

OPERATION FREEDOM.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in May, 1954, designed to integrate and equalize educational facilities opened up the whole question of relationship between the white and colored people within our Nation. The decision merely touched upon one problem, that of education, and yet in doing this, it ^{fanned} forced into the open the smouldering fires that have been more or less dormant for almost a century, awaiting the opportunity of bursting into a mighty conflagration. Today it threatens a holocaust.

Within the months that have passed since that memorable interpretation of the laws of our land, much has been said and done to bring out into the open the whole problem of interracial relationship. Some of the utterances have been intemperate and out of mouths dripping with hatreds and bias; some has been overtones of understanding from persons speaking with fatherly advice, with pleadings ^{for} patience and tolerance.

The important thing is that we have dared discuss the problem; that we have faced it bravely and recognized the fact that, at last, we must ^{consider} face the issues of race relationship with a view towards solving them. There is a greater significance: ~~To know~~ ^{of knowing that} that here in the United States, we may still think through our problems, that both sides may have his say; that people still have the right of freedom of speech and that the press is not outlawed and throttled; that all citizens still have their right to be heard ^{to} and have their day in Court.

I regard this ~~unwillingness~~ willingness to discuss the question of race relations in the open as a good omen. There are serious conflicting opinions on this matter of Negroes and whites living together within America—matters that must eventually be ^{settled} ~~settled~~ satisfactorily. The sooner we ^{settle} ~~get~~ down to the sensible

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study and consideration of the perplexing problems, the better it will be for all within the influence of our government.

Out of every storm of life, out of every calamity that comes, there are certain vital goods that may be realized if we but use the experiences realized in arriving at newer approaches, outlooks and viewpoints.

Every person within an organized society must experience some reverses. The way he reacts to these adverses is the big factor that will suggest the way his future will be determined.

Margaret M. Harvey expresses it thus, "Experience is not what happens to a man; it is what a man does with that which happens to him." If we, as a Nation, can only apply what has happened to us here within the last four score years as it pertains to interracial relations, we may still be able to emerge with the proper solutions to this intricate problem of races living together along peaceable lines.

A sensible consideration and study of our experiences in the handling of this question of races with different cultures and social backgrounds and with differences in physical structure, may certainly charter a course for future undertakings—may, even, help us to arrive at a newer, and I hope, a much higher level and concept of a democratic society. Indeed, the ruling of the Supreme Court in May, 1954, not only paved a way for the Nation to study and revalue its past undertakings in racial relations, it offered to the Nation an opportunity to set in motion a program of real social democracy. We have a chance for a NEW RECONSTRUCTION, the rebuilding of a new order, a new Nation. It would be a calamity for the Nation to not seize the opportunity, at least, of discovering if such is not now needed.

an earnest consideration

To my way of thinking, ~~annatthunking~~ of this whole problem of interracial living would unearth many reforms that are long overdue, would indicate many redresses that must be made and many injustices of the past methods used. I believe there would be found newer concepts that must be applied, different approaches that must be made. Certainly, to not accept the challenge before us will prove cowardly and unmanly; will let pass golden opportunities for improvement.

That there is now confusion, unsettled conditions, tenseness and a disturbed order of things must be apparent to all. To refuse to recognize and admit this—to keep believing that things will just naturally work themselves out without a positive action on our part seems silly, if now down-right idiotic.

When a mere lad, my father allowed me to accompany him to a meeting of some sort and in course of time, the discussion became quite heated. Tempers flared and it became obvious that the situation was getting out of hand. It was then that my father became my hero. He arose and above the confusion loudly proclaimed, "Somebody here has got to keep a cool head! We can never get any place if all of us are going to lose our heads!" The warning acted like magic and soon the meeting was restored to order.

It seems to me that in the present turmoil and at this time there is room for my father's advice. The leadership at this moment should settle down to a calm, earnest and sensible consideration of a policy whereby the several racial groups may dwell together here, PEACEABLY.

Sometimes, we take the common things about us within stride and without stopping to think how they came about and what their effect are upon others. We accept what has been done as the thing that ought to be done. We take our sides in the matters on the strength of those about us, without once ~~amm~~ ever questioning their position or of stopping to assure ourselves as to the righteousness of their positions. We accept conditions handed down to us and, in time, grow to believe that this way is the correct way, even the only way. They become our way of life, the status quo of our existence.

I fear we have taken this attitude concerning the attitude of treatment where questions of whites and Negroes are involved. Many are there within the white race and the Negro race, who have taken sides, drawn conclusions and resolved questions—even determined policies, on the policies that were in vogue when they entered life; accepted these policies as being the correct and honest viewpoint, without once stopping to hear any other side, without once listening to issues, or analyzing charges, or without looking into the righteousness of the claims of others who did not fully accept their viewpoint.

Undoubtedly, ~~there~~ are thousands, even millions, of us within America who have never thought through fully the issues and claims projected by white and Negro leaders. I venture to say that most of us have drawn our conclusions as to stands that whites and Negroes ought to take and, or submit to, without having taken time out to see just what the other fellow is contending for.

I have long felt that someone ought to say in simple everyday language just what the issues between the whites and Negroes are, that in this present day, the rank and file may see how much of these claims are fancy and fiction and how much will bear the spotlight of truth.

See if you can answer these questions, for instance: Just what are Negroes contending for? Why do they assume the attitude they do about their position within our society? Why do they feel that they are mistreated? Do they deserve better? What are they doing to try to obtain their goals? Is their claim based upon facts? Upon justice? Upon our law and order? Why are their rights, as they claim them, withheld from them?

On the other hand, ask yourself these questions: Why are whites oppose to Negroes receiving the things they contend for? Do they have the legal right to keep Negroes from receiving the same treatment as are here for other citizens? Have we and are we dealing fairly with the Negro in denying him fully citizenship? Is the Negro to be regarded as a sort of second class citizen and to be deprived of things that are granted to other racial groups?

Once These questions are settled within you, you may want to face a more important question: Can anything be done to better the relationship between the white and colored segments within America; if such is desirable; if we ought to undertake such and if this is the time for the undertaking of such? You may even desire to consider the question, Ir down within our hearts, ~~do~~ we really want to end this strife and eradicate it from the American thinking?

These are things that face us vitally now; these are the things that divide and weaken us; these are the things here at home that confront and embarrass us; that irritate and provoke us.

Within our study we desire to look into many of the questions raised here.

and if we mean
to resolve them there are *involving citizens*
many things that will have to be done, from the highest statesmen and

officials within our country to the lowliest citizen within our border. New concepts and requirements with newer objectives and aims will have to grip the minds and hearts of the citizenry, if we are to make progress along this line, and I may add, that survival itself may be at stake in the manner we answer these questions. Truly, there are things to be done, and I believe sincerely that there are things that we can do.

Perhaps, it's not amiss to think briefly upon how we arrived at this terrible state of holding ill will, bias and prejudice against our fellow-citizens. Just *how* did we allow ourselves to grow to ~~hate~~ *mis-*
understand each other as we have in the past? Historically, how came about such a wide difference in attitude and feeling between the whites and Negroes within America? Let us review, briefly, some of the contributing factors.

Slavery, it must be remembered, was introduced into America in the first half of the seventeenth century and was at first in vogue both in the North as well as the South. In time, however, the experiment proved unprofitable within the North and in time was abandoned.

Within the South, where there was longer summers, better chances for the raising of crops of tobacco, cotton and foodstuff, the slave venture proved much more profitable and became ^{more} firmly entrenched. With the rise in demand of cotton, the venture proved greatly remunerative and the demand for slaves steadily increased. It spiraled into big business and big business-men seized the opportunities that this new ^{enterprise} business had to offer.

Within a few decades, ^{within all the southern states there grew} ~~the adventure produced and made~~ a number of great slave barons. They bought up the lands and established huge plantations, built elegant homes, established a sort of feudal system and forged upon the Southland a new way of life. ^{with variations} ~~This~~ system flourished for approximately two hundred and fifty years.

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Within the forging of this system the barons ~~learned~~ and discovered that to keep any people enslaved for such a long period, the innate will/for freedom of the enslaved people must be crushed, if not altogether destroyed. As a result, harsh and cruel rules and regulation that finally were accepted as just laws, had to be ^{provided} established and enforced. These, in time, were also forthcoming.

Within the whole area where slavery predominated, ^{the slaves} Negroes were generally forbidden to assemble of their own accord, ^{were not} to be allowed to own or possess firearms, ^{were denied education,} ~~to learn to read or write,~~ ^{were} to not be allowed to travel to any extent and ^{were} to be deprived of ^{practically all} any and all things that might have a tendency of helping them discover their lowly estate, and certainly of ~~eliminating or~~ extricating themselves from ^{it} their estate.

From the beginning of ~~the Country as a separate nation~~, of course, there have been ^{some} Free Negroes within the area. These free Negroes were soon found to be a menace to the system of slavery and also soon became a target of the slave barons. To have free Negroes ^{passing freely} within and ^{among or even} near Negroes slaves, to allow these slaves hear them ^{free men} talk of freedom and perhaps, have these free persons working against their forged system of servitude, to be sure, ~~were~~ regarded as a menace to the ^{very} system of slavery.

From the beginning of ^{the system then} slavery, the free Negroes were objects of concern and with their increase in number, in boldness and, yes, as a factor in economy, this concern increased. In time harsh laws were sought and obtained to limit and circumscribe the free Negro. In a fashion treatment of the free Negroes ~~were~~ more severe than upon the slaves themselves. In some of the States they were harrassed, spied upon, charges were trumped up against them to drive them out of their communities, they too were forbidden to go and come at will, to be educated freely, to keep fire-arms and to even raise and sell certain foodstuff. Many were the schemes resorted to for their riddance.

^{outside of slave states} Among these schemes was the idea of colonizing ~~these~~ free Negroes. Cleverly, persons wanting to rid themselves of this element projected this idea of sending the free Negroes to places without the field of slave-ownership operations. ^{Other} persons, meaning well and believing that this would perhaps be the only solution to the problem as well as of benefit to the Negro ~~and~~ free persons, joined, in time, with the plan of sending free Negroes out of the country. Several of the State governments, the Federal Government, even, joined the plan and made efforts of colonizing the Negro in Liberia, Africa.

In spite of the rosy painted pictures given and the clever planning of all those in charge, the colonization program had little appeal to the Negroes. The Negro leadership of that day and since,

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remained ~~stay~~ in America. They had ~~stayed~~ ^{already been here} sufficiently long to absorb the American outlook upon life, sufficiently long to get a glimpse of the possibilities that the United States government had to offer; sufficient long to seize upon a hope and belief that the fuller life that the ^{American system of} government promised, would in some way, and at some future time, be their way of life also. More than this, they had stayed sufficiently long to acquire a faith and belief in a Great God, whom they now knew would in course of time deliver them from their bondage. The Free Negroes within the Southland elected to stay on and abide the fortunes that awaited them. Of course, by reasons of the restrictions placed upon them, they were eliminated as an economic threat to anything so far as the slave system offered.

These were other ^{complications in} ~~threats~~ to the economy of the Southland, however. Only a few of the whites of the South enjoyed the luxury of holding slaves in sufficient numbers to enjoy profits therefrom. This select class of barons were the wealthy whites who gobbled up the land, built the elaborate homes, became great forces in politics and became increasingly wealthy. The other whites, the overwhelming majority, ^{with their wealthier neighbors} now unable to compete became increasingly poorer. Practically unneeded ~~as laborers~~ they could not get into industry because of the ~~free slave~~ labor about them; they could not become great factors in government, not being able to wield controlling voice and prestige in the economy and industry. ^{unable to compete they were} ~~They too were being~~ pushed from the good lands ^{lands and into the} ever into the swamps and hills; out of the society, customs and enjoyment of this better life about them. These were the people, the poor whites, and who in time, became so inconsequential within the society about ^{them} ~~the as~~ to be styled "the poor white trash" by their richer neighbors.

Repercussions of such an economy had their reactions in within othe parts of the Nation. Northerners had to sit by and see their Southern neighbors enjoying luxuries that they could not afford; they too had to compete with the slave labor there; had to witness the building up of an industrial empire of cotton and yet, not share in its profits; had to see the South acquiring foreign trades from which they received no benefits.

Moreover, because of the difficulties of recovering runaway slaves, the North found itself paying heavy taxes and spending money for the perpetuation of the very system that was slowly strangling the North's economy.

Slavery indeed, built up an industrial empire; and "cotton became king", but only the South enjoyed the fruits from such a system.

With the enrichment of the South gained through its slave industry there was also growing certain conceptions in the social order. The complete subjection of slaves to the state of animals, there was building up within their white slave masters the feeling and belief that whites were better than those who had fallen so low. Not only did the idea of white supremacy attach itself, it became a way of life an obsession. They taught their children this, they preached it as God's plan, they projected the principles into their neighbors and fellow neighbors. Even, the poorer whites were made to believe that although their lot was in a measure, worse than the slaves' lot, yet, they, because they were born white, that they were God's chosen people and by right were superior to non-whites.

There were other forces at work as a by-product of this teaching. With the breaking down of the great and fundamental appreciation for humanity, there was springing up a corresponding lack of appreciation of values.

the The sympathies and understanding necessary for law and order, for decency and justice under the law and within the Courts, the tendency to respect and regard the needs of the poor and those of the minority, the feeling of concern for the weak and sick—all these fine traits so necessary for the making of a strong nation, were now being pushed into the background. *respect for*

In a similar fashion morals and respect for home and marriage became lost to the controlling class within the South. Masters and their sons practiced a sort of free love with their female slaves to the common knowledge of their children and their wives and their wives and daughters had to accept ~~these~~ and tolerate these brazen practices.

Is there wonder that true values were being lost and destroyed, that ~~human~~ honor, justice, freedom, even love itself, were lost and that a clear regard for the fine principles of sound government were being lost? Not only had slavery reduced the Negro's status to that of an animal, it had carried ~~with them~~ under with them the white South to the extent that it no longer could appreciate

the true meaning of law and order. The basic teaching of God's law, the ~~main~~ bed-rock of our founding fathers were no longer remembered.

Indeed, America had been robbed of her soul! Power, Greed, Arrogance, Intolerance took over completely and those glorious tenets of Liberty, Justice, Mercy, Love and Freedom, went into total darkness.

The extreme ~~depths~~ depths to which America descended from the lofty aims of our founding fathers, is pathetically expressed in the opinion rendered by the Supreme Court of our land in the infamous Dred Scott Decision when this great tribunal blurted those infamous words, "There are no rights of a Negro that a white person must respect."

In an earlier statement, I suggested that from our sad experiences may emerge blessings. ~~W~~ The Dred Scott decision ~~was~~ may have been the great factor to cause America to think more seriously than theretofore on this question of American life. From that decision there seems to have been a new thought taken on what America was heading for. From that time, there were forces making serious efforts to change things, for clearly could be seen the trend towards an upheaval in America. As never before could some see that the Union itself, would not be able to stand much longer with half of the country advocating slavery, the other half suffering from the evils thereof.

In the case of slavery, as is always the case with evils, we pay as individuals, and as a nation, for our sins and forgetfulness. Four long desolate years of a Civil War in which the best young blood of youth was spilled upon battlefields, is the ~~price~~ initial price that we paid down for the sins of slavery. The division among friends and neighbors; the bankruptcy of one-third of the States of the Union; the panic that followed; the sufferings of a Reconstructional period and the narrowness, selfishness and unfair and partial treatment towards one-tenth of the inhabitants within our country, are but installments we have been paying since upon this debt of sin. There is still a huge unpaid balance due.

Slavery in one form was ended by this Civil War, but as suggested, not before there had been planted here within the American heart certain opinions and ideas that have plagued us since. Ere slavery had been outlawed there had grown up within America a belief and obsession that taught that there are certain rights and prerogatives that are inheritantly the right of white citizens over others. That there are still things within America that whites should enjoy that are never to be enjoyed by non-whites. The idea of white supremacy had not only taken hold of the whites of the Southland, but, as suggested before, had become the prevailing belief of a large majority of the whites throughout the country.

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The ending of the Civil War brought to the forefront an unusual, if not unforeseen situation/ in the South. We find with the dawn of a ^{new} era at hand that there were no persons there ready and capable of reorganizing and administering a stable government.

The only class, perhaps, capable by reason of education, experience and training was the former slave owners. In former times these had been the power behind the government; these, in fact, were the only ones who had the know how, and yet, these were the people who had just become bankrupt, who were now embittered, disalusioned and blinded. They had been stunned by their losses, were in a state of shock at what they discovered they faced, were ~~beyond the pale of being trusted to work wholeheartedly and honestly in the formation of a government in harmony with the pattern of the total government.~~ so carried away with their own conception of what was right, decent and in order, that they were beyond the pale of being trusted to work wholeheartedly and honestly in the formation of a government in harmony with the pattern of the total government.

To these slave masters the United States had destroyed their way of life and to them their way of life was the right and only way. No, the Federal Government could not fully trust and depend upon the ~~same~~ former slave masters to form a new government within the South.

On the other hand, the poorer whites of the South could not be entrusted with this grave responsibility of recreating a government. They on the whole were ignorant, without training and education, in many instances without any real notions and ideas as to what actually constituted a real democracy. Perhaps, the only thing the poorer whites really had, was their burning desire and ~~d~~ determination to take over whatever they could wherever they could and to never again let go to again get in the fix that they had formerly experienced. The poorer white class was not prepared to be entrusted to form a new order of things.

Of course, the recently freed Negroes were not prepared.

The only hope from the Federal Government's point of view was to select ~~some~~ trained men and along with what material they could find willing to help to send such trained persons from the North to help reorganize matters and watchover and supervise affairs there until such time as law and order could be firmly ^{re} established and until reforms could come. And, if they found cooperation and a willingness, until such time as suitable men within the South could be found or trained to take over matters completely.

Had the south but have accepted the ~~Decision~~ ^{to it's} of the Civil War as having put ~~at~~ ^{an} end/~~to~~ ^{the} dream of becoming an independent power; had ~~the~~ ^{the} South ~~but~~ turned it's attention towards the building up on the ruins of a past, ~~the~~ ^a new industrial section of a nation; had it decided to cash in on the advantages it had in having at its disposal cheap available labor, more open weather and a common ideal of all starting from a new beginning, I say, had the South have had this vision, today, there would have been a different story. (There could not now be a Governor Ervil Faubus to ~~deny~~ ^{ignore} a supreme law of the land; there would not now be White Citizens' Councils to thumb their noses at constituted law and order.)

My daughter, Miss Sandra Mai Koger, in her alumnae's journal, The Vassarian (^{contributor upon the subject,}) in replying to a Southern ~~site~~ expresses it admirably when she ~~writes~~ ^{says}:

(the South's)
 "Instead of accepting its ^a situation and facing its challenge with determination to forge a new order out of the ruins of war, the South, almost to a hamlet, sulked, shut herself out, and smarting under defeat, regarded herself as a separate "nation".!... ..If only the South in 1865, had accepted ^a the fact that it would have to start all over upon the basis of that day's opportunities! Instead, the South chose to gloat over her past, hold malice against her conquerers, and shut out the progress that beckoned her".

Federal following the War: ~~mistakes~~
 Perhaps the ^a Government did make mistakes, ⁱⁿ the selection to be of men/sent into the ~~S~~ South following the War, in not keeping out agitators, exploiters, demagogues. Perhaps more thought and care should have been given to spelling out just how far States could be expected to go, just how "supreme" is the Supreme Law.

Insertion

The Amnesty Act may have prevented prosecution, prevented punishment; but the crime of Treason could never be erased. ~~London~~ There remains the red blot upon history, men, leaders, plotted ~~the~~ overthrow of the constituted government of the United States and resorted to arms in an attempt to carry out their planning.

On the other hand the Federal Government may have erred
 in trying to rush back to normal the statehood by giving the
 impression of fear and of granting appeasement. ^{by the} ^{of} ^{For instance,} Had the Federal
 Government dealt more firmly with her rebellious foe it might have been
 different. ~~According to viewpoint~~

According to viewpoint, one of the first mistakes the Government
 made was to allow the leaders of the rebellion to go scot free.
 Our Constitution declares as treason persons who use arms in
 an effort against the United States. The passing of the
 Amnesty Act, thereby forgiving the traitors and conspirators who
 for four years had sought to destroy the Constitution, no doubt
 left a wrong impression ^{of} these participants. Most of these,
 no doubt, interpreted this as weakness, as a suggestion that more
 appeasements could be had; that the leadership was afraid and
 timid. One thing is certain, the South has never regarded the
 end of the Civil War as a surrender, merely an armistice. They
 still unfurl their ^{symbol} ~~badge~~ of the traitor—the "Confederate Flag";
 they still spit their empty slogan, "The South shall rise again."

Insertion →

Had the government have hanged "Jeff Davis to a sour apple"
 tree as those soldiers who bore the brunt to the battles, promised;
 and Robert E. Lee been shot ^{the traitor that he was} as a traitor, instead of having been
 allowed to become a symbol and rallying sign, there would have
 been an opportunity of rebuilding a south with oneness of
 authority in mind, with a viewpoint now, perhaps, of in fact,
 "liberty and justice for all." Perhaps, now, after sixty years
 there would not be a question if there is ^{really} ~~really~~ a Supreme Law
 of the Land.

Alas! The United States government did none of these
 things, so let us return to the actual manner of handling them.

As terrible as had been slavery and as destructive as had been the Civil War, there was no real reason why the Country during this first Reconstruction could not have emerged with a wholesome and workable program, had the Nation but half tried. There were several fundamental factors there as a basis that indicate how the several interests might have been developed without so much friction and strife, had the parties thereto but tried.

The one fine thing that must be admitted is the cordial relationship that existed between the former masters and their former slaves. ^{at the end of the war} During the war the Negroes ^{slaves} on the plantations ^{had} remained ^{reasonably} loyal and ^{had} refrained from acts of violence. With their masters, in some cases, and their sons, away at the front, the slaves at home continued to work the farms and produce the foodstuff, without sabotage and violence. ^{Upon emancipation their former} ~~former~~ masters were not bitter, nor were the newly freedmen. They were willing enough to start over with a desire of making a go of the new situation. Unquestionably, the former masters and the newly emancipated slaves could have gotten along nicely following the Civil War, had there not been other outside forces to prevent this.

The poor white free people of the South was the factor to be reckoned with, ^{in this regard.} Before the war ^{this class} ~~he~~ had not been able to compete with the free labor of the slave baron. Being kept ~~too~~ poor to become a competitor with the ~~se~~ slave ^{masters} barons, at best, all these poorer whites could do was smart ^{under} ~~at~~ the system and dream of the time when a change would put them in power. The Civil War was that occasion. These poorer whites had fought the war through; they now intended cashing in on what little gains a defeated people could command. They were ^{poor} hungry, disillusioned, angry, and in some cases,

impatient to get on with their seizure of the power and spoils of conflict.

The factor that impeded this was that ~~they~~ suddenly became aware of the fact that ~~they were~~ ^{they were} untrained, unprepared, unwelcomed to either handle the industry about ~~them~~ ^{them}, or the new political machinery within ~~their~~ ^{their} handreach.

In emerging from slavery the Negro, it developed, was much better off ^{economically} than the poorer whites. The slave barons, for their own advantage and convenience, had trained their slaves to be mechanics, wheelrights, blacksmiths and agriculturists of a sort, as well as other semi-skilled laborers. These barons had needed them in their business, and so, when slavery ended, ^{numbers of} the Negro knew best how to do the many things to be done about them. Consequently, for a number of years, in fact until about 1880, Negroes served well as barbers, bakers, plasterers, bricklayers and the like. They were ^{carpenters and the} riggers ~~and~~ caulkers of vessels; ^{they were the} best farmers.

On the other hand, the poorer whites had not learned such trades, for they had not had the ^{opportunity} ~~chance~~ to acquire such ^{skills nor had they had} ~~nor~~ any challenge ~~to lead~~ them to secure an incentive for such. Immediately following the war, however, ^{the poorer whites} they knew that if they were to take over and cash in on the fruit of their fight, they must have these things. Every device was then put into effect to secure these skills ^{for} the security that goes therewith. Cotton mills, were set up and rules instituted that allowed only whites therein. Through agreements, written, or understood, Negroes were not to be hired wherever a white could take the job. Negroes, in less numbers were employed in semi-skilled work, and less opportunities provided for them to learn skill ^{ed} trades. ^{Gradually,} ~~in time,~~ the Negro was virtually left out of all consideration for such.

Historians of various importance and worth, emphasize the point that carper-baggers and Northern demagogues were the prime causes for various friction that arose following the war and charge these as the chief reason for the bias and prejudice that followed in their wake. What they never admit is that the whole stems from an economic situation in which there was too little and too many to share it with, and ~~that~~ it was convenient to leave out the weakest ^{in the scramble for security.}

Of course, there must be excuses for what we do; there were excuses galore given for not including the Negro within the new struggle for revival within the South. Among those brought forward at that time was the charge that the Negro was not a citizen and therefore not entitled to share in or participate within the rights and privileges of citizenship as others.

This was the extent of this contention. There were those who asserted that when the United States was originally founded that ^{and consideration} no place/was given the Negro by the fathers who framed our government. That the government was founded by white people for white people and that Negroes had therefore never acquired the rights ^{of} to full citizenship. They ~~also~~ advanced the idea that, even ^{if} at one time the Negro ~~was~~ had been regarded as a citizen the decision of the Supreme Court in the celebrated Dred Scott Case, had completely nullified his status. ^{The contended} That the import of that decision was ^{now} ~~this~~ the law of the land. They further argued, that if President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation liberated the slaves referred ^{therein that} to, this did not give them citizenship, nor did it apply to the horde of other Negroes outside of the States in rebellion, not affected by that State paper.

Let us look ~~first~~ into the ~~first~~ claim that Negroes were not originally included within the thinking of the formation of our nation.

To begin with, not all of the Negroes were slaves at the time of the formation of our country. There were many free Negroes. At least, a few of them ^{Some of them} had come over as immigrants as had whites.

^{Examples} Cases in point are those of Matthias Sousa and John Price who came over in "The Ark and The Dove" along with others in 1633 and settled in Maryland. At least, ~~then~~ those who came over as ^{and indentured servants} immigrants/were to be considered, as eligible for citizenship in this new republic being formed. ^{Negroes then,} Some were here before slavery was accepted as an institution.

But as evidence that there were others regarded as citizens back in those times, we discover that there were five ~~statesmen~~ ^{thirteen} of the original colonies, viz, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and North Carolina ^{where free colored persons exercised suffrage,} and this was the case in 1856 in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and colored aliens were ^{eli}

eligible for naturalization. (See Scott v. Sandford, 19 How. 393-).

What is also noteworthy is the fact that many of these free ^{War} Negroes fought in the Revolution/ as soldiers. Many were in the immediate command of Gen. George Washington, himself. These had surely earned their right to share the country that they had helped create.

It is not true that the Constitution was made exclusively by and for the white race; it was established by "the people of the United States" for themselves and their posterity; and, as free were apart of the people of the United States *at the time and* colored persons/ were then citizens of at least five states - and perhaps all thirteen, as there is nothing of record to say they were not - it follows ^{that,} in every sense of the word, these were among those for whom, and for whose posterity, the Constitution was established.

Had the found~~er~~ing fathers not meant Negroes as citizens undoubtedly, they would have said so. Perhaps, it's not a bad idea to see just what they did say.

~~to abide by this, our whole efforts will have been in vain.
Now, let us look into the Supreme Law of the Land.~~

When the framers of our Government began their ushering into being our new order and way of life, they first projected a declaration of principles. Out of their experiences, their longings, their hungering and thirsting for a better and newer life, they projected the now famous Declaration of Independence, to which they pledged their lives, their fortunes and sacred honor.

Listen to these words from the framers of our Government:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their powers from the consent of the governed.--That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and institute new Government, laying its foundation on such Principles and organizing its Powers in such form, as to them shall most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

Upon this foundation, upon these beliefs, America was established. All the heartaches, suffering and bloodshed of the War for Independence were made and given to establish a Government that would secure to all of its citizens these

fundamental and basic rights--rights so sacred and important to every individual as to be regarded as inalienable. ^I Our Constitution was accepted and ratified with these high and holy principles uppermost in the minds of the framers of our State. Their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor had been pledged to this sacred undertaking.

The Preamble to the Constitution reiterates these ^{spirit of the} intentions: *Declaration of Independence. Listen,*

"We the people of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure Domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

So concerned were they that these basic rights of freedom and liberty would never be infringed upon, not even by a central government itself, the framers then ^{quietly} added ten amendments -- regarded as a Bill of Rights, that the sacredness of their inalienable rights be even further safeguarded. A Federal Government, this Bill ^{of Rights} declared, must respect the right of the person, the right of property and the right to fair trial and this by a jury. No, not even the Federal Government must ever infringe upon these!

~~There are those who are willing to grant all of this, but who insist that Negroes were not within the concepts and planning~~

In spite of all this however, there were those ~~now~~ ^{still} at the end of the Civil War who were, saying ~~that regardless of all this,~~ ^{that} the Negro is not a citizen and cannot enjoy the benefits of such. ^{That none of this applied to the negro}

There were in Congress at this period, however, some intellectual giants who were willing to accept this challenge. Persons of the stature of Charles Sumner came quickly to the forefront. "If they are not ~~men~~ free men, if they are not citizens, if they are not entitled to the ballot, then, we will make them so", was their ^{embodiment of their} determination. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution resulted, whose import is as follows:

Thirteenth Amendment--Designed for the purpose of forever outlawing slavery within the confines of the United States. ^{and give freedom to all persons within the land.} Here ~~is~~ is the heart of that admendemnt: that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Fourteenth Amendment--Briefly, That "no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person the equal protection of the laws."

Fifteenth Amendment--To prevent any curtailment whatever of political rights, it was further stipulated that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged, by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

To make assurance doubly sure, Congress, in these three amendments, was ~~also~~ invested with full power and authority to enforce by the laws of the land, these cardinal principles of equality before the law of all American citizens--the newly made as well as the old. Never before had an ~~am~~ amendment carried with it such powers; never before had anyone concieved ~~of~~ the thought that anyone would ever desire to deprive citizens of such rights.

That if it had applied as from what the word Scott decision had nullified their claims.

Had there ^{before} been misgivings and doubt as to the newly freed Negro's status within the nation, these amendments now erased forever such doubt. From the moment of their passage there could be no doubt, no mistake.

Within
~~Read~~ the Fourteenth Amendment ponder these words, EVERY PERSON-
note these words---"Every person born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

Do you get it? Citizens of the United States and the State wherein they reside! Every white man, every Negro man, meeting the requirements, from the moment of the ratification of this amendment was a citizen, just as much a citizen, as any other person who has ever lived within the confines of our nation. As citizens they are entitled to the identical right and immunity, in every place, by everyone. In Maine, in California, in Little Rock, and Mississippi!

The persons who ^{drafted and} voted this amendment ^{into law} must have had misgivings, ^{however,} They knew that they had fought a war, that the feelings in some sections were to the effect of nullifying the law, if they could find a method of doing so; they knew the trend of their thinking at that very time and so they ^{securing by} posed the questions, "Will all the States honor the spirit of this amendment? Will the States allow all citizens to enjoy their rights and immunities? Will they allow these newly ~~made~~ freed persons ^{to} vote and enjoy their political rights?" The United States government, speaking through the

channel provided for it to speak, in an effort ~~of~~ ^{securing to it that every citizen would be} ~~at~~ having every citizen protected forever in his rights, from every other individual, every branch of the government, the States themselves, then went further into ^{providing that} ~~securing to it that~~ divisions, even States

from infringing or usurping the individual citizen's rights.
~~Lest there be doubt,~~

~~rights from infringements from the very States themselves.~~

The Federal Government insisted in spelling out her position plainly that no State be thereafter in doubt. Hear the remainder of the First Section of the Fourteenth Amendment:

"NO STATE SHALL MAKE OR ENFORCE ANY LAW WHICH SHALL ABRIDGE THE PRIVILEGES OR IMMUNITIES OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES; NOR SHALL ANY STATE DEPRIVE ANY PERSON OF LIFE, LIBERTY, OR PROPERTY, WITHOUT DUE PROCESS OF LAW; NOR DENY TO ANY PERSON WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION THE EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS."

There is left no doubt; the Government could not have been more emphatic.

There is more; the Government gives power to see that this is carried into an actuality. Conclude the reading of the Amendment:

"The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

This is conclusive. Not only did this Amendment give to Negroes citizenship, it gave to Congress the duty and responsibility of seeing to it that every State honor and respect the dignity of ^{that} citizenship. This is the Constitution. This is the Supreme Law of the Land.

This is the belief of every Negro until this day. He believes that this is the basic law of our land and that any person who violates it, any government, any state, any agency of the State that fails to respect and recognize this, any Court that holds to the contrary--has departed from the supreme law of the land and such branch departing, is in error.

Let it be said to the everlasting credit of Congress immediately after the Civil War that it did its best to help make the force and effects of the new amendments work. In rapid succession it passed a Civil Rights Bill (1866), and Enforcement Act (1870) and a Civil and Legal Rights Act (1875), all designed to give power and authority for protecting the newly freedmen in their quest for full citizenship. The Courts at first also very promptly upheld these efforts.

Immediately following the war, there were test cases galore and in all of these earlier cases the Supreme Court sought to uphold the broader view of acknowledging that all ~~persons~~ ^{citizens} within the nation~~s~~ were to be regarded upon the same level from a civic and political point of view. Not only did these early decisions seek to wipe out differences in physical accommodations, but to elevate the concept and dignity of full citizenship.

A few quotations from some of the cases arising within the first decade following the Civil War, will illustrate the thinking of that period - as expressed through Court opinions.

Here follow extracts from cases brought to the Supreme Court!

" A citizen of the United States has a perfect right to go to, reside in, ^{claim} any State he chooses, and to ~~maintain~~ citizenship therein; and an equality of rights with every other citizen; and the whole power of the nation is pledged to sustain him in that right. He is not bound to cringe to any superior, or to pray for any act of grace, as a means of enjoying all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other citizens."

(Slaughter-House Cases 16 Wall.36)

→ In United States v. Cruikshank (92 U.S.542), we find, "The Fourteenth Amendment prohibits a State from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; but this adds nothing to the rights of one citizen as against another. It simply furnishes an additional guarantee against encroachment by the State upon the fundamental rights which belong to every citizen as a member of society."

Refe

Referring to the Fourteenth Amendment, the Court held in Strauder v. West Virginia (100 U.S. 303) "It" (the amendment) "was designed to assure to the colored race the enjoyment of all the civil rights that under the law are enjoyed by white persons, and to give to that race the protection of the general government in that enjoyment, whenever it should be denied by the State."

In the same case, Justice Swayne, dissenting, says, "Fairly construed, these amendments may be said to rise to the dignity of a Magna Charta. The Thirteenth blotted out slavery and forbade forever its restoration. It struck the fetters from four millions of human beings and raised them at once to the sphere of freemen. This was an act of grace and justice performed by the nation."

During this same period and following the trend of thinking and ruling of this august body, the States enacted liberal laws accepting this interpretation of the law. Even in the deep South,

~~Efforts were being made to accept the~~ efforts were being made to accept the

Constitution as the Supreme Law of our Country, There was ~~manifest~~ *manifest*

also a tendency to ~~make~~ *enact* laws and be governed by legislation in harmony with this trend of thought. Note the following:

The Constitution of Georgia provided that "the social status of citizens shall never be the subject of legislation." So, in South Carolina, "that no person shall be disqualified as a witness, nor be prevented from acquiring, holding, and transmitting property, nor be hindered in acquiring and education, etc, nor be subject in law to any restraints or disqualifications in regard to any personal rights than such as are laid upon others under like circumstances."

In Virginia, South Carolina and Alabama the Constitution^s stated that all citizens of the State possess equal rights and public privileges.

In Arizona, "that the civil rights of the people shall not be abridged". Virginia, South Carolina and Florida went further into details by declaring, that distinction on account of race or color in any case whatever is prohibited, and all classes of citizens shall enjoy equally all common, public, legal, and political privileges. And South Carolina specifically provided that all the public schools should be free and open, without regard to race or color.

Mississippi's Constitution provided that the right of all citizens to travel upon all public conveyances shall not be infringed.

Although these laws were being enacted, there were others at work ever seeking ways and means of defeating them. They worked and constantly planned to offset and destroy them. ~~They~~

As sacred as were these constitutional guarantees supposed to be and as

As lofty as were these fine opinions uttered by some of the ablest men of that period, their force and effect meant nothing to the forces of evil at work, especially within those states which had been in rebellion against the constituted national authority. This group of individuals dedicated to the belief, now an obsession, that because they belonged to the white race and that they white group had theretofore enjoyed superior advantages, had no idea or thought of surrendering this advantage, ~~opinions or not to the contrary~~ opinions, the amendments, the Constitution, notwithstanding. Within States, notably, the southern states,

"Black laws" against the Negro were reactivated, designed and advocated. Discrimination and segregation were openly attempted in travel, in theatres, in hotels and in other conceivable fashions. while inclined to be loving to his former slaves. The former masters had no idea of allowing their former slaves to as their equals, to rights these masters succeed/~~to~~ had theretofore enjoyed exclusively. The Likewise, the poorer whites who had so recently come into a new status and power, ~~had~~ had no intention of sharing this new prospect of power with others who threatened such. These latter, encouraged, if not actually inflamed, by the shrewd politicians of the times, very doggedly fought to discredit all rivalry. To mark and establish the Negro as an inferior, and undesirable, an outcast, would serve admirably to this end of gaining a status as a factor within their new world. They would miss no opportunity. They made test cases. They felt the Government/ weak and believed they could win.

The first great/break in establishing their hopes of a white man's exclusive nation, perhaps, came with the decision by the Supreme Court in the ^{test} case of Hall v. DeCuir. The case came up from Louisiana and concerned the right of a Negro to travel freely as a passenger in interstate commerce. The issues were settled on fine technicalities of law and are unimportant in this discussion, but

the issues raised within this case, the new theory of law advanced, and the later force and effect of that theory, are important in that they have affected the trend of law and society for ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~about~~ ^{about} past eighty years.

It was Mr. Justice Clifford's concurring opinion that projected new ideas and theories of racial policies within our nation. Leaving the issues involved, the distinguished jurist, ventured into the realm of theorizing on the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment and its affect upon the law ^{pertaining to} the newly freed colored citizens. The opinion ~~of~~ Hall v. DeGuir was filed on the 14th day of January, 1878 and was the first of a succession of legal wounds from which the Negro has not recovered until this day.

Much of the ^{terms applied and} legal language used are more or less confusing to the layman, but the import of this jurist's reasoning was to the effect that ^{public} carriers, and of course, their allies, ~~public~~ ^{carriers} servants, the ^{AND} hotels, theatres, ~~and~~ places of instruction, have authority of adopting such rules and regulation under certain conditions, as shall be deemed for the best interest of the general public and implied that the best interest referred to here meant the majority's feelings within such matters. He projected as a theory that "Equality does not mean identity," in the physical arrangements.

It was obvious that the doctrine of "Equality does not necessarily mean identity" would open the door which the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Bills had striven to close forever. The importance of this decision coming at this time, cannot be ~~exaggerated~~ exaggerated. From that ruling, or opinion, the south with renewed vigor sort to discriminate in travel, in hotels, in education and in other social legislation, thereby subjecting the Negro citizenship to humiliating discriminations, and depriving them more and more of their rights and privileges ^{and} of disregarding their immunities.

And more and more did the cases coming up in various courts refer to the approach made by Mr. Justice Clifford, or leaning towards that school of interpretation.

Though this was merely "obituro dicta"-his private opinion and not germane to the case before him, these were the things the South had been hoping and contending for; the encouragement they wanted. They now had strength to fight on in the belief that they could win.

Within a Federal Court we note the same school of thought:

In the Steamer Sue Case mentioned elsewhere within this article, the Court, following the Justice Clifford school ventured the belief, of thought, ~~made~~ that "A regulation...., if reasonable, has a strong argument in favor of its reasonableness if it is demanded by a great majority of the travelling public." and adds that the officers of the ship must "see to it that the separation is free from actual discrimination in comfort, attendance, or appearance of inferiority." The Clifford theory was making advances.

In a later decision the same year, this general policy was made further gains, the Court holding, ~~affirming the same saying~~ that colored people and whites might be separated by a common carrier where the accommodations for both are substantially the same. (Longwood v. Memphis Co. 23 Fed. Rep.)

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first advanced by Mr.

One may readily see that by this new theory ^{of Mr. Justice Clifford} and ~~now gaining~~ ^{from Southern States,} headway in test cases ~~In the reasoning advanced in Hall & DeGuir~~ there could be discrimination

shown, based on color or class. The various agencies of the State, the Carriers, the Hotel Operators, the barons of Industry, had "free and untrammelled authority to pass rules and regulations under State laws" for the conduct of public business. Of course, the decision included those high sounding and meaningless phrases, "reasonable discretion".

Thus if men, mediocre, prejudiced men--men, former owner of slaves; ~~human~~ persons who had borne arms to destroy the central government; men who had fought to preserve slavery--if ~~human~~ such men charged with the making of rules and regulation in travel and industry, rules for job holding, ^{for the} operation of public schools and what not, I say, such men had the discretion of saying what would be "reasonable" and that they had the free and untrammelled right to discriminate on the bases of color, if in so doing they were protecting the rights of a majority of whites.

It goes without saying that the organic and basic law of the land as expressed by the Constitution and ^{the} Amendments ^{would,} ^{standard,} ^{be} ~~had~~ by this ~~finding~~ ^{been} practically destroyed, and nullified, if the Courts of the land were to follow this trend of thought.

~~When the policy~~ ^{of Hall & DeGuir} ~~was first~~ ^{advanced,} suggested by Clifford was advanced the Negro leadership of that day, and ~~handmanship~~ and other good sound thinking persons, recognized the danger in such theory of government and sat out immediately to defeat this from gaining a foothold within the body of the law. They saw--knew, ^{strong} that once this doctrine gained a ~~grasp~~ ^{strong} hold upon the Courts that ^{rights and} the ~~danger~~ freedom for minority groups would be endangered. In the cases that followed, this theory was denounced and fought bitterly.

In spite of this effort, the theory made advances. In the Steamer Sue Case, a judge held views in harmony with the opinion expressed in Hall vs DeGuir and we were well started on a tangent away from Constitutional Government within the United States.

opinions in next
A cursery perusal of/the cases coming up within the/decade shows
More and more did they lean to the Clifford idea.
the approaching doom. The actual blow fell in 1896. The great break
for which the the still active-underground-recalcitrant-rebels-of
the-South had been waiting, came forth in the Supreme Court decision
in the case of Plessey v. Ferguson. The capstone of their building
of discrimination and of white supremacy was put in place in that
decision and a new prison dedicated for the Negro's hope for full
citizenship.

The seed of rank discrimination and segregation by way of a
~~the~~ theory advanced and planted in the Hall v. DeCuir Case, referred
to previously, blossomed into the full grown flower in the Plessey v.
Ferguson Case. The "equality does not mean identity" philosophy had
ripened into the bitter fruit now eaten and accepted as the "separate
but equal" variety.

this
Let us take a brief look into ~~the~~ celebrated case. One Homer
Plessey, who was one-eighth Negro and seven-eighths white, entered a
railroad coach to travel from New Orleans, La. to a point in Kentucky.
He was ordered to move into a coach provided for Negroes exclusively,
and refused. He was arrested, placed in jail and later brought suit
for damages. In time, the case reached the Supreme Court, the issues
being the status of a Negro to travel as a citizens upon carriers
within the country. The finding of the Court proved an important one.

of distinctions among races
In this case the doctrine, ~~as suggested above,~~ was clearly
which for ~~about~~ ^{about} sixty years
spelled out as a policy ~~which~~ ^{which} became the pattern in handling
travel among the colored citizens within America,

upon more
Closing its eyes ~~in~~ all of the earlier/noble theories of the
extent and meaning of the Constitution and especially the Thirteenth,
Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the Court reversed its bent
towards liberalism and took the narrow/~~in~~ ⁱⁿ hand road that has led to
present-day disturbances, turmoil and misunderstandings.

Follow this reasoning: "State imposed segregation was not prohibited by the Thirteenth Amendment, which banned slavery. Segregation was not as its opponents claimed, a badge of servitude" which tended "to destroy the legal equality of the two races." Continuing, it declared, "Although the Fourteenth Amendment was intended to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law...(yet)...it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color". That although the state may segregate, it must secure, "to each of its citizens equal rights before the law and equal opportunities for improvement and progress." That the railroad segregation law was reasonable, and that reasonableness was founded in the customs and traditions of the people, which opposed the association of whites and Negroes."

At last segregation was declared legal and a separate but equal doctrine idea sprang up practically universally.

Mr. Justice John Marshall ^{Harlan} ~~Harlan~~, in a stirring dissenting opinion, declared that such a course would place "a badge of servitude upon the Negro". [§] His opinion was not only a prophetic vision, but a guiding light and influence in all the struggles made since to correct this erroneous departure by the Supreme Court from its high course of seeing ~~that~~ that justice ~~moment~~ and equity may be the enjoyment of all society.

A paragraph from Justice ^{Harlan's} ~~Harlan's~~ opinion runs,

"What ~~more~~ can more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between races, than state enactments which in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens? That, as all will admit, is the real meaning of such legislation as was enacted in Louisiana."

Thus the die was cast! The policy started, approved of and worked for by many whites within the land and especially within the Southland, had at last been officially declared legal and the official policy of America. Negroes could, from then on, under law, be discriminated against, segregated, barred from parks, travel, hotels, schools--any and all types of affairs, if the majority desired. Of course, there had been added that "equal accomodation" should be provided. In a further consideration we are exploring just how the separate but equal policy works in practice and the results of this doctrine.

I did not attend the State wide Baptist conference at Seventh Baptist Church on Sunday, February 5th, nor do I desire to lend any faith and confidence to the undertaking.

For three hundred or more years, the so-called Christian nations have dominated the world. And, for this three hundred years there have been only bloodshed, bombs and blastings—slavery, colonization, domination and subjugation. America during this period, held the Indians and American Negroes in slavery; England and her allies completely held all of the Brown and Yellow races in subjugation; England, Germany, France, Spain and Belgium reduced Africa and her black people, to chattel. In some form or other these four races are still at the mercy of the white peoples. Even Russia's church held whites under its heel.

There is one redeeming factor: the nations of the world are at last awakening and the white people are beginning to see the handwriting on the wall. The sleeping giants are finally staggering to their feet and for the first time are becoming alarmed. Already, Russia has repudiated the Church and turned to other gods and in several forms there are indications of other countries following Russia's sad example. The whole world is restless, dissatisfied, angry. Well may the white church seek occasions for reentrenchment and escape. ~~I am not a member of the church~~

It is such a time that Seventh Baptist Church suddenly holds out the white flag of truce. Nothing is said of a change of heart; nothing is suggested of a change of program within its church's policy, or of the attitude to be shown by the

segregated doctrines and practices of the Southern Baptists, the indication being that the time has suddenly come when all Baptists should be working together.

The American Baptist Record.

It may pay to review the record of the Baptist Church, especially the Baptists throughout the South and here, in particular, in Maryland. Let us see what the records disclose.

The Baptist Church grew swiftly within the Southern States and wielded considerable influence within affairs including the political issues. With the growing clouds of separation, we discover that the slavery issue entered the Baptist confines and in 1844-45 divided the Baptist ranks into North and South. (Uppermost in the fight that brought about this cism within Baptist circles, was the late Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller, who indiciently became the first pastor of the Seventh Baptist Church of Baltimore.) The churches of the South faithfully supported the cause of the Confederacy and since has remained separated and apart ^{in a measure,} from all other Baptist bodies. That it has thrived and prospered, there is no doubt. In fact, The Southern Baptist Convention boasts of being the largest group of Baptists in all the world. It claims 29,000 or more churches within it's organization with a membership of more than seven million. It dominates the religious protestant thinking of the South.

Hatred Highest Within Baptist Strongholds.

The Baptist are strongest within the Southland where there are at least six million communicants. Alas, it is here where the Baptist are strongest and wield their greatest influence that hatreds and prejudice; where segregation is highest; where disregard for law and order are rampant and flourishes; where obnoxious laws and pretenses of laws, are greatest. Here within the strongest stronghold of the Baptist Church, there have been more than three thousand lynchings

since 1880 and where there is still a flaunting of disrespect for the the established supreme laws of the land.

Maryland's Record No Better.

Nor is the record of the Baptists within Maryland more impressive.

Until 1892 the white and Negro Baptists were associated within one organization, The Baptist Union Association. But within this association as elsewhere, strict discrimination and segregation were practiced. At no time were Negro Baptists accepted as upon equal footing and as equals. Negro Baptists were "tolerated", just as one suffers a bastard brother, ward, or orphan. Never was that equality of brothers and a fellowship of equal men. ~~mmmm~~

In 1892, Dr. Harvey Johnson, late pastor of the Union Baptist Church and a stalward leader for equality of men, challenged this stand among his fellow white leadership and as a result the Union Baptist Church withdrew from the Union Association. The situation did not change, has not changed until now, and by 1912, the other Negro Churches that still hung on within the Union Association, were set apart within a convention of their own.

Since this time "there have been little dealings between the whites and Negroes," so far as Baptists are concerned. Even during the so-called Brotherhood Week, it was seldom, if ever, convenient to exchange pulpits although many of our ministers were during this period, graduates of Yale, Andover Newton and other qualified Religious Schools of the Country. Of course, now and then they might have a choir in to sing spirituals, or otherwise entertain them.

About five years ago the writer realized the rediculous breach among the whites and Negroes. He had written a history of the Negro Baptists of Maryland, had been superintendent of a Church School for a score of years, had edited the denominational paper for four years and yet, realized that with all this there were less than a dozen workers among the whites known to him. He thought to do something about it. He ~~admmmm~~

ed, at his own expense, letters to 450 Protestant congregations, suggesting that we hold a worship service—nothing more, as a token of fellowship and brotherhood. Eight replied claiming prior commitments; seven, only seven out of the whole number of white congregations addressed, actually attended, and only three of these were Baptist representatives.

Over the years the Baptist Church in Maryland have also grown in numbers and influence, seldom, has there ever been a white Baptist minister or leader willing to come out boldly for equality of rights and fairness of policy. Seldom has there been a prominent Baptist leader who could be counted upon when the chips were down in the struggles and efforts being made here in Maryland for the commonplace status of citizenship and manhood, as projected by Negro leadership.

Now, suddenly, there comes the offer for cooperation. Is the new policy accuated by a change of heart? Has the Baptist leadership been convinced that the Negro should now be accepted as full brothers? Has the white church decided to treat the Negroes as equals and as first class citizens? Is the offer for associations gone in the hope of fostering a better fellowship, or in truth is the offer now being made out of the realization of the loosing of prestige abroad of the white Baptist Church?

In many places within the world, white missionaries are no longer trusted and believed in, and although within the United States Baptists are growing, it remains a fact that other religions are making faster gains than Christianity and it may be this that accentuates this sudden change of attitude towards Negro affiliates.

Don't get me wrong. I advocate and subscribe to the universal brotherhood of man. I long and hope for the time when all Christians will be able to work together in sweet fellowship and harmony. I desire and pray for the Baptists of the world to have a real brotherhood. I feel however that white Baptists of America should make first things first. They should clean up and set in order their own household, before roaming abroad. Southern Baptists, must clear up conditions in New Orleans in the Tent City within the University of Georgia, within her schools and Theological forces, within the ministry itself, before they tender me an olive branch. The white Baptists, as everyone else, must be just before they get so generous. And, it may be well to suggest, that if the Negro ministry falls for such overtures it's younger following may not prove so gullible.