

# Sedalia Weekly Conservator.

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## Where The Negro Comes In.

RAY STANNARD BAKER IN THE JUNE NUMBER OF THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE BEGAN A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THIS IMPORTANT TOPIC.

## Southern Sentiment as Noted by an Impartial Observer.

Though it may seem a sweeping generalization, it is none the less literally true that up to the present time the Negro's real influence in politics in the South has been almost negligible. He has been an issue, but not an actor in politics. In the ante-bellum slavery agitation no Negroes appeared; they were an inert lump of humanity possessing no power of inner direction; the leaders on both sides were white men. The Negroes did not even follow poor old John Brown. And since the war, as I have shown, the struggle has been between the aristocrats and the poor whites. They have talked about the Negro, but they have not let him talk. Even in Reconstruction times, and I am not forgetting exceptional Negroes like Bruce, Revels, Pinchback and others, the Negro was in politics by virtue of the power of the North. As a class, the Negroes were not self-directed, but used by Northern carpetbaggers and political Southern upstarts who took most of the offices and nearly all of the stealings.

In short, the Negro in times past has never been in politics in the South in any positive sense. And that is not in the least surprising. Coming out of slavery, the Negro had no power of intelligent self-direction, practically no leaders who knew anything. He was still a slave in everything except name, and slaves have never yet ruled, or helped rule.

The 15th. amendment to the Constitution could not really enfranchise the Negro slaves. Men must enfranchise themselves.

And this political equality by decree, not by growth and development, caused many of the woes of Reconstruction.

Two distinct impulses mark the effort of the South to disfranchise him. The first was the blind revolt of Reconstruction times, in which force and fraud were frankly and openly applied. The effort to eliminate the Negro brought the white people together in one dominant party and the "Solid South" was born. For years this method sufficed; but in the meantime the Negro was getting a little education, acquiring self-consciousness and developing leaders of more or less ability. It became necessary, therefore, both because the Negro was becoming more restive, less easily controlled by force, and because the awakening white man disliked and feared the basis of fraud on which his elections rested, to establish legal sanction for disfranchisement, to define the political status of the Negro by law.

Now, the truth is that the mass of Southerners have never believed the Negro has or should have any political rights. The South as a whole does not now and never has approved of the voting Negro. A few Negroes vote everywhere, "but not enough," as a Southerner said to me, "to do any hurt."

The South, then, has been placed in the position of providing by law for something that it did not really believe in.

It was prophesied that when the

Negro was disfranchised by law and "eliminated from politics" the South would immediately stop discussing the Negro question and divide politically along new lines. But this has not happened. Though the disfranchisement laws have been in force in Mississippi for years there is less division in the white party of that state than ever before.

Why is this so? Because the Negro, through gradual education and the acquisition of property, is becoming more and more a real as well as a potential factor in politics. For he is just beginning to be really free. And the South has not yet decided how to deal with a Negro who owns property and is self-respecting and intelligent and who demands rights. The South is suspicious of this new Negro; it dreads him; and the politicians in power are quick to play upon this sentiment in order that the South may remain solid and the present political leadership remain undisturbed.

For the South, however much it may talk of the ignorant masses of Negroes, does not really fear them; it wants to keep them, ignorant. It loves the ignorant, submissive old Negroes, the "mammys" and "uncles"; it wants the Negro who, as one Southerner put it to me, "will do the dirty work and not fuss about it." It wants Negroes who are really inferior and who feel inferior. The Negro that the South fears and dislikes is the educated, property owning Negro who is beginning to demand rights, to take his place among men as a citizen. This is not an unsupported statement of mine, but has been expressed over and over again by speakers and writers in every part of the South. I have before me a letter from the Hon. Charles P. Lane, editor of the Huntsville (Alabama) Daily Tribune, written to Governor Comer. It was published in the Atlantic Constitution. The writer is arguing that the Negro disfranchisement laws in Alabama are too lenient, that they permit too many Negroes to vote. He says:

"We thought then (in 1901, when the new Alabama Constitution disfranchising the Negro was under discussion), as we do now, that the menace to peace, the danger to society and white supremacy was not in the illiterate Negro, but in the upper branches of Negro society, the educated, the man who, after ascertaining his political rights, forced the way to assert them."

He continues:

"We, the Southern people, entertain no prejudice toward the ignorant person in offensive Negro. It is because we knew him, and as a whole does not now and never has approved of the voting Negro. A few Negroes vote everywhere, 'but not enough,' as a Southerner said to me, 'to do any hurt.'"

"In this are we not speaking the truth? Does not every Southern Caucasian 'to the manor born'

bear witness to this version? Hence present we that the way to dampen racial prejudice, avert the impending horrors, is to emasculate the Negro politically by repealing the fifteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States."

I use this statement of Mr. Lane's not because it represents the broadest and freest thought in the South, for it does not, but because it undoubtedly states frankly and clearly the point of view of the majority of the Southern people. It is the point of view which, talked all over Georgia last year, helped to elect Hoke Smith governor of the state, as it has elected other governors.

## NEGRO TEACHERS' INSTITUTE FOR CENTRAL MO.

Will Convene at Sedalia on The 15th of June.—Prof. C. C. Hubbard, with a Corps of Proficient Assistants, Will Conduct This Meeting.

The Institute for the Teachers of Central Missouri, will begin June 15th 1908, at Lincoln High School, Sedalia Missouri, and continue ten days.

Teachers passing the examination at this Institute will be granted certificates to teach without further examination.

The following are the instructors:—Dr. J. M. Harris—Lecturer on Physiology Hon. Homer G. Phillips, Attorney at Law—Lecturer on Civics Prof. H. L. Billups, M. S.—Instructor Psychology and Penmanship

Editor W. H. Huston,—Instructor in Mathematics

Prof. F. S. Bowles,—A. R. Instructor in Science

C. C. Hubbard—B. S. D. Instructor in Pedagogy.

Special Lectures will be given by Prof. G. V. Buchanan Supt. Public Schools Sedalia

Prof. J. P. Gass

Principal Broadway School

Prof. C. R. Lockett, County Superintendent and others.

All teachers are cordially invited to attend—Excellent accommodations—For further information write:—C. C. HUBBARD B. S. D. Conductor,

323 W. Johnson St., Sedalia Mo. Watch this paper for further announcements.

## These Make Presidents.

The following table will disclose the voting strength of the Negroes in 12 close states in 1900: Connecticut.....4,576 Illinois.....29,762 Iowa.....4,441 Kansas.....14,695 Massachusetts.....10,456 Michigan.....5,193 Nebraska.....2,298 New Jersey.....2,111 New York.....7,111 Ohio.....3,121 Pennsylvania.....51,060 Rhode Island.....2,765

Total, 1900.....209,987 Probable total, 1908.....250,000

I hate the man who builds his name On ruins of another's fame, Thus prides, by character overthrown, Imagine that they raise their own Thus scribbles' covetous of praise. Think slander can transplant the bays.

—John Gay.

## Why The Negro Should Be Independent In Politics.

REV. DR. J. MILTON WALDRON, OF WASHINGTON, D. C., ARGUES THIS PROPOSITION FROM A STAND-POINT OF PRACTICAL CONSERVATISM.

## An Eloquent Plea For Race Unity.

Wilmington, Del., May 26.—Under the auspices of the "Citadel," a Negro political organization of Delaware, Rev. Dr. J. Waldron, of Washington, president of the National Negro American Political League, delivered a strong and forceful address upon "Why the Negro Should Be Independent in Politics." The address was delivered to an audience of five or six hundred of the most representative Negroes of the vicinity, who cheered again and again every utterance of the speaker with reference to Senator Joseph B. Foraker and his bill for the reinstatement of the discharged Negro soldiers and his strong and manly plea for the rights of the colored man under the constitution.

Dr. Waldron defended the right of the Negro to bolt the Republican party if that party deserted its basic principles and in the course of his remarks said:—

"While the Negro complains, justly, of the treatment he gets in this country, he does not use all the power in his possession to remedy the evils against which he protests. This is especially true of the political power which still remains in the race's hands. Had and considerable number of the Negroes in the Southern states 25 years ago voted as independents, or sided with the Democrats, the colored people would not have been disfranchised by legislative enactments. The solid black Republican vote in the South is largely responsible for the solid Democratic vote of the South."

"The threat by the Republican party to reduce the representation in the electoral college and in Congress of those Southern states that have disfranchised the Negro is meeting with indifference by the race throughout the country, for the colored people would not be benefited in the least by such reduction. The race everywhere in America is insisting upon a fair and impartial enforcement of the constitution, and especially the fifteenth amendment. This amendment guarantees to the Negro the right of franchise, and its abandonment by the Republican party has done more than anything else—except the discharge of the Negro soldiers of the 25th Infantry—to call the attention of the entire country to the importance of doing all in their power to have the Republican party make a live issue of the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment."

Continuing, the speaker said, "Unless this is done, the right of the colored people in the Northern and Western states to the franchise would go by default, for it is only a step from the abandonment of the fifteenth amendment to its repeal." He insisted: The colored people of the country could easily improve their political situation, if they would, for they hold the balance of power in New York, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia and Delaware, and no party can hope to win a presidential election without these states—a concerted action on the part of the Negro voters in those states will enable

the race to carry the coming presidential election whichever way they wish."

He defended the right of the Negro to be independent in politics in a vigorous and logical speech and gave several strong reasons why he should not blindly obey the behests of the Republican party. The Negro ought to be independent in politics," he said, "for in this, as in no other way, would the race be in a position to vote for the best men and measures of any and all parties and could easily ally themselves with the best white people in every section of America. By being independent in politics, he would be able to secure from the dominant party ample protection for his race, and the largest possible recognition of his rights under the constitution."

"Through political independence the Negro could easily compass the defeat of the dominant party should that party prove itself corrupt in practice and opposed to the constitution. In a republic like the United States, an occasional change in parties is absolutely necessary, in order to insure the rights of the whole people and to prevent the prevalence of corruption and graft. The South needs nothing so much just now as strong, opposing political party, and if the few colored people who are allowed to vote in that section would become independents, there would soon be sufficient disaffection in the Democratic party in the South to enable the Republicans to build up a party in the South sufficient to defeat the Democrats of the South once in a while."

He concluded with the statement that the disfranchisement amendments of the Southern states would never be repealed until the Negroes in the North and West united and used all of their political power to bring about this result, and made a strong appeal for the men of the race to insist everywhere on a fair and impartial enforcement of the constitution and especially war amendments. He reminded his hearers that in contending for a full and fair enforcement of the Constitution they were not only protecting the rights and liberties of all the people of this republic. He advised the Negroes to vote for no candidate for Congress, or for the Presidency, who refused to pledge himself, before the election, to support the Foraker bill for the reinstatement of the discharged Negro soldiers.

## Editors Galore Tuesday.

Seemingly Tuesday was an Editors Convention in Sedalia, we had the following Editors with us: J. W. Wheeler, St. Louis Palladium.

R. L. Logan, Professional World, Columbia Mo.

J. H. Goins, Western Messenger, Jefferson City.

W. H. Carter, The Advocate, Sedalia, Mo., and the Conservator's Editor W. H. Huston.



REV. RICHARD DAVIS. Pastor of Taylor's Chapel, M. E. Church, Sedalia, Mo.

In the recent local option Election in Sedalia, Missouri one of the most aggressive workers for local option was the Rev. Richard Davis, pastor of Taylor Chapel M. E. Church in the City. Many of his members stood loyally by him and his side. All men admired his manly and godly stand.

## The Man Who Wins.

The man who wins is the man who works.  
The man who tells the next man shivers.  
The man who stands in his deep distress  
With his head held high in the deadly press—  
Yes, he is the man who wins.  
The man who wins is the man who knows  
The value of pain and the worth of woes—  
Who a lesson learns from the man who fails,  
And a moral finds in his mournful wails.  
Yes, he is the man who wins.  
The man who wins is the man who stays  
In the unsought paths and the rocky ways.  
And perhaps, who lingers now and then,  
To help some failure to rise again.  
Ah, he is the man who wins!  
And the man who wins is the man who hears  
The curse of the envious in his ears,  
But who goes his way with his head held high  
And passes the wrecks of the failure by  
For he is the man who wins.  
—The Informer.



Prof. G. V. Buchanan Ex-Superintendent of The Sedalia Schools, Recently Called to The Joplin School.

Prof. G. V. Buchanan, who has been superintendent of the Sedalia public schools for several years, has accepted a position as superintendent of the public schools of Joplin at a much larger salary. Prof. Buchanan has given the most complete satisfaction to the board of education and to the patrons of the schools and his decision to accept the Joplin position will be learned with sincere regret on the part of the public, even though his many friends wish him success in his new home. Prof. Buchanan will remove his family to Joplin in August.