

*Disfranchisement*  
*Makes Subject Citizens Targets for the Mob*  
*and*  
*Disarms Them in the Courts of Justice*

By

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Former President

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NEW METROPOLITAN BAPTIST CHURCH

Baltimore, Maryland

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PASTOR, EDUCATOR, PREACHER, TEACHER and ORATOR

And Friend To Humanity

THE A. B. KOGER, COLLECTION

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*Dedicated To My Late Father*

PHILIP WINSTON

*Who Made Untold Sacrifices*

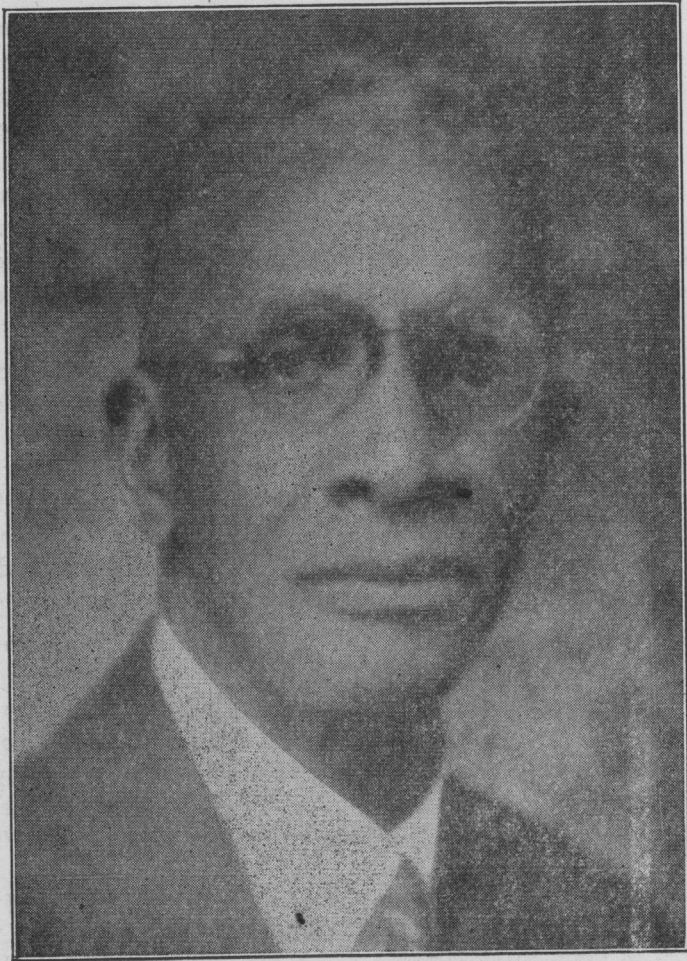
*That I Might Be Educated And Trained*

*And Whose Confidence In Me, And By His*

*Strong Faith In God And Prayer For Me*

*I Was Encouraged To Aim High And Go Straight*

*And To Him I Owe My Sincere Love And Eternal Gratitude.*



*Rev. Dr. Willis Junius Winston*

## Disfranchisement Makes Subject-Citizens Targets of the Mob and Disarms Them in the Courts

It Has been a custom hallowed by long usages, and cherished by all civilized races and nations to discuss subjects of public import, and most especially those pertaining to racial and governmental affairs: Thus it is our purpose to discuss a subject which has engaged the attention of every citizen who believes in the universal equality, eternal rights and liberties of men and most tenderly those, whose fathers blood has enriched and beautified this country, and whose valor has torn the chains from our bodies and brain, and made it possible that this country might be styled the garden-spot of the world.

We are not making any argument against the good which has been done, nor the righteous acts and deeds of our friends, but against the vindictiveness and infamous deeds that have been perpetrated upon our people. We want to turn the batteries of condemnation upon the assassins of an almost helpless and defenceless race, whose loyalty for right and justice has attracted the admiration of the civilized world; and now stand ready to defend and protect the flag which has almost turned from them.

Disfranchisement, "is deprivation of rights of citizenship or of chartered immunities". Subject, "that which is placed under the authority, dominion or influence of another, or one who is brought under the authority of a ruler, and owes allegiance to a sovereign, and is governed by his laws". A citizen, "is one who enjoys the freedom and privileges of a city, as distinguished from a foreigner, or one not entitled to its franchise": Having this in mind we will proceed:

Nothing amidst all the contending claims of life, is of more importance to us as a race than enfranchisement, which is the bed-rock of civic righteousness; the corner-stone of independence, the lever of freedom, the fulcrum of liberty; and the altar upon which truth and justice can get a decent hearing. But in this age of electricity and rapid transit, justice seems to have been buried so deeply by prejudice, that it is waiting for the evolution of time to call it from its tomb. Prejudice which has always been opposed to justice is now waging an exterminating war against it. It has entered and invaded the courts of justice, the legislatures of the States, the Halls of Congress and has endangered our public good.

The inordinate, extravagant and unreasonable conduct of the Southern States toward the Negro, called forth indignation and resentment necessitating the convocation and protest by these whose patriotism, honesty, sobriety and integrity have imparted lessons of thrilling interest and lasting benefits to the entire country, and who have never been guilty of monopolizing or murdering the Constitution of this republic. We want to see this republic soar sublimely above self and aim at glorious ends. We want a republic which is opposed to all oppression, abhors all tyrants, and rejoices in the promulgation of liberal principles.

DISFRANCHISEMENT HAS MADE THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH A TARGET FOR THE MOB AND DISARMED HIM IN THE COURTS. The mob knows that the ballot, the most potent weapon by which wrong might be stamped out has been taken from the Negro; and he has no recourse for a redress. The mob knows that the sheriff, the state's attorney and the judge were elected by its vote, and decides at once that these men who were elected by us and will seek re-election, which means their livelihood will not apprehend, nor punish us for murdering a disfranchised Negro, who has no voice as a citizen. This is not done because the Negro is disloyal; for blood-thirsty men with green-eyed jealousy and iron-clad selfishness, who have predominated the election, the legislature and the courts of justice, never stop to consider those who have been their greatest benefactors.

It has been conclusively proved that it is not the manly stand taken by the Negro, that has brought about the present conditions in the South, but perfidy and phariseism practiced by the bias law making parties in public and private dealings. They would like to revive for us that slave and boss-ridden period of fifty-three years ago. The Colored man is known too well for bravery and gratitude to be mistrusted at this late date; no matter from whence he comes, he never lays down his arms in the presence of his enemy, never falters, never lowers the flag of his country, nor leaves the field until victory comes. This has been his past record and will be no less true in the future. But in spite of this good record, the Negro will ever be a target for the southern mob, unless his ballot is restored. For bias men elected by mobs will not give justice; for men must first correct their own faults before they will be qualified to deal fairly and effectively with the faults of others.

A government is becoming false and illusory, instead of being true and real, when it tolerates mob violence, jimcrowism, disfranchisement and sham court trials; for one part of its citizens, and to the others the highest privileges and greatest freedom accorded; for any government is false and spurious when it countenances the action of its jealous and prejudiced office seekers, and

office holders in preference of protecting and defending the property and lives of its persecuted citizens.

The Negro rights, brethren and fellow-citizens, have in spite of our appeal to reason, justice and patriotism been set at naught by the one party government in the South. Our calm, temperate and honest protests against this shameful outrage have been treated with unparalleled contempt. The prejudice of Caste, and mob violence so dominant in the breasts of those who have usurped the power in the absence of the Negro's vote, and those who have protected our right before have utterly crushed and so inhumanly oppressed us because we can not obtain redress

DISFRANCHISEMENT MAKES SUBJECT-CITIZENS OBJECTS OF SCORN. They are abused at home and in public places, and are branded as being the country's burden and at the same time denied admission into labor and trade unions, debarred from public works as far as possible, and Southern Negro haters sign protest when they (Negroes) try to secure government positions. It reminds me of one man holding another's nose on the grinding-stone while another is turning the stone, and telling the man whose nose is on the stone to stop holloring instead of telling the man to stop turning the stone.

The Federal Constitution proclaims the Negro's highest citizenship, and in the face of this, the Southern States have ignored the Constitution and practically destroyed his rights. Each year they have enacted restrictions favorable to themselves (the whites). They have murdered our people in cold blood, monopolized their rights, and only granted mock trials and mock justice in the courts; and in the midst of this they are told to keep quiet. Now, since no man is legally free without franchisement, it argues in the light of reason and fairness that the Negro's freedom has been destroyed, and his liberty abridged. You had just as well send a man among the ferocious beasts of East Africa without a gun, expecting him to protect and defend himself from the attacks of these beasts and finally destruction, as to expect the Negroes of the South to protect and defend themselves in the absence of the ballot, the gun which shoots the loudest and most effectively in state affairs.

The South has certainly disgraced the great and living principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence and set at naught the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. They have defiled the graves of the country's lamented heroes, and defaced the penmanship of those who wrote freedom's code. The one party government of the South has failed to prove its claim in saying, the Negro is too ignorant to vote. We wish to state emphatically that their apparent anxiety to keep the ballot from whom they styled the illiterate Negroes, is proved by the class of men invited and urged to the polls at every election, to be but a

hypocritical and malignant subterfuge. To say that a Negro should not vote, and then undertake to prove, that enfranchisement for the race has proved fatal is founded on false theory and fallacious presumption, and cannot be verified by a State in the Union. It is only a narrow-contracted and deformed monstrosity of villification and hate, and should be branded as falsehood by intelligent people, knowing that such statements are red hot from the mouth of the mob.

WHEN DISFRANCHISEMENT IS ALLOWED COLORED MEN HAVE NO Equal and Indestructible Rights, No Equal Rights To Life, Liberty And The Pursuit Of Happiness. The Federal Constitution says, "that no one shall be deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law, and notwithstanding that the fourteenth without due process of law", and notwithstanding that the fourteenth and fifteenth admendments gave him citizenship and the right to hold property and access to the ballot-box, the South says, no. The mob says, you must pay taxes but you can not vote. We know this is unfair. Every law abiding citizen should have the right to cast his vote as well as to obey the laws.

The disfranchisers say to the disfranchised, you are compelled to support this government, and you are, and shall be held in subjection by the government but you have no right to vote, no voice in the government, no right to discharge any official duty, no right to help enact and execute the legislation of the government. All you must do is to pay taxes and obey our laws. This was the very thing for which this country hurled her thunderbolts at England. Taxation without representation has always been tyranny, and subjugation without the right of franchise is thralldom. Our eyes are opened to these injustices and injuries, and we have waited patiently for these many wrongs to be righted, but without any redress. We have been pushed aside by the courts of the several states, and the Federal courts have told us at times that the Case is dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

There is very little legislation for human rights; nearly all is for property rights, and from this the Negro has been the greatest sufferer. Property rights should be subordinate to human rights, and should never have the precedent in legislative affairs. When human rights are destroyed, property rights will follow in rapid succession. Our people have been murdered in cold and cruel blood, their wives and children driven away and their homes burned and their property confiscated without any punishment being meted out to the perpetrators. Colored men holding Federal positions in the South have been murdered and their families maimed and yet no violator punished. All this is because the Colored man has no vote or voice with the law makers and therefore none with the law executors.



From Disfranchisement has come the Jimcrow nuisance of the South. The condition that has resulted from such unfair enactment has made travelling a burden to thousands of our people residing in the South. It has trampled upon the manhood and womanhood of our race; and not only that, but it is a total violation of human decency and a disgrace to American civilization. In the face of this, the wheels of the Federal Government are turning very slowly in bringing about some adjustments. The Constitution of the United States states plainly, "that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of this republic". But this does not hold true, because whenever a Colored man acts manly and independent, natural and free; whenever he fearlessly and unswervingly defends the dignity of his race, by resenting insults and denouncing impositions, then they (the whites) say he is impertinent, impudent and impolite, and he is often maltreated.

When the Colored man brings these people before the courts for punishment, nothing is done even if the evidence is as clear as the noonday sun and his testimony as true and pure as the dew-drops of heaven, he gets no redress.

In testing the jimcrow nuisance, segregation and disfranchisement amendments the judge and the jury know that the Colored people are not seeking any special privileges or peculiar favors. They know that they are only asking for even-handed justice for the removal of such positive obstructions and disabilities as past and recent legislation has thrown in their way and heaped upon them, without any just cause or provocation on their part, they, by their action of conventions and legislatures, have with few exceptions, virtually excluded us. The judge knows their pleas are honest and their petitions should be granted, but because he was elected by these perpetrators, he dismisses the case with some frivolous technicality, stating that he is unable to grant them the relief asked.

The Colored men in the South have been virtually excluded, and those partly in the North from participation in State affairs. Some from the rights of citizenship, which the government cheerfully and gladly accords to strangers, notwithstanding we were born and reared on this soil, and were faithful while the country had its greatest trials, and have done nothing since which could justly merit this government disapprobation.

We are denied the rights to sit as jury in the courts of nearly every State, enconsequence of which our person and property are subject, the former to every species of violence and insult, and the latter to fraud and spoliation without any redress.

This government has given us little or no encouragement to engage in anything for our uplift. We have been shamefully oppressed, while on the other hand the oppressors have been busily

organizing societies to bring foreigners into the country, the clear intent of which is to thrust us out or reduce us to serfdom or social wail, intolerable to us, and, as you will find ruinous to the country's prosperity.

O, Federal Government, the Negro's blood shall be required at your hand and shall be upon your head. This is the only country where men are tied to the stake and burned. This is the only country that tolerates such mob violence. We are tired of this relic of barbarism. How long will this country's flag fail to defend its defenders? A flag which willfully neglects to defend its defenders becomes a disgrace to the world.

The flag which was purchased by our fathers' blood and dedicated by their lives has failed to protect us. How long will you O, flag, weep and mourn for foreign lands and laugh at your citizens blood? Will you defile the very air in which you wave? If not, will you answer these questions? Is any man mean enough to be murdered by a mob? What right has a mob to lynch a man under the pretense that the law will not take its course? Will the courts of our land allow any colored man to escape who is accused of wronging a white person? Has it ever done it? These questions must not be evaded or repudiated. This country knows that we are right in our protest, even if it will not admit.

Everybody knows, that property and the kind of educational qualification they require in the South for the right of suffrage is the death and damnation of a free and independent self-government. They are real benefits for the whites who have all the chance to steal; for you can not read of a colored man who was so unfair and dishonest enough to steal a Southern white man's vote. But history and the records of our courts are literally gorged and filled with accounts of the so called priestly and princely white hypocrites stealing Negro votes. You can plainly see that the qualifications they demand are spurious and fictitious. They are relics of monarchy and attributes of ignorant cruel idiots, with no less intention than to defeat the honest aspirations of the Colored man, and have no place in a republican form of government. They are mob traps and demagogue nets calculated to create a larger class of assassins and anarchists with no interest in the welfare of their country or their countrymen.

The court errs when it allows the rights of a single person to be destroyed, whenever the rights of a single citizen are destroyed, the basic principle and the foundation of the grand fabric of the republic will soon go up in smoke and flame. The life of a single citizen, when it is not taken according to due process of law should be as sacred as a thousand. You can plainly see that the bias views held by some Southerners and a few Northerners in their discrimination and distinction unfit them for the consideration of a trial between a Negro and a white man. A colored man whom the mob has

murdered-put to death and stained their clothes with his innocent blood will be turned loose and the sheriff will swear that no direct clue could be found of the perpetrators, and if by chance they are apprehended and brought before the court, the white murderers word is accepted in preference to the most genteel colored citizen.

The black man has been a target long enough, Oh yes, too long. Are we willing to hold our peace amidst all the privations of property, poverty and pain? Amidst all these disasters and ill-treatment? Are you willing to hear and see, feel and know this sorrow and suffering and then not register your protest? You have seen that they do not bring any peace and happiness to us. You can see that we will never enjoy any broad liberty unless a change is made. Are you willing to see your rights and liberties usurped and destroyed by dishonesty and fraud? Are you willing to see your fellow-men deprived of all their success and happiness, because they are black? You are too brave for that I know. You are not willing to throw the apple of ingratitude in the faces of our fathers nor to lay a wreath of cowardice upon their silent tombs. If you are not, follow us in this protest.

We are fighting to correct the wrongs in a land where outlaws murder our race in cold and cruel blood; where their bodies are pierced with bullets and knives, and where leaping serpents of savage flames lick their flesh and blood from the bones and their voices seem to go up to heaven unheard by a so called impartial Government. This meeting is a direct protest against this cruel and shameful treatment.

Are the courts of the land closed against this outrageous treatment? Are the judges ears closed to the voice of our peoples' blood crying to God from the ground? Are their eyes color blind to the calamity of our race? And if not, why do they allow the mob to rage and the sheriff and constables to sleep on their job? Our brethren votes are taken and they are left helpless and defenceless, and since we are our brothers keeper, we must awake to righteousness and sin not by sounding the alarm. Art. 5th of the Constitution says, No person shall be held to answer for capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger. You can see from the foregoing, that the method which has been adopted in the South as a so-called remedy for wrongs committed is far from the spirit of the Constitution as the east is from the west, and hell is from heaven. The Negro does not get any chance to be presented or indicted, for the mob is both judge and jury.

Art. 6th Reads, In all criminal prosecution the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury;

and he is to be informed of the nature and cause of accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense. This is the law as promulgated by this government.

This is the only way that a man can get justice. This gives a man a chance to defend himself against the accusations made by others.

If I am to restrain my own hand from self-injury, it is my duty to ward off injuries to my self from other sources. When attacked by a person, may I defend myself by assulting and disabling him? I think the dictate of pure morality plain in the affirmative. Bear and forbear does not exclude the right of self-defense.

If a colored man injures a white man in self-defense he gets the worst of it, for the South has that stifling of natural sympathy, and the hardening of the constitutional feelings against the Negro's want and misery. Take the case of those white men in Georgia some time ago. Negroes were killed and lodge rooms burned because Negroes stood in self-defense, and assembled in their lodge rooms to transact business for their mutual helpfulness. No one has any authority to prevent citizens from peaceably assembling and transacting business for their personal benefit.

Art. 1 of the amended Constitution reads: Congress shall make no law prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and petition the government for a redress of grievances. Thus you can readily see that we are within bounds of the Constitution, and are simply exercising the privileges granted.

How shall we obtain redress for the wrongs that we have suffered? Let it be far from us to recommend violence or drastic measures; rather let us suffer longer and fight the outrageous and infamous deeds that are heaped upon us, and hope for deliverance through milder means. Some of us still have the ballot, and if allowed to use it without molestation can assist in remedying these evils which tend to abridge all our liberty and destroy all our rights. For the most pitiful sight the mind can behold, is a human being, an American citizen being deprived of his natural rights. The most heart-rendering sorrow that a throbbing heart can treasure is to know that his brother is murdered in cold innocent blood. The scene which brings about tear-stained eyes, anguish of soul is to see mothers, wives and daughters weeping and lamenting over butchered fathers, husbands and sons. The most pitiable scene, the most tearful sight, is to see a man unwilling to give to others the same rights and liberties that he demands for himself—The man who usurps and willfully steals the success and happiness of the sons of men is the meanest villain and the worst pusillanimous wretch on earth. Such a one is in the wilderness of intellectual poverty and the valley of moral depravity.

Such are the characters who have urged the Negroes to leave the Republican Party or divide their votes among other designing political parties, claiming this would force our enemies to recognize our rights, in order to secure our votes. This would be like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire to escape the heat or jumping into the sea to get out of the rain. It would be digging down the foundation of friendship and pulling down the pillars of principles from the temple of Colored Republicanism, and putting a weight upon his honest, time-honored and conscientious convictions. It would better enable haters of humanity to abridge and monopolize his political power and cause him to surrender the little that has been left.

We do not recommend you to be satisfied with being mere pack-horses or common carriers to ride them into office whether they are the exponents of our sentiments or not. No, it would be better that we did not vote. But we need have no fear; there are yet loyal, sober and fair-minded men enough in this country to rule all the idiots, traitors, persecutors and public disturbers in it; whether they are found in the murdering dens of disfranchiser or among the jealous, prejudice ward-heeler demagogues, or bogus legislatures. To this end we shall stand unanimously for those, we know are true. Through them we should address an earnest appeal to Congress to guarantee by adequate legislation the rights, privileges and immunities provided for, in the Constitution and Laws of the United States.

Disfranchisement has stained the hands of cruel and heartless men with innocent human blood. It has trampled the tenderest tie of father and mother, husband and wife, sister and brother beneath the ironclad, selfish and heartless feet of brutal and savage might.

Disfranchisement has destroyed the happiness of many homes, the sacredness of love, the peace of the community and burdened a helpless and loyal race with unknown sorrow and pain, and caused a cheerful and an enthusiastic people to shed tears like fountains of water. It has robbed the race of some of its noblest characters, and cursed and mocked their graves, while friends looked on with broken and burdened hearts.

Disfranchisement built the Southern turpentine farms, founded the peonage system, erected the semi-slave auction block, it gives colored men to the highest southern bidder, while the haters are feasting on unpaid toil, and our children are crying for bread and lamenting for education. It has blasted the Negro's manhood, and now seeks to impoverish his intellect, and wither his heart. Disfranchisement is really the borderland of death. For it certainly has stopped the laws of Justice, tied the hands of truth, buried the witness of righteousness and sealed the lips of mercy.

It has allowed the mob to pollute our laws and corrupt our courts and the judges and juries to play a Pilate's take. It signed

the ordinances of Jimcrowism, segregation; and raised the standard of revolt against negro grand and petit jury and fired the first ball at Colored Federal office holders. It has tried to destroy the Negro of the South and clutch the banner of progress, civilization and freedom from his hand. Day by day the hatred for the Colored man grows more cruel, mean and contemptible.

We have striven to present you the facts which justify our appeal. We believe the power is delegated to Congress through adequate legislation to grant our request.

We claim that we deserve the confidence and good-will of this government. We ask that such opportunities be extended to us that freedmen have a right to request at the hands of the powers that be. We desire the continual growth and prosperity of ourselves and our families along all righteous lines, and the well-being of all men; and should our protest be accepted and our appeal granted, we will be found ever struggling to elevate ourselves, and add to the glory of mankind. We trust that the day is not far distant when this government will acknowledge that our progress in commercial, social, intellectual, moral and religious development entitles us to the highest commendation and respect as law abiding citizens.

If Congress will grant our petition, and besides find in the hearts of the Congressmen the reward which attends every virtuous deed, we sincerely believe that they may ever expect increase of their own fame, and of the honorable characters which form the strength of our Constitution. For ourselves we will say, we will hold in grateful and fond remembrance the act of generosity to the unfortunates and will teach our children "to rise up and call you blessed." We believe with "Union of forces, unity of thought-unity of purpose and plan, and vigilant action, disfranchisement, mob violence, lynching, Jimcrowism and segregation can be killed, embalmed, cremated and buried forever.

We are a nation within a nation, and we are entitled to all the rights and privileges that are due law abiding citizens. We are not a set of cowards, we are not anarchists and nihilists; but we stand for the best in the government. Life is a battle, my countrymen; and the victory lies not in the sword but in the man who wields the sword. Life is a battle, my countrymen; the victory lies, not in the shining spurs, but the man who wears the spurs. Let none of you be ashamed of the race from which you have come, but rather thank the kindly Providence that brought you forth at such a time as this. You come from an ancient race; you are the heirs to the accumulated knowledge of the ages; yours is the race that gave to the world, Astronomy, Mathematics and Political Science. When Greece was a band of plunderers, and Rome a den of thieves, the School House and the Academy stood on the banks of the Nile. From Thebes, Pythagoras took his Mathematics; from Memphis, Solon

gathered his Political Wisdom and carried it to Greece; behind you is the ancient glory of your fathers; their daring deeds of heroism, their courage, their valor—let history speak and before Moses crossed the Red Sea or midst Sinai's muttering thunders received the Ten Commandments, yours was a race that was; before Herod's slaughter of the innocents, or the death of Christ on Calvary yours was a race that was; before Leonidas stood in the Pass of Thermopylae or Xenophon led the treat of the ten thousand, yours was a race that was; before Homer sang his Iliad or Milton wrote his Paradise Lost, yours was a Race that was; the race was, is now, and I am persuaded that it ever shall be, till we have come to the world that is without end. It rests with you my people, to each have faith in himself, Faith in one another, faith in God, it follows as the night the day, that each will show himself a man, and we shall overcome some day.

It seems to me folly, for this government to sail across the sea to distant lands to make democracy safe, when it is almost dead and buried in many parts of the South. How this government fairly and frankly can correct the faults in Poland, and demand fair election, by what means can this country demand money for the Democracy of Greece and Turkey while democracy is sleeping in one section of this country and dying and dead in another. Before one can fairly and courageously correct the faults of others, he must first correct his own faults, otherwise it is like a hypocrit trying to correct the errors of a sinner. That contented, patient man or race, who takes what is given without a protest; sighs at conditions and finds no remedy is not the man or race for this generation; he who complains, and scolds, and yet without a remedy, is a fool; the cultured manhood who protests, complains, and scolds, puts head, heart, and hands to work; translates his thoughts into action; passes by the grumbler, the faultfinder, the lazy, and the indolent; and marches on to Achievement to Fulfillment, to Progress. Thus in this battle against disfranchisement, jimcrowism, and segregation, we need fearless and heroic men, who are not afraid to die. We are living in a country almost half slave and half free, and these barriers that have humiliated the race, and built walls of caste and class must be torn down, and the best way to tear them down, is with the ballot. No country is prepared to send missionaries away from home to save others when its own country needs salvation from unrighteousness, sinners are unprepared to preach regeneration to sinners. The saved must always help the unsaved. Why carry salvation across the ocean to save others, while yet unsaved yourself. Financial growth never spells success in the long run. There is a growth that must always have the right of way to insure perpetual safety and security, and that is the growth of righteous dealings; and this growth has been obstructed in this country. And where growth is obstructed and power of righteousness is lost; where motion is dead and lifeless

ruin reigns supreme, the wheels of progress will rust on the rails and bleach in the sun and storm. I would rather to be poor and free than a slave and rich. Better a free beggar than a king covered with chains. For the poorest man or woman is the man or woman without his or her rights. Their sense of liberty is intense and deep, and they are loyal to the justice of their cause.

Finally: Be not deceived, we are writing a new chapter in the history of our people politically as measured by our great race. The great race among others, has been the rock upon which this country's progress has been built, but changed conditions and the general rise in politics and the intelligence of our people would at this time require that sufficient readjustments in politics, education and school systems in our several states be made to meet these new conditions. It is imperative that this country adapt itself to the changes of modern life; and in the deeper sense must interpret the meaning of leadership and what is now going on in the world. Spiritual and righteous value will and always will be the most potent in human affairs; but to blend spiritual and righteous values with the values of things material is the commanding task of right thinking people. Nations live and thrive, that would maintain the principles ordained of God in the government of human relations: races rise to power, that lay hold of such principles, while nations sow their own seeds of decay, that would support no principle; races and nations have wandered in the dark and perished, that would know no principle. Let history speak, and Sodom might have lived to now, if there had been found ten men in that city, that would have accepted a principle of righteousness; the ancient glory of Thebes and Memphis, and Rome and Athens, might never have departed if either of these had been moved by principles. Unshirking devotion, unfaltering and unfailing devotion to divine principles, are words that make for virtue, and just government, and virtue is another name for right living and right thinking; and for just government, just legislation, abolishing of disfranchisement, jimcrowism and segregation. Such is the material from which just men come, and from which heroes and great men are made and survive. "The Just Shall Live By Faith."

"O God, who hast made of one blood  
All nations of men for to dwell on the  
Face of the earth, and their time before  
Appointed, and the bound of their habitation,  
Send peace, love, fair-play, and hasten, O  
Lord, the fulfillment of Thy promise, to pour  
Out Thy spirit upon all flesh; and break down  
Every barrier, so that men will recognize the  
Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man;  
Through Jesus Christ and Lord. Amen.