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"AND YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH, AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE."—John viii. 32.

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THE NEGRO AND NATIONAL RECOVERY

JOINT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL RECOVERY MAKES ACCOUNTING

By George Edmund Haynes, Ph. D.

Part II.

Policies Pressed About Subsistence Homesteads

The Subsistence Homestead projects called for special attention to urge upon the Administration a policy that funds at the disposal of the Subsistence Homestead Division be allocated on the basis of need rather than of race; that homestead community projects should be managed to avoid "the perpetuation of the economic and social evils of the idea of segregation" and that at least two Negro experts should be appointed to help carry out such an interracial policy.

Without much agitation or publicity but through consultation with officials and by visits to projects, both local and national, officials have been pressed to accept the principle of allowing Negro applicants the same opportunities as whites to enter such projects. A Negro expert has recently been appointed on the staff.

Domestic Service Program Urged

Domestic service is one of the most perplexing problems of Negro workers which involves almost one-fourth of Negroes gainfully employed in the United States. They receive very low wages and work very long hours. An intelligent Negro woman who served in domestic service and saw conditions at first hand wrote to the New York World-Telegram: "Some of us who once held positions and who are now reduced to menials to exist find ourselves in a sorry plight. This hour-upon-hour of family drudgery is filling the hospitals with nervous wrecks and turning women into wage slaves. One or two women must carry on where once a staff of servants performed the household duties. An example: a cook and a houseman-valet-butler must do all the work of pantry maid and kitchen maid—the same smooth service demanded. The cook must do all three services of cook, pantry and kitchen maid as the butler must remain (English style) in the dining room to anticipate the wishes of madam. The service can not be marred with bell signals. A lady's personal maid must be parlor and chamber maid all day and then be ready to serve madam as personal maid until midnight. The chamber maid is scrubmaid and laundress."

Last September the Joint Committee proposed to the Secretary of Labor a definite plan of action for bettering conditions of domestics. Some of these suggestions were adopted by the National Committee on Household Employment and some of them have been put into operation by the Department of Labor.

Cooperation With Organized Labor

One of the by-products of the Joint Committee's activity has been increased understanding on the part of organized labor. For example, the Committee worked very closely with the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America on the Bituminous Coal Code. Cooperation was sought and secured from the American Federation of Labor in presentations made on the codes of the Iron and Steel, Lumber, Laundry and several other industries with substantial cementing of interests of white and Negro workers.

Purposes and Policies of the Joint Committee Summarized

The structural organization of this Committee is not involved. There are three types of membership: constituent members with voting representation; contributing members

who give something to the financial support of the movement and participate in its activities; and associate members both from organizations and individuals who work without voting. Each constituent organization also appoints a number of consultants who act with voting members.

The main purposes and policy of the Committee have been simple and may be summarized as follows: (1) The union of efforts of racial and interracial organizations and agencies to protect and promote the welfare of Negroes and better relations in industry and agriculture under the National Recovery Program; (2) the maintenance of the autonomy of each cooperating agency with no action that will embarrass any; (3) service as a clearing house for all factual data from available branches of the government or through the branches of the member organizations; (4) the provision of means of united presentation of facts about Negro interests and filing complaints derived from the experiences of Negroes in local areas.

On relations of white and Negro people in America in all the aspects of the New Deal the Committee believes "that the integration of Negroes in industry, commerce, agriculture and government is essential to the success of the National Recovery program and vital for the economic and community relations of all American citizens."

Budget is Modest; Spirit Among Members Harmonious

The Committee's finances have been raised almost altogether from and through its participating organizations. Thirteen of the constituent organizations have either contributed sums from their treasuries, through their officials, or have raised funds from their connections and constituents for the modest budget totaling less than \$2,400 the first six months. The officers of the committee are George Edmund Haynes, Chairman; John P. Davis, Executive Secretary; Nannie H. Burroughs, Treasurer; and Rose Marcus Coe, Technical Adviser. The executive secretary, the chairman and many other members have given liberally and freely of their time and energy. They have worked together with unusual harmony without the usual pulling for offices and honors.

Such united effort of all the forces interested in and dealing with the welfare of Negroes and their relations to their white fellow citizens has already achieved results that otherwise would not have been. In the years of effort for Negro advancement this is the best bid toward such a united front. Every effort should be made to continue its existence with such modifications and additions as may be required. The needs of voiceless, toiling millions of Negroes in agriculture and industry make united action imperative.

Wilberforce, the great English preacher, said that Christianity could be condensed into four words: Admit, Submit, Commit, and Transmit. Let us use these four words in one sentence, expressing a great truth. When a man is ready to admit Jesus Christ into his life, and then submit himself to the will of Christ, commit his way unto the Lord, and transmit his knowledge and the spirit of Christ which he possesses, to others, he puts himself in the position to be of service to God and humanity.—The Presbyterian.

DUBOIS ON SEGREGATION

By Dr. Kelly Miller

Several weeks ago I wrote a release—"Is the N. A. A. C. P. Reversing Itself?" This serious query was based on two editorial utterances in the Crisis for January and February last. In these editorial expressions, to the amazement of his many admirers, the erudite editor assumed a position on segregation radically at variance with the stand of the organization whose organ he edits. I suggested the inevitable fate of a house divided against itself. In the March issue of the Crisis, President Spingarn and Executive Secretary Walter White replied, and while maintaining the traditional position of the N. A. A. C. P., slapped the recalcitrant editor, rather gently, on the wrist. In the April issue of the Crisis the redoubtable editor comes back with emphatic and unmistakable decisiveness. His dig at Walter White was the most unkind cut of all. The relations are strained to the breaking point. Friends of the organization await the outcome of this internal wrangle within the N. A. A. C. P. with trembling expectancy.

In my release I dealt with the subject wholly objectively. If the N. A. A. C. P. was reversing itself on segregation, the results would be disastrous to the organization and to the cause of agitation in general. The N. A. A. C. P. is an agitative organization. I believe it is a general principle that whenever an organization turns from its original principles it hypothesizes its further usefulness. The Republican Party well illustrates this philosophy. This is wholly apart from whether one accepts its motivating principles or no. If the N. A. A. C. P. begins to equivocate on segregation it will be left no unshakable foundation on which to stand. If the late Nevil H. Thomas could come to life again, he would rend the air with scathing denunciations which he only knew how to use, to the utter discomfiture of DuBois' tergiversations.

In the April Crisis, Dr. DuBois wholly misrepresents my position on segregation, and places me in the wrong bracket with George S. Schuyler. I supposed that my position on this question was well known. This was set forth in Current History for March, 1927, to which the N. A. A. C. P. formulated a joint reply published in the same issue of that magazine. Since then I have written twenty releases and made as many addresses amplifying my position on this crucial issue which more than any other has occupied the center of the racial stage for the past decade. This may be illustrated by my advice to Leslie Pinckney Hill, when the enraged colored citizens of Pennsylvania were denouncing him for sponsoring Cheyney as a Normal School for colored youth of the State. I advised him to sit steady in the boat; the severer the fight waged against him, the better separate school he would have in the end. The race must needs fight segregation, but fight discreetly, with an ulterior end in view.

Segregation is embedded in the psychology of the Anglo-Saxon mind, which keeps my non-white race at a fixed distance from itself. All efforts will be ultimately futile unless they can alter this fundamental psychology.

The Negro's available weapons at present are the law, the ballot and moral protestation. All of these should be used to the limit of their effectiveness to modify and moderate, even where it can not defeat. The N. A. A. C. P. appealed to the law with some slight effect in

the Supreme Court decision. The ballot may add a bit here and there. Protest and appeal to conscience is always in order. But after all has been said and done the race must learn to endure that which it can not cure. Segregation is a fact as stubborn and persistent as the Rocky Mountains. The race must overcome by undergoing. But whatever happens an ideology must be held out to youth lest they lose hope and buoyancy. This requires the highest statesmanship whose role DuBois is essaying to play. Segregation must by constant fighting be reduced to as small a margin as possible.

DuBois has now arrived at the position which I held ten years ago. But with the zeal of the new convert he now outruns that other disciple. Very rarely is a man converted after sixty. If after sixty-five years of strenuous fighting, the gallant warrior turns pacifist, he may expect merciless questioning as to the motive of his conversion.

BY THE WAY

By Uncle Billie

OFF TO COLLEGE

This period in the life of youth is his first step from parental oversight or control. He leaves such restrictions in the home of his childhood, though they are remembered with profit by many a thoughtful college lad in seeking the path of safety. It is in this new step that he experiences for the first time that he must think and act his own thoughts among his fellows or become the laughing stock of the less sympathetic, or an object of pity or disgust by those whose hearts beat with less levity. It is in college where one learns to give and take and become a good mixer. It is here where a young fellow often casts a shadow of leadership by his ability to exert effective power or influence over the campus with the upper and lower classes by his peculiar tact and Pauline personality.

On returning to college after a brief summer's vacation, the campus looks strange and minus something essential to keep up college spirit and buoyancy because certain, outstanding personalities have been graduated and gone to return no more as students. Notwithstanding the objective of college life, it has its nights of sorrow in the life of many a faithful student. Many a young man who went off to college on the purple clouds of glory and under the sky of a cloudless day found the path on his entrance to be a via dolorosa. This is generally true with the fellow whose means are limited. Often he has more obstacles to cause him to give up the battle than he has hopeful beckons to come on. There are things without number that drive many ambitious young men from their recitation rooms to give up school life. Many were of bright minds, but became flowers that blushed unseen, because adverse things met them and defied their further effort.

It is very frequent in college that scores of faithful students, and worthy students, exhibit qualities for everything worthwhile except books. Their teachers lose hope of their ever becoming other than a good "Uncle Tom" and yet the fault is not always in the youth who exhibits qualities of a blockhead; quite often it is in the fact that his teacher is thoroughly out of touch with the temperament and mental bent of the fellow and makes no attempt to find a way of approach to him to give him light. There is more

to be commended in knowing how to reach the mind of youth than there is in trying to get something out of youth that you did not inject in the form of winning personality.

These things are thorns in the path of one's quest of an education; this is what makes it a via dolorosa, a highway surveyed and paved with disappointment and much sorrow.

But there is one great university; and it seems that the Afro-American is assigned to it to complete the entire course and do post-graduate work in this international university, the university of adversity. In Charleston many Negroes have lost their jobs, which many of them had held for over a score of years, and these jobs have been given to their white brethren; because, they say, the present per diem under the Recovery Act—whatever that means—is too much money for a Negro. But this is not confined to ancient Charleston; it seems to be wherever the Negro is found. And in this, the State, or the whole country, seems to be following the Church; but this is no criticism on the Church or any complaint registered against it. The Church is to be commended as the most effective agency in Negro uplift. I am only making an analysis by way of comparison to show that all activities in Church and State hold out no lure to service that will cheer the Negro up and on.

But it is becoming more and more apparent that this hard school is exerting a force that is driving the Negroes closer together with more of self-reliance to act on their own thinking. The close observer will observe that this school of adversity has as many courses of study as the occasion may arise to produce them; and the Negro must needs complete the entire course. Reduced to a minimum both in resources and opportunities, he is expected to be an adept in social and political sciences; without an equal in the economic order; must exhibit the politeness and manners at all times of a Chesterfield; is expected to become educated up to the standard of all the best elements and phases of citizenry by the reflections of school facilities and teachers just named or called teachers.

In this university of adversity the door of hope is closed in the Negro's face and he is held accountable if he fails to be diligent in hopeless business; fervent in a broken spirit, serving his country. He is expected to sing one of his songs to his oppressor, take down his harp from the willow, and split the air with hopeful and cheerful music.

HAS RETURNED TO PHILADELPHIA.

Mrs. Henry W. Gladden, of W. Oxford Street, Philadelphia, Pa., has returned home after spending ten days in Charlotte, N. C., visiting her parents, Mr. and Mrs. William Beaver. While in Charlotte Mrs. Gladden was the dinner guest of the following persons: Mr. and Mrs. Frank Erwin, Mrs. Sarah Reddick, Mrs. Elizabeth and Miss Henrietta Jennings, Mrs. Eliza Ross and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Richardson. Mr. Leonard Miller, of Washington, D. C., a schoolmate of Mrs. Gladden's, was also the dinner guest of the latter.

Mrs. Gladden called on many others whom I have not space to mention. She is a member of Berean Presbyterian church.

A FRIEND.

The Church is not the only institution that promotes religion, but if the Church's part were omitted, the whole enterprise would come to naught.—W. F. Weir.

THE SOUTHERN VIRGINIA PRESBYTERY

The Southern Virginia Presbytery met with the Central Presbyterian church of Petersburg, Va., from April the 3rd through the 5th. Presbytery opened at 7:30 P. M., the retiring Moderator, Rev. W. B. Stitt, pastor of the Bethesda Presbyterian church, Nottoway, C. H., Va., being in the chair.

After the usual preliminaries Presbytery went into business, after having had one of the finest sermons from the retiring Moderator that many had ever been favored with by him. The spiritual atmosphere was of such a temperature that it was not hard to settle on a Moderator and temporary clerk. The choice of Rev. C. J. Baker, D. D., pastor of Holbrook Street Presbyterian church, Danville, was unanimous, and the wisdom of this choice showed itself more and more as the hours rolled on.

"Do This in Remembrance of Me."

These words were forced upon our minds when by way of concluding the evening's activities the Lord's Supper was administered. Being favored with the presence of Dr. J. M. Gaston, National Missions Secretary, he, together with the Rev. Dr. Hyder, were the ministers in charge of the communion service, while Elders J. M. Johnson, of Big Oak, and Samuel Piatte, both of Amelia County, Charles, of Richmond First church, and J. W. Archer, of Mt. Hermon church, Chula, Va., distributed the bread and wine.

Wednesday

Were I to pick out Wednesday as a busy day, I might be questioned as to what I called the rest of the time. I might say, however, Wednesday carried its full share of the burden of care that had to be shouldered each day and night.

The Rev. A. A. Hector, former pastor of the Richmond First church, being quite active early in the day, his standing in the Presbytery was questioned. After the reading of the minutes of a called Presbytery at the Richmond First church, at which time and place his pastoral relations were dissolved, the church was dissolved and his ministerial privileges taken away from him until he could prove himself innocent of the charges preferred against him, a commission was appointed to try cases against him. After the reading of the minutes the Moderator found it necessary to declare that Rev. Hector had no voice in the present Presbytery.

The special judicial commission appointed to hear the charges against Rev. Hector met as per appointment. It might be said that the party charging misconduct on the part of the Rev. A. A. Hector in his home failed to appear and press the charge, hence the only course was to dismiss the case. The next charge, that of not being submissive to the mandates of the Presbytery, was tried. After giving him an opportunity to acknowledge and apologize for such an offence (which he refused to do) he was suspended. On hearing the report of the commission the judgment or findings of the commission became the judgment of the Presbytery, with only one opposing vote. Rev. Hector at once gave notice of an appeal which was wholly in accord with his right and privilege.

I shall not have much to say about the Ladies' Popular meeting held on Wednesday night at 8:30 o'clock, as they doubtless will give publicity regarding the same. However, I may say that, as usual, they were the drawing card of the Presbytery.

(Continued on page 4)