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The banner which the patriot has
Worn through all his life,
Which he has carried with him,
Through all his life's journey,
Which he has carried with him,
Through all his life's journey.

NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.

PRESIDENT WINSTON'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE PATRIOT CLUB OF NEW YORK.

The Negro Race has made Great Intellectual Progress.—The Moral Progress very Discouraging.—The Material Condition of the Race is Similar to the Moral.—The South has a Kindlier Personal Feeling for the Negro than the North.—The Problem is not Social nor Political but Industrial.

In the address recently delivered before the Patriot Club of New York, President Winston, on the Negro problem in the South, essentially said the following:

The race problem cannot be understood without knowing what the intellectual, moral and material progress the negro has made since emancipation and to what extent the progress has affected the social, political and industrial relations between the two races.

Intellectually the negro has made great progress, mainly through education. In North Carolina he enjoys better facilities for education than the mass of whites. He has the same opportunities in public schools, and his facilities for higher education are beyond the reach of white people of the same poverty. The State supports for his benefit 2,287 public schools, eight normal schools and a school for the deaf, dumb and blind. Northern philanthropy has given him ten colleges and seminaries for higher education, including a medical college, a law school and several theological schools. The race has learned to read and write. In one generation it has educated a supply of teachers and preachers, and is now rapidly educating its own lawyers and physicians. The mass of the race, however, is less educated than it was twenty or even ten years ago, and the attendance upon public schools is gradually decreasing. The negro has learned that education is not essential to freedom nor has it aided him materially, much as he expected. The finer and remoter influences of education do not appeal to him as to the white race. It is possible that his real education will diminish as rapidly in the next generation as it sprang up in this. This dullage of his intellect has been easily sharpened on the school-master's grins, but the quality of mental has not been changed, and the edge may be turned or blunted as quickly as it was formed.

The moral progress of the race is very obscure and slight. Both the average white man and the average negro over forty years old in the South will tell you that the younger generation of negroes are worse morally than they were in slavery. This is not true of all. There is gradually forming among them a better class who respect themselves, and who honestly strive to elevate their race. This class includes the best educated of the younger generation and the most thrifty and industrious of the old generation. This class, however, is small, but exceeding five per cent of the population, and its moral influence on the mass of the negroes amounts to very little. The mass of the race is probably in the same moral status as during slavery. The restraints of slavery have been removed, and passions hitherto repressed by fear are not yet controlled by character. The younger generation of men are as a rule more indolent and selfish than the older, while the women are generally quite as level headed as the men.

Besides this better class and the great mass of negroes, there is a lowest class which did not exist in slavery. It is made up of drunks, petty thieves, professional prostitutes and others who live by vice instead of labor. This class flourishes mostly in villages and cities. It constitutes about ten per cent of the population and is steadily increasing to be recruited from the younger generation. Its moral condition is almost brutal, and is worse than anything known to slavery.

The criminal propensities of the race are very marked. According to the census of 1880 the negro furnished 25 per cent of the penitentiary inmates in the United States, although he constitutes only twelve per cent of the population. In the North Atlantic States he is five times as criminal as the white man; in the South Atlantic States one and a half times; in the South Central one and a half; in the Western ten times. It is a striking fact that the negro is more criminal in the Northern States, where he has long enjoyed freedom, than in the Southern States where he is still greatly restrained by fear of the white race. The moral status of the race is about this: The best class, being not over five per cent, has made decided progress, the worst class not over ten per cent, has made decided retrogression, the great mass is in the same condition as during slavery.

The material condition of the race is similar to the moral. The great mass is essentially in the same condition as before. Those who had had masters are probably better off; those who had good masters are possibly worse off. The higher-class is very much improved, and enjoys all the comforts of life to a greater degree. The lowest class is much worse off. It includes not only the vicious and the idle, but also the weak minded, the

afflicted, the uncared for young, and the old. Under slavery these were all cared for by the master, and shared equally in the common earnings. Now they are driven to the wall by competition, not only with the whites, but also with the strong of their own race. The result is a degree of suffering and a death rate unknown to slavery. The rate of mortality in this class will explain the large relative decrease of the negro population in the South from 1880 to 1890.

The relations between the two races are perfectly understood by both white and black in the South, and thoroughly misunderstood by both blacks and white in the North. Socially there is no relation between them. The blacks do not expect it, and the whites do not think it for a moment. Unquestionably there is deep race prejudice at the bottom of the social chasm. This feeling is taken for granted by both races. Intermixture is prohibited by law. It is not desired by either race. Even the negro understands that he would get the worst of the bargain in marrying the sort of white woman who would have him. The North complains of Southern prejudice against the negro; but the North is guilty of the same offense, and with less reason. Wherever the negro exists in large numbers in the North, he is socially separate. He has his own quarter for his residence. He has a legal right to go to white churches, and to live in white quarters, but he does not go there as a matter of fact, and he is kept away by social prejudices, which is stronger than law.

In New York city he may ride in the street cars, but he cannot earn a dollar by driving one; he may sit in the theatre, but he cannot get a drink or drive a nail; he may take the sidewalk, but he cannot get a contract to pave it; he may be the subject of humane editorials in the city papers, but he cannot set a stick of type; he may go to school with the whites, but he cannot sit with them in church, but he cannot be their pastor; he may spend his money at Macy's, but he cannot stand behind the counter; he may study in Columbia College, but he cannot teach there; he may cast his ballot, but he cannot get an office; he has the legal right to marry white women, but no white woman will marry him; he has all the social privileges that he can get, but he cannot get any. Everywhere in the United States he is branded as a negro. The North says to him, "You are my equal," but she excludes him practically from all intercourse. From political, social, and from industrial opportunities.

The South has a kinder personal feeling toward the negro to day than the North ever had, or ever dreamed of. It was Thomas Carlyle who characterized this feeling by representing the South as saying to the negro: "Be slave, and God bless you," while the North said: "Be free, and God damn ye." The kindly feeling between the races, however, is not what it was in slavery. There is a social chasm between them that seems to be growing wider. No longer do white and black children play and eat together. No longer does the white father gather children of both races about his knees to hear the story of the gospel. The white boy and the negro boy no longer hunt and swim and frolic together. The colored servant no longer sleeps by the bedside of her mistress, within easy reach of her hand. No longer do family servants share family secrets, and rejoice or weep over family fortunes. The bond is broken that bound the races together. The negro has passed out from the sentimental supervision of his white master, and no longer desires or receives the aid of the white race in restraining his childish and unwise and unimproving political factor began to be a convention that framed the Federal constitution, and has continued since with a violence and a power that have shaken the foundations of our government, and threatened to destroy its balance. Thus far the negro has been merely the object of this contention while the Northern and Southern white man have fought over his political masters. The constitution recognized the negro as equal to three-fifths of a white man politically. He was legally established as a political weapon in the hands of the South, although his vote was not cast. This political vassalage lasted eighty years. It was based upon slavery, and it fell with slavery. With emancipation the negro became a weapon in the hands of the North, and was voted a full man politically. His vote was not cast, but his qualifications as a voter, dependent upon knowledge, intellect and character, were not greater than before. The ballot was given him by philanthropists for the purpose of protection and education; but his power for perpetuating their power. Both purposes have failed. The negro is slowly losing interest in politics as an education. He is beginning to realize the hopelessness of the struggle from politics, either voluntarily or by compulsion of education or other qualifications.

The real struggle of the negro at present is not for social equality, nor for political power, but for industrial opportunity. The difference between the races is so immense that any other conflict between them is simply impossible.

Satisfaction After Five Years.
A Broadway car came bowling along toward the postoffice one afternoon recently when the slush and mud in the street were an inch or two deep. A well known federal officer held order on the down town crossing at Barclay street. He had a woman with him.

As the car approached he put up his hand authoritatively. The driver motioned that he would stop at the upper crossing, as the rules prescribed. The government official stamped his foot and pointed to the spot where he stood as much as to say: "You will stop right here."

He got fooled. The car whizzed by and stopped on the corner where the driver said it would. The federal officer waded through the mud, dragging the woman after him, and entered the car. The conductor gave the signal, and the yellow car went rolling on up town.

When he had gone a block or two, the driver stopped his whistling, glanced cautiously back into the car, and then said: "That man played me dirt when I got me nat'ralishism papers five years ago. He made me wait for him for five hours, and I never forgot his face."

And then the driver resumed his whistling, which he kept up during the entire trip.—New York Herald.

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