

ifornia ask for tariff aid instead of bounty aid, is because bounty aid would give them dead away. One reason why they could not get bounty aid if they asked for it, is because bounty aid would give the whole pernicious system dead away.

+

A word as to the beneficiaries of Senator Flint's lemon-tariff.

Its benefits would not in the long run accrue to lemon growers—not as lemon growers.

Lemon growers who are also lemon-growing capitalists, might benefit; but in the long run it would be as capitalists and not as workers.

And as capitalists they would benefit only in proportion to a part of their capital—that part which controls lemon-growing opportunities. They might mix this capital up with all the rest in their bookkeeping values, as if there were no difference; but it is their ownership of lemon-growing locations, and neither their ownership of tools, nor trees, nor buildings, nor plucked and boxed lemons, nor the work of cultivating and shipping, that would be benefited by Senator Flint's increase of the tariff on imported lemons.

It is in the capitalization of lemon-growing land that the story of the lemon-tariff, in so far as it affects the lemon industry favorably, will be found.

And as with lemon protection, so with every other phase of tariff favor. Temporary conditions, such as leases or contracts or patents or state of the art, may for a time give profits of protection to the worker or to the owner of machinery capital; but in the long run all the profits go to the capitalist whose capital includes the natural sources of supply and the natural sites of operation.

The whole American system of tariff protection is in this respect analogous to the old English corn laws. Through tariffs on grain, those laws enriched not the grain growers, either master or man, but the owners of English agricultural land.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE NEGRO STATUS CONFERENCE.

New York, June 2, 1909.

The general observance of the Lincoln centenary throughout the country has signalized itself as little better than an insincere lip-tribute, by virtue of its omission to recognize the significance of the one stupendous service which has conferred immortality on the name of Abraham Lincoln. Especially pitiable is the fact that in Lincoln's home of Spring-

field, within the very shadow of his tomb, and in the presence of Lincoln's own son, the miserable race prejudice and caste spirit at which he struck so powerful a blow dominated the entire celebration of his memory. Realizing the infamy of such a state of facts, a body of men and women devoted to the genuine principles of democracy organized a conference on the status of the American Negro.

The conference was held in the hall of the Charity Organization Society, in New York City, on the 31st of May and the 1st of June, two sessions and a public meeting in Cooper Union being held on the first day, and three sessions on the second. The key-note of the whole proceeding was moral earnestness. Plenty of differences of opinion developed, and the discussion at times became heated; but there was no variance in fundamental purpose. If the more radical element had some reason to complain of a tendency to refuse it recognition, it was none the less refreshing to find a number of men and women of conservative tendency willing to put themselves on record as defenders of fundamental human rights. While much must be done through other channels, it would be ungracious to cavil at this movement because it did not go as far as some had hoped. Let us look rather at what the conference actually did, than at what it failed to do.

+

On Monday morning the gathering was called to order by William English Walling, to whose indefatigable labors and excellent judgment, with the invaluable co-operation of Miss Mary W. Ovington, the success of the affair is mainly due.

The first session, unlike those which followed, was open to the general public. Dr. Ward of The Independent was in the chair. The session was given over to the subject, "Race Prejudice Viewed from a Scientific Standpoint," able papers being presented by Professor Livingston Farrand of Columbia University, and Professor Burt G. Wilder of Cornell University. Professor Farrand dealt with the psychological aspects of the question, completely annihilating the superficial arguments by which the doctrine of permanently inferior races has been upheld, and showing that science has not been able to discover the slightest data from which unchangeable race characteristics can be legitimately inferred. The observable differences in forms of mental activity among different groups of individuals, for convenience termed races, are at the very least not proved to be inherent and independent of the modifying influence of evolution. There is no scientific warrant for saying that the position of a given "race" is fixed, and that it is incapable of developing to any given extent. Professor Wilder's paper was illustrated with charts and specimens. He confined himself rigidly to the inferences to be drawn from a study of the skull and the brain, proving conclusively that the differences between the Caucasian and the African brain were totally insignificant, in comparison with the differences between the lowest human brain and the highest ape or monkey brain. From a multitude of observations, it appeared that the size of the brain represented the degree of mental development actually attained. The average Negro brain weighs a trifle less than the average

white brain; but the difference is much less than the fluctuation between normal white brains, and in divers instances the Negro brain is actually larger than that of highly developed Caucasians. Similarly, the differences in convolutions and in general complexity of structure are found to be prodigiously exaggerated, being in fact no more than may be well accounted for by the difference in history and in opportunity for cultural development; and from all analogy and scientific probability to be expected to disappear whenever a lasting equality of opportunity shall be realized. Professors Dewey and Seligman, speaking briefly from different standpoints, confirmed the conclusions already reached.

Celia Parker Woolley presided at the second session, which was attended, as were the subsequent sessions, by an audience of several hundred, the white and colored races being about equally represented. Able addresses by Dr. William Bulkley and Prof. William E. B. DuBois, of Atlanta University, the famous author of "The Souls of Black Folk," on "The Industrial and Educational Status of the Negro," introduced a lively discussion, in which it became evident that the general sentiment favored insistence on rights, rather than begging for favors. The self-respect and dignity with which the various colored speakers expressed the demand for simple justice, and the refusal to accept any form of patronage in exchange therefor, must have opened the eyes of any who had failed to understand the real attitude of the thoughtful representatives of the Negro race. Not a shade of the servility so often charged against the race as an unflinching characteristic was to be seen; nor was it replaced by noisy harangue and empty bravado. Firm resolution was the prevailing quality; and we of the white race were enabled to realize that we were welcomed as comrades in a cause of human justice, not as patrons of a people too timid and feeble to speak out boldly for itself. Over and over was it emphasized, both by white and by colored speakers, that race and caste injustice do not simply impose suffering on the oppressed race, but inflict the direst evils on the whole nation, and that the struggle for the establishment of true and untainted democracy concerns all alike.

The great Cooper Union meeting, on Monday evening, had as its presiding officer Judge Wendell P. Stafford, of the District of Columbia. Ringing speeches were made by Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago, John E. Milholland, Professor John Spencer Bassett, formerly of the University of North Carolina, Professor W. E. B. DuBois and Rev. J. Milton Waldron; and the large audience, thoroughly aroused by clear presentations of fact and burning appeals for justice, remained until an unusually late hour.

On Tuesday morning, with Bishop Walters in the chair, the question taken up was "The Civil and Political Status of the Negro." The occasion was rendered memorable for all present, by the unvarnished tales of lynching outrages, told as calmly as the subject admitted, and with no attempt at inflammatory appeal, by Ida Wells Barnett, a Joan of Arc of her race; and the masterly exposition, by Judge A. E. Pillsbury, of Boston, of the Constitu-

tional aspects of Negro disfranchisement, and the manner in which not only are the Negroes shamefully defrauded of their elementary rights by the vilest treachery, but the white voters of the North are robbed of more than half of their voting strength, through the audacious nullification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution. Judge Pillsbury's address aroused the most intense interest; and a special vote was passed that the same be printed as a pamphlet for general distribution.

Mr. Oswald G. Villard presided in the afternoon, when able addresses on "The Negro and the Nation" were made by William English Walling, Joseph C. Manning and William A. Sinclair, the latter a powerful representative of the Negro race. Mr. Manning's speech, delivered with great force and fire, was of exceptional interest from the fact that he is a Southern white man whose life has been often threatened for the persistent fight he has made against injustice to the Negro and against the oligarchy which controls the political destinies of the South. A lively discussion closed the session.

The final session, Tuesday evening, was devoted to business, with Charles E. Russell in the chair. Resolutions were adopted, demanding enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the rectification of unjust racial discriminations, the opening of the door of industrial and educational opportunities, protection to life and property, and security for civil and political rights. In response to an overwhelming demand for a permanent organization to carry on the work, it was voted to appoint a committee of forty to prepare for a second conference during the coming year, and to perfect plans for an incorporated national committee, to work effectively for the establishment in full of the civic and political rights of the Negro and to combat race prejudice.

+

This new movement will in no way conflict with the vital work carried on by the Cosmopolitan Society of America, the Niagara Movement, the Constitutional League, or any of the other existing bodies at work along different lines of warfare in behalf of equal rights and against the evil of race prejudice. It will enlist many who have held aloof from these organizations, for one reason and another, and its entrance into the field of activity for the betterment of humanity should receive the heartiest possible welcome, and the unstinted support of lovers of justice.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

+ + +

He often acts unjustly who does not do a certain thing; not only he who does a certain thing.—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

+ + +

It is not possible to distinguish between the brain of a black man and that of a white man, and I defy any person to make such a distinction with certainty. I am talking now of male Negroes and male whites, all of the North America of the present day.—Prof. Burt G. Wilder of Cornell University.