

WOMEN'S PERIL IN SOUTH

**Dread Menace Ever Present
Where Negroes Dwell.**

SEPARATION OF RACES URGED

**John Temple Graves, Of Georgia,
Explains Causes Of Lynching At
The University Of Chicago.**

CHICAGO, Sept. 3.—John Temple Graves, of Atlanta, Ga., delivered an address on "The Problem of the Races" this morning before the forty-eighth convocation of the University of Chicago. He said, in part:

"Two opposite, unequal and antagonistic races are set side by side for government and destiny. One of these, by the record, is the strongest race on earth; the other, by the record, is the weakest race on earth. One a race whose achievements make in large part the history of the world; the other, a race which in all its annals has written no history, builded no monuments, made no books and recorded no achievement, and whose only progress has been from contact with the stronger race. One, a race proud, progressive, dominant and historically free; the other, a race that came out of centuries of savagery into centuries of slavery, and was transplanted in one tropical and unnatural night from barbarism and slavery into liberty and full equality. One, a live, vital, twentieth century race, pulsing the hope and progress of the world; the other, a race without a record, undeveloped, untrained, but lately slaves and at the utmost a seventh century civilization.

"There they are—master and slave, civilized and half-civilized, strong and weak, conquering and servile, twentieth century and seventh century—1,300 years apart—set by a strange and incomprehensible edict of statesmanship or of passion, set by the Constitution and the law, the weakest race on earth and the strongest race on earth side by side on equal terms to bear an equal part in the conduct and responsibility of the greatest Government the world ever saw!

"It was an experiment without a precedent in history and without a promise in the annals of man.

Failure After 38 Years.

"The experiment has had 38 years of trial, backed by the power of the Federal Government and by the sympathy of the world. It has failed. From the beginning to the hour that holds us it has failed. The races are wider apart and more antagonistic than they were in 1865. There is less of sympathy and more of tension than the races have known since the terrible days of Reconstruction made chaos in the South.

"The Fifteenth Amendment is practically repealed. In nearly every State of his numerical habitation the negro is disfranchised under the forms of law. In all the States where his ballot is a menace to white supremacy it is restrained. With all these years and all these forces at his back there has been an utter failure to establish the negro in a satisfactory and self-reliant position under the law. Four decades after his emancipation he is, in point of fact, less a freeman and infinitely less a citizen than he was in 1868.

"The tumult of the times about us proclaims the continued existence and the unreconciled equations of the problem that he makes; and in the common judgment of mankind the legend "Failure" is written large and lowering above the tottering fabric of his civil rights.

"And yet the experiment goes on.

Women Need Protectors.

"In a land of light and liberty, in an age of enlightenment and law, the women of the South are prisoners to danger and to fear. While your women may walk from suburb to suburb and from township to township, without escort and without alarm, there is not a woman of the South—wife or daughter—who would be permitted or who would dare to walk at twilight unguarded through the residence streets of a populous town or to ride the outside highways at midday.

"The terror of the twilight deepens with the darkness, and in the rural regions every farmer leaves his home with apprehension in the morning and thanks God when he comes from the fields at evening to find all well with the women of his home. For behind the prejudice of race stalks the fiend of lust, and behind the assailant of women thunders the mob, engine of vengeance, monstrous, lawless, deplorable, but under the uncured defects of the law the fiery terror of the criminal and the chief defense of woman.

A Race Problem.

"This is from first to last a race problem. It is an issue of race and not of politics. It is a thing of skin and type, and not of section or condition. The history of man has been written in race antagonism and in race separation.

"Boston, the metropolis of abolition, will not employ negroes in the department stores. Nor will Chicago. The Boston Globe received a formal protest against the employment of a negro reporter on its local staff. The sister's son of Wendell Phillips, rich with the evangel blood of emancipation, refused to associate with a negro in Harvard University. Fred Douglas in his last speech declared that only one white man in all the ranks of the abolitionists had permitted him to forget in his presence that he was a negro.

"There are 400,000 negroes in Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. Where is the office that they hold, or the station of trust and profit that they fill? In Mr. Crumpacker's State of Indiana they lynch negroes almost as frequently and upon much less provocation than in Georgia. A riot raised on race prejudice reddened the central avenues of New York. Chicago citizens chased a negro through the streets, ready with a rope to visit capital punishment for theft. Boston elected a negro by accident to her Common Council and then offered him \$10,000 to remove his offensive color from the chamber in which he served.

"Race prejudice is as old as the world and as everlasting as the hills, and this prejudice, deep, uncircumscribed and ineradicable, sits like a shadow on the future of the weaker race.

"Under this prejudice the negro can never, North or South, be received in equal social and personal relations with the families of the white race, and can never, therefore, be a social equal with the white man.

"Under this prejudice he will never, North or South, be permitted to govern in any State or country, even where he has a majority, and he can never, therefore, be a political equal.

Lincoln Favored Separation.

"Some of the greatest names and greatest hearts in all our history have thought and said that separation was the logical, the inevitable, the only solution. Daniel Webster said so. Thomas Jefferson said so most definitely and eloquently. Edward Everett said so. James Madison said so. Henry Clay believed and said it. Twice in his glorious and illustrious lifetime Abraham Lincoln, who did not believe in the negro as a citizen and a voter, moved in his public station toward a definite plan of separation. Henry Grady believed in it. Bishop Turner is its open advocate.

"Blyden and Council and Taylor, and the ablest leaders of the race are said to favor it, and I think that Booker Washington in his heart knows that neither worth nor merit nor achievement will ever bridge the impassable barrier of race prejudice, and that, when the last arrow of his noble, but hopeless, effort has been shot, it must come to this at last.

"It is neither impossible nor impracticable.

"In the matter of location, the Philippine soil and climate are suited to the negro, the territory is ample, and on one of these islands the fortunes of the negro and the native may be worked out side by side. It may be that the islands of the sea were placed by Providence in our keeping to furnish an answer to the problem of the times. The repatriation of Africa is the sentimental ideal of the advocates of separation. Lower California might be secured. The lands west of Texas might be had.

Opposition In The South.

"I frankly confess the promise of some opposition to the idea in the South. Paradoxical as it may seem, the South loves the negro—not the new negro, but the old. In his place and in the relations clearly understood, there is a feeling of affection between the Southern white man and the better negroes, which our friends to the north of us can never appreciate and never understand.

"But the relations of the races in the South are constantly growing more strained and unpleasant. The new negro is killing the relation established by the old negro. Every year the reluctance of the South to part with the negro is lessened, and the multiplying crimes and increasing unthrift of the negro is changing this reluctance to a positive anxiety for his departure."