

The Solution of the Negro Problem

By B. F. GRADY.

To the Editor: About two months ago you copied an article with the above title from the Jackson, Miss. News; and, as I found some statements in it on which I wished to make some comments, I laid it aside for a more convenient season. The passage which arrested my attention, and in which misrepresentations of historical facts appear, was copied from a discussion of the negro problem by the late William C. Whitney. Here it is: "For half a century this question caused the American rostrum, pulpit, and press to surge and roar, and was finally debated upon the bloodiest battlefields of which history has made a record. In order to fully understand this question let us expend our words upon its origin. The Pilgrim Fathers, being driven into exile by religious persecution, fell into the mistaken philanthropy of the politico-social equality of all men and brothers; they were touched in tears, and in their dream of universal freedom, demanded for him liberation and citizenship. The cavalier settlers, who racial inferiority, and saw in him only the elements of manual employments."

Mr. Whitney was a native of Conway, Massachusetts; his father was in official life as collector of revenue in Boston, and as Superintendent of the Springfield armory. He (the son) graduated at Yale, studied law at Harvard and afterwards in New York; and for four years served as Secretary of the Navy. He enjoyed, therefore, exceptional opportunities for acquiring that broad culture for which the educational facilities of New England are regarded as universal. But, whether we charge the responsibility to his parents, his teachers or his text-books, the above quoted passage demonstrates beyond a reasonable doubt that he had been misinformed in regard to every important fact which must underlie any truthful presentation of the "negro problem"; and I ask space in your paper to offer to your readers some of the evidence which justifies the charge. The importance of exposing the blameworthy of Mr. Whitney's theory of sectional antagonism in the United States was impressed on my mind during the "negro construction" period, when I listened at the orators who were sent over the State to embitter the uninformed against those who had been designing at our "ruling classes" and frequently since those days I have seen and heard proofs that the labors of those men were not altogether fruitless.

In order to save space, I present the historical evidence very nearly in the order in which they were first recorded in the annals of this country, leaving unmentioned most of the authors to whom I am indebted. "The Mistaken Philanthropy" of the Pilgrim Fathers. In 1638 the authorities of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay sent a slave-ship, the "Desire," to the coast of Africa, and brought back a number of slaves for which they found ready sale. The importance of exposing the blameworthy of Mr. Whitney's theory of sectional antagonism in the United States was impressed on my mind during the "negro construction" period, when I listened at the orators who were sent over the State to embitter the uninformed against those who had been designing at our "ruling classes" and frequently since those days I have seen and heard proofs that the labors of those men were not altogether fruitless.

In 1765 the Massachusetts authorities passed an act requiring "free negroes, who were not permitted to work with the militia, to work the highways and streets as an equivalent. In 1782, in the Philadelphia convention, the proposition that fugitive slaves should be returned, on proper demand, to the authorities of the State whence they fled, was supported by every delegate from the New England States. In 1788 the Massachusetts legislature passed an act denying to free negroes from other States the right to remain within her borders for a longer period than two months, unless they could produce satisfactory proof that they were citizens of the State which they had left; and the penalty for disobedience, after warning, was flogging. In 1792 the Duke de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt traveled in the United States, and giving his experiences in his "Voyage dans Les Etats Unis," he says that nearly twenty vessels from the Northern States were engaged in the African slave-trade. In 1802 when Ohio was organized as a State by a people whose ancestors were mostly Pilgrim Fathers, free negroes from other States were denied the right to migrate to Ohio

unless some responsible white man would furnish a satisfactory bond that they should not "come upon the town" to be supported. In 1835 William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston for his abolition sentiments, by a mob composed of "gentlemen of property and respectability." In 1855 the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers who had been sent to Kansas to insure "free soil" in that State approved by "an overwhelming majority," as Governor Robert J. Walker affirmed in his inaugural address, a clause which was inserted in their Topeka Constitution to exclude black men forever from Kansas, whether bond or free.

"About 1860, according to the New York Evening Post, an insurance policy was issued by a New York company to a New England Company on a cargo of slaves. In 1861 the Nightingale, of Boston, Francis Bowen's master, was captured by the crew of a frigate having on board 961 negroes, and "expecting more," and while this capture was being effected "nine other slaves" escaped.

Turning now from the contemplation of the "mistaken philanthropy" of the Pilgrim Fathers, let us inquire: "How the cavaliers felt toward the 'Man and brother.'" In 1740 Virginia imposed restrictions on the importation of slaves from Africa, requiring ten per cent of the price of each slave to be paid by the purchaser. In 1776 Virginia adopted a Constitution in which it was declared "that all men are by nature equally free and independent." In 1776 the Declaration of Independence and of the equality of all men was written by a Cavalier.

In 1776 a Cavalier inserted in his draft of the Declaration of Independence the first noted restriction of the African slave trade, but it was stricken out by those who probably represented the owners of the "negro" trading ships. It was George III. who waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere. "This piratical warfare," etc.

In 1776 North Carolina adopted a Constitution in which she conferred on all freemen, without regard to color, the right to vote for members of her House of Commons. In 1787 the ordinance excluding slavery from the northwest territory was supported by every Southerner in the Congress.

In 1788 Bland, of Virginia, moved in the first Congress that a tax of ten dollars be imposed on each slave imported into the United States, but New England members strongly opposed it, and the motion failed to pass. In one of Washington's letters, recently copied by the Washington Post, he said: "I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to possess one, or be obliged to purchase it, being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

In 1807 the act to prohibit the African slave-trade was passed by a vote of 113 yeas and 5 nays, two of these being Northerners and three being Southerners. There is much more of the same sort, but here is enough to enable the reader to decide whether the Pilgrim Fathers or the Cavaliers felt the deepest interest in the "man and brother," and whether the "politico-social equality of all men" was the "bloodiest battlefields." The platform on which Abraham Lincoln stood when first a candidate declared for "the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively."

In Rice's "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln" Gen. Donn Platt appears as a contributor. He canvassed the southern counties of Illinois for Lincoln in 1860, visited after the election, and served as a General in the Northern army during the war. Among other interesting things he says: "Descending from the poor whites of slave States, through many generations, we inherited the contempt, if not the hatred, held by that class for the negro. He could no more feel a sympathy for that wretched race that he could for the horse he worked or the hog he killed. He knew, and saw clearly, that the people of the free States had not only no sympathy with the abolition of slavery, but held fanatics, as abolitionists were called, in utter abhorrence." Wendell Phillips, the silver-tongued advocate of human rights was, while Mr. Lincoln talked to us, being ostracized in Boston and rotten-legged at Cincinnati. I remember when the Hutchinsons were driven from the camps of the Potomac army by the soldiers for singing their abolition songs, and I remember well that for two years nearly of our service as soldiers we were engaged in returning slaves to their masters, when the poor creatures sought shelter in our lines."

In Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address he said: "I have no purpose, direct or indirect, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. A few days after the first battle of Manassas Crittenden's resolution was adopted by both houses of Congress 'with a close approach to unanimity,'

as Bancroft states it, declaring that "the war was not for conquest or to interfere with the rights or established institutions of the Southern States." On August 26th, 1861, Gen. John C. Fremont, issuing military control of Missouri, issued a proclamation declaring free all the slaves of what he called the "rebels" in that State, but on September 2nd, Mr. Lincoln disapproved it.

On April 9th, 1862, the Northern troops evacuated Jacksonville, Florida, and after the evacuation they returned to their flag-truce fifty-two negroes to the Confederate officer in command there. On April 12th, 1862, General Hunter, commander of the "Southern Delegation," issued a proclamation declaring slavery abolished there, but it was disapproved by Mr. Lincoln.

On January 1st, 1863, Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring free all the slaves in Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and certain parts of Louisiana and Virginia, affirming that it was solely a "war measure" and that it carried no hint of sympathy for the slaves, nor did he in this or any other manner intimate that the war was waged against the Southern Confederacy for the purpose of abolishing slavery.

Now, with this evidence before them, let those who hold Mr. Whitney's views decide: (1) whether secession was the first step toward the emancipation of the slaves; (2) which State seceded in order to preserve slavery within its borders; (3) at what stage of the war did the Confederate soldier begin fighting for the perpetuation of slavery; (4) when did the question begin to be debated on the battlefields; and (5) whether any other dispute between families, tribes or nations has been so long, so persistently, so conscientiously and so successfully misrepresented. And, after reaching a satisfactory decision on these points, let them research the records for the decree, human or divine, which empowered the Pilgrim Fathers to supervise conditions in the South, and so provoke Southerners to "debate" any question with them on "battlefields."

B. F. GRADY. Clinton, N. C., March 8, 1907.

Land the Basis of Wealth.

(Continued from Page Three)

parture, though the actual ratio of area to population gives a figure considerably higher even than this, the 414,498,487 acres of improved farm land in the United States on the date of the last official report, a figure materially enlarged by the present time, would support in comfort 317,350,400 people, enabling them at the same time to raise considerable quantities of export and to engage in necessary manufacturing employments. Applying the same ratio to the entire acreage of farm lands within the United States, which was at the same date 838,591,774, the population indicated as able to live in comfort and prosperity on the actual existing acreage of farm lands of this country, under an intelligent system and a fairly competent but by no means highly scientific method of culture, rises to 642,046,823. The conclusion is, that if not another acre were to be redeemed from the wilderness, if the soil were treated kindly and intelligently, and if industry were distributed duly and an intelligent concentration upon the best possible utilization of the one unfailing national resource, there would be produced all necessary food for the wants of, in round numbers, 650,000,000 people. But this means such study and labor to raise production to its highest level, which has entered scarcely at all as yet into the American comprehension.

Needs of the Hour.

Failing to understand the needs of the hour, or to appreciate the moral to which they point, what fortune must await us? With twenty years less 200,000,000 people, and before the middle of the century over 200,000,000 must find room and food and employment within the United States. Where are the resources declared for? By that time our mineral resources will have been so nearly exhausted that the industries related to them may be a minor problem. By that time it is apparent that our dream of a conquest of the world markets will be a burst bubble. Mr. Howard Boice has demonstrated that the people of the United States, with the millions of Japan and China, and their imitative quality, their proved ability to operate modern machinery, and to create it in their workshops after once using it; their enormous supply of coal and iron; their limitless supply of cheap labor, and their patience, like Fate, are prepared to contend for the markets of the world. They must control against a policy which has established domestic conditions in manufacturing business, on lines which make production an expensive affair that we could not hope to meet the mechanic of Germany on even terms, and must retire before the despised Chinaman. It is a mathematical fact that within twenty years under present conditions our wheat crop will not be sufficient for home consumption and seed, without leaving a bushel for export. Will these coming millions go into the factories? But where can we then expect to sell shop products in a world of competition, and who will furnish the payroll? All industry stops when these are not forthcoming. That is the dead wall against which England stands dismayed. The shops are there, the workmen are there, clamoring for employment, but capital can find no profit in the enterprises, nobody offers to advance money for the payroll of unprofitable business, and a top-heavy industry must surely fall. Let us be warned in time. On every side there is menace if our national activity be not reorganized on the basis of the old-fashioned common sense. The safety valve for the steam of the world has been found in emigration. Their very relief has contributed to our danger.

The United States cannot follow their example. It is against the genius of our people; and besides, the circle of the Northern hemisphere is closed. At home the problem must be worked out, and the terms have been already stated.

A National Duty.

The conclusion reached points out, and emphasizes a national duty so imminent and so imperative that it should take precedence of all else. It is the foe that has overthrown civilization, and has rendered our country more strongly fortified than ever. Nothing can stop the onward march of Nature's laws or close the iron jaws of her necessities when they open to crush their prey. Either we shall understand our situation and make such provision as her benignity affords to meet it, or we shall meet our doom. The food and employment standards set by the needs of the nation, and so be in danger of destroying the stately temple once reared with the highest hopes that ever animated humanity. Which is it to be?

If we are to walk safely in the way of wisdom there is much to be done. It is a return to the methods of the past, methods, a readjustment of national ideas such as to place agriculture, and its claims to the best intelligence and the highest skill that the country affords, in the very forefront of the national movement. A national revival must be a national revolt against the worship of manufacture and trade as the only forms of progressive activity, and the false notion that wealth built upon these sacrifices of the fundamental form of wealth production can endure. A clear recognition on the part of the whole people, from the highest down to the lowest, that the tillage of the soil is the natural and most desirable occupation for man, to which every other is subsidiary and to which all else must in the end give way, is the first step. Then there will be a check administered to the percentage of agricultural labor to the whole body of persons engaged in the field of the soil in the United States 44.3 in 1880 to 37.7 in 1890, and to 35.7 in 1900. With public interest firmly fixed upon the future, the mind will give serious attention to the practical occupation of restoring agriculture to its due position in the nation. The government should establish a model farm on its own land in every rural congressional district, later perhaps in every county in the agricultural states. Let the department of agriculture show exactly what the tillage of the soil can produce by proper cultivation, moderate fertilizing and due rotation of crops. The sight of the fields and their contrast with those of its neighbors, the knowledge of yield secured and crops possible, would be worth more than all the pamphlets poured out from the government printing office in years. In every rural congressional district before the comparatively small expense and labor involved in such a practical encouragement of what is the most important industry of our future. Disseminate knowledge of farming as it should and must be, instead of maintaining the pitiful bribe of a few free seeds. Declare every where, from the executive chamber, from the editorial office, from the platform, and above all, from every college class room, and from every school house, the need of a new crusade, not for the sake of discovery, for experiment, for scientific advancement that has made the last century one of "unparalleled wonders and tremendous progress," but for the sake of the oldest and most important of the corner stone of all civilization, the improvement of tillage and making to grow two grains where only one grew before, and to make a multiplying population secure its permanent maintenance. Only thus may the struggle for existence that has power to either to stay or to drive us from our native land, be brought to a peaceful end.

B. F. GRADY. Clinton, N. C., March 8, 1907.

Not Drawn Upon Fancy.

I have not drawn upon fancy for a single detail of this picture. This growing increase of population, which will rise to over 200,000,000 before 1950, the approaching exhaustion of much of our mineral wealth, the deterioration of our soil, the strain on institutions and the stress of industrial perplexity or decline are as certain as the passage of the years. I have given you the reasons, and in every case under rather than overstated. Let them be examined, criticized, compared with official records. For this is not a mere matter of fancy. It is a plain statement of natural facts in the light of nature's laws. Then let the statesmen, the writers, the thoughtful workers of today, say if they are not true. If true, what are we to do? Where, save in a concentration of national effort upon the since he left Eden is there a sure escape and a way back to the garden? Let us add to our natural resources of man ever leaders of men give their answer.

Situation Not at All Hopeless.

The situation is not at all hopeless or even desperate if the nation turns to its task with appreciation, with wisdom and with courage. The saving qualities of the American people are intelligence, adaptability and patriotism. Given a situation, simple or complex, demanding sacrifice or promising reward, they are quick to comprehend it and to mobilize their forces for mastery. If they turn with comprehension of their situation manfully to the most vital work of the present, the children's fortunes may be made secure. Instead of a world filled with human beings struggling against advancing necessity, instead of the grim choice between the slow but sure decline to an ever lowering scale of comfort, there appears a beautiful conformity to nature's order and the blessing of service to her law. This country may cease to be what it is, people love to boast, the happiest and most favored portion of the earth, the sure refuge and defence of the destitute and oppressed, because of its mighty heritage of that one resource which may enjoy increase and replenishing as the ages roll by. This is not the conception of a new Arcadia, a return to the golden age of antiquity will sufficiently diversify itself, once the order of it is rescued from a false appreciation and restored to that found on nature's roll of honor. To last census year the value of agricultural products was less than \$5,000,000,000. But the farm products of that year devoted to manufacturing uses were valued at \$2,679,000,000; the value of the industries using these materials was \$4,720,000,000; and in these industries, capitalized at over \$4,000,000,000, there was 2,154,000 persons employed. A profitable industry which the very fountain from which all other occupations flow and by which they are nourished into strength. A symmetrical development of industry by no means the least important reward of a readjustment of industrial occupations and interests in harmony with their real relation to man and his active life upon this planet. Not lessened but enhanced and greatly varied industry in the

end will follow the re-arrangement and restoration of industrial values. Now, as ever, to the nation and race as to the individual, nature, the unrelenting, task-mistress of the centuries, holds out in one stern horn of plenty and in the other her scourge. This country has brought itself within reach of the throng, while grasping at the satisfaction of present appetite and forgetting the primal relation between the earth and man. The path to prosperity is still open. The divinity of the earthly life at heart is kind. Under her rule there is work and abundant reward for all, but these must be won in her designated way and in none other. Her pointing finger, that has never varied since man came upon the earth, shows the old and only way to safety and honor. Upon the readiness with which this is understood, the sober dignity with which a whole nation rises to the winning of its broad and permanent prosperity, will depend the individual well being of millions of this and many generations. Largely, by this method, will prosperity, our fit and righteous judge, determine what issues from the crucible of this twentieth century is a bit of rejected dross to be cast aside or a drop of golden metal to shine forever upon the rosary of the years.

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