the standard with regard to sex morality among these children (Negro) and their parents. But before judging that to be a greater need here than in any other congested quarter of the city or less developed communities, it is interesting to note various opinions on the subject. It is peculiarly true of this problem of sex morality that it is discussed as a Negro problem a Jewish problem, etc., when it is truly a universal problem as the following instances would show." A white
woman who had worked for many years among the more ignorant colored people in the south said in regard to the growth of conventional marriage among them. "I believe I can but express the condition of affairs by stating that the girls with whom we have been working have come to feel that it is respectable to be married at least a short time before their babies are born".

Two years ago, while investigating conditions in Hawaiian Islands, a Bishop there said in regard to the development of sex morality in the native girls: "I feel the most that I can say is that we have succeeded in making the girls feel that it is respectable to be married before their babies are born".

Returning to the United States, the same woman, in an interview with the head worker of a settlement house in a small Pennsylvania community made up chiefly of Pennsylvania Dutch, Hungarian, Slavs etc., was told, on inquiring about the problem of sex morality that "On the whole, I think the girls we have reached are coming to feel that it is respectable to be married before their babies are born." Here we have three opinions of three different persons concerning the sex morality of Negro women, the yellow women of Hawaiian Islands, and of white women of three or more different European countries, all of which are identical.

In order to supplement the opinions which are given above Miss Glascor quotes the opinion of Mr. Joel E. Springarn, Chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: "The development of the institution of marriage must be studied before one condemns as 'immoral' the practices
of a group whose morality is not yet removed from the right of
the "seigneur" so universally recognized in all feudal states
and which the colored races have had less opportunity to out-
grow than any other peoples. The reproach that a colored woman
is proud to bear a child by a white man can be surely traced
back to the teaching in the tribes that it was an honor to bear
a child by a chief----A number of people who are familiar with
the history of the colored race in the United States and who
know intimate the condition under which they have lived, feel
that it is an inconceivable injustice to measure their standards
of sex morality by that of the white race.

"There is nothing" in the first place to show that sex
immorality is not quite as grave a problem among white as it is
among colored girls under 16 years of age. Aside from this,
however, we must take into consideration the fact that the
colored people have little reason to believe in the sincerity
of the sex morality professed by the white race. They have
borne a heavy burden of the white man's lust which broke down
the conceptions of morality, crude as they were, existing among
the savage tribes from which the slaves were recruited. For
this reason the deterrent public opinion which among white
people plays so prominent a part in maintaining the moral
standard of white women as far as sex relations are concerned,
has been of slower growth and is less harsh among the colored
people. A colored girl's character, therefore, is morally
solidly based on inherent traits, that is, whether she goes
wrong or remains pure, she is more apt to do so because it is
her nature to do so than because of any pressure of public
opinion brought to bear from the outside. If that pressure were removed from white women, it might then, under all the circumstances, be interesting to discuss the relative sex morality of white and colored girls.

No less an authority than Herbert Spencer tells us that among the primitive peoples of Africa there is only one tribe on record whose sex morality was found to be lax. Where, then, did the African slaves acquire this immoral character, which is said, to be peculiar to it? Did they acquire it en route, that is to say, on the way between Africa and America? But Sir Sydney Olivier, himself, a white man born in the West Indies, and for several years Governor of Jamaica, West Indies, tells us that the Negroes in Jamaica are not characterized by sex immorality. And so far as the question of assault on white women by Negro men goes, Sir Sydney says that two questions suggest themselves to a visitor in the United States from Jamaica. First, are women in more special danger of molestation from black ruffians than from white? Second, are special methods expedient for repressing criminal tendencies in the colored as distinct from the whites? "These questions will present themselves", he explains, "because the fact is that in the British West Indies assaults by black or colored men on white women or children are practically unknown. I say this as an administrator familiar with judicial statistics, as a resident familiar with all parts of Jamaica, all classes of its population, as head of a household of women and girls who have frequented the suburbs of Kingston (capital of Jamaica) and lived for
weeks and months in remote country districts with neither myself nor any other white man within call. Any resident in Jamaica will tell the same story. A young white woman can walk alone in the hills or to Kingston, in daylight or in the dark, through populous settlements of exclusively black and colored folk without encountering anything but friendly salutation from man or woman. Ladies walking or riding alone experience much more rudeness and offensive behavior in England----Whatever may be the cause, it is the indisputable fact that Jamaica or any other West Indian island, is as safe a place for women and girls to go about as is any European country with which I am acquainted----It is clear, then, that any reason which the white people in America may have to fear these assaults cannot be due to a necessary or special propensity of the colored race----But assuming that there is an appreciable danger, a danger greater from colored than from white, then why does it not exist in the British West Indies?

"I cannot but surmise", he continues, "that the propensity to such assaults is stimulated by the very character of the attitude which the white assumes towards the colored population. There is maintained a constant storm of suggestion to the most imaginative and uncontrollable of passions in an excitable and imaginative race----When a class makes the preposterous and self-damnatory announcement to another, whose women it has continually made the mothers of its own offspring, that it is of an inferior order, there is immediately aroused, all the self-assertiveness of the human claim to equality, which is as
fundamental in the African as in any other race". These are pertinent facts from which the white man, who are inclined to denounce the morals of the colored people, cannot escape. They must explain, for example, whether the black African slave women in the cotton fields of "Dixie", and in the northern homes as domestics, went up to the "big house" and kidnapped their white masters and forced them to cohabit with them. They must explain the fact that nearly 3,000,000 Negroes in this country are brown and near white. If they can explain these circumstances to the satisfaction of a moralist, then, and not until then, will they be justified in claiming moral superiority over the darker races.

Kelly Miller, one of the most eminent, and most conservative Negroes living, and one of the recognized scholars of America, tells us that, "the womanhood of the Negro race has been the immemorial victim of the white man's lasciviousness and lust. The black woman has yielded to higher authority and superior guile, while breathing slaughter against the Negro man, does the white lord and master ever stop to reflect upon the unnumbered assaults which he for centuries has made upon black and bleached womanhood? The Negro domestic who must fight daily to preserve her integrity from the subtle guile or forcible compulsion of her white employer, and who yields only when her strength of body or will is not sufficient to hold out longer, is a victim who commands the deepest sympathy." Pickens tell us that the reason for the scarcity of colored domestic servants is not laziness as the white people assert, but "it is the unprotected condition of colored women and girls."
A Negro girl has little enough protection against the stranger in the streets, and when she goes into domestic service there is no protecting law that follows her; she is entirely at the mercy of the honor of the white male members of the household, and bitter experiences have shown that in many, many cases that cannot be relied upon.---The truth about the rapacity which the colored female has had to withstand, will never be fully told; and if told, it would be incredible to most of those who had not first-hand knowledge of conditions. If one white female were ravaged by a black man to every ten black females that are outraged by white men in America, the ninety millions would start a war of extermination against the ten millions. And yet the Negro is the one who has been advertized to the world as the rapist."

Moreover, a great deal of the moral irregularities with which the colored people are charged, have been copied wholly or in part from the white race. The writer has had the occasion to take exception to certain acts practised by young men, girls, and young women, which were not quite proper, and the exceptions were usually met by the assertion that those acts were nothing more or less than what the young white men, girls, and young white women practised. This statement could not conscientiously be refuted. The writer's observation among the white people in practically all walks of life, has convinced him that although there are white people whose sound moral principles are irreproachable yet there are also those whose moral depravity places them in the same category as the most vicious of animals. Cases could be cited of unparalleled sex immorality, but for fear of misunderstanding will mention a
more impersonal example. At the latter part of the summer of 1917 the owners of river boats plying on the Hudson River between New York City, Albany, and Troy, were prohibited from selling state rooms to Sunday excursionists because of the gross immorality in which the white men and white women indulged. I traveled on these boats for six weeks in the interest of a newspaper, and during that time only one colored family took advantage of these excursions and they did not occupy a state room. Recently the Government of the United States has found it necessary to send a naval officer to Philadelphia to clean out the white cesspools which threatened the life and health of our soldiers. These are disagreeable facts which the white man is called upon to digest; but truth will not be downed.

Summarizing, then, we find that the white man's boasted claim to mental, physical, and moral superiority, is not sustained by scientific facts. In order to discredit this canard it was necessary to array a number of scientific facts based on careful and expert analysis of the race problem, all of which deny the existence of such superiority in any one race of people. It is the consensus of opinion that the claim of white superiority is based on vague generalities which cannot stand even the simplest scrutiny. Jean Pinot tells us that, "the conclusion forces itself upon us that there are no inferior or superior races, but races of peoples living outside or within the influence of culture. The appearance of civilization and its evolution among certain white peoples and within certain white peoples and within a certain geographical latitude is only the effect of circumstances." And Spiller sums up the situation
in a manner which should recommend it to all thinking men: "We are under the necessity", he says, "of concluding that an impartial investigation would be inclined to look upon the various important peoples of the world as to all intent and purposes, essentially equal in intelligence, enterprise, morality, and physique."

There is still another question to be answered. We are asked, what has the Negro achieved to compare with or to equal the civilization of the white race? This question is a relative one. It is one of those question which cannot be answered to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, for, there is no way to determine whether modern or western civilization, or whether primitive civilization is to be set up as the criterion. The white man, however, proceeds in his customary arbitrary manner, to make his civilization the standard, and forthwith denounces any other civilization which does not measure up to his.

To answer this question with some degree of fairness we must first of all define civilization. Guizot -the historian of civilization- defines civilization in this manner: "Wherever the exterior of man becomes enlarged, quickened or improved, wherever the intellectual nature of man distinguishes itself by its energy, brilliancy, and its grandeur; wherever these two signs concur, and they often do so, notwithstanding the gravest imperfections in the social system, there man proclaims and applauds civilization."  contemporary historian defines it as "the artificial adjustment of natural objects in such a manner
that the natural forces will thereby produce results advantageous to man". Carver introduces the idea of productivity and defines it as "essentially a storing of surplus energy and is due to the fact that men have had more energy to expend than was necessary to procure subsistence". William T. Harris, on the other hand defines civilization as the state in which a people forms for itself institutions which give man command of the earth and likewise command over the experiences of the entire race.

Summing up these definitions, then, we feel safe in saying that "civilization is the sum total of human achievements." Let us consider, then, whether the black man in his native environment—Africa—has ever achieved anything which would warrant the assumption that they, too, had and still have a civilization which they would not and should not exchange for western civilization. For, Professor Farri tells us that some of the African tribes that he studied would reject anything that savored of western civilization as immoral while others accepted some phases of it for expediency.

From the imperfect accounts which have reached us from the dark continent, we have been able to piece together a few facts and one of these is that the African Negro, long before the European races had emerged from their stone age period, had discovered iron ore and had converted it into implements with which to subdue the phenomena about him. With rude implements he smelted the iron ore and laid the foundation for the twentieth century western method of treating iron ore. Of this phenomenal achievement Boas said, in speaking of the contribution
of the black man and other races to civilization: "To these early advances the Negro race has contributed its legal share. While much of the history of early invention is shrouded in darkness, it seems likely that at a time when the European was still satisfied with rude stone tools, the African had invented or adopted the art of smelting iron.

"Consider for a moment what this invention has meant for the advance of the human race. As long as the hammer, knife, saw, drill, the spade and the hoe had to be chipped out of stone, or had to be made out of shell or hard wood, effective industrial work was not impossible but difficult. A great progress was made when copper found in large nuggets was hammered out into tools and later on shaped by melting, and when bronze was introduced, but the true advancement of industrial life did not begin until the hard iron was discovered. Neither Ancient Europe nor Ancient Western Asia, nor Ancient China knew the iron, and everything points to its introduction from Africa." Professor Poas then reviews the economic, political and artistic life of the African. He speaks of the great markets that are to be found throughout Africa, and the use of native money as the medium of exchange; he speaks of the system of judicial procedure and defense which developed in Africa, of the men of great energy and ambition who hold sway over their fellows by the weight of their personality; and finally he speaks in glowing terms of the artistic industry of native Africa--the scepters of African Kings carved out of hard wood and representing artistic forms, the dainty
basketry, the grass mats with their exquisite patterns, the symmetrical lance heads almost a yard long, axes inlaid with copper, and decorated with filigree, the inimitable bronze casting of Benin on the west coast of Africa, which has excelled in technique any European work—these are achievements the white man cannot conscientiously deny. They are the fruits of a civilization which is not less marvelous to the African Negro.

And coming down to the western world in which twenty millions or more of Negroes have made a home, we find the Negro contributing its legal share to its civilization.

It is not necessary to comment in this monograph on the economic status of the Negro during his two and a half centuries of servitude. We are concerned only with his status as a citizen of the United States. The Negro, it was pointed out, is not satisfied merely to enjoy the fruits of the white man's civilization, but he is also making valuable contributions to the social scheme. In the fields of economics, art, literature, and science, we find the Negro's contributions, small though they may be, nevertheless important enough to command a place in these various fields of human activities. And yet there are those who maliciously declare without even the faintest tinge of embarrassment that the Negro has accomplished nothing, the Negro is incompetent, degenerate, and incapable of intelligent reasoning. Thomas, who claims to be a Negro, tells us that, "Negro intelligence is both superficial and delusive, because though such people excel in
recollections of a concrete object, their retentive memories do not enable them to make any valuable deductions either from the object itself or from their familiar experience with it." And yet Mr. Thomas' brain, himself a Negro, is capable of making much deductions. He continues, "We must remember that the Negro represents an illiterate race, in which ignorance, cowardice, folly, and idleness are rife, and one whose existence is dominated by emotional sensations," and he concludes, "wise judgment, therefore, decrees that Negro pretensions ought to be suppressed, and his evil propensities eradicated by every available means at command, even though such efforts should end in his virtual extermination". It is to be regretted that the program of suppression, eradication, and extermination, which he advocates, was not put into operation before he acquired the education which made it possible for him to write this slanderous book. But Mr. Thomas' claim of kinship with the Negro does not make him a Negro; consequently he would escape his just punishment.

Now let us take an impartial look at Negro life in the United States since Lincoln's Proclamation fifty-five years ago. According to the Negro Year Book and the United States Census Reports, the economic progress of the American Negro, boiled down to concrete figures, is as follows:
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<th>Economic Progress</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>Gain in 50 years</th>
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<tr>
<td>Homes owned</td>
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<td>600,000</td>
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In 1910 there were 5,192,535 bread winners in the United States, 218,972 farm owners, 310,346 cash farm tenants and managers, 62,755 miners, 288,141 workers in clay, glass and stone, 41,739 iron and steel workers, 134,102 employees on railways,
62,822 draymen, cab-drivers and livery-men, 133,245 in wholesale and retail trades, 32170 in public service, 69,471 in professional service including 29,750 teachers, 17495 clergymen, and 4,546 physicians, dentists, trained nurses, etc. Finally we must not forget 2,175,000 Negro homes, with their housewives and 1,620,000 children in school. $5,000,000 are raised annually by secret and beneficial societies which hold $6,000,000 in real estate; 100 old folks' homes and orphanages; 30 hospitals and 500 cemeteries; 40 banks, and 22,000 small retail businesses.

NEGRO INVENTION

In the files of invention, the record of the United States Patent Office shows more than 400 patents issued to 250 Negro inventors. Some of the most important inventions are the electric telephone transmitter (now in use by the American Telephone Company); lubricating devices for stationary and locomotive machinery, (devices used on railroads in the northwest, on the lake steamers, and on Railways in Canada); a labor saving device in the tabulation of federal data, (now in use by the Post Office Department); a centrifugal gold inlay casting machine; a machine for cutting, tying, and trimming cotton bales; a bread wrapping machine to seal and wrap bread at upward of 5,000 loaves of bread an hour with a saving of from 5% to 15% in cost of wrapping; a mail discharging and receiving device for use on rapid moving trains, millions of dollars being saved annually to the government by its use; a safety hood and
smoke protector for firemen for which the inventor holds seven American patents, beside English, Canadian, and German patents. He was awarded a gold medal by the American Museum of Safety, and second grand prize at the Second International Convention of Safety and Sanitation held in New York City; received a gold honorary membership badge from the International Fire Chiefs' Association at their 1914 Convention in New Orleans; the device is used in most large cities of the country.

Benjamin Banneker, the son of full-blooded African parents, at the latter part of the eighteenth century, invented the first clock to strike the hour in America. It is said that the tools which he used were crude and a watch was used as his model. Later he constructed the first almanac in America. This almanac was adapted to the local requirements of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. It was published annually from 1792-1806, and is said to have been the main dependence of the farmers in the region which it covered. It contained the motion of the sun and moon, the motions, places and aspects of the planets; the rising and setting of the sun, and the rising setting, southing place, and age of the moon, etc. A copy of the Almanac was sent to Thomas Jefferson by Banneker and he, in a letter acknowledging the receipt of the present said in part: "I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th instant and for the almanac which it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proof as you exhibit that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men and that the appearance of a want of them is owing-
merely to the degraded condition of their existence, both in Africa and America—----I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac to M. de Cordorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Science in Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society, because I consider it as a document to which your color had a right for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them."

DRAMATIC AND FINE ARTS

In the field of fine arts the Negro is represented by men and women of international reputation. There are four painters of whom Henry O. Tanner stands out as preeminent. Tanner was without question one of the foremost painters of his time. His paintings have been hung on the line in many a salon exhibition. "The Raising of Lazarus", was bought by the French Government for the Luxembourg Gallery. The "Nocidemus", another of his works, was bought by the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. In the Memorial Hall, Philadelphia, is hung "The Annunciation", another product of his brush, and in the Carnegie Gallery, in Pittsburgh, is hung a fourth painting—"The Betrayal".

The black race in America has produced three sculptors, all women, two of whom are of international renown. In the dramatic art the Negro has made an enviable record. To his dramatic genius is due the only original American theatrical production—the Minstrel Show. Aside from this the Negro, from the first half of the nineteenth century, has made steady contributions to the dramatic art. At the beginning of the
second half of the nineteenth century the Negro race gave to
the dramatic world Ira Aldridge, who ranked on the continent
as one of the greatest tragedians of the time. He appeared
before all the crown heads of Europe and was decorated with
first class medal of arts and sciences by the King of Prussia
the medal being accompanied by an autograph letter from the
Emperor of Austria; the Grand Cross of Leopold, a similar
decoration from the Emperor of Russia; and a magnificent
Maltese Cross, with the medal of merit, from the City of Berne.
He was made a member of the Prussian Academy of Arts and Sciences
and holder of the large gold medal; member of the Imperial and
Arch-Ducal Institution of our Lady and of the Manager in Austria;
of the Russian Hof-Versamburg of Riga; honorary member of the
Academy of Arts and Science in St. Petersburg.

The American stage has been graced by a number of disting­
ished Negro comedians most notable among them are the late
Robert Allen Cooke and Aida Walker, and the irresistible Bert
Williams. The peculiar dramatic instinct of the Negro has
lately become the center of interest to the producers of dramas
and in New York City; two companies have been organized recently
to display the dramatic talents of the Negro.

In the field of music, the Negro has contributed no less
than thirty-nine noted musicians. Those of national and
international reputation are: Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Will
Marion Cook, J. Rosamond Johnson, Elizabeth Taylor Grenfield,
Madame Marie Selika, who elicited glowing tribute from the
Paris Figaro and the Berlin Sagblatt, Flora Babson, Mmme.
Sisseretta Jones, Harry T. Burligh, and Rachael Walker.
The Negroes' progress in the field of education is noteworthy. In fifty years they have managed to reduce the percentage of their illiteracy to 25 per cent. In the realm of higher education the Negro had produced up to 1915, 5,350 college graduates from colored institutions of higher learning, and 700 graduates of Northern colleges; Alain LeRoy Locke has been the most singular in scholastic attainments. He was elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity at Harvard, graduated magna cum laude, 1907, Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, England, and scholar in the University of Berlin. There are at present twenty Doctors of Philosophy (one from Jena University, Germany), and forty members of the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity.

Many Negroes have received singular academic honors from some of the best colleges and universities in the country. For example, one of them was recently awarded a fellowship to the American University; Chicago University awarded the Second Annual Howard Taylor Pickett Prize to a Negro for original research in pathology, and his services have been retained by the University; two colored students received their Doctor of Philosophy degrees in Chemistry at the University of Illinois in 1916 and 1917 respectively, and were elected members of the two honor scientific fraternities---Phi Lomda Upsilon and Sigma Kappa---the winner of the Howard Taylor Pickett prize was also elected a member of these fraternities.
The Negroes have also distinguished themselves in the field of medicine. One Negro won the Bellevue Medical College, New York, cash prize for surgical anatomy; a young Negro woman won the prize for maintaining the highest efficiency during her four years' study at the New York Medical College and Hospital for women; another Negro was made a member of the faculty of Rush Medical College of the University of Chicago as teacher in laryngology and ontology, later he was appointed public school examiner of children's eyes, ears, noses, and throats in the City of Chicago. A Negro surgeon in Chicago is one of the most widely known surgeons in the country. He has performed several noted operations which taxed the skill of surgical science. In 1897, he performed an operation on account of a stab wound in the heart and pericardium, a report of which is published in the "Medical Record", March 27, 1897. The operation attracted the attention of the entire medical and surgical world and was reprinted in the medical journals of nearly every country and language. The operation is referred to in the "International Text Book on Surgery", and in Dacosta's "Modern Surgery". Dr. Williams has also performed various important operations that have been published in medical journals and widely commented upon in the medical world.

In the literary field there are scores of Negroes who have made important contributions. For example, a Negro educator who is a member of the American Philological Society and of the Modern Languages Association published a "First Lesson in Greek", and "The Theory and Functions of the Thematic Vowel in the Greek Verb."
In poetry the Negroes have contributed and are still contributing their share. The Negro race gave to Russia Alexander Pushkin; to France, Alexandre Dumas; to America, Phyllis Wheatley, Paul Lawrence Dunbar; William Stanley Braithwaite, and a few others of lesser note.

POLITICS

In the field of politics the Negroes have had representation since 1866. During that year two Negroes were elected to the lower house of the Massachusetts Legislature, and in 1869, a Negro was sent to Haiti as minister resident. In the National Congress the Negroes have had twenty-two representatives, two of whom were senators, and twenty Representatives. At present Negroes are holding the following important federal positions: one Judge of Municipal Court of District of Columbia; one Minister and Consul General to Liberia; one Secretary of Legation Liberia, and six consuls. Before the European war there were no less than 22,387 Negroes in the service of the United States at an annual salary of $11,203,510. There were eleven army officers also before the European war, the highest in rank being Colonel Charles Young. Colonel Young was retired from active service when he was recommended for promotion for a generalship, although the Army Medical Department has pronounced him fit for duty. The question is now being discussed in the press. Negro sympathizers are anxious to learn from the Administration why Colonel Young is retired in the prime of life. There were also 4,416 Negroes in the enlisted in the National Army.
In the ministry there has been at least one Negro clergyman of National reputation. As early as the first part of the nineteenth century, the Reverend Lemuel Hayes was stirring Vermont with his sermons from Genesis. Some of these sermons were published and past through nine to ten editions.

Perhaps the conception of achievement of those who would have us believe that the Negro race has accomplished nothing comprehends something vaster than those accomplishments which have been enumerated above. But in passing upon the merits of the Negro, critics must bear in mind two important facts. First, the Negro has had only fifty years in which to accomplish these things, and secondly, that the Negro has had to fight every inch of the way to overcome the inhuman obstacles which the white race has never ceased to throw in his path. The first fact is evident and indisputable. The second, however, needs more elaboration, for there are those who blindly maintain that the Negro is given a man's chance. The Negro is not given a man's chance anywhere in the United States. The dastardly attitude of the South toward the Negro is too well known to warrant a repetition in this monograph. But the attitude of the North toward the Negro in a section of the country where the Negro is supposed to receive a square deal at the hands of the whites, presents a very interesting situation. The Negro does not receive a square deal from the whites in the North. Geographically, economically, politically, socially, and religiously, he is denied practically all his inherent rights as an American citizen, either by political connivance or by active, hostile, and murderous assaults.
To be a person whose kinship to the African race is indisputable is to be an object of contempt wherever one finds oneself in the United States. It is true that the contempt does not crystalize into aggressive persecution in certain sections of the country, but nevertheless the anti-Negro spirit is there in a dormant state ready to be kindled into a destructive flame by any chance spark. Witness the so called race riots—a better name would be Negro exterminating riots—in Springfield, Ohio, Springfield, Illinois, and the more recent East St. Louis Illinois, atrocities! And even earlier yet during the first half of the nineteenth century, (1829 and 1849) in the Quaker City of Philadelphia, a riot for the extermination of Negro workmen was precipitated, and scores of Negroes lost their lives. These are the gravest atrocities but there are others, not so disastrous to the Negroes, to be sure, but they serve to illustrate the fact that anti-Negro feeling is not a sectional affair, they serve to point out the national aspect of the question. The point is that the Negroes' lot, North and South, is relatively the same.

How does the hostility to the Negroes manifest itself?

GEOGRAPHICAL

In the first place, there is a persistent effort on the part of the northern whites to prescribe the localities where the Negroes in urban communities should reside. These localities are invariable the most unsanitary, and the most wretched in the community. In the border states like Missouri, Maryland, and Kentucky, they resorted to legislative means to accomplish their purpose. Recently, however, the Supreme Court
of the United States, departing from its customary "laissez faire" attitude toward the invasion of the Negroes' rights, declared the statute of Kentucky, providing for the residential segregation, unconstitutional. This decision will put an end to further legislative efforts to segregate the black people into localities, which by virtue of their unhealthfulness doom them to extinction.

Another means, a less effective means than legislative action, is the secret agreements entered into by white real estate dealers not to sell or rent real property to Negroes in sections where the population is overwhelmingly white. The reason for the ineffectiveness of this scheme is that the white man's greed for money often overbalances his word of honor. Real estate dealers usually get from 2 to 5 per cent more on a real estate deal with a Negro client. Take New York City and Chicago for example. In the latter city two years ago, a colored family suddenly sprang up in one of these restricted white neighborhoods, and pandemonium ensued. The white residents, to protect themselves and their properties from the infectious Negro proprietor, threatened and actually took steps to dynamite them out of the block. The colored proprietor's sense of humor was not keen enough to appreciate the subtle pleasantry and therefore took proper measures to defend his property. A race riot was averted only by the timely mediation of the police.

In New York City we have a similar condition. Although there has been no effort to dynamite Negroes out of white neighborhoods, yet white real estate owners do not look with
a friendly eye at what they regard as Negro encroachment. Moreover housing conditions in New York are different from housing conditions elsewhere, as in Chicago for example. In the latter city, houses are built more or less on the cottage type while in the former city practically all houses are apartment houses and are owned more or less by syndicates for purely economic purposes. The question with them is how to get the most money out of their investments. More money can be obtained from colored persons, therefore, out go the whites. No sentiment enters here, if there is, at least it is submerged by the lust for gold. Ten years ago the "Negro district" in Harlem (New York) was limited on the North by 136th Street and on the south by 130th Street, but today it has been extended to 145th Street on the north side despite the protests of the whites and Jews. The landlords exact from $5 to $10 more for rent from the colored people than they did from the whites. This condition is typical of all the Northern States where there is a considerable Negro population. We have the same condition in Des Moines.

Summarizing then we find that there is a persistent effort on the part of the whites in the North and border states to secrete the Negroes into localities where conditions for healthful living are unfavorable. We also find that the methods resorted to to accomplish their sinister purpose are of two kinds, legislation and secret agreements. We find again that both methods have failed, the first by a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the second
because of the white man's lust of gold. It remains, then, to be seen what new method will the Anti-Negro geniuses devise to give expression to their unwholesome feeling.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In the second place, the economic achievements of the Negroes if such it might be called, for we are told that the Negro has achieved nothing, represent phenomenal and undaunted capacity to succeed in the face of the most aggressive opposition. Let us see what opposition the Negro has to face and to overcome before he is permitted to earn his daily bread. DuBois gives six great obstructions which the white man has placed in his path of progress; Delly Miller, Pickens and other eminent students of the Negro problem enumerate as many, which if pursued consistently would permanently eliminate the Negro from the economic race as a bread earner. But in this case, as in all similar cases, a loophole was left in the white man's scheme of repression and the Negro was quick to take advantage of it. And as the result we have the Negro's wealth up to the year 1917 estimated at over a billion of dollars.

The Negro's economic activities center around definite lines which have been fixed by the white man. To him was assigned the menial end of the economic scale. He must be a porter, a waiter, and an unskilled laborer. And even then he should hold these positions provided that white men could not be found to fill them. Whenever white men became available he was to be turned out without any formality; and this policy has been pursued with varying degrees of rigidity. The Negro, however, was more ambitious than the white man gave him credit for being.
By persistent application and dogged determination he has managed to gain ground in the more restricted economic fields. Presently, he emerged as an "entrepreneur", as a business man, as an employer of labor, and in this new role he has not only held his own but there is being gradually gathering about him his social group with a tendency to become self-sustaining.

Ray Stannard Baker, a profound student of the two races in America, is inclined to regard this movement toward the establishment of a Negro self-sustaining social group as a not too desirable situation. Such a condition will bring about isolation and isolation will in turn bring about a want of understanding and sympathy which will eventually land the nation in a very embarrassing predicament. Then we shall have a nation within a nation. The Negro is not responsible for this condition, it was forced upon him by the hostile whites.

It is a well known fact that before the European war the Negro could not get employment in any capacity in the industries in the north, and in the other occupations such as laborer, waiter, porter, barber, and all the other forms of personal service with which he had been identified he was being replaced with cheap white European labor. The greatest factor which was responsible for this economic partiality was race antipathy; the second factor, and one which cannot be isolated wholly from the first, was the antagonism of the labor unions.

With the influx of cheap labor from the European countries, there resulted an over-supplied labor market and the employers of labor became suddenly fastidious in the selection of their "help". The Negro's pigment became suddenly repulsive, his labor became less efficient, his geniality became offensive, and
and his pleasantries "Sass". "Presto" as with a magician's wand he was dethroned and the white laborer recrowned in his place.

It was a terrible stroke and for a while it dazed the Negro, but if the Negro managed to survive slavery he was destined to survive this paralyzing economic stroke. Out of the barber shop he went; as a waiter he was not wanted in the large hotels; he had to work as a "subporter" and in limited numbers at that; he was too lazy to be a laborer, and as a skilled laborer or a mechanic there was no place for him in the industrial scheme. He was too shiftless, too incompetent, too unreliable. And so his period of usefulness in the industries terminated and in the personal service he became an object of toleration.

But Mr. Baker does not think that race antipathy has anything to do with the shutting out of the Negroes from our Northern industries. To him it is purely an economic question. He thinks that the Negroes are being supplanted by white labor because the latter, according to employers of labor, have proved more satisfactory. Mr. Baker is such a conscientious critic that his views cannot be disregarded. But it is rather a difficult thing to convince the Negro world and those white persons who have an intimate knowledge of the Negro that Negro workmen are generally incompetent.

There is one factor which even Mr. Baker, perhaps, has failed to recognize, and that factor is compensation. Negro labor receives less pay than any other kind of labor in this country. Perhaps this condition makes for efficiency. Pickens tells us that "the Negro laborers are practically everywhere underpaid. It is said that his standard of living is
lower, it is forgotten that the standard of living is as much an effect as a cause, poverty and low wages bringing down the standard of living. Is the Negro expected to raise his standard of living before his wages are raised? And again he tells us, "the Negro is also handicapped by inferior sanitary conditions of work as a rule. In print it is merely proclaimed that the Negro is physically unfit and inferior to other peoples, but in practice it is taken for granted that the Negro can live under conditions that would kill a white man" Kelly Miller, who approaches the question from a different angle, tells us that "the Negro does not enter into the larger opportunities of urban life. There is a certain advantage of education and contact, but his culture is apt to assume a pale and sickly cast for lack of the sunlight of opportunity. The city Negroes grow up in the shade. He is completely overshadowed by his overtowering environment. As one walked along the streets of our great cities and views the massive buildings and sky-seeking structures, he finds no status for the Negro above the cellar floor. There is perhaps no place on earth where culture runs to seed, and so much intelligence goes to waste, as among the Negro element of our large cities. The young element of the race is at least practically as well educated as the whites. And yet they count for almost nothing in the highest business and industrial life of the community.---- there are those who are completely crushed by the weight of superimposed conditions and sink to the bottom of the social scale. These constitute the slum element, and furnish the hospitals, and the jail constituency". 
In the presence of these facts we are forced to conclude that Mr. Baker's diagnosis was wrong. There was a force more sinister behind the elimination of the Negro from the business and industrial life of the North.

THE NEGRO AND THE LABOR UNIONS

The second factor which was responsible for the movement to eliminate the Negro as a contending force in the commercial and industrial fields was the labor unions. The attitude of the labor unions, or trades-unions or crafts-unions, toward the Negro is a peculiar one. The unionists assure the public that Negroes will not join unions and are in consequence a menace to unionism. And in order to protect unionism they proceed to close their unions to the Negroes, drive them out of the industries by forceful methods, by the ruthless shooting of defenseless men and women. The fact is, however, that the majority of the unions will not admit Negroes into membership. While the constitutions of some unions provide penalties for discrimination because of color, a good many specifically state that Negroes are not eligible to membership. Among these unions which impose fines for discrimination on account of color are the United Mine Workers of America, with a Negro membership of 30,000. The Bricklayers, Masons and Platerers' Union imposes $100 fine for color discrimination and there are several hundred Negro members of this Union. It is significant to note that in those unions where there are constitutional restriction on discrimination because of color the Negro membership goes into hundreds. This fact would seem to contradict the claim set up by those unions which have pursued a closed door policy toward the Negro.
There are only twenty-eight unions which admit Negroes into membership. The others are either hostile against Negroes or passive. While in a good many unions there are no constitutional prohibitions on the admittance of Negroes as members, for reasons best known to the officials Negroes are debarred. An officer of the Texas State Federation of Labor sums up the union situation as follows: "In some trades they (the Negroes) make good workmen, which creates all the more enmity against them. If they were not capable of becoming skilled workers in any trade they would be more cheerfully tolerated by the average union's membership. The foundation objection to admitting them to membership in unions is racial prejudice, which again is based almost wholly on competition for jobs which is so keenly felt by working men of both races."

In commenting on the attitude of the whites toward Negro labor, Pickens says: "The relation of the Negro to trade unionism shows that it is to be either a help or a hindrance to industrial freedom in America; he must be in the union on terms of equality, or if out of the union he will be a strike-breaker and a wage-reducer, a weapon of the employer against the white employee. If the black is pushed down the least the white labor can expect is to be pushed down next to him."

Abraham Epstein, in a recent study (1917) of Negro conditions in Pittsburgh and the attitude of the labor unions of that city toward them, says that generalization cannot be made that colored people are difficult to organize. His survey in the city revealed the fact that there is only one union, the Waiters'
Local, that has attempted to organize colored waiters and has failed; and the official who attempted the organizing admitted that the rank and file of his union would not work on the same floor with a colored waiter. In the two unions which admit Negroes to membership, the Negro has proved to be as good a unionist as his white fellows. He relates his experience with the officials of some of the unions in connection with their anti-Negro attitude, and concludes: "It is obvious that the trade-unions will have to make a more attractive appeal to convince the Negro that they are really his best friends."

The facts stated here will show that the labor unions have no evidence to support their claim that the black workman does not make a good union man. All evidence tends to prove that in the unions which admit Negroes to their membership the colored workmen have not only joined in great numbers but make good unionists.

Of late the Negroes have realized that if the white unions will not have them as members they must organize themselves. The first step toward organizing the Negro workmen was taken in New York City in July, 1917, and the Associated Colored Employees of America was organized. This organization aims to serve as an employment agency advising members where particular work may be found and to furnish general information to workers who are eager to come from the South.

The Negro's effort to acquire farm lands is regarded with disfavor by the white man. In the South, Clarence Poe, Editor
of "Progressive Farmer", is agitating a program of suppression and segregation in the rural south. He claims that the Negro farmer has an economic advantage over the whites. "The economic advantage is that the Negroes are able to buy lands and make crops on a scale of living, clothing, and housing that the respectable white farmer and his family doing the same character of work cannot meet". He advocates segregation as a means of protecting the social life of the white farmers. In a community where one race is in the majority that race "should have the right to say, if they wish, that in the future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race". It does seem, however, that Mr. Pee's anxiety for the safety of the white farmers is not shared by the farmers themselves. Mr. W.D. Weatherford, Southern Field Secretary of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. whites, after addressing 740 letters of inquiry to as many farm demonstration agents in the South, that he was informed that there were no serious objections on the part of white farmers to Negro land owners. Some of them thought that Negro farm owners were more desirable than tenants. There are many strong white characters in the South that are using their influence in counteracting this rural segregation movement for example, W.O. Saunders, Editor of "The Elizabeth City Independent", North Carolina, and Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, Solicitor General for Winston, Salem, North Carolina. These two men have made extensive use of the press to point out the viciousness of the movement.
The fact that the Negro's economic progress has been so remarkable does not mean that the Negro has taken advantage of all his economic opportunities. There are many phases of the economic life of the Nation in which the Negro has not entered. For example, in the important export field there is no Negro representation. There is no excuse for this omission. The Negro is consuming enough imported commodities to maintain an establishment of that kind. And again there is no apparent reason why the Negroes in thickly populated centers as New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Chicago should not have department stores of their own. It is time that the colored people should be disillusioned on matters pertaining to their welfare, whether economic, educational, social, or religious. The white man has drawn the line. He has shown unequivocally that preference will be given to members of his race in all his economic activities. It is up to the Negro to provide himself with the means by which his people may be relieved from supporting white establishments which offer opportunities to the colored youth, as Kelly Miller puts it, nowhere "above the cellar floor". To do this the Negro must cooperate more fully.

The bane of the Negro is apparently an inherent lack of a cooperative spirit. The Negro will never realize the maximum of his economic possibilities until he learns the principles of cooperation. No one recognizes this necessity any keener than DuBois. All his efforts today are directed toward instilling into his people the germ of cooperative action. The only trouble
with his propaganda is that it is couched in a language which the masses do not understand. In other words, it is too intellectual. A senior college man who heard Dr. DuBois in Indianapolis last January speaking on the need of cooperation could not help expressing his admiration for the man, and his enthusiasm for his propaganda; but, he says, "I'll bet you anything, half of the people who heard him didn't understand what he was talking about". DuBois is not a man of the people. He is the intellectual agitator or champion of his people's cause. From his high bay window he looks down upon the multitude of his oppressed brothers surging past and his heart is filled with pity and compassion; he takes up his pen and denounces with vehemence those who make such intolerable conditions possible. This means is effective, but its influence is limited only to those who have a taste for literature. It does not reach the masses. And when he condescends to come down from his bay-window to address the crowd, he unconsciously makes them feel the chasm between them. DuBois' service is invaluable to his people, but he must receive more support than what he is getting. His work must be supplemented by men who are nearer the people.

It will take a great deal of positive education to make the people realize the illimitable possibilities of cooperative action. The advantages of cooperation must be taught the Negro child in school and at home. It must be preached to the adults from the pulpit and from the press, and by systematic lectures and heart to heart talks with the people. This educational campaign must
be followed or accompanied by definite cooperative efforts for economic betterment. For example, there is need of a department store in the thickly populated Negro section of Harlem. There is no better field for cooperative action. Let the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or any other group of men or corporate body in New York organize a campaign of education through the press, the church, by public addresses and house to house conferences. In this campaign let the following points be emphasized. (1) The necessity of having a department store in Harlem owned and operated by the colored people; (2) that the capital must be provided by the people in small weekly payments; (3) that this store will furnish employment to their young people who are deprived of employment commensurate with their training; (4) that they will be owners and participants in the profit of the business; (5) that their self-respect and race altruism demand that such a store should be established and maintained by them. It cannot be expected that this campaign will appeal to every one of the 100,000 Negroes in New York but it will no doubt appeal to the responsible people—the men and women with families.

The process of raising money will not be the easiest task of the campaign. It will be more advantageous to make the subscription as low as possible—make it so low that the people will not feel that they are depriving themselves or sacrificing anything. A weekly subscription of ten cents from every man, woman, and child extending over a period of twelve to eighteen
months. Suppose 50,000, one-half of the Negro population, subscribe the first twelve months, at the end of the year there would be a gross sum of $260,000 in the treasury. It is taken for granted that a corporation has been formed. Every person who subscribes becomes a shareholder in the corporation, but care will be taken to prevent control by any clique through stock control. The president and board of directors are to be elected by the shareholders and they are to conduct the business on the same principle as any other corporation. Nomination of board of directors will be by the primary system, and the first ten men having the largest number of votes will be considered nominated and members of the board of directors selected by election from them. Every member will be entitled to a single vote no matter how large his subscription and there will be no cumulative voting. The churches could be made the polling places, and the ministers foremost advocates.

At the end of the first six months the building site will be selected and secured and the construction or remodeling begun, and at end of the year the store is to be opened. It is necessary that there be no delay if the interest of the people is to be kept up. People usually want to see something tangible for their money, moreover, the directors will have no better means to stimulate their interest than something to show for their investments. The subscription is to be kept up and with it yearly additions could be made until every phase of the economic life of the people was covered. There will be a declaration
of dividends every three years. This is naturally a tentative plan, it would need further elaboration and modification according to the nature of the situation. This same scheme could be used in each of those cities enumerated above.

There is no limit to the economic advantages that the Negro will gain if such a scheme were to be adopted. At least some of the "culture which runs to seed", and the wasted intelligence of which Kelly Miller complains would be utilized. The college and high school youths would find employment for which their training has fitted them.

Summing up then, we find that the Negro's economic life is in no sense an easy one. It is a ceaseless struggle to overcome obstacles which the white man has placed in his path of progress because of his race and color. We see the attitude of the labor organizations toward him. We find that the hostility of the unionist is not thus aroused because the black workmen is inefficient, but because he tends to become just as efficient as the white unionists themselves when an opportunity is given him. We see the movement to segregate and to prohibit him from acquiring farm lands. In the face of these facts can we wonder that the Negro has not achieved anything? But the Negro has at least accomplished something if we consider a wealth of a billion of dollars as something.

POLITICS

In the third place, and it is here that the Negro's influence has been weakest, the Negro's political life has been a somewhat turbulent one. Unshackled by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation,
made a citizen by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Constitutional Amendments, the black man found himself in a labyrinth, so to speak. But he was resourceful enough to take advantage of his new status in the body politic. In the South his brief political career represents one of the most interesting chapters of America's political life. It is to be regretted that the excesses of the period of Reconstruction should be allowed to mar the constructive statesmanship of the blacks. What happened during that period would be duplicated by any race of people who found itself placed in the circumstances in which the Negroes were placed. Russia furnishes us with an excellent example of the effect of sudden freedom on long enslaved peoples. There is, however, a point of difference between the Russian proletariat and the Negroes of the sixties. The Russian program is a destructive one while that of the Negroes was constructive.

The word"Reconstruction", and all it implies, tends to provoke such bitter resentment and ill feeling in the present generation that one must broach the matter with extreme caution. To associate "Reconstruction" with a reign of despicable Negro terrorism is unfortunate. No one is more responsible for keeping alive these misconceptions than the Reverend Thomas Dixon, through his "Birth of a Nation". But however, high our feeling may run when we refer to "Reconstruction" we must remember that the Negro's contribution to the Government of the South, in that short period, more than outweighs the contributions made by the whites from the founding of the South to the period of Reconstruction.
In the first place, the Negroes inaugurated a democratic government in the South; in the second place, they initiated and placed on the statute books new social legislation; and in the third place, they established the system of free public schools in the South. When we take into consideration the aristocratic nature of the Southern governments before the Reconstruction we cannot help but admire the genius of the newly enfranchised blacks for sound government. We must still wonder what would happen if the corrupt "carpet-baggers" had not cast their sinister influence over the unsuspecting blacks. Judge Albion W. Sourgee, a white "carpet-bagger", commenting on Negro contributions to the government of the South says: "They (the Negroes) obeyed the constitution of the United States and annulled the bonds of states, counties, and cities which had been issued to carry on the War of Rebellion and maintain armies in the field against the Union. They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and the jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of early possessions. They introduced home rule into the South. They abolished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks, and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from twenty to about two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sume appropriated for public works. In all that time no man's right of person was invaded under the forms of law. Every Democrat's
life, home, fireside, and business were safe. No man obstructed any white man's way to the ballot box, interfered with his freedom of speech, or boycotted him on account of his political faith. DuBois, carrying this idea yet farther, says that "a thorough study of the legislation accompanying these constitutions and its changes since, shows the comparatively small amount of changes in law and government which the overthrow of Negro rule brought about!" Then DuBois concludes that "in legislation covering property, the wider function of the state, the punishment of crime, and the like, it is sufficient to say that the laws on these points established by Reconstruction legislatures, were not only different from, and even revolutionary to the laws of the older South, but they were so wise and so well suited to the needs of the new South that, in spite of a retrogressive movement following the overthrow of the Negro governments, the mass of this legislation with elaborations and development still stands on the statute books of the south". These facts need no elaboration, one needs but to refer to the constitutions if one is unconvinced. On the question of the political rights of the Negro, the Negroes themselves are divided into two schools. One school was headed by Booker T. Washington and since his death by Principal Motler, his successor. The other school is headed by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. DuBois draws his support from the men of intellect of the North and South while Washington drew his support from the South, from the mass of colored people. DuBois is an uncompromising agitator for the political rights of the
Negro, and as editor of the "Crisis" Magazine, the most extensively read Negro periodical, he is exerting an influence on the minds of intelligent Negroes which no other Negro is capable of doing. Washington and Moheen on the other hand advocate the accumulation of wealth first, then everything will come right, including political and social recognition.

Booker Washington is undoubtedly one of the greatest leaders the Negroes ever had. But it must be understood when we speak of Washington as a leader, that he did not become a leader by the sanction of his race. Washington was made a leader of his race by the white man. His policy of subverting all manly principles for the accumulation of wealth—economic goods,—was agreeable to the whites and therefore upon him was affixed the white man's seal of approval. Roosevelt, Taft, the white South who had no sympathy with the political and social aspiration of the blacks feted him. He was called into consultation by the Chief Executive of the Nation whenever a question involving the Negro was concerned. In this manner he gained his prestige and vast following. Whenever an important Federal appointment was to be made he was called into conference to suggest a candidate. One can readily see what tremendous influence the executive sanction gave him. He was the black distributor of the political plums of the administration.

However, much support Washington and his policy received from the whites, it is unquestionably true that it is founded on a wrong diagnosis. To believe that the accumulation of
wealth will right all political and social wrongs, is to defy all precedent. Did the Jews' wealth in Russia right their political and social wrongs? Is the wealthy Negro in the South accorded any better protection than the wealthless Negro? In 1916, a wealthy Negro in North Carolina, Crawford by name, was lynched because of some difference of opinion between him and a white man and his family was ordered to leave town.

Will a sheriff who is elected to office by white voters jeopardize the possibility of re-election by defying a white mob bent on lynching a defenseless Negro? Pickens asks, in this connection "Will money-getting 'per se' improve the condition of the disfranchised or will it endanger his life by making him a richer prey for the mobocrats? Votes elect the taxes and decide the taxes. The power that can tax one per cent of a man's property without his consent, can take 50 per cent of it, and then the other 50 per cent. Where the Negro is disfranchised, the white officers who have impulses to do him justice are handicapped; they must constantly choose between justice to the Negro and their own personal interest—a dangerous dilemma for human nature." And Baker tells us that "in a number of towns respectable, educated, and prosperous Negro doctors, grocers, and others have been forcibly driven out. I visited Monroe, La., where two Negro doctors had been forced to leave town because they were taking over the practice of white physicians. In the same town a Negro grocer was burned out, because he was encroaching on the trade of white grocers." It is obvious, then, that the
accumulation of wealth is no panacea for political and social evils.

On the other hand we have DuBois and his school whose policy is to seek redress for political and social evils through the highest courts of justice and by bringing pressure to bear on legislators. Behind him is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization composed of wealthy and influential white Northern men and Negroes whose views coincide with those of DuBois. This association is a sort of vigilance committee which looks after the political rights of the colored people. Of course its program is more comprehensive but its chief function is political. The recent supreme court decisions passing on the validity of the residential segregation laws, and the "grandfather clause" disqualifications were due to the efforts of the Association and the unselfish and brilliant work of its President, Mr. Storey of Boston, (white), one of the ablest lawyers in the country. Mr. Storey gives his service free to the Association. Of the two schools, then, it seems that the DuBois's school is more effective than the Washington school. While the latter's policy aims to stimulate the acquisition of wealth, it does not afford the necessary protection for the wealth. The former, on the other hand, not only aims to stimulate the acquisition of wealth but also aims to protect that wealth after it has been acquired, a protection which can be had only through political manipulations.

SOCIAL LIFE

In the fourth place, the social life of the Negro has kept pace with his economic life. The social life of the colored
people is as much differentiated as that of the whites, and follows pretty closely the social life of the whites. Here also almost insurmountable obstructions are thrown in the path of the black man by the whites. In the North, the opposition to the Negro is not as keen as it is in the South. It is not, however, that the white man in the North has a keener sense of justice than the white Southerner, it is rather because the Northern Negro is more intelligent and possesses the weapon which will bring the politician, who slights flagrantly his interest, to account. This weapon is the ballot. The Northern legislator must take into account his colored constituent at home when he attempts to legislate on social matters.

The greatest single factor which operates to keep apart the two races is that of "social equality". Social equality is the white man's bugbear. It haunts him in his sleep and in his waking hours he is tormented by it. He is afraid lest the Negro infringe himself upon his society, and perhaps make his social début in his salon. To avoid this catastrophe the colored man is repressed at every step in his social and economic development. Now has the Negro done anything to justify the white man's fear that he is merely biding his time to swoop down upon his society and carry away his women into captivity? If the white man will give himself the trouble to observe the action of even the better class of Negroes he would find that they are perfectly satisfied with their own society. Ray Stannard Baker
tells of a light colored man who had crossed over to the white side and who returned to his people because the white man's society was not as natural as that of the Negro. And so far as the Negro's desire into the white race is concerned, Baker reminds them that even in New England, Boston for example, the percentage of mixed marriages is negligible, and they occur practically among foreign born women. Of the few cases of prominent Negroes marrying white wives they are usually girls whom they met in College, and these cases are rare indeed. Personally, if I may be allowed to be personal, I do not know of any young Negro college man attending the white co-educational schools, for the past ten years, who has married a white girl.

It is possible that the white man is misinterpreting the attitude of the black man. It is possible that the Negro's fight against restrictive legislation directed at him and intending to humiliate him is interpreted as a fight for an opportunity to compete with him in his salon. But nothing of that kind has entered the black man's mind. The colored man is fighting to maintain his self-respect. The white man is not more solicitous about his society than the black man is about his. What the black man wants, and is fighting for, is to remove all artificial restrictions and leave the door open for any natural or spontaneous desire for intermixture, which may arise between the two peoples. The white man seeks to justify his attempts at legislative restrictions on the ground
that there is a natural and fundamental antipathy on the part of the whites toward amalgamating with the colored. And yet we have about 3,000,000 brown and near white Negroes in this country alone. Is this a logical manifestation of natural antipathy for amalgamation?

The Negro does not envy the white man of his society. He does not ask for pity, or charity, he does not wish to be patronized by the whites, what he asks for is an equal economic opportunity and a chance to earn his daily bread on equal footing with the white bread earner.

In spite of the fact that the Negroes Society is self-satisfying yet there are certain features which may be improved. There should be more effort exerted to raise the tone of the Negro's society. The Negro's society may not hope to attain the brilliancy of the white man's society, his economic status does not permit it, but he may raise its moral tone up to, and above, that of the white man. And it is the duty of the Negro college man and college woman, the men and women of culture, to help to raise its tone so that the most fastidious may not find fault with it. It is to be regretted that this class has found it necessary to segregate themselves from the great body of the people, but with the awakening of a social responsibility for our brothers, it is hoped that there will be a redirection of their social energy.

The Negro's efforts for social betterment are reflected in the church, school, charity and benevolent organizations, women's clubs, secret societies, and other co-operative social movements.
His religious efforts I shall treat in a separate section. The greatest factor in the determination of the future of the Negro is education and the colored people have not been slow in recognizing this fact. In the North, education is general and public. The colored child or colored youth goes to the city or state educational institutions for intellectual enlightenment and receives it on the same basis as the white child or white youth. Our Northern schools are not wholly free from the taint of color prejudice, but that is more or less a personal matter so far as the teachers are concerned. There are many private institutions for higher education in the North the doors of which are closed to the Negro, for example, such institutions as Princeton, Johns Hopkins, Vassar, and a dozen others; but the Negro can very well get along without their cultural and democratic influence.

It is in the South, however, that the Negro's efforts along educational lines are manifested. Education in the South is intended primarily for the white child and white youth, and to the Negro child and Negro youth is given the residue. To illustrate these points we give a few figures on the expenditure by some Southern states for education of white and Negro children. Alabama spends $20 a year to educate a white child and $2.36 to educate a colored child. South Carolina, $23.30 for white child; $21.39 for colored child; Florida, $91.70 for white child, $8.30 for colored child; Louisiana, $49.54 for white child, $2.54 for colored child;
Georgia, $27.19 for white, $3.73 for colored; Mississippi, $8.00, for white child, $1.20 for colored child, etc. These figures seem to bear out the statement that Negro education in the South, so far as the Governments of the states are concerned, is a residue, a sort of afterthought.

The Negroes themselves, however, are not satisfied to accept the crumb doled out to them as the only means to reduce their illiteracy. Consequently they have launched an educational campaign not only to lenthen the school term but also to provide more adequate schools through their own effort. H.W. Odum tells us, however, that the Negroes do not undertake to increase the facilities provided by the state by their own efforts and contributions, which of course is incorrect as will be shown later. He paints five pictures of school conditions in the South. He tells us, for example, that for every 300 colored pupils in the community there was one teacher and there were 1773 pupils in that community. The white school boards, according to him, find it necessary to cut down the supplied of the Negro schools because of unnecessary wastefulness on the part of the Negro teachers. To illustrate this wastefulness, it is to be supposed, he quotes the salary which the principal and teachers of one of the schools earn. The salary of the principal was $45 a month, the first assistant principal received $30 a month, and the other four teachers $20 a month each; and to add insult to injury he adds "with such averages of pay for the Negro teachers, many do not earn their salaries when the
value of their efforts is considered". Possibly Mr. Odum would put forth his maximum effort at $20 a month teaching school because he is superhuman.

Mr. Odum makes many incorrect statements in this observation of his. He claims that the length of the school term for the Negro is the same as of the white, which of course is not exactly the truth. The average length of the school term for whites is 36 days more than that of the Negro. But he finds fault with the intelligence of the teachers. He tells us that "the average intelligence among Negro teachers in town and country is low and their education meagre." A wonderful discovery. Logically, he expects a Harvard Doctor of Philosophy in the South teaching at the fabulous salary of $20 a month.

Mr. Odum's study purports to be a scientific one but it lacks essentially scientific precision. Mr. Odum approached the study with the preconceived idea of the worthlessness of the Negro and he over-justified his preconception.

Now let me quote some figures which will discredit some of Mr. Odum's scientific discoveries. We find by referring to the Bulletin #38 of the Department of the Interior, that Negroes contribute $500,000 annually over and above their share of the public taxes---they contribute not only a goodly share of taxes for the public schools, but also a considerable sum toward the private schools (of the South)." The Negro Year Book for 1916-1917 gives the total amount of money raised by Negroes for their own education, independent of contributions from the whites,
up to 1916 as $1,600,000, more than 10 per cent of the total expenditures for Negro education. DuBois tells us, that the Negro African Methodist Church raised $3,000,000 for their education since 1844, and the Negro Baptist Church, $6,000,000 for the past forty years; and the Methodist Episcopal, $3,143,000 toward their own education. In Macon county, Alabama, alone Negro patrons of six large schools added 27 1/2 months to the school term and raised $6,533,44 in 1906-1907. Moreover, Negro students have paid in nine years $5,187,269 in cash and work to 74 Negro institutions or 44.6 per cent of the entire running expenses. Negroes have paid in direct property and poll taxes more than $45,000,000 during the past 40 years and contributed at least $15,000,000 through their churches. DuBois then concludes "The Negro students possibly pays a larger percentage of the running expenses of the institutions which he attends than any other student in the land." These are facts, not generalizations based on inaccurated data.

As in politics, so in education are the Negroes divided into two schools or parties with the same leaders at their heads. Booker Washington's program is well known. The Negro's education should center in industrial or manual training. DuBois advocates both industrial and higher education. His program is a more comprehensive program than that of Washington. It aims at equalizing the intellectual training of the Negro. If Booker Washington's program, followed consistently will produce a race of highly efficient men industrially, with no intellectual leaders. No wonder the whites approved his program. These
human industrial machines would be fit subjects for exploitation by the whites. DuBois even explores Washington's field and points out the inadequacy of the industrial training which Negro industrial schools are offering. "Negro youth", he tells us, "are being taught the technique of a rapidly disappearing age of hand work. The training has undoubtedly good physical and mental results, but if used as a means of livelihood it will command the poor and decreasing wages of tinkers, and repairers and those who follow these methods will be completely shut out of modern machine industry". At not even Tuskegee, Hampton, or Wilberforce are the courses offered renumerative.

Summing up, then, we find that the Negro has not only recognized the intrinsic value of education as a factor in his life, but he has also undertaken to contribute materially to the dissemination of education among his people. The question as to the kind of education the Negro should have should not be allowed to interfere with the good work. The Negro's education should be both classical and industrial in order to have a well-balanced social group.

COOPERATIVE EFFORTS

The Negro's effort for social betterment does not stop at education for there are other phases of his social life which receive the necessary attention. For example, there have been no less than twelve national movements organized for the purpose of bettering social conditions among them. The following are some of the movements and their purpose: The Niagara Movement of 1905, which was organized for political rights, legal defense,
publications of tracts, annual chautauqua, etc.; The Negro Business League, organized in 1900 to encourage business enterprises; Booker T. Washington was the moving spirit of the League; National Political League organized in 1907 for political rights; the American Negro Academy organized 1897; to promote literature, science, and art; the Constitutional League organized to agitate the enforcement of the Constitution of the United States, and particularly the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments; the National Negro Conference organized in 1909, to unite all efforts in a general movement toward securing for the Negro all their rights as American citizens; the Atlanta Negro Conference organized in 1896, to study the Negro problem; the Tuskegee Negro Conference organized in 1891, and devoted to farmers and teachers; the Hampton Negro Conference organized in 1896 for the general discussion and study of the Negro; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National League or Urban Conditions among Negroes, the two last named organizations being supported in part by white men and women.

There are also other types of cooperative social efforts toward which the Negro has turned his attention. DuBois divides them into seven groups: (1) Charity, (2) Women's Clubs, (3) Old Folk's Homes, (4) Hospitals, (5) Young men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, (6) Social, Literary and Art Clubs, (7) Libraries, (8) Day Nurseries, Settlements, Civic Work, etc. The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs was organized in 1896 and today has a branch in every state. The object of the Association is "to secure harmony of action and
cooperation among all women in rising to the highest plane." We find the aim of the association set forth at great length in the preamble to its constitution: "We the colored women of the United States of America," it reads, "feeling the need of united and systematic effort, and hoping to furnish evidence of moral, mental, and material progress made by our people, do hereby unite in a national association."

Some of the departments of the Association are: Social Science, Parliamentary Procedure; Domestic Science; Business, Art and Church Clubs; Rescue Work, Suffrage, Music, Kindergarten, Forestry, Mothers' Clubs, Literature, Young Women's work, Juvenile Court, Humane Work, and Religious Work. There are also a Southern Federation and a North Eastern Federation.

Some of the charitable institutions maintained by colored people are: Old Folk's Homes, Hospitals, Refuge and Rescue Homes for Women, Social Settlements, Civic Improvement Clubs and Day Nurseries.

THE NEGRO AND CRIME

Now as to crime among the Negro. According to Bulletin 38 the prisons of the South Atlantic States have proportionally five times as many colored as there are white prisoners. Evidence points to two factors as being responsible for the greater percentage of crime among the Negro than among the whites. The first is illiteracy and the second is partiality of the courts of justice. On the question of illiteracy
as a contributing factor even the Negro-hating Vardaman of Mississippi had the following to say: "There are about 450 Negro convicts in the Mississippi penitentiary; about half are wholly illiterate, of the other half less than 10 per cent have anything like a fair education."

But Thomas, Odum and a host of others of their type would have us believe that education tends to make the Negro more criminal. Pickens, however, differs with their views. If education made Negroes more criminal, he tells us then "the Negro would be a contradiction to the experience of mankind in all previously recorded history." Then he asks: "Do the graduates of Negro schools furnish a bigger proportion in our state penitentiaries than do those Negroes who have never seen the inside of any of these schools? No man is bold enough to assert a thing like that and yet men assert in a general way that education makes Negroes criminals. If there is a greater proportion of our colored population than our white population in the state penitentiary it is partially explained by the fact that it is easier for a Negro to get into the penitentiary than for a white man. Our white sheriff, white jury, and white lawyers, are so partial to the Negro who apply for admission to our penal institutions that they never want to exclude him, while in the case of the white man there is more deliberation demurred and objection". And Kelly Miller, although less caustic, corroborates Pickens. "No person of knowledge and candor," he tells us, "will deny that the Negro in the South is more readily apprehended and convicted on any charge than the white offender. The Negro constitutes," he goes on to say, "the lower stratum of society.
where the bulk of auctionable crime is committed the world over. Social degradation (then) is the great contributing factor to his high criminal record." Mr. L. A. Halbert, looking at the question of Negro crime from another angle, writes: "The number of arrests among Negroes is sometimes affected by political bias, and this undoubtedly has some effect on the comparative statistics of crime between the Negro and white people; but the fact that Negroes are very poor and generally without much influence probably has an even greater effect on the number of arrests and convictions charges against them."

DuBois thinks that both the Negro and the white man are responsible for the high percentage of crime among the colored people. He gives nine faults of the Negro which he thinks contribute to his criminal record: "(1) abuse of their new freedom; (2) loose ideas of property, petty larceny; (3) unreliability, lying and deception; (4) exaggerated idea of personal rights, irritability and suspicion; (5) sexual looseness, weak family life and poor training of children, lack of respect for parents; (6) lack of proper self-respect, low and extravagant ideals; (7) poverty, low wages, and lack of accumulated property; (8) lack of thrift, and prevalence of the gambling spirit; (9) waywardness of the second generation, the use of liquor and drugs". He concludes: "All these faults are real and important causes of Negro crime. They are not racial traits, but are due to perfectly evident historic causes; slavery could not survive as an institution and teach thrift; and its great evil in the United States was its sexual morals. Emancipation meant for
these Negroes poverty and great stress of life due to sudden change. These and other considerations explain Negro crime."

The white man's faults for the high percentage of Negro crime are: "(1) The attempt to enforce a double standard of justice in the courts, one for Negroes and one for whites; (2) the election of judges for short terms, making them subservient to waves of public opinion in a white electorate; (3) laws so drawn as to entangle the ignorant as in the case of laws for labor contracts, and to leave wide discretion as to punishment in the hands of juries and petty officials; (5) peonage and debt-slavery as method of securing cheap and steady labor; (6) the tendency to encourage ignorance and subserviency among Negroes instead of intelligence, ambition and independence; (7) the taking of all rights of political self-defense from the Negro either by direct law, or custom, or by the "white primary" slavery; (8) the punishment of crime as a public and private means of revenge rather than as a means of preventing the making of criminals; (9) enforcing a caste system in such a way as to humiliate Negroes and kill their self-respect."

Professor Andrew Stedd, a Southern white man, writing in the Atlantic Monthly (Vol. 90, p. 67), said among other things, "courts usually administer two distinct sorts of justice, one for whites and one for Negroes; and this custom, together with the fact the judge and court officials are invariably white and elected to office by the influence of white votes alone, makes it very difficult for a Negro to secure justice in court when his opponent is white. "If we were still unconvinced as to the cause of the high
percentage of Negro convicts in the South Professor Stedd's article, himself a Southern white man, ought to banish all our incredulity.

MORTALITY

One of the greatest problems which the Negro has to face is that of his high rate of mortality. According to United States Bulletin of the Department of the Interior, death rate among Negro was 24 per 1000 Negroes while it was only 15 per 1000 whites. And the investigator remarks that "in giving these figures the desire is to emphasize the fact that they reflect not only the ignorance and poverty of the race but also the unfavorable condition in which the colored people are compelled to live." And Mr. Halbert, speaking of conditions in Kansas City, Mo., conditions which are typical of practically every community in which there is a fairly representative Negro population, said: "Five times as many Negroes as whites die of tuberculosis. There is no doubt a connection between this high death-rate and the great poverty and ignorance that exist among the Negroes. The suffering that this condition implies should arouse the sympathy of every one who has any humanitarian impulses whatever. Nobody should be so prejudiced as to be willing to countenance unnecessary suffering even one the part of animals, much less of human beings." Pickens, in his characteristic style, discusses the question thus: "It always seems strange to me that anybody could express surprise that the Negroes death-rate is higher in America than that of white folks, and it seems even stupid to hear some ascribe it
to the Negro's color, or race when it can be amply explained
by the unsanitary conditions of his life. The house which the
landlord or employer usually offers to the Negro workman or tenant,
is usually nothing but a bare shelter for the animal, often one
or two rooms and without sufficient breathing space for the
family. All modern sanitary arrangements are conspicuous by
their absence, often even water is scarce.

It seems, then, that the high death-rate among Negroes is
due to two causes; first, poverty, and secondly, living in
unsanitary localities. It is clear that the high mortality
of the Negro is not due to biological inferiority on the part
of the black race, but is rather the result of circumstances
forced upon him by the white race. The cause is both economic
and political rather than biological and as such it can be
remedied. It is the duty of the white man to relieve the
situation not only for the sake of the Negro but also for the
protection of the whites; for diseases which affect the Negro
must also affect the white man since the two races are not living
in isolation. Although poverty among the Negro is great he
does not constitute a burden on the state's charitable insti-
tutions. The evidence goes to show that the Negro does not
appeal to public charity for help until he has exhausted all the
means at his command to help himself. Then there are the
church and other private agencies of the Negro which are
designed to relieve members of the race. Halbert then sums up
the situation; "Although there is great poverty among the Negroes,
they do not constitute a great burden on the charities----Instead
of being relieved, they simply live below the poverty-line, and,
as a result of their bad conditions, die a premature death.

THE CHURCH

The Negro church is divided into two great divisions, the Baptist and the Methodist. In the year 1916, there were 4,570,000 Negro communicants, 42,000 churches, 43,000 Sunday schools with 25 2,400,000 pupils. The two churches are subdivided as follows:

Baptist.

Baptists—National Convention,
Colored Primitive Baptist of America,
United American Freedmen Baptist,
Church of God and Saints of Christ,
Church of the Living God,
Christian workers for friendship.
Apostolic Church
Christ in God.

Evangelistic Associations:
Voluntary Missionary Society of America,
Free Christian Zion Church of Christ.

Methodist:

Union American Methodist Episcopal,
African Methodist
Union Protestant,
African Methodist Episcopal Zion,
Congregational Methodist,
Colored Methodist Episcopal,
Reformed Zion Union
Methodist
Evangelist Missionary Church
Presbyterian bodies:

Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The Methodist Church has contributed to foreign and home mission $1,207,788 between the years 1864 and 1908. The Baptists contributed to foreign and home missions, from 1897 to 1909, $367,884.82. The contributions of the two churches toward education are given in the section covering education.

The Negro church is an interesting institution, being the only independent unit among all those around which is centered in the life of the Negro. Of course, there is no question that the Negro church borrowed a great deal from the rituals of the white church, but in its final analysis a great deal of independence was maintained. Kelley Miller, in speaking of the Negro church as an independent unit, says, "The tendency toward ecclesiastical independence is the most noble feature of Negro church life. After receiving the original suggestion from the white race the Negro evinced a decided inclination to worship God under his own vine and fig tree. The Baptist and Methodist denominations, representing the independent spirit, contain 98 per cent of all colored Protestant communicants." The other 2 per cent of the colored people are divided between the white denominations, and even in these organizations the Negro is seeking some measure of self-control. "The Negro church," continues Dean Miller, "is not merely a religious institution, but embraces all the complex functions of Negro life. It furnishes the broadest field for the exercise of talent and is the only sphere in which the Negro displays his initiative and executive
ability— The Negro church has stood, and still, in a greater degree stands, for the home, the school, and the state. It has been, and is the greatest enlightening uplifting purifying and inspiring influence which actuated the life of the benighted masses.

The attitude of Kelley Miller on the Negro church and Negro Religion is interesting because he is without doubt one of the intellectuals not only of the Negro race but of the Nation. This fact has been accepted by all publicists, even the rabid Negro-haters. It is said that education not only makes the Negro more criminal but also makes him irreligious. This conclusion is like all other conclusions which the white man draw after having been thrown into chance contact with a handful of Negroes. It is nothing more than a generalization based on inadequate data. Let us hear what Kelly Miller has to say on the subject of religion and the educated Negro. "It is probably true," he tells us, "that the educated Negro is not so deeply interested in religion as were his ignorant forbears. This is due in large part to the revolt of culture against the grotesque excesses of ignorance, partly to the cold, critical, intellectual indifferentism of the times, and in a large measure to the haughty attitude of the white Christians, whose spiritual arrogance causes his black brother to offend. But there still abides that deep subconscious religious feeling which a large enlightenment and the sobering influence of adversity will again awaken into life and power." Surely this is the expression of a deeply religious soul, and I venture
to say Dean Miller has voiced the sentiment of nine-tenths of educated Negroes. Dean Miller's opinion must be respected not only for his intellectual analysis of the Negro but also because he is the greatest conservative member of the race. By this statement, it must not be inferred that he is reactionary, an inference which would do him grave injustice. His open letter to Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States stands as unequivocal testimony to his progressiveness.

The Negro church and the Negro Christian are not wholly innocent of the indictments so often brought them by the white critics. That the church has not lived up to her best possibilities every intelligent person may notice. In the matter of able leadership she has failed woefully. The church offers the greatest opportunity for constructive and efficient leadership; yet we find its leaders supinely contented to dabble in pettiness and obsolete traditions. It is not to be wondered that she fails to appeal to young intellectual minds. Nor is her influence on those whom she reaches altogether moralizing. The Negro followers of the church have not taken hold of the broader aspects of Christianity; they are still thriving on the Archaic Christian doctrines of the middle ages. And Kelly Miller vouchsafes this advice: "The Negro Christian must purify himself of grossness, and carnal corruption and the white Christian must descend from his pharasaical attitude, whose pious hauteur finds vent in the prayer, "I thank thee, Lord, that I am not as other men", until they, too, shall meet upon a common plane of truth and righteousness and brotherly kindness.
Christianity will solve the race problem if, as we profess to believe, it is destined to gain full sway over the irate wickedness of the human heart, but finally the evil will be swallowed up in good". Will it? At least not until the Christian church has been purged of all its worldly attachments; not until the Christian church has been converted into a people's church instead of a capitalistic church; not until the Christian church has ceased to sanction by its silence the atrocities which are perpetrated on humanity.

The Christian Church has done a great deal in the past toward the alleviation of the sufferings of the black. It may even be said that she was, in a measure, responsible for the liberation of the slaves, but what is the Christian Church of America doing to stop the daily atrocities to which the black man is subjected? The newspapers and weeklies of the North denounced in no uncertain terms the tortures to which a black man in the south was subjected. After having been set up on a pyre to be burnt alive, a crowbar was heated red-hot, and his body was pierced with it, while the superior whites, men, women and children, stood around mocking and laughing at the suffering of the beast. What did the Christian Church say? Not a voice was raised from the pulpits. One heard only the feeble voice of an evangelist denouncing the heinous atrocities. We are neither in France nor in Belgium nor are those who participated in this blessed feast Huns either. The irony of fate! And the Negro is called on to go out and fight the Huns in
Europe "to make the world safe for democracy".

This brings up another question— that of the loyalty of the Negro.

It is disgusting sometimes to read of hot-house schemes and Utopias designed to repatriate the Negro. One asks, after a careful consideration of the part which the Negro has played in the history of the United States, whether after all the Negro is not, on the whole, more American, more loyal to American institutions than the white man. Search the records of the country, and if any account is found anywhere which even so much as casts suspicion on the Americanism of the Negro let the whole twelve millions be cast into the ocean. Can the white man say as much? Kelley Miller tells us that the Negro "is loyal to the institutions of the country, and strives to become as good an American as his fellow-citizens will permit him to be", and Halbert, commenting on the same question, concludes: "While the Negro may be compelled to fear the government and obey it, he cannot regard it with loyalty and affection unless he sees convincing evidence that it is fair and just to him". But he does not see this "convincing evidence"; yet, he is loyal—one hundred per cent loyal. Is any further proof needed to prove the undivided and unequivocal Americanism of the Negro? Who is to be considered a better American, one who has consistently violated his trust as a citizen or one who has consistently respected that trust?

A word or two may be added, in closing, about the Negro college man. Thomas and Odum tell us that the educated
young Negro is indolent, inefficient, that they sneer at the idea of work; they imitate the whites and thereby think themselves similar to them, they love only the show of apparent results and do not care for the detail of attainment. If these two gentlemen were less serious we should be justified in passing over their scientific diagnoses of the young Negro college man as merely another clever joke, but since they deign to clothe it with the robe of authority and dignity, the half truth, if we may be permitted to put it so mildly, must be bared. Neither of those characteristics is peculiar to the young college Negro. We wonder whether these gentlemen ever lived among or ever came into contact with a dozen young Negro college men and with the same number of white college men? If they have, ever tried to compare their reactions on menial work, and on those things which are claimed to be characteristic of the Negro college man? If I may be permitted to be personal, I may say that I have met during my career in college in the East and Middle-West white and colored college men on the same basis, and have studied them at close range and at a distance and have arrived at the conclusion that the only difference between the two races is in social environment and opportunity. In both of these things the white college man has the advantage over the Negro college man. Both conditions are beyond the control of the Negro. They are conditions which an imperfect social order has prescribed. The white college boy usually receives an appointment to the career which he has chosen before he leaves college, while the Negro youth is offered in many instances, an appointment to black the shoes of his college mate as a substitute for his chosen
career. Those are not conditions which make for contentment. Mr. Thomas, who claims kinship with the black race, was possibly fair enough to "cross over the line" and thus forestalled the disagreeable situation. But there are those who cannot, because of the honesty of their mothers, and those who could, but who will not because of their genuine manhood.

Without doubt the Negro college man is handicapped by his social environment or social heritage. The knowledge which he acquires in college does not materially affect his personal habits—he takes away from college just what he brought there with slight modifications. The college atmosphere affects his intellectual point of view but it does not alter the man. He remains the man which his youthful environment made him in spite of four or more years of intellectual discipline. Dean Miller, who has had years of experience in molding the minds of young Negro college men, recognizes the need of a new curriculum for Negroes. "The value of any curriculum of study for a suppressed class", he tells us, "that is not pregnant with moral energy, and that does not make insistent and incessant appeal to the half-conscious manhood within is seriously questionable. The revelation to a young man of the dignity of his own selfhood is worth more to him in the development of character and power than all the knowledge in all the de luxe volumes in gilded Carnegie libraries". But how seldom is this revelation made!

There is no question as to the relative intellectual attainments of the Negro, but it is doubtful, whether any appeal or the
stimuli which the majority of Negro college men receive ever reaches their half-conscious manhood. It is almost pathetic to note the moral and social apathy of the majority of Negro college men. And when it is considered that they are going out more or less to mold the minds of the young people to direct their social as well as their intellectual activities then the tragedy is brought nearer home to us. Kelly Miller desires the introduction of a new curriculum; he might have gone a step further and asked for a revision of the ideals of the Negro's home, for after all, we trace the man back to his hearth.

The colleges are turning out some strong, beautiful characters, but they are too few in number to affect materially the philosophy of the group. We must turn our attention to the home for a remedy. The home must be sanctified and the mother should be enthroned as the queen whose duty it shall be to cultivate that which is best in her offspring. She must be withdrawn from the perilous personal service, withdrawn from the clutches of the white rapists who sneer at the idea of a chaste black woman. The salvation of the Negro race is in the hand of Negro womanhood. If she sinks into moral turpitude the race will sink with her. But she will not sink. She is rising and continues to rise on the ashes of her dead self and with virgin purity and virtue as her ultimate goal, the future of the Negro is not desperate.

Finally a word must be said on the solution of the Negro problem. There are so many Utopian solutions offered that one
is forced to ask whether the authors are serious. Repatriation, segregation into unfavorable localities for the purpose of natural extermination, Indianizing the Negro i.e., making him the ward of the Nation, and hosts of other such impractical solutions have been suggested. Two factors have been overlooked in these wildcat notions. The first is that there are about 11,000,000 Negroes in the United States with property possession amounting to $1,000,000,000. The second factor is that the Negro is a citizen of the United States, and as such he cannot be deported or Indianized, or what not. It will seem that the best solution for the Negro problem is to remove all unjust restrictions placed on him and leave the Negro alone to work out his own destiny. Give him the rights guaranteed him by the Constitution of the land for which he has shed his blood time and time again. That is simple enough, yet many prefer to suggest impossible solutions.

It is fitting to close this chapter with a suggestion offered by a white who has lived all his life among Negroes: He proposes the "emancipation, education, identical justice, perfect equality in the law courts, and in the constitution, whatever the law or constitution may be, take away the sting of race difference; and if there is race inferiority let it not be burdened with an artificial handicap--The color line is not a rational line, the logic neither of words nor facts will uphold it. If adopted, it infallibly aggravates the virus of the color problem----My comparison of conditions in the Republic (United States) and the West Indies has brought me to the conviction that no solution of color difficulties can be found except by resolutely turning the back to the color-line and race differentiation theory".