

est professional recognition, to enlarge and improve the physical plant, to secure liberally trained and experienced teachers, to get money—and to insure all this progress,

as far as I am able, without yielding by one jot or tittle to the vicious sort of enforced segregation against which every true American citizen must wage incessant war.

## The Outer Pocket

Dearborn, Michigan.

**A**N unknown friend, whose name and address I would be pleased to learn, has favored me during the past year with occasional copies of *THE CRISIS*, for which he has my sincere thanks. The last issue received was that for January.

Permit me to extend to you my sincere opinion that if the members of the race you are seeking to uplift will follow your advice, they will find a better feeling toward them than they imagine now exists.

The slavery to party naturally consequent on gratitude due the Providence which made that party an instrument in bringing them to a full equipment of citizenship, is as base as any other form, and race solidarity is an obstacle to a full development of the manhood which alone can make any man, white or black, a true citizen, a free man.

Race antipathy is as common to the Republican as to the Democrat. Why must the Negro serve either? The party lines of today are not those of the Civil War period, for the closest friends of Lincoln left the old Republican party in the '70s, and few ever returned, while many of the old line Democrats of the days of reconstruction are now high in Republican councils, having followed the Golden Calf in the '90s. Party allegiance thus is but fealty to a name and not a principle, hence is the greatest danger to the Republic.

In the first copy I received of *THE CRISIS* I was struck with the justice of your analysis of the President's social equality plea at Birmingham. The legal barriers to full individual freedom should be removed, and that is all the race asks, or can ask. All the sophistry in the world can not justify the carriage of a cold and warm plan into effect. But he who seeks to please all pleases none, and the white or black who lends approval to the sentiments the President there expressed lacks in understanding.

MARCUS T. WOODRUFF.

Plateau, Ala.

I am writing you to express my appreciation of your article appearing in the February *Century*. It is, perhaps, the most impersonal thing I have ever read from your pen. But the greatest source of my appreciation is its helpfulness,—helpfulness in clearing up some doubts in my mind and setting me straight in my attitude toward the strange man whom you choose for your subject.

I have been from the first unconditionally opposed to Marcus Garvey. My opposition was based on two considerations: first, I believed that his plans were utterly impracticable and out of harmony with the thought life of our people. Second, I believed that Marcus Garvey was consciously a crook.

I still hold my first belief, but your article has eliminated my second opinion. Viewing him from your angle I am led to see Marcus Garvey a reasonably honest man, disillusioned and wholly out of line with the current of life and thought moving around him. I think that is the picture you would have America see in beholding this unfortunate soul.

LEONARD F. MORSE.

Washington, D. C.

The thing I most wanted you to see is my book on the Philippines. I wanted to bring to your attention a slight variation in the Anglo-Saxon attitude toward peoples of a darker complexion. Here at home we exclude them from the operation of the constitution and laws that secure all the rest of us and lately have gone to the length of declaring in effect that the security of their lives against mob violence is no concern of government. In the Philippines we make with them a solemn covenant to which they adhere with meticulous care and when the time comes for us to fulfill our part of the agreement we side-step and lie and fake to avoid our obligations. Taking it altogether the enthusiasm with which some quaint thing called "Anglo-Saxon civilization" is vaunted seems to me a grotesque joke.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

## THE NEGRO'S LOYALTY



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS STEWARD



**H**ITHERTO that nondescript and greatly lauded emotional quality which we call loyalty has had, in the life of the American Negro, two distinct public manifestations—loyalty to the Republican Party and loyalty to the American Government. There appear now certain intensely significant indications of a change, certain insistent signs that this rather diffused devotion is concentrating into a class or race loyalty of which the first demand is consideration of race or class interest, and which is unable, by that test, to recognize any particular difference between Republican and Democrat, and challenges even the self-assumed everlasting rightness of the American Government itself. Consequently a complete revolt of the American Negro against the Republican Party is disconcertingly imminent, sharpest criticism and bitterest denunciation of the American Government are increasingly observable in his speeches and writings, while downright hatred of and contempt for everything American begin to be irritatingly importunate to be invited within the range of his more sober thinking.

Until recently little attention has been paid to the public loyalty of the American Negro. The Negro himself has regarded loyalty to the nation and to the Republican Party much as a fish regards the water in which it swims—absolutely essential to his well being, but mere matter of course at that. Whites have been busy exploiting and extolling, in sugary sentimental extravagances, the personal loyalties of beatific "black mammies" and late lamented "good niggers" of the hopeless and spineless Uncle Tom variety, and although they may resent the classification, they have been exactly like the blacks in taking for granted that the American Negro would unhesitatingly render unquestioning allegiance to the Republican Party and the American Government on every possible occasion.

There have been ample reasons for the existence of this indiscriminating attitude. As regards the Republican Party these reasons stand somewhat as follows. The Republican Party happens to be the one po-

litical organization which soon after his emancipation espoused the Negro's cause and which has ever since professed a desire for fair play for him. It is the party which in numerous loftily-worded platforms has announced its determination to compass his complete economic, social and political freedom. Moreover, as patronage and not performance is the norm of party popularity in America, the Negro has been won to the support of Republicanism by a tactful distribution of "plums" reserved for him. Again there have been certain outstanding dramatically impressive personalities identified with the party whose public behavior and utterances have acted as powerful and persuasive emotional stimuli to his notion of loyalty—personalities like that of Lincoln, whose heroically tragic figure has been transmuted by him into a blindly worshipped demi-god; Frederick Douglass, whose expressive metaphor, "The Republican Party is the ship—all else is the sea," has been to him for decades a strangely irresistible slogan; Roosevelt, whose defiant theatrical gesture in the Booker Washington luncheon appealed tremendously to his vanity and won his undying admiration. Thus because of his uncritical regard of the record of the party, it has had and held his unwavering devotion.

With the American Government the case is equally simple. The American Negro, like other persons everywhere, does not always take the pains to distinguish between the terms "government," "nation," "country," and the people of a government, nation or country, in spite of Woodrow Wilson's punctilious insistence upon this differentiation. To him these are all one. It follows that whatever injustices he experiences or benefits he receives in America, he credits, in his loose thinking, to his country. And harassing impediments to the contrary notwithstanding, he has continued to think that this is his country, that his right to this claim is absolutely incontestable. He has been here almost as long as any of his neighbors and longer than most, has worked as hard as any and harder than some to build American civilization, and has