

persons, nor taketh reward; he doth execute the judgment of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment. Love ye therefore the stranger.—Deut. 10:17-19.

As ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord. One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you.—Num. 15:15, 16.

THE GEORGIA EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION.

Two hundred colored delegates from all parts of Georgia met at Macon, February 13-14, 1906, at the call of the veteran editor of the Georgia Baptist, W. J. White. There were present Bishop H. M. Turner, of A. M. E. church; Bishop R. G. Williams, of the C. M. E. church; the Hon. Judson Lyons, ex-register of the treasury; Prof. John Hope, of Atlanta Baptist college; Prof. W. E. B. DuBois and Prof. George A. Towns, of Atlanta university; J. Max Barber, of the Voice of the Negro, and many others.

The meeting was harmonious and enthusiastic, and a permanent organization was formed. At the last mass meeting with 500 persons present, the following address was adopted:

ADDRESS OF THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GEORGIA EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

We colored men of Georgia, representing every district in the State and speaking for more than 1,000,000 human souls, send this statement and plea to the world.

Two races came to Georgia in the early eighteenth century and lived as master and slave. In that long, hard apprenticeship we learned to work, to speak the tongue of the land, and better to know God. We learned this, but we learned it at the cost of self-respect, self-reliance, knowledge and the honor of our women.

This training left us above all ignorant. We are still ignorant, partly by our own fault in not striving more doggedly after knowledge, but chiefly because of the wretched educational opportunities given us in this State. The white and black school populations are nearly equal, and yet out of every dollar of the State school money 80 cents go to the white child and 20 cents to the Negro child; each white child receives \$5.92 a year, while the Negro child receives \$2.27; white teachers receive over a million dollars a year and Negro teachers less than three hundred thousand. Less than half our children have school facilities furnished them, and not a cent is given by the State to the higher training of Negro teachers and professional men.

Of more than a million dollars given by the United States government for agricultural training, we who are pre-eminently the farmers of the State have received only \$264,000, and the fund is at present being divided at the rate of \$34,000 to the whites and \$8,000 to the Negroes.

We are a poor people. Poor in wealth and habit. We are not as efficient laborers as we might be. Yet the accumulated wealth of this great State has been built upon our bowed backs, and its present prosperity depends largely upon us. No portion of the community is giving more of its labor and money to support the public burdens than we; and yet we are not receiving just wages for our toil; we are too often cheated out of our scanty earnings; while the laws that govern our economic life and the rules of their administration are cunning with injustice toward us. Especially true is this in the freedom of labor contracts; so much so that farm labor is almost reduced to slavery in many parts of the State. The ignorant laborer is held in a network of debt and petty crime, compelled to work like a slave, unable to leave his master or to demand decent wages. Vagrancy laws are notoriously oppressive and unfair; laborers are held to unjust contracts, and no wonder that farm laborers are going to the North and West, especially to cities where schools and police protection can be found.

Even in cities and in the more enlightened parts of the State the effort is continually making to force down the wages of black laborers, bar them out of all but a few trades, and to give to no black man, however competent or deserving, any work or wages that the meanest white man may demand.

This treatment has not made us as quick, intelligent and eager as we might be if we received the same encouragement and wages as are being offered foreign immigrants, and if we did not bend under deadening caste restrictions. In this respect Georgia is getting to be one of the worst States in the Union. Unless this commonwealth can learn that laborers do not exist for the sole benefit of the employer, we must certainly advise our people to seek work in other States.

Notwithstanding this treatment we have saved something from our poverty and to-day pay taxes on more than \$18,000,000 worth of property. Is it fair that the possessors of this property should have no voice in its government and taxation? Taxation without representation is tyranny.

We do not deny that some of us are not yet fit for the ballot; but we do affirm that the majority of us are fit—fit by our growing intelligence, our ownership of property and our conservative, law-abiding tendencies; and in any case certainly disfranchisement and oppression will not increase our fitness, nor will they settle the race problem. The right to vote is in itself an education and if Georgia had taken as much time and trouble to fit us for political responsibility as she has in denying us our rights, she would have a safer and saner electorate than that which is to-day swaying her by appeals to her worst passions. Voteless workingmen are slaves; without the defense of the ballot we stand naked to the power of our enemies, the helpless victims of jealousy and hate, subjected to, and humiliated by, an unreasoning caste spirit, which grows by what it feeds upon. If we are good enough to be represented by five Georgia congressmen in the councils of the nation, we are surely good enough to choose those representatives; if we are not good enough to be represented, at least, as human beings, we are too good to be misrepresented by our enemies. We ask of this nation, therefore, the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

We do not desire association with anyone who does not wish our company, but we do expect, in a Christian civilized land, to live under a system of law and order, to be secure in life and limb and property, to travel in comfort and decency, and to receive a just equivalent for our money; and yet we are the victims of the most unreasoning sorts of caste legislation: we pay first-class railway fares for second-class accommodations; we are denied access to first-class cars and to sleeping cars; we are segregated, mistreated and harassed on street cars; and in all cases not only is a separation contrary to common sense enforced, but the law is interpreted and administered so as to let white men go where they please and do as they please, and so as to restrict colored people to the most uncomfortable places.

We ask for an abolition of Jim-Crow cars on railroads and the substitution of first and second class cars, which would separate men according to condition and not according to color.

The menace of the drunken unreasoning mob hangs ever above us. Since 1886, 260 Georgia Negroes have been

lynched and burned without the semblance of a legal trial, not to mention hundreds of unaccused persons who have been murdered.

We ask the right to enter the militia of Georgia. We have fought for this country in four wars and if we are good enough to fight we are good enough to be trained for fighting.

We ask, further, representation on the juries of the State. Trial by one's peers is one of the fundamental rights of common law, and this is systematically denied in Georgia.

Far be it from us to claim any great and especial righteousness of our own. We are a sinful people who have not lived up to the fullness of our narrow opportunity. The sense of our shortcomings is heavy upon us, and there are those among us whose wicked ways shame us bitterly. We are not, however, as bad as the willfully distorted and criminally unfair press reports picture us; on the contrary we can take honest comfort in the fact that we are growing daily in honesty, sobriety, industry and chastity; and God alone knows how much faster we might grow were it not for the open traffic in Negro crime which flourishes in this State, and were it not for the defenseless condition of our daughters. As long as public and private wealth in Georgia fattens on the sale of black criminals, so long will crime be encouraged and the outcry against it will ring with hypocrisy.

Colored men are punished in this State without intelligent discrimination; old and young, thug and mischief-maker, and often men and women, are herded together after unfair trials before juries who would rather convict ten innocent Negroes than let one guilty one escape. The sentences inflicted are cruel and excessive; 25 per cent. of the convicts are condemned for life and 60 per cent. for ten years or more. White men often escape conviction or are promptly pardoned. These slaves of the State are then sold body and soul to private capitalists for the sake of gain, without the shadow of an attempt at reformation, and are thrown into relentless competition with free Negro laborers.

The fortune of many a prominent white Georgia family is red with the blood and sweat of black men justly and unjustly held to labor in Georgia prison camps; the State to-day is receiving \$225,000 a year of this blood money and boasting of her ability to make crime pay.

As long as any white man is openly taught disrespect for black manhood so long will his degradation be the damnation of some black man's daughter. Let us black men then look to the care and protection of our wives and daughters. Let us, as far as possible, keep them at home and support them there, and defend their honor with our lives.

To stand up thus in our own defense, we must earn a decent living. We must work hard. We must buy land and homes. We must encourage Negro business men. And at the same time we must agitate, complain, protest and keep protesting against the invasion of our manhood rights; we must besiege the legislature, carry our cases to the courts, and above all organize these million brothers of ours into one great fist which shall never cease to pound at the gates of opportunity until they fly open.

Brethren of the white race, living together as we do, let us be friends and not enemies. Let us not stir up the darker, fiercer passions. Let us strive together, not as master and slave, but as man and man, equal in the sight of God and in the eye of the law, eager to make this historic State a land of peace, a place of plenty and an abode of Jesus Christ.

Approved February 14, 1906, by 200 delegates representing the 11 congressional districts of the State of Georgia.

One day a little boy came to school with very dirty hands and the teacher said to him:

"Jamie, I wish you would not come to school with your hands soiled that way. What would you say if I came to school with soiled hands?"

"I wouldn't say anything," was the prompt reply, "I'd be too polite."—N. Y. World.

BOOKS

THE STATE.

Elements of Historical and Practical Politics. By Woodrow Wilson, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Jurisprudence and Politics in Princeton University. Revised edition. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. Price \$2.00.

A revised edition of Woodrow Wilson's text book on "The State" affords an opportunity for calling attention to the principal merits and defects of this work by the distinguished president of Princeton University. It possesses both in a marked degree. While it has very little value as a critical or philosophical work on government, it is extremely serviceable as a concise history of the actual evolution of governments.

What we regard as the critical or philosophical defects of the book are not attributable to anything that we conceive to be a mistake as to the nature of government. They are attributable to an indifferent and inconsistent development of the true idea.

Dr. Wilson accepts and ably confirms the natural-law theory of government. Regarding human society as in no sense artificial, but as being "as truly natural and organic as the individual man himself," he describes government as the agency "through which it will become operative, through which it adapts itself to its environment and works out for itself a more effective life." This primary concept would seem to imply beyond peradventure, that the functions of government are within the operation of laws of nature, and that if governments are truly to serve the social organism by enabling it to adapt itself to its environment, those laws must be discovered and governments be brought into tune with them. But Dr. Wilson gives no indication of thinking so. Though he regards government as an expression of natural law, he is as empirical as a Chinese physician when he comes to define its functions. This discord of rational primary principles and empirical policies, runs through the philosophical parts of the book and accounts for nearly all the defects for which it may be criticized.

Among the collateral subjects for adverse criticism are the author's objections to the initiative and referendum, which are either incautiously conceived or poorly made, and his criticism of socialism, for which he does not appear to be quite qualified. It should be said, however, that while Dr. Wilson evidently does not grasp the philosophy of socialism, and therefore makes a tame criticism when he might have made a conclusive one, his brief demurrer to the socialistic indictment of competition is directly to the point; that is, that "it is not competition that kills," but "the pretence and form" of competition "where the substance and reality of it cannot exist."

Its historical side, by far the larger part, should make this book a welcome addition to the working library of every thoughtful participant in or student of public affairs.

Dr. Wilson adopts the patriarchal theory of the origin of government, which, of course, has no more substantial foundation than any other plausible guess at prehistoric conditions; but when he comes into the historic period of Greece and Rome, the value of his work is as manifest as its execution is agreeable to the reader. As a piece of condensed historical writing it rivals the marvelously interesting school books of William Swinton, though it is intended for deeper study and appeals