

TAKE YOUR CHOICE

Separation or Mongrelization

By Theodore G. Bilbo



State Senator, Lt. Governor, twice Governor,
three terms United States Senator, State of Mississippi

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The incontrovertible truths of this book and its sincere warnings are respectfully inscribed to every white man and woman, regardless of nationality, who is a bona fide citizen of the United States of America. --
THEODORE G. BILBO

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface

Introduction by Earnest Sevier Cox

- I. The Race Issue-Our Greatest Domestic Problem
- II. Race and Civilization
- III. The Negro Problem in American History
- IV. Southern Segregation and the Color Line
- V. The Demands of the Negro Leaders
- VI. Inequalities of the White and Negro Races
- VII. False Interpretations of American Democracy
- VIII. False Concepts of the Christian Religion

- IX. The Campaign for Complete Equality
- X. Astounding Revelations to White America
- XI. The Springfield Plan and Such
- XII. The Dangers of Amalgamation
- XIII. Physical Separation-Proper Solution to the Race Problem
- XIV. Outstanding Advocates of Separation
- XV. The Negro Repatriation Movement
- XVI. Standing at the Crossroads

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PREFACE

THE TITLE of this book is TAKE YOUR CHOICE - SEPARATION OR MONGRELIZATION. Maybe the title should have been "You Must Take or You Have Already Taken Your Choice-Separation or Mongrelization," but regardless of the name of this book it is really and in fact a S.O.S call to every white man and white woman within the United States of America for immediate action, and it is also a warning of equal importance to every right-thinking and straight-thinking American Negro who has any regard or respect for the integrity of his Negro blood and his Negro race.

For nine years I have read, studied and analyzed practically all the records and everything written throughout the entire world on the subject of race relations, covering a period of close on to thirty thousand years. For more than three years I have been writing the message of warning to the white men and women, regardless of nationality, of the United States that you will find recorded on the pages of this book.

This book is not a condemnation or denunciation of any race, white, black or yellow because I entertain no hatred or prejudice against any human being on account of his race or color-God made them so. I have endeavored to bring to the attention of the white, the yellow, and the black races the incontrovertible truths of history over a span of thirty thousand years. all in an honest attempt to conserve and protect and perpetuate my own white race and white civilization, and at the same time impress especially the black and yellow races with the fact that they must join in an effort to protect the integrity of their own race, blood, and civilization.

Be it said to the credit of the black or Negro race in the United States that no right-thinking and straight-thinking Negro desires that the blood of his black race shall be contaminated or destroyed by the commingling of his blood with either the white or yellow races. The desire to mix, commingle, interbreed or marry into the white race by the Negro race is advocated largely by the mulattoes or mongrels who are now to an alarming degree found within the Negro race in this country.

Surely every decent white man and woman in America should have cause to be alarmed over the mongrelization of their white race and the loss of their white civilization when Dr. Ralph S. Linton, a leading Professor of Anthropology of Columbia University, New York City, said just recently that at the present rate of intermarrying, interbreeding, and intermixing within nine generations, which is only 300 years, that there would be no white race nor black race in

America- that all would be yellow. And in a recent article entitled "Who Is A Negro," Herbert Asbury makes the alarming and sickening statement that "more than two million United States Negroes have crossed the color line. contributing, among other things an ever-widening stream of black blood to the native white stock."

In the face of these two startling statements, the truth of which is established beyond every reasonable doubt by the contents of this book. the time has arrived-the clock has struck, when something must be done immediately by every white man and woman in this great and glorious country to stay or to escape the certain and tragic fate that awaits the future of our children's children of generations yet to be born.

It is indeed a sorry white man and white woman who when put on notice of the inevitable result of mongrelization of their race and their civilization are yet unwilling to put forth any effort or make any sacrifice to save themselves and their off-spring from this great and certain calamity. **YOU MUST TAKE YOUR CHOICE!**

Personally, the writer of this book would rather see his race and his civilization blotted out with the atomic bomb than to see it slowly but surely destroyed in the maelstrom of miscegenation, interbreeding, intermarriage and mongrelization. The destruction in either case would be inevitable - one in a flash and the other by the slow but certain process of sin, degradation, and mongrelization.

It is not too late - we can yet save the integrity and civilization of both the white and the black races. Many great men of the past have suggested the only solution - the only salvation. A physical separation as advocated from the days of Thomas Jefferson to the present is the only solution. To do this may be a Herculean task, but it is not impossible.

On the pages of this book the author has tried to give you the indisputable truth, expose forces and influences that seek the amalgamation of our races and has pointed out the only proper solution to America's greatest domestic problem. May God in His infinite wisdom and mercy direct us and lead us into the ways of our only salvation.

Theodore G. Bilbo,
United States Senate
The Dream House
Poplarville, Mississippi
August 1, 1946

Go to [Next Chapter](#)
Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

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INTRODUCTION

BY EARNEST SEVIER COX

WHEN SENATOR BILBO introduced his Greater Liberia bill (Full copy of this bill will be found in Appendix A in the United States Senate, April 24th, 1939, more than three-fourths of the Senate Gallery was occupied by Negro delegates whose several organizations had produced a giant Negro Petition asking Federal aid for Negroes who desire to migrate to Liberia and settle upon the lands held in trust by that country for American Negro colonists. The names in support of the Petition were listed fifty to each single sheet of paper, and totaled approximately two and one half million names. The Virginia General Assembly had memorialized the Congress to grant aid to Negroes who desire to continue the colonization of Liberia. The Senate of Mississippi had gone on record as favoring Federal aid for Negroes who desire to live in a Negro nation, and had proposed that the Federal Government should negotiate with France and Great Britain for large areas of land adjacent to Liberia to widen the borders of that country, payment for these lands to be credited upon debts owed by France and Great Britain to the United States. Such was the immediate support, white and black, which Senator Bilbo presented for his bill.

But there was another form of support for his measure, that given by eminent American statesmen to the cause of Negro colonization. With the Negro Petition stacked in front of him and with a large number of Negro delegates intent upon his every word, Senator Bilbo, in a speech of more than two hours duration ably set forth the efforts made by Jefferson and Lincoln, and by other eminent Americans, to effect the colonization of the Negro.

He pointed out that the efforts of Jefferson had been thwarted by the Slave Power, and that Lincoln's ideals had been repudiated and his plans reversed by a faction in Lincoln's own political party. Jefferson and Lincoln knew that a race problem is a biological one that cannot be solved save by separating the races, or by their blood amalgamation. This view of the race problem was advanced by Senator Bilbo in his introductory speech. The Negro petitions were received and by direction of the Vice President were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The bill (S. 2231) was not brought to a hearing because of the impending war. Senator Bilbo intends to bring forward the bill, or a similar measure, at an early period and his book with which we here deal gives evidence of the need and the feasibility of a racial separation movement.

In the pages which follow the reader will find oftentimes repeated the statement that a race

problem arising from a contact of races is of a nature that precludes any form of solution save SEPARATION of the races or their blood AMALGAMATION. This analysis of the race question is a true one, and is known as well to the Negroes as it is to the whites. Neither race doubts that, if the Negro is not given a home of his own, the blood of the two races will tend to form a composite race and that the United States will eventually be a negroid nation. Separation and amalgamation are alternatives, and from these alternatives there can be no escape. Senator Bilbo presents the alternatives in the title of his work, TAKE YOUR CHOICE - SEPARATION OR MONGRELIZATION.

It is evident that the Negroes who had signed the Petition had taken their choice, that of racial separation. The text will show that their choice was in alignment with the expressed choice of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Clay, Webster, Fillmore, Lincoln, Grant, and other great Americans.

In keeping with the high ideals of the nation's greatest statesmen, the Greater Liberia bill proposes Federal assistance of such nature as to place this measure among the noblest gestures that have been made by one race to another. The Negroes sensed the spirit of this bill. They did all that they could do to show their appreciation. The officials of the various groups of Negro Nationalists sent letters of thanks to the Virginia General Assembly for that body having memorialized the Congress on their behalf. These letters of thanks were later published in pamphlet form under title of, THREE MILLION NEGROES THANK THE STATE OF VIRGINIA.

But the Negro race, like the white, is divided on the question of racial separation as a solution of the race problem. A portion of the Negroes, and a portion of the whites, take their choice, that of blood amalgamation. These elements, black and white, favor a general miscegenation of the races as the text will show. There is no evidence that the miscegenationists constitute any great proportion of either race, but they are voluble and are producing considerable miscegenation literature.

The miscegenationists confront the alternatives of separation or amalgamation, and choose the latter boldly, supporting their position by advancing a philosophy which denies the validity of race. They say that man, regardless of his several biological variations, is essentially the same; that race is constituted of biological evidences which are "superficial," and for that reason races are "equal." The miscegenationists, however, are weakened by their own conclusions for if races are "equal" it is difficult to see that any biological advantage would flow from commingling them.

In dealing with those who desire to maintain race, Senator Bilbo is exceptionally considerate. Here, there will be found no harshness in ideal or in statement. But when he deals with those who propose to eliminate the white type of man from the United States and substitute for it a generalized mulatto type he trades blows with the miscegenationists in a manner that they can understand. He denies their theory of the equality of races and quotes many authorities in

support of his thesis.

The greater number of whites, I would say, have but an inkling of the ferment that is in a considerable portion of the Negro race in relation to the matter of social equalization of the white and Negro races. This agitation is led almost wholly by certain mixbreeds, the products of race mixing and the advocates of it. The text sets forth in detail this phase of the subject. Far from the author resting his case on dogmatic statements the text will include quotes from numerous authors with citations of their works. In fact Senator Bilbo has produced an assemblage of information upon the race question that most certainly has not been exceeded by any other publication dealing with this subject.

In the latter part of the book there will be found a survey of the cause of Negro colonization during the period of our national history. It has been my good fortune to have been closely associated for more than two decades with the Negro Nationalist leaders who are striving to continue the colonization of Liberia. A very large number of American Negroes hope for a Negro nation in the land of their forefathers. Senator Bilbo has made a great contribution in this field of study. I believe that his historical summary of the "Back to Africa" urge of the American Negro is the most comprehensive survey yet made of this subject. This survey has required much research. When he brings forward his colonization bill his own research will have established that his proposal is not a novel one, but has historical antecedent in proposals made by many of the greatest Americans, white and black.

EARNEST SEVIER COX
Richmond, Virginia
August 1, 1946

[Go to Next Chapter](#)
[Return to TYC - Table of Contents](#)

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Chapter I
THE RACE ISSUE
Our Greatest Domestic Problem

Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order.
Isaiah 38:1

As The United States of America, the most powerful of all the nations of the world, and her heroic Allies are celebrating complete and final victory and writing finis to the greatest war in human history, there is an internal problem which looms high upon our national horizon, casting a shadow across the length and breadth of this land. The eternal question of color-the race issue-the Negro problem. Call it what you wish. It must be faced!

Although the race problem may seem to lie dormant at times, it continually exists, lives on and on and sometimes rages with all the fury of a jungle beast. It gnaws at the very vitals of our existence, in time it will sap our strength and destroy the greatness of our American way of life unless solved properly and permanently. The time has now come when we must devote all the necessary efforts to set our household in order and to find a permanent solution to this heretofore unsolved problem.

From the time of slavery through the bloody years of the War Between the States and the days when the South drank from the bitter cup of Reconstruction down to the present time, the Negro problem has been before the American people. It has been, and is today, our greatest domestic problem. No other issue has been such a source of constant friction, has demanded so much thought and attention, nor has lasted so long. Volumes have been written, great speeches have been made, sermons have been preached, but the Negro problem has been passed on from generation to generation. The difficulties have increased with the passing years, the obstacles have become so great that some students of the question have cried out in weariness and despair that there is no solution.

We refuse to accept a defeatist attitude. An answer can and must be found. In the past four or five years over two hundred books have been written by Negroes and white Quislings pleading for Negro equality, while only five or six books have been written in behalf of the preservation of the white race and white supremacy. Let those who now plead that this is not the time for discussing the race question obtain any of these two hundred books or any current Negro

newspaper or magazine and read the demands of the Negro leaders for complete political, economic, and social equality. They openly advocate the intermarriage of whites and Negroes, and this inflammable doctrine is being spread among the Negroes throughout this country. This group purposely forced the race issue with all its implications to the front in the midst of our Nation's all-out war-effort; they have demanded an answer.

The campaign for complete equality launched by the Negro leaders has now reached alarming proportions. The communists in this country have secretly and openly tried to indoctrinate the Negroes with the idea of social equality with the white race for their own purposes and as part of their plan to overthrow the American dual system of Constitutional government. (1) The great majority of white Americans have failed to realize the intensity of this campaign for racial equality and for the abolition of racial segregation in this Nation. Some have known of these efforts but have failed to realize the dangers that are involved. A few deluded whites have collaborated with the colored leaders in their efforts to break down the racial barriers and force the social equality of the races. Still others have acquiesced in the campaign by their failure to speak out against this attempt to destroy American ideals and institutions. Perhaps they have been lulled to sleep by false interpretations of the meaning of equality or by unfounded pleas in the name of science, of democracy, or of religion.

White America must be awakened! The Federal Government has entered the field of race relations by the exercise of unprecedented war powers in the issuance of Executive Order Number 8802, reinforced by Executive Order Number 9346, which forbids racial discrimination in employment in war industries and in government; the Army and Navy as well as certain government agencies have tried to indoctrinate and orientate American soldiers, sailors, and marines with the idea of social equality of the white and black races; the blood of both races has flowed in the streets of Detroit, Beaumont, Columbia, and New York within recent months; an all-out attack on racial segregation has been launched; the Negro leaders do not hesitate to declare that they will obtain full equality even if force must be used. In view of such circumstances, the issue can no longer be discussed in a whisper nor banished into the background. Action is demanded! We must solve the problem completely and irrevocably, or we must prepare ourselves for the inevitable blood admixture of the white and black races in the United States-total mongrelization.

No one can deny the importance of this question. Its very essence involves the preservation of the white race as well as the Negro race; it is a matter of blood. Compared with the interests which we have at stake in this issue, all questions concerning education, agriculture, trade and commerce, labor and capital, tariffs and subsidies fade into insignificance. This Nation with all its might and glory would never have achieved its greatness without the directing hand and creative genius of the white race, and any effort to destroy the blood of this race by contamination with the blood of Africa is an effort to destroy the Nation and its future. To deny these truths is to deny all history itself.

Throughout our national history, the American people have faced grave and perplexing

problems and have solved them. Challenges have been met; enemies have been conquered; a War Between the States lasting four years- bloody, costly, and perilous- was unable to tear this Nation asunder. No crisis has proved too great for American ability, ingenuity, and courage. Now the time has come when all these characteristics and qualities, together with all our knowledge of the past and present, must be summoned for the task before us. The Negro problem has been with us too long already. Through the years, noble attempts have been made to improve race relations and to relieve racial tension, but such efforts have been merely pouring oil on the troubled waters. The cause for the trouble has remained and we must now awake and arise to seek a permanent solution to the race problem or else be forever engulfed by it.

Let there be no dodging of the issue. The lines are clearly drawn, and there is no middle ground. This problem, which exists because of the presence of some 12,865,518 Negroes in this country, can be permanently solved only by the physical separation of the races or by resigning ourselves to total mongrelization resulting in the destruction of both the white and black races and thus realizing the dream of the late Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University and many Negro writers- a brown race- a mixed race- mongrels- products of sin itself. Thousands of years of racial contact throughout world history offer proof of this conclusion. The experiences and history of thousands of years prove that whenever and wherever the white and black man have tried to live side by side the result has been mongrelization which has destroyed both races and left a brown mongrel people.

Early in our Nation's history, the immortal Thomas Jefferson knew that there were only two permanent solutions to the race problem, and he advocated the policy of separation of the races. His famous words have echoed through the corridors of time:

Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free: NOR IS IT LESS CERTAIN THAT THE TWO RACES, EQUALLY FREE, CANNOT LIVE IN THE SAME GOVERNMENT.

Another great American, Abraham Lincoln, whose racial philosophy closely paralleled that of Jefferson, warned the American people against the dangers of amalgamation. The Great Emancipator studied the question, thoroughly understood the difficulties involved, and he pleaded with his countrymen to adopt the policy of physical separation of the races. Closely following Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant tried to bring about the physical separation of the races during the eight years that he was President. It was evident to these statesmen, and to the many others who have been the leaders of their time in practically every decade of American history (2), that the only way to safeguard the future of this Nation was to carry out a policy of racial separation, and it should be even more evident to us today some eighty years later. Carrying out the policy of Jefferson, Lincoln, and Grant may be a Herculean task. But impossible? Definitely not. The integrity of our white blood is at stake! It must be preserved.

Let those who hesitate heed this warning. The issues have been drawn; the two alternatives have

been pointed out; action is demanded. Many sincere people are unconcerned and refuse to take a positive stand and try to do something about this problem because the mongrelization of the white and black races is a slow process and will not be completed within their life time. But this process is as certain as death. "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines: for our vines have tender grapes." (3) We can wait too long. If we do not adopt the policy of physical separation and set about to accomplish this objective, then by our very silence and inactivity or the sin of omission we are drifting into the other alternative, amalgamation or the mixing of the blood of the races. Time waits for no one and fate plays no favorites. If we do not choose to save ourselves. then our destruction is inevitable. And our time for choosing is limited. Segregation is only a stop gap-it has and will delay for awhile the inevitable results of mongrelization. But there is a day in the future when we may be lost without redemption. Once the blood is corrupted, there is no power on earth, neither armed might, nor wealth, nor science, nor religion itself, that can restore its purity. Then there will be no Negro problem because the blood of that race will be commingled with the blood of the white race, and a mongrel America would have no reason to worry over the race issue. Who will choose that our free Republic of tomorrow be the product of miscegenation, bastardization, and mongrelization?

We should be eternally grateful that there is yet time for the other choice. Separation of the races is the only way to solve properly, adequately, and permanently the race problem and safeguard the future of this Republic. No obstacles are insurmountable when the life's blood is at stake. The blood, culture, and civilization of the white race are our heritage. Shall our generation possess the vision, foresight, and courage to solve forever the race problem so that ours will be the heritage of all the generations of Americans yet unborn? Or shall we pass the problem on and on to grow in magnitude with the passing years until our posterity sinks into the mire of mongrelism? God forbid that we choose the latter!

Go to [Next Chapter](#)

Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

NOTES

1. See Chapters V and IX
2. Some of the other great men who advocated racial separation will be discussed in the following chapters of this book, and the reader should especially note Chapter [XIV](#).
3. Song of Solomon 2:15

Take Your Choice

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Chapter II

Race and Civilization ⁽¹⁾

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ, Mores on: nor all your Piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line, Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it. -The
Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam

THE RACE problem has existed as long as there has been racial contact. Just how long this has been is a matter of uncertainty and dispute. But most of the experts agree that there is a record of some six thousand years of racial contact in Africa and of some four thousand years of the white man's dealings with the colored races in Asia. Surely this is long enough for us to judge the accomplishments of the various races, their relation to civilization as well as the results of racial contact.

The three great divisions of mankind, the white (Caucasian), the yellow (Mongolian), and the black (Negro) races, have each written a history upon the pages of time. It is our purpose to study race relations between the Caucasian and Negro races (2) in world history so that we may gain knowledge which will aid us in solving the race problem which confronts our Nation.

The great civilizations of the ages have been produced by the Caucasian race. History shows that civilizations founded by the white man have been maintained for centuries, but when the blood of the white race has become mongrelized, civilization has never survived. It has further been proved that prolonged contact between the white and colored races has resulted in the mixing of the blood. The intermingling process may be slow, but it is inevitable. Let us survey the pages of history and view the rise and fall of great civilizations and cultures which have been produced by the white man and lost by the mongrel.

Egypt

The early Egyptians were a Caucasian people, and they were the first conveyors of the arts of civilization to the Negroes of Africa. A survey of Egyptian civilization will show that the period of greatness was in the earlier centuries, and after a prolonged period of decline, this ancient civilization was not overthrown; it decayed.

Egyptian history covered by the reign of the Pharaohs has been divided into thirty dynasties or

family reigns. Culture in this kingdom had already progressed far when the first Pharaoh, Menes, came into power. He is said to have ruled over a people with a well established background of tradition and attainment, able to divert the waters of the Nile, to reclaim the swamp lands of the Delta, and to wage warfare against the Negroid peoples of Nubia.

The period of Egyptian history known as the Old Kingdom and including the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Dynasties was from 2928-1475 B.C. This was the period of Egyptian greatness and in religion, government, society, industry, and art, Egypt was a well-constituted nation. The Egyptians made considerable progress in astronomy; they studied medicine, surgery, and chemistry; they were a religious people, believing in the resurrection of the body after death and in the immortality of the soul.

But perhaps it was in the use of metal tools that the people of Egypt found their lasting claim to greatness. With these instruments placed in skilled hands and with the desire to build imperishable monuments to their power, the Egyptians entered what we have later referred to as the age of the mighty pyramids. These people were architects and engineers, and great pyramids have stood for centuries as conspicuous evidence of the ability of the Caucasian civilizers of Egypt.

The great civilization of Egypt was produced by a people who showed no evidence of Negro blood, and a form of caste served for awhile to prevent intermarriage with the colored races. It is only natural that we find the first traces of Negro blood in Southern Egypt where the people were nearest to the Negro tribes of Africa. Negroes gradually filtered into Egypt, and the waging of war against the African tribes served to intensify racial contact. As racial contact continued, Egyptian history records what has certainly been proved to be the result of long continued contact - blood admixture.

The large number of black women found in the harems of the rich, and even in the huts of the common people, quickly impaired the purity of the race, even among the upper classes of the nation, and the types began to resemble that of the Negro tribes of Equatorial Africa. The language fared no better in the face of this invasion, and the written characters soon became as corrupt as the language. The taste for art decayed; technical ability began to deteriorate. The moral and intellectual standards declined and the mass of the people showed signs of relapsing into barbarism.

The type of the Egyptian showed certain evidence of Negro blood by 1500 B.C. although it is impossible to estimate just to what extent the blood of the African had mixed with that of the white civilizers of Egypt at this date. We do know that the Egyptians continued to go into the South and that Negroes continued to come into Egypt as soldiers, slaves, and workers. The Africans not only went to Egypt, but they remained to mix their blood with that of the proud Egyptian and to mongrelize his race.

As mongrelization continued, the civilization of Egypt became stagnant and finally decayed.

Art, science, and literature were dead, and nothing remained of Egyptian greatness when a mulatto inherited the throne of the Pharaohs in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (663-525 B.C.). This mongrel prince, Taharka, ruled over a Negroid people whose religion had fallen from an ethical test for the life after death to a form of animal worship.

The degeneration of the Egyptian religion gives a picture of the degraded state of mind of the Egyptian mongrel. The early religion of the Egyptians was a monotheism. Their writings speak of one god, the creator of heaven and earth. The local divinities were mere personifications of the attributes of God. The papyrus of Ptah-hotep, composed under Dynasty V, speaks of God, showing that the writer had the idea of one god. What did this religion become in time? Julius Africanus tells us that, in the reign of Kaiechos, it was established that the bull and the goat were gods. Later the Egyptians became infatuated and worshipped the cat, the bug, and eventually vegetables.

Juvenal writes (Satira XV): 'Who knows not the sort of monsters Egypt in her infatuation worships? One part venerates the crocodile, another trembles before an ibis gorged with serpents. The image of a sacred monkey glitters in gold, where the magic chords sound from Memnon broken in half, and ancient Thebes, with her hundred gates, lies buried in ruins. In one place they venerate sea fish, in another river fish, there a whole town worships a dog; no one Diana. It is an impious act to violate or break with the teeth a leek or an onion. O holy nation! whose gods grow for them in the gardens. Every table abstains from animals that have wool. It is a crime there to kill a kid, but human flesh is lawful food. Were Ulysses to relate this at supper to the amazed Alcinous, he would perhaps excite the ridicule or anger of some as a lying babbler. Does he suppose the heads of the Phaeacians so void of brain.'

What deterioration! What degeneration! What perversion! A faith in accord with the vitiated Pan-Hamitic-Semitic-Greek-Egyptian Negro blood.

The mongrel was worthless, and he has remained so ever since.

The story of Egypt-the unsurpassed greatness of the Old Kingdom, the three thousand years of progress, the height of power as typified by the Great Pyramid, the decline and decay of this civilization down to the day when a mulatto sat on the throne of the Pharaohs and ruled a Negroid people, the three thousand years of stagnation - should be sufficient warning to white America! Prolonged racial contact will inevitably result in mongrelization; the process may be slow, but the result is just as certain as the rising of tomorrow's sun.

India

When the Hindoos, Aryans of the migratory Caucasian race, arrived in India, they found

themselves surrounded by a mass of yellow-black-white mongrels. The earlier Caucasian conquerors of India had become submerged in the black mass about them, and the civilization and culture which they had produced had decayed. The Aryans who now came as aristocrats because of race and culture held themselves aloof from the natives and knew that intermarriage must be prohibited.

Although these fair, tall, high-nosed invaders of Northern India some forty centuries ago were conquerors and looked upon the black multitudes as inferior, they did not attempt to expel them. Instead, they sought to keep themselves white by imposing laws against racial admixture and supporting these regulations by religious doctrine. By the extraordinary and ingenious system of caste, the population was divided into four groups: warriors, priests, agriculturalists and merchants and laborers. Those of purest Aryan descent belonged to the first division; natives belonged to the latter group, although there were large segments of the population whom the conquerors did not honor with caste.

The rights of the members of each caste were hereditary, and intermarriage between them was absolutely forbidden by law. But in spite of legal restrictions, there were whites who crossed the color line. The races lived side by side; the blood intermingled. The illegitimate offspring of these unions were despised, and under the law they were outcasts to be refused admission into the towns and villages. This contempt for the half-breed probably did more than anything else to prevent the mongrelization of the Hindoos for thousands of years, but regardless of the hate and scorn thrust upon him, the half-white mongrel existed. And he lived to threaten the purity of the race and to finally destroy it.

The white invaders of India produced a great civilization which even today we view with amazement and awe. They excelled in science and were the first to perform many surgical operations. Undisputable evidence of their culture may be found in art, poetry, drama, law, and philosophy, but the progress continued only so long as the blood of the conquerors remained white. As the blood became corrupted, the culture and civilization became stagnant and decayed. The caste system which for centuries enabled this race to produce art, science, and a great religion had no power to vitalize the blood when it became mongrelized.

The early records of Aryan history in India show that these people believed in one all-powerful God and in the immortality of the soul after death. Their religion demanded active virtues, work, and self-sacrifice and taught that the faithful and virtuous believer was rewarded by a final union with God and eternal life. Nothing demonstrates the superiority of these white civilizers of India over the yellow masses around them more vividly than the fact that for a thousand years Buddhism existed without being able to destroy the exalted religious teachings of the Brahminical order of the Hindoos. However, the teachings of Puddha, a mix-breed who sought to level the races by wiping out the caste system, appealed to the mongrel masses, and Buddhism, which taught passive virtues and offered confession and eternal death, finally spread throughout India.

The white civilizers of India gave the world a great civilization, and it would seem that nothing could have caused their deterioration, but mongrelization over hundreds of years destroyed race and civilization. The Hindoos used caste, supported by law and religion, to keep their blood pure. They used every remedial measure known to man except physical separation of the races in order to maintain racial integrity, but all their efforts failed and the result may be written in one word - amalgamation or mongrelization.

Men who call themselves Hindoos still exist but in name only. The blood of the proud, aristocratic Aryan of India was submerged in the yellow-black-white swamp and lost forever in the mongrel marshes.

Phoenicia

The pages of history continue to prove that civilization is the product of race. The Caucasians have out-distanced all other races in producing high civilizations, but they have maintained their culture and continued to progress only as long as their blood has remained pure. Race, not location nor environment, explains the power of the Phoenicians, a people who erected cities on the arid lands of the Syrian coast. These Caucasians succeeded in extending their influence over much of the entire world.

The Phoenicians were the first to create an extensive colonial empire, and they communicated their arts, including that of writing to the nations of the Mediterranean Sea. The prosperity of this country attracted immigrants, and since the Phoenicians were in need of workmen for their industries, they permitted all races to come. The newcomers with the blood of the white race, of the yellow race and of the Negro race surrounded the Phoenicians; intermarriage was the inevitable result; and finally, the nobles who had maintained racial purity were governing a people of different blood and speaking a different language from their own. With such a condition existing, need one ask what caused the decay of Phoenicia? The race which had created this great civilization had been destroyed, and the Phoenician-Chaldean-Egyptian-Negro-Greek mongrel was worthless. The mongrel not only lacks the ability to create a civilization, but he cannot maintain a culture that he finds around him or one that is thrust upon him.

Carthage

From Phoenicia with its mongrel population and bloody revolutions, the governing class fled to Carthage, which had been one of the colonies. In time the Carthaginian Empire became very extensive, extending from the Atlantic to Cyrenaica and including Malta, the Balearic Islands, and Sardinia, as well as settlements in Sicily, Gaul, and Spain. It was from this City that the history of Phoenicia was continued.

The Empire flourished and the civilization seemed to be of lasting duration. But Carthage fell. The downfall has been explained in the following manner:

In Africa her subjects consisted of three classes, Lybio-Phoenicians, Lybians and Nomads. The first were the products of intermarriage between the Lybians and earlier colonists of Phoenicia. They were regarded by the Carthaginians with suspicion. The Carthaginians of pure blood had in mind the fate of mongrelized Phoenicia. The Lybians were of entirely different race, and most of them did not understand the Punic language. They were therefore not considered dangerous. The suspicions of the Carthaginians concerning the Lybio-Phoenicians were well founded; for, being related to the Carthaginians to some extent intermarriages soon took place and African blood was introduced into their veins, As the immigrants from Tyre had not been very numerous, those intermarriages could not but affect the fibre of the race.

One of the first results was a change in the government. The heads of the government had been the suffetes, who held office for one year, and were capable of reelection. Under them was a senate. The people had a voice in the government. This gradually changed. The form of government remained the same for a time. The power, however, concentrated more and more in the hands of the captains of industry. A few capitalists usurped the authority, and ruled a mass of outlawed slaves. The history of Tyre repeated itself. Insurrection followed insurrection; internal dissensions tore the city asunder; and the successful faction wreaked cruel vengeance on the unsuccessful rivals.

Aristotle praises the Carthaginian constitution on the score of its stability and its success in securing the happiness of the people. He wrote of Carthage, not of the mongrel post-Carthaginian community that still called itself Carthage.

The religion of the Carthaginians became corrupted. The worship of Moloch was substituted for that of Astarte and Baal. Mothers cast their children into the flames as sacrifice to Moloch. Intellectually and morally the Carthaginians were moribund before the first Roman war. The post-Carthaginian mongrels practiced vices of so gross a nature, that the rotten Orientals turned from them with disgust and loathing.

This was the Carthage that Cato hurled his 'Carthaginem esse delendam' against. This was the Carthage that Rome destroyed;- and well was the work done. Seventeen days the city burned, and its very site was concealed by a heap of ashes. The plough was passed over it and the ground was cursed for ever. Scipio did his work well.

Greece

The early history of the Hellenes, an Aryan race, who settled in Greece, is the first chapter in the history of Europe. The great qualities and outstanding characteristics of this race, which attained a high degree of culture as early as 1,000 B.C., are beyond dispute. These people produced a civilization which has for centuries brightened the pages of human history.

In government and law, in religion and science, in art and architecture, in literature and philosophy, the Hellenes excelled. The fortifications, the palaces, the tombs, the fountains, the works of art found in Mycenae, one of the oldest of the Greek towns, furnish examples of the skill of the ancient Greeks. The immortal Homer sang his mighty songs in praise of this early Hellenic culture, and the Iliad and the Odyssey will forever reveal the genius of the Greek.

As soldiers the Greeks were unsurpassed in their strength, courage, and heroism. After the Persian wars, these people turned from warfare to rebuild their cities and to attain new heights in civilization and culture. The works of art produced during this period were masterpieces at the time of their creation; they are masterpieces today.

As the power and wealth of Greece increased, the number of immigrants and slaves in the industrial cities also increased. The resident aliens, who were mainly Aryan-Hamitic-Semitic-Egyptian-Negroid mongrels, were given the rights of citizens, but they could not be given the characteristics of the Greek race. With these people living among the Hellenes, intermarriage resulted; mongrelization was inevitable; and finally the Greek cities were filled with Greek-speaking mongrels.

Civilization is a product of race; Greek civilization was the product of the Hellenes. And as the Hellenic blood was corrupted, the culture declined. The cities, the power and wealth deteriorated, and Macedonia was the only part of Greece that was still Greek.

After the time of Alexander, who came from Macedonia, there is very little of Greek history that is worthy of the Hellenic name. When Alexander attempted to spread Greek culture over the East, he encouraged intermarriage among the different races and the mongrels. His efforts may have given a Hellenic varnish to other nations and other peoples, but he succeeded in further mongrelizing the Greek race, and when the blood was corrupted, the true Hellenic spirit and its productive genius were destroyed forever.

Rome

Produced by the crossing of related Caucasian groups and very close inbreeding for several hundred years, the Romans were a very strong and powerful people. In little over a hundred years, they made Rome the center of civilization and built the great Roman Empire which extended their power over most of the known world. The accomplishments of the Romans have been blazed across the pages of history for all posterity to read.

But the success of the Romans destroyed them. The strength of their race was the source of their power, and when the blood of the race was changed, the power declined. Rome invited the whole world to come and share her glory; Gauls, Greek mongrels, and Hamitic-Semitic-Negroid mongrels flocked to "the Eternal City." The decline of the Empire is the story of the decay of the people who had made the Empire great.

Foreign races flooded Rome after Sulla's time, and Oriental and African blood combined with that of the Pan-European mongrel to further bastardize the Romans. As the mongrelization continued, the deterioration of Roman civilization and culture became complete. The Roman constitution, a product of Roman genius, could not rule a mixed blood population, and there followed bloodshed, revolution, and anarchy.

When Caesar became dictator in 49 B.C., Rome was no longer inhabited by the race which had made her the most powerful city in the world. And by the time of Caracalla, the amalgamation of the races and the corruption of the blood was virtually complete. He bestowed citizenship upon the mongrel masses, and the complete downfall of the Roman Empire was then only a question of time. As we compare the proud Romans who composed the citizenry of Rome when the City was at the height of her power and the degenerate mongrel herd who filled the City at the time of the downfall of the Empire, we might paraphrase the Biblical quotation in the following manner: "What doth it profit a Nation to gain the whole world and lose her soul?"

Conclusion

Civilizations, the product of race, have been maintained only so long as the race which created them has maintained racial integrity. The Caucasian has founded all great civilizations, and this race, remaining white, has not lost civilization. But when the blood of the white man has become mongrelized, civilization has not been maintained. The mongrel can neither create nor continue civilization. The record of written history offers the proof.

We have also learned from history that prolonged racial contact between the white and colored races has always resulted in mongrelization. When different races live side by side in close contact, the blood will eventually intermingle and mongrelization is inevitable. The white race has never survived continued contact with the Negro race over a long period of time. This is just as true as the fact that when the white blood has been altered by an infusion of Negro blood, civilization and culture have decayed.

The civilization and culture of the United States of America and the might and power of our great Nation may be the greatest ever attained by man, but with one-tenth of our population belonging to the Negro race, can we expect history to reverse itself? Definitely not. Shall we slumber until ours is the fate of the Caucasian civilizers of Egypt, India, Phoenicia, Carthage, Greece, and Rome? Or shall we wake to realize that physical separation of the races is the only permanent solution of the race problem which threatens our future. Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, Lincoln, and Grant were not wrong. A white America or a mongrel America - you must take your choice!

Go to [Next Chapter](#)

Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

NOTES

1. For information used in this chapter, the author is indebted to Cox, Earnest S., *White America* (Richmond: White America Society, 1937); Schultz, Alfred P., *Race or Mongrel* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1908).
2. We shall not be concerned with the yellow race. However, the problems presented when the Mongolian lives in contact with the Caucasian differ only in degree from those caused by the presence of the Negro.
3. Any authentic history of the world will offer proof for this statement. The three main divisions of the white or Caucasian race are the Nordic, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean, and their history is the story of the civilization and progress of mankind.
Many of the experts agree that there is definite evidence that the civilization of ancient China, instead of being an exceptional case, was derived directly or indirectly from the Caucasian.
4. Maspero, G., *Story of Egypt* (London: The Grolier Society, 1903), p. 260.
5. Schultz Alfred P., *Race or Mongrel*, p. 32
6. Schultz, Alfred P., *Race or Mongrel*, p. 26.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter 3
The Negro Problem
in American History

The one excuse for slavery which the South can plead without fear before the
Judgement bar of God is the blacker problem which their emancipation will create. -
Robert E. Lee

FROM DARKEST Africa to the shores of North America where a mighty civilization was to be carved from a vast wilderness came the ships that brought the Negro slaves to the American colonies. To these vessels bearing their cargoes of human freight, the words of the poet Milton have been aptly applied:

That fatal, that perfidious bark,
Built i' the eclipse, and rigged
With curses dark.

Just as the ships which brought the African to these shores were "rigged with curses dark," so have many pages of American history been filled with pages dark from the stain of the Negro problem.

The race problem may be said to have had its origin in the new world when a Dutch vessel brought the first cargo of Negro slaves and sold them to the settlers at Jamestown, Virginia, in August, 1619. There seems to be some disagreement among the historians as to whether there were fourteen or twenty African Negroes in this group, but it is conceded by all that this was the beginning of the slave trade in North America. The growth of the Negro population of Virginia was slow but steady, and by the time of the American Revolution there were over 200,000 Negroes in that colony. A few of this number were classified as freedmen, but the large majority were held in slavery. The demand for slave labor and the increase of the Negro population in Virginia was typical of the other colonies of the South.

There was also a demand for slaves in the colonies in the Northern section of the country. As early as 1741 Negroes were so numerous in the City of New York that panic-stricken colonists feared for their own safety, and by the time of the Revolution, there were 26,000 Negroes in the

colony of New York.

Slavery in the New England section was on a much smaller scale since slave labor was most profitably utilized on the plantations in the South. The census of 1790 showed the presence of some 17,000 Negroes, practically all of whom were slaves, in the New England colonies. However, it should also be pointed out that while these colonies did not furnish a ready market for the purchase of slaves, New England ship owners quickly found that transporting Negroes from West Africa to be sold in the Southern colonies was a profitable enterprise. The slave trade was a regular business with the colonial Yankees; it furnished wealth and adventure. Having some one hundred and fifty vessels engaged in the African slave trade in 1770, Rhode Island is said to have been responsible for bringing more Africans to this country than any of the other New England colonies.

The business of transporting slaves from Africa to the Americas was immensely profitable, and most of the civilized nations of the old world engaged in it. Great Britain entered the field at an early date, and Royal companies were formed to engage in the slave trade. Succeeding in this undertaking, from the very first, the English did not abolish slave traffic until 1807, the year before the American markets were closed.

In all sections in the American colonies the Negroes were rigidly controlled. They were not considered to have ordinary human rights and could be severely punished for any act of insubordination. Harsh laws and punitive measures to enforce strict discipline among the Africans appeared early on the statute books and were strictly enforced.

There were 757,208 Negroes, the great mass of whom were held in slavery, in the United States in 1790. (1) Even before this date, the growth of the Negro population had already caused alarm. There were a number of men in the colonies who realized what the increase of slavery in this country would eventually mean, and there were efforts made to restrict slavery in the undeveloped regions of the Northwest by the Continental Congress in 1787.

In this same year, the members of the Constitutional Convention faced the question of slavery as they worked at their task to form a better and more perfect union. There were grave difficulties involved and compromises were necessary. The three following provisions concerning the Negro question (2) were embodied in the Constitution of the United States by the founding fathers:

Article 1, Section II: Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifth of all other persons.

Article 1, Section IX: The migration or importation of such persons as any of the

states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Article IV, Section II: No persons held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

The first section which was the result of a compromise and without which the Constitution would not have been ratified by the required number of states settled the question as to how the Negroes, not being citizens, were to be counted in determining the representation of the states in the House of Representatives of the Congress and in the Electoral College. The next section allowed the continuance of the slave trade for -the next twenty years, giving Congress the power to prohibit -such traffic in 1808. The last section enabling slave-holders to reclaim slaves which escaped into another state was later to form the basis for the widely-discussed "Fugitive Slave Law." Thus, in a spirit of compromise and even optimism, the framers of the Constitution disposed of the difficult problem of slavery and established the status of the Negro under the terms of the Constitution of the United States.

Regardless of the Constitutional provisions, problems caused by the presence of the African slaves continued to confront this Nation. Neither all the pressing problems connected with the organization and administration of the new government nor the War of 1812 succeeded in submerging the question of slavery. It again became acute and threatened our national existence in 1820. In that year Missouri, with a constitution providing for slavery, applied for admission into the Union. Until this time, the states had been admitted in balanced order, one in the South permitting slavery balancing with one in the North forbidding slavery. When Missouri sought to become a slave state, the fight to restrict slavery which had been begun with the adoption of the Northwestern Ordinance by the Continental Congress in 1787 was resumed with added vigor. The result was the famous Missouri Compromise of 1820 establishing the line of latitude thirty-six-thirty, north of which no state would be admitted to the Union permitting slavery within its borders.

Just as the framers of the Constitution failed permanently to settle the question of slavery, so the Missouri Compromise likewise failed. (3) As the years passed, the South felt the need for new slave territory; the North demanded that there be no extension of slavery. The Southern states proclaimed their right to maintain slavery within their borders; Northern sentiment for the abolition of slavery grew stronger and stronger. With the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, the efforts of the North to restrict slavery gave way to the demand that it be abolished completely throughout the Nation. The pulpits sounded forth their condemnation of the institution of slavery; the printing press carried the pleas of William Lloyd Garrison far and wide; Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin with its egregious exaggerations of Southern plantation life found a ready and eager audience. The Nation swayed beneath the intensity of

the abolition movement, and again our national existence was in imminent danger.

The South fought back desperately to defend her position. Southern orators pleaded. Did not each state have the right under the Constitution to maintain slavery if the people of that state so desired? The arguments of Southern statesmen echoed in the halls of Congress, but they fell on deaf ears. It was fundamentally a question of states' rights and the interpretation of the Constitution, but the time for reason and compromise had passed. The abolition flame reached the point of white heat; the Nullification Act was passed; the South-the fighting South-could stand no more. Secession -Fort Sumter-The War Between the States was on!

It is not necessary for us to review the history of the tragic and fateful years of the War Between the States. The men who wore the gray and the blue wrote that history in blood upon the green valleys and hills of the Southland that were turned into battlefields. While the battle raged, President Abraham Lincoln sat at his White House desk in the Nation's Capital, struggling beneath his duties to preserve the Union and trying to work out a solution to the Negro problem.

Long before he became President of the United States, Lincoln had been a student of the race question. The issue was discussed at length in the famous debates between Lincoln and Stephen Douglas, and the following quotations from Lincoln's speeches show his position:

When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate, yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals. My own feelings will not admit of this and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of whites will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted, but for their tardiness in this I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South. (From Lincoln's speech at Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854.)

There is a natural disgust in the minds of nearly all white people at the idea of an indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races. . . Now I protest against the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either....

A SEPARATION OF THE RACES IS THE ONLY PERFECT PREVENTIVE OF AMALGAMATION; But as an immediate separation is impossible the next best thing is to keep them apart where they are not already together....

Such separation, if ever effected at all, must be effected by colonization; and no political party, as such, is now doing anything directly for colonization. Party operations at present only favor or retard colonization incidentally. The enterprise is a difficult one; but 'where there is a will there is a way,' and what colonization needs most is a hearty will. Will springs from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest.

LET US BE BROUGHT TO BELIEVE IT IS MORALLY RIGHT, AND AT THE SAME TIME FAVORABLE TO, OR AT LEAST NOT AGAINST, OUR INTERESTS TO TRANSFER THE AFRICAN TO HIS NATIVE CLIME, AND WE SHALL FIND A WAY TO DO IT, HOWEVER GREAT THE TASK MAY BE. The children of Israel, to such numbers as to include four hundred thousand fighting men, went out of Egyptian bondage in a body. (From Lincoln's speech at Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857.)

I WILL SAY, THEN, THAT I AM NOT, NOR EVER HAVE BEEN, IN FAVOR OF BRINGING ABOUT IN ANY WAY THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EQUALITY OF THE WHITE AND BLACK RACES - THAT I AM NOT, NOR EVER HAVE BEEN, IN FAVOR OF MAKING VOTERS OR JURORS OF NEGROES, NOR OF QUALIFYING THEM TO HOLD OFFICE, NOR TO INTERMARRY WITH WHITE PEOPLE, AND I WILL SAY IN ADDITION TO THIS THAT THERE IS A PHYSICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE WHITE AND BLACK RACES WHICH I BELIEVE WILL FOREVER FORBID THE TWO RACES LIVING TOGETHER ON TERMS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EQUALITY, AND INASMUCH AS THEY CANNOT SO LIVE, WHILE THEY DO REMAIN TOGETHER THERE MUST BE THE POSITION OF SUPERIOR AND INFERIOR, AND I, AS MUCH AS ANY OTHER MAN, AM IN FAVOR OF HAVING THE SUPERIOR POSITION ASSIGNED TO THE WHITE RACE. (From Lincoln's speech at Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858.)

The last quotation from Lincoln's speech at Charleston should be especially emphasized because those words were frequently repeated with only slight variations in the wording in Lincoln's speeches during the next several years. Such was the seasoned opinion of the man who became the "Great Emancipator" of the Negro race; and it should not be forgotten that

Lincoln, when a member of the Illinois Legislature, voted to exclude Negroes from that State.

In his first annual message to Congress in December, 1861, President Lincoln recommended that steps be taken for the colonization of the Negroes "at some place or places in a climate congenial to them." On August 24, 1862, in a speech to a committee of Negro men at the White House, he made the following statements:

You and I are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think. Your race suffer very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side....

We look to our condition. Owing to the existence of the two races on this continent, I need not recount to you the effects upon white men growing out of the institution of slavery.

I believe in its general evil effects on the white race. See our present condition-the country engaged in war-our white men cutting one another's throats-none knowing how far it will extend-and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence. It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated

The practical thing I want to ascertain is, whether I can get a number of able-bodied men, with their wives and children, who are willing to go when I present evidence of encouragement and protection. Could I get a hundred tolerably intelligent men, with their wives and children, and able to 'cut their own fodder,' so to speak? Can I have fifty? If I could find twenty-five able-bodied men, with a mixture of women and children,-good things in the family relation, I think- I could make a successful commencement....

A few weeks after the above speech was made on September 24, 1862, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. His views as to the solution of the Negro problem were again embodied in this document.

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and commander-in-chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the states and the people thereof, in which states that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the

adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave states, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which states may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.... (4)

In his second message to Congress, Lincoln proposed an amendment to the Constitution which would provide for the colonization of the Negroes in some place outside the United States. He was working on his plan for gradual colonization when the War Between the States was brought to a close. (5) He was also devoting all his great ability which was never disputed even by his political enemies to a generous program of reconstruction for the conquered South. But fate intervened and the wartime President fell before the assassin's bullet.

With Lincoln's death on April 14, 1865, his plans for rebuilding the South and reuniting the Nation as well as his plans for solving the Negro problem were completely cast aside and forgotten. While a Nation mourned for her fallen leader, a group of powerful politicians, led by Thaddeus Stevens, planned to take over the reins of government and force Negro domination upon the South. They were destined to write the blackest pages in American history.

While the hallowed chamber of the United States Senate echoed the speeches of Stevens and Charles Sumner, while the radicals laid their plans to give the ballot to the Negro and to pass the Civil Rights Laws to proclaim and enforce social equality, the South lay prostrate in humiliation and defeat. The fighting South had indeed fought to exhaustion. Leaving thousands of their comrades buried on the battlefields, the men in the worn uniforms of gray slowly made their way across the desolate and destitute countrysides and the wreckage of the towns and cities to their homes which were often found to be only a heap of ashes. General Sherman had done his job well. The land was lying idle, the houses and barns destroyed, and the fences down, the cattle, horses and mules had been driven away. It seems that nothing had escaped destruction. Businesses were gone; banks were closed; poverty was universal. And the white Southerner amid the wreckage and ruins was surrounded by the newly-freed Negroes who seemed to be the only concern of those directing the policy of the Federal government on the banks of the Potomac.

Under military rule, the South was securely bound by the chains of the conqueror. Federal soldiers were everywhere. Northern agitators flocked to the Southern states to excite and inflame the mobs of Negroes and turn them against their former masters. Carpetbaggers, scalawags, corrupt politicians, dishonorable military commanders infested the land. There seemed to be only one more possibility of adding insult upon injury, and this the negrophiles in Washington did. Negro troops wearing the uniform of the United States Army and armed with bayonets were stationed throughout the South to maintain order over a people already conquered, poverty-stricken, and possessing no arms!

This, then, was the combination against the peace of a fallen people-the soldiers inciting the blacks against their former masters, the Bureau agents preaching political and social equality, the white scum of the North fraternizing with the blacks in their shacks, and the thieves of the Treasury stealing cotton under the protection of Federal bayonets. And in the North, demagogic politicians and fanatics were demanding immediate negro suffrage and clamoring for the blood of Southern leaders. (6)

Impoverished and disfranchised, the white Southerners began their struggle to take back their state governments from those who had usurped them. They could expect no help from the politicians in Washington whose racial madness knew no bounds. This power-crazed group had succeeded in forcing the passage of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution.

The thirteenth amendment abolishing slavery was quickly ratified and received overwhelming support, but the fourteenth amendment bestowing citizenship upon the Negroes and the fifteenth amendment giving them the right to vote were the products of fraud and coercion. When the proponents of the fourteenth amendment could not otherwise obtain ratification from the necessary three-fourths of the states, legislatures were installed in ten of the Southern states under military rule. And the approval of six of these states given through these legislatures composed largely of Negroes and under military coercion was counted to secure the ratification of the required number of states. Because of the fraudulent methods used by the proponents of the fourteenth amendment to secure its approval, Secretary of State Seward felt compelled to express his doubts as to the validity of the amendment when it was incorporated into the Federal Constitution.

The Negro suffrage politicians were confronted with another difficult task when they began their efforts to secure the ratification of the fifteenth amendment. In every state throughout the North where the question of Negro suffrage had been submitted to the people, it had been rejected except in Iowa and Minnesota. (7)

In December, 1865, when the question of the establishment of Negro suffrage in the District of Columbia was submitted to the voters there, the vote stood, in Georgetown, 1 vote for and 812 against the measure, and in Washington, 35 votes

for and 6,521 votes against the measure.

In September, 1865, the question was submitted to the voters of the Territory of Colorado. The vote stood 476 for and 4,912 against it.

In June, 1866, the people of Nebraska adopted a constitution which limited suffrage to the whites. In October, 1867, the proposition for Negro suffrage in Ohio was voted down by over 50,000 majority.

In 1868, in Missouri, the measure was voted down by 18,000 majority.

In Michigan, in 1868, when the Republican Party carried by nearly 32,000 majority, the question of Negro suffrage was voted down by nearly 39,000 majority.

In 1869, the people of New York defeated the proposed measure by over 32,000 majority, and the Legislature of that State rescinded a former act of a previous Legislature, which had, by a majority of two, ratified the Fifteenth Amendment.

On the 4th of March, 1869, in Indiana, seventeen Senators and thirty-six Representatives resigned from the Legislature to break a quorum and prevent the ratification of the amendment. Every one of these, with a single exception, was subsequently re-elected by the people.

Meantime, under the 'Reconstruction Acts,' the amendment was forced on the South. Seven of the Southern States ratified it by the Negro vote, the whites being generally disfranchised, while in three of them-Virginia, Mississippi and Texas-ratification was assented to as a condition of readmission to the Union. (8)

Thus, it is apparent that the faction which controlled Congress succeeded in forcing the adoption of the fifteenth amendment in direct opposition to the will of the majority of the people. The state legislatures throughout the North were made to feel the mighty pressure of the party whip. The dominant group in Congress was successful in having a bill passed to establish Negro suffrage in the District of Columbia and in all of the territories. Following this, Negro suffrage was forced upon the South, and it was only a matter of a few months until the fifteenth amendment was embodied into the Constitution of the United States.

Using methods never before nor after resorted to by men in high office, Stevens (9) and Sumner seemed to triumph in Washington. They had placed the ballot in the hands of the Negroes and left the great majority of the white population in "This assumption that she was Stevens's mistress was not confined, however, to undertone gossip, which is never impressive. It was current in the press, and the South voteless. The blacks and the unscrupulous politicians from the North with some dishonorable ones from the South maintained their sway over state and local governments throughout Dixie, but the white Southerners knew that they would find a way to redeem their power. The years were long and the road was difficult. There were

heartaches and bloodshed, but one by one the Southern states threw off the yoke of Negro rule and domination.

The events which took place as Mississippi "broke her chains" were typical of those which occurred throughout the Southland. To refresh the memory of some and to help others to understand why the Southerner today instantly and emphatically cries "never again" at the slightest mention of Negroes in state politics, the following historical analysis by Claude Bowers of events in Mississippi-"dramatic as any in American history"-is related (10):

The events in Louisiana had their reactions in Mississippi, and immediately after sending his notorious message on bandits, Sheridan sent soldiers to Vicksburg to maintain the corrupt negro and carpetbag city government.

To grasp the significance of the Vicksburg drama we must have the background of the wreckage wrought by the alien rule of Governor Adelbert Ames. Whatever may have been the intent of this deadly dull army officer, he lacked the courage or capacity to cope with the criminals around him. His own election had drawn the color line; the blacks were more powerful than ever, and more exacting with the carpetbaggers. They controlled the Legislature, one of the most grotesque bodies that ever assembled. A mulatto was speaker of the House, a darker man was Lieutenant Governor, the negro Bruce had been sent to the Senate, a corrupt quadroon was in charge of the public schools, a black, more fool than knave, was Commissioner of Immigration. The Lieutenant-Governor was a merry soul who played high jinks with Ames when he sought his native North for the hot season, dismissing Ames's officials and appointing others, amusing himself with the personnel of the judiciary, pardoning his friends out of the penitentiary-six being pardoned before their trials. He could be persuaded to accept a monetary consideration for these favors.

The people were breaking under the confiscatory taxes necessary to maintain their rulers in the style to which they had been accustomed, and Ames's appeals for retrenchment fell on ears of stone. He was arrogant, insolent, tyrannical toward the courts, naming incompetents to the bench and presuming to dictate their decisions.

Nowhere was the government such a farce as in Vicksburg, ruled by incompetents and corruptionists levying destructive taxes, and darker days loomed with the Republican nominations for the city election. Scarcely a member of the board of supervisors could read or write, and the whites, paying ninety-nine percent of the taxes, had only three officers of their color in the county. But the nominees for the election were even worse. For mayor, a degraded white; for the eight aldermanic positions, seven negroes; for the eight school trustees, six blacks.

The negroes were jubilant, increasingly threatening. Tramp, tramp, marched the black militia through the streets, muskets loaded, bayonets fixed. Night after night

they drilled with pickets posted to search pedestrians for arms and demand their business abroad. Talk there was of a slaughter of the whites in Vicksburg on election day, too. The excitement of negroes, drunk with power, spread through the county, where they were organizing to march on the city when called. The chancery clerk, a turbulent negro, was challenging fate with his speeches: 'There are thousands of Southern women . . . who would marry negroes today were they not afraid,' he was saying, '. . . for the white women now see that the negro is the coming man, that they have control of the State and city governments.' When the whites accepted the issue and nominated a strong ticket, the negro Lieutenant Governor asked Grant for troops, and Ames hurried back from his home in the North to repeat the request. 'No harm can result for troops are in many of our cities,' he wrote. Belknap telegraphed Grant's refusal and the Democrats won a sweeping victory.

Encouraged with the triumph, they turned at once to the redemption of the county. With enormous taxes, mounting debts, and brazen stealing, the chancery clerk was refusing citizens access to his books; court clerks were blithesomely putting out fraudulent witness certificates and county warrants; and, with tax-collecting time at hand, it was found that the bond of Peter Crosby, sheriff and tax collector, was defective. When reluctantly ordered by the board, yielding to public pressure, to file a sufficient bond, he announced he would ignore the order. Meanwhile, the grand jury had found indictments against two officials, and that day the taxpayers acted. Ten taxpayers, led by a captain in the Union Army, were instructed, in mass meeting, to call on the officials at the court-house and demand their resignations.

The committee made its demands, met jeering refusals, and reported back; and the meeting resolved to assemble at the court-house at noon and demand resignations. Marching in orderly procession, the taxpayers found the court-house deserted by all save Crosby, who resigned in writing. The Union soldier was put in temporary charge, guards were stationed about the jail, and the citizens dispersed until the morrow.

Meanwhile, Crosby had hastened to Jackson to be advised by Ames to summon a posse comitatus and demand his office; if this proved futile, Ames would send the militia to the scene. It was charged that Ames's Attorney-General had advised the summoning of the negroes of the county to Crosby's aid. Accompanied by Ames's Adjutant-General, and an officer of Ames's staff, Crosby hurried home, and soon runners, bearing handbills urging the negroes to organize and arm and march on Vicksburg on Monday, were rushing over the county. On Sunday, negro ministers urged compliance from their pulpits. Ames, in the meantime, issued his proclamation denouncing the taxpayers as 'riotous and disorderly persons' and flashed it over the country for political effect.

The news of the arming of the negroes to march upon the town reached Vicksburg

on Sunday afternoon. Ames, ignoring the white militia, officered by a former Union soldier, had instructed the negro militia to cooperate with Crosby. Sleepless was that Sunday night, and by three o'clock Monday morning citizen soldiers had assembled to turn back the threatened inundation. The people were ordered to observe the laws and hold themselves in readiness.

At daybreak the watchman in the court-house tower saw a large black army moving on the town and sounded the alarm. The streets were filled with men, women and children when a hundred mounted men rode out to meet the invaders. Halting his men, the commander rode forward to urge the negroes to turn back. When time was asked to consult Crosby, the request was granted. Meanwhile, not a move was made, not a shot fired. But the lust for battle in the negroes was too strong-they 'had come to fight.' A volley followed, a few fell dead, the rest fled.

From the south, another band was marching on the town, and riding forth to meet them, the whites routed them easily, with some fatalities.

From down the Jackson road marched a larger crowd of negroes, who were met at the Pemberton Monument and scattered with a loss of twenty-five lives.

Thus the whites, of both political parties, including a hundred former Federal soldiers, prevailed. This was revolutionary, it was force, but it was necessary with the courts in possession of the tyrants and with no recourse from ruin in the law.

Throughout the crisis the people maintained their poise and common-sense. The representatives of Ames agreed with citizens that Crosby should resign and be given a safe-conduct from the town, and citizens battled to protect him. There was no feeling against the blacks. 'Grossly and criminally deceived,' was the verdict upon them by the Vicksburg Times. The negroes scattered to their homes, and absolute quiet was instantly restored. The Northern press justified the rising, and quoted Colonel Gordon Adams, Republican: 'My God ! the whites have borne and borne until forbearance ceased to be a virtue and almost became a crime.'

At his wits' end now, Ames called the Legislature to his aid hoping for authorization to raise a military force to turn against Vicksburg, but that body refused the responsibility and merely petitioned Grant for troops. The President issued his proclamation calling on the people, quietly going about their business, to 'disperse.' A successor to Crosby had been elected and installed.

And just then Sheridan's 'banditti' telegram flashed over the wires. (11)

And just then Sheridan telegraphed Ames that soldiers were on their way to Vicksburg.

Crosby and the others were restored, and one of these, not being one of the 'banditti,' was soon in jail for the commission of various crimes.

Sheridan had blundered again-he had unified the whites and intensified their determination to take possession of their government. They would fight in the fall to carry the Legislature, elect members of Congress and a State Treasurer. They had been dormant since Dent's failure in 1869. Now they were awake.

The Mississippi revolution began when the taxpayers met in Jackson and planned taxpayers' leagues in every county, and issued their call to arms. An impressive memorial was issued comparing the tax levies with that of 1869. 'For the year 1871 it was four times as great. For 1872 it was eight and a half times as great. For the year 1873 it was twelve and a half times as great. For the year 1874 it was fourteen times as great.'

The situation had become desperate. At the tax-collectors' sales the month the taxpayers met; half a million acres and four-fifths of the town of Greenville had been offered for sale for taxes, because the people were striking against such waste.

The cream of Mississippi manhood assembled in State Convention in August, listened to a dynamic, moving speech from Lamar, conservative and constructive, and adopted a platform in conformity with the spirit of the speech. It was while five hundred of these substantial citizens were standing in the State House yard that the hatred of alien rule was dramatically disclosed. Ames emerged from the mansion, and, crossing to the executive offices, had to thread his way among them. Not a man spoke; not a nod of recognition was given.

That day General J. Z. George was made commander for the battle of the polls. Distinguished in the law, a genius in organization, cautious yet determined, courteous but uncompromising, tactful and courageous, he dedicated himself to the task. It was not a campaign he was to manage-it was a revolution. 'The contest is rather a revolution than a political campaign,' said the Aberdeen Examiner, 'it is the rebellion, if you see fit to apply that term, of a downtrodden people against an absolutism imposed by their own hirelings, and by the grace of God, we will cast it off.' The negroes, no longer amenable to the carpetbaggers, raised the color line themselves. The Northern adventurers were alarmed. Had they created a Frankenstein monster? The Republican Columbus Press complained bitterly of the disposition of the negroes to despoil the carpetbaggers.

Then Ames, authorized to organize a negro militia, appointed as brigadier-general, William Gray, a drunken and debauched negro senator and preacher, and the monstrosity of the act steeled the grim determination of the native whites. While floor leader of his party in the Senate, Gray was peculiarly loathsome, living in open

adultery and preaching hatred of the whites. A dictator of his party, the carpetbaggers jumped when he cracked his whip- none quicker than Ames himself. When in a letter to Ames he threatened to slap his face, the utterly subservient Governor replied obsequiously with an expression of his esteem. Exhilarated by his triumph, Gray was soon proclaiming from the platform that Ames was going to send him all the arms necessary for the election and that he would win if he had to kill every white man, woman and child in the county, which was predominantly black.

Such was the spirit in which the negroes were being drilled and organized, and in lonely places they met at night to listen to harangues from white demagogues fanning racial hate, predicting reenslavement should the Democrats prevail, declaring that Grant wanted them to vote with the carpetbaggers. Here was a menace greater than the Mississippians had yet confronted, and the effect was instantaneous. If there were to be armed bodies of men, the whites, too, would arm; if intimidation was to be used, they, too, would use it; if force was to be employed they, too, would employ it; if the blacks under the inspiration of the carpetbaggers would march with arms, so, too, would the whites-and they would not yield. Soon Democratic clubs of a semi-military nature were formed in every county, with every able-bodied man and youth enlisting. That seething summer saw but little business done. Merchants abandoned their stores, lawyers their offices, planters their fields, and all gave themselves without stint or ceasing to the campaign. Under the fine organizing genius of George, a whole people was mobilized, prepared for every contingency, and the Democracy moved with banners and transparencies, amidst the firing of anvils and even of cannon. Barbecues by day, mammoth torchlight processions by night, intensified the will to victory.

A new psychology was employed in dealing with the negroes, against whom, in the mass, there was no feeling. The carpetbaggers held the government because of the blacks' support; this support was due to a loss of respect for the native whites; this loss had come from too much patience, which the simple freedmen had interpreted as fear-so ran the new psychology. The negroes' childlike faith in the carpetbagger must be destroyed. Their meetings must be invaded by the native whites facing the adventurers with denunciations as cowards and corruptionists imposing on the blacks. The experiment soon justified itself. Thus there was a singular lack of the old-time arrogance and confidence in the Republican State Convention that fall. Alarmed, a little awed, by the rising of the whole people, it sent a committee to Grant with a plea for troops.

Never before since the days of Prentiss such meetings in Mississippi. Great masses moving from place to place with dash, daring, determination. Old men rising with trembling voices to pledge life, fortune and sacred honor to the winning of the fight. Youths turning politicians, grandsires urging them to battle for constitutional liberty. 'What a marvelous uprising!' said one man to another. 'Uprising? It is no uprising; it

is an insurrection.' Immense crowds moving in orderly procession with bands and banners, pausing on every hilltop to fire cannon. Prancing cavalry on the highways, all homes thrown open for the entertainment of visiting clubs, a people impoverishing themselves by hospitality. Women joyously cooking for multitudes everywhere. The brilliant Lamar, literally inspired, rushing from meeting to meeting, arousing the wildest enthusiasm, without striking a demagogic note. Here the eloquent Gordon of Georgia thundering, there the able Barksdale, of the Jackson Clarion, and, most dramatic of all, Cassius M. Clay, the old Kentucky Abolitionist, penetrating the black belt and calling on the negroes to stand by their own and reject the carpetbagger. These enormous assemblies vibrate with emotion, these barbecues and basket meetings, these long processions of marching men with banners and music, this booming of cannon, put the fear of the Lord into the hearts of the enemy. There was just one hope-if rioting should begin and Grant should send troops. No one understood the danger more than the Democrats.

With every one armed, even to many of the women, the iron discipline of George maintained order. Ames knew that his only hope was in bloody conflicts that would invite the intervention of Grant. When nothing happened, Ames hastened the organization of a negro militia -which was a bitter challenge. When the mere announcement of his purpose failed to incite the whites to slaughter, he sent a company of negro militia upon a march, without objective or occasion, through Hinds County. Here was a clear invitation to attack. But such was the rigid discipline of George that nothing happened.

Even so there were some armed conflicts that served the purpose of politics. In Yazoo City the carpetbag leader, a degenerate ex-Union soldier living with a mulatto woman, advertised a meeting where he would talk on the color line and welcome a reply. When a negro rose to answer, and was howled down, the whites demanded that he be permitted to reply. The crowd boiled with excitement, pistols were drawn, some shots fired, one man fell, and the carpetbag leader fled to Jackson for protection.

A few days later, a more serious conflict came at Clinton, where a Democratic judge was accorded the right to speak at a negro meeting. A quarrel of whites and blacks in the rear of the crowd-blows-shots -a general firing- a mad stampede. Half a dozen whites ran toward the town, a hundred negroes in hot pursuit. One was overtaken, killed, mutilated, stripped; another was shot farther on; a non-combatant white whose house was passed was murdered by the frenzied negroes in the presence of wife and children. Most of the whites were wounded, four negroes killed. Fearful of the reaction, the negroes hurriedly hitched up their mules and lashed them to the military post at Jackson. The town was put under martial law, a former Union soldier in command, and patrols were organized and picketed the roads. Whites of both parties speedily organized two military companies for defense- but nothing

happened.

Again the problem was beyond the solution of Ames's dull brain. His impulse was to put the Yazoo carpetbagger at the head of negro troops and send him back. Very well, said the Jackson Clarion, that would justify any course the citizens of the town might adopt. Ames abandoned the idea. Indeed, Ames's days were full of trouble, his nights of disturbing dreams. White men guarded the State House to prevent forcibly the distribution of arms and ammunition to the negro militia, and Ames was warned that the arming of the negroes would be the signal for his death. All he could do was to phrase a proclamation for the inflaming of the North and call on Grant for troops. George protested vigorously to Edwards Pierpont, the Attorney-General and a decent man, and Ames was told he had the power to summon the Legislature. Until then, Grant refused to move.

That was the last straw. Utterly helpless, deserted by Washington, Ames accepted the request of George for a conference. The leaders sat down in the parlors of the Executive Mansion and agreed upon a peace pact. Ames was to dismiss the militia, turn the arms over to the Federal troops, and send no armed men to Yazoo City. George pledged himself to maintain peace and order-and kept the faith.

A peaceful election, a Democratic landslide. Every candidate for Congress was elected, the Legislature carried, Lamar sent to the Senate he was to adorn. The day before the election, George sent telegrams everywhere demanding the maintenance of peace at all hazards. That many negroes were intimidated by the determination of the whites, there can be no doubt; and not a few actually voted with the Democrats. Senator Revels, the negro, wrote Grant. 'A great portion of them have learned that they were being used as mere tools,' he wrote, 'and determined, by casting their ballots against these unprincipled adventurers, to overthrow them.' As Grant sat pondering the explanation of Revels, he received a lengthy letter from the Republican Attorney-General of Mississippi putting the blame directly upon Ames.

Ames's reign was drawing to an ignominious close.

It was that summer that Charles Nordhoff, traveling in Mississippi, wrote of Ames, that 'his personal adherents are among the worst public thieves.... He has corrupted the courts, has protected criminals, and has played even with the lives of the blacks in a manner that, if this fall a good Legislature should be elected, ought to procure his impeachment and removal.'

The result of the election announced, the Jackson Clarion demanded Ames's impeachment. The fact that a negro Lieutenant Governor would succeed was his one protection; but this man was notoriously corrupt and could be impeached on any one of a dozen charges. He was impeached for bribery. On Washington's Birthday,

articles of impeachment were drawn against Ames. It was not unexpected. The day the articles were presented, Ben Butler, whose daughter had married Ames, sat in the House talking with Beck of Kentucky. The wily lawyer, canvassing the possibilities of conviction, expressed the utmost confidence, but he was clearly disturbed. He assured Beck that if the impeachment proceedings were dropped, Ames would immediately resign. That day Beck told Lamar of the conversation and he sent the word to Mississippi. Thus negotiations were opened with the managers and an agreement reached. The proceedings were dropped; Ames resigned; and the reign of the Mississippi carpetbaggers was over. Leaving an odorous and odious memory behind, Ames hurried back to his home in Minnesota. Time was to soften the hatred into a feeling of pity for a weakling; and he was to live to an extreme old age, to become the golf partner of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., in Florida.

Virginia, Georgia, Texas, Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, and now Mississippi, had broken their chains and resumed their sovereignty.

The Constitution of Mississippi, adopted in 1890, contained two important sections on franchise. Section 241 provided that every qualified elector must have paid all taxes which had been legally required of him for the two preceding years (12) and that a qualified elector must have resided in the state two years and in the election district one year prior to the election. Section 244 provided that every qualified elector must be able to read any section of the state Constitution or understand same when read to him or give a reasonable interpretation thereof. The Mississippi Constitution of 1890 with subsequent statutes enacted thereunder had the effect of eliminating the Negro as a factor in county and state politics. (13) The other Southern states found similar methods to accomplish the same results, and by the turn of the century White supremacy had been restored throughout the Southland. It had been a long time since General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, and the years were filled with bitter memories, but at last the South had regained her power.

When the slaves were freed, a new pattern of race relations was necessary, and the Southern people put into operation the policy of racial segregation. Separate facilities and separate accommodations were provided for the white people and the Negroes, and the color line was drawn in every walk of life below the Mason and Dixon Line. Segregation of the races was established by custom, re-enforced by various state statutes, and this policy has remained through the years as a definite and fixed part of the Southern way of life.

The people of the South have continuously faced countless problems brought about by the presence of millions of Negroes within their midst. There have been economic and social problems, problems of health and education, and the white South has coped with these questions to the best of her ability. Any student who will approach the subject with fairness and justice will certainly come to the conclusion that the Negro in the South has made more progress under the guiding hand of the White Southerner than the black race has made anywhere else in the world in a similar period of time.

The following tables (14) give an indication of the Negro problem in numbers:

NEGRO POPULATION IN 1940	
Alabama	983,290
Arizona	14,993
Arkansas	482,578
California	124,306
Colorado	12,176
Connecticut	32,992
Delaware	35,876
District of Columbia	187,266
Florida	514,198
Georgia	1,084,927
Idaho	595
Illinois	387,446
Indiana	121,916
Iowa	16,694
Kansas	65,138
Kentucky	214,031
Louisiana	849,303
Maine	1,304
Maryland	301,931
Massachusetts	55,391
Michigan	208,345
Minnesota	9,928
Mississippi	1,074,578
Missouri	244,386
Montana	1,120
Nebraska	14,171
Nevada	664
New Hampshire	414
New Jersey	926,973
New Mexico	4,672
New York	571,221
North Carolina	981,298
North Dakota	201
Ohio	339,461
Oklahoma	168,849
Oregon	2,565
Pennsylvania	470,172

Rhode Island	11,024
South Carolina	814,164
South Dakota	474
Tennessee	508,736
Texas	924,391
Utah	1,235
Vermont	384
Virginia	661,449
Washington	7,424
West Virginia	117,754
Wisconsin	12,158
Wyoming	956
Total	12,865,518

NEGRO POPULATION OF 11 SOUTHERN STATES IN 1940	
Georgia	1,084,927
Mississippi	1,074,578
Alabama	983,290
North Carolina	981,298
Texas	924,391
Louisiana	849,303
South Carolina	814,164
Virginia	661,449
Florida	514,198
Tennessee	508,736
Arkansas	482,578
Total	8,878,911

It should be noted that although three-fourths of the Nation's 12,865,518 Negroes still live in the South, the number in other sections has been increasing steadily in recent years. The great majority of the Negroes in the North are concentrated in segregated areas in the large cities, and there the "black belts" and slum sections present the Negro problem in a form unparalleled in the entire Southland.

It has generally been contended that the North has offered the Negro more freedom and greater opportunity than the South. Certainly that section has had more wealth with which to provide for education, and the Negro vote along the Eastern seaboard and in the middle West has increased in size until today this vote amounts to something of a balance of power between the

white Democrats and white Republicans in the balance-of-power states.

It is unnecessary for us to discuss the different attitudes toward the Negro in various sections of the Nation. Whether the dominant white group is concerned chiefly with racial integrity or with the economic, social, cultural, or political aspect of the question, the race problem is universally a source of friction. And this much is certain. At no time in the history of this Nation in any section of the country has the Negro race been accorded full and absolute equality. The South has never pretended to offer complete political and social equality to the black race, and other sections have endorsed full equality in words only-with rare exceptions, they do not "practice what they preach." (15)

Equality means just what the word implies, and nothing less than full equality can, in reality, fulfill the meaning of the word. To be given equality, Negroes would have to be given business, industrial, political, social, and matrimonial equality with the whites. This has never been granted to the Negro race in the United States except on the statute books, and there is no indication that the great mass of the American people are willing to respond to the demands of the present-day leaders of the black race by granting this equality now. However, this situation certainly serves to make it both timely and urgent that a solution to the race question must be found and adopted.

In our Nation's history, this Negro problem, like the ships which brought the African slaves, has indeed been rigged with curses dark. Attitudes may still differ and proposed solutions may vary, but today in all sections public opinion is beginning to realize that the problems presented by the colored tenth of our population are national in scope. The Negro question may today, in a restricted sense, belong primarily to the South, but it is indeed a matter which only the Nation as a whole can adequately and permanently solve.

Go to [Next Chapter](#)

Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

NOTES

1. This figure and those previously quoted in this chapter as to the number of slaves in the colonies were taken from: Pickett, William P., *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*: (New York and London: Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1909), Ch. II.
2. It will be noted that the word "Negro" and the word "slavery" do not appear in the Constitution.
3. "From the time the slaves were first brought into the country, up to and to include the time when they were set free as a result of the Civil War, they were the cause of the framing and enforcing of no end of laws; of starting all sorts of legislation; of the formation of

parties for and against the trade- of exciting the Church to action, of strife of many kinds and outbreaks of passion and speech. It is not the intention of the present work to pass into the history of this part of the subject. It is the darkest and the dirtiest page in American history, and I must leave it to those who care to follow it along other lines. Indeed, enough would have been said in this chapter had I merely stated the fact that the North American slave trade practically began when the Dutch brought twenty of them to Virginia in 1619, and that upwards of four hundred thousand more of these benighted, ignorant, semisimian, superstitious and treacherous cannibals were, up to 1862, landed upon our shores. The entire traffic was horrid in the extreme, and the injury it has done and is still powerfully doing those of Anglo-Saxon descent in these United States of America is immeasurable." Shufeldt, R. W., *America's Greatest Problem: The Negro* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, 1915). p. 76.

4. First three paragraphs from the Proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln on September 22, 1862, attested by William H. Seward, Secretary of State (U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 12, 36th Congress, p. 1267).
5. An analysis of Lincoln's attitude toward the Negro throughout his lifetime with quotations from his speeches and a survey of his efforts for colonization may be found in: Pickett, William P., *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, p. 306.
6. Bowers, Claude, *The Tragic Era* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, Houghton Mifflin Company 1929), p. 61.
7. "There were but few Negroes in Minnesota (246 adults, according to the Census of 1870), while the State of Iowa had 1,542 Negroes as compared to 289,162 whites. Yet in these states Negro suffrage was carried by narrow margins." Cox, Earnest, *White America*, p. 242. Minnesota and Iowa likewise ratified the fifteenth amendment by narrow margins. It took three votes and all the pressure that the Republican party could bring to bear to secure ratification in Minnesota.
8. Cox, Earnest, *White America*, p. 240. Mr. Cox has quoted the above passage from *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem* by Thomas Nelson Page.
9. "Because of Stevens' obsession on negro rights to absolute equality, and his inveterate hatred of the Southern whites, his relation for many years to Lydia Smith, a mulatto, and until his death his housekeeper, cannot be ignored. It was the fashion of his enemies in his time openly to charge that there was an intimacy between them much more personal than that of employer and employee . . . When Stevens went to Washington, she accompanied him there. Wherever he was, there she was also . . . the relationship of the statesman and the mulatto 'created some scandal' in Washington. In no instance was the publisher rebuked or threatened with a libel suit... the 'Intelligencer' replied editorially: 'Nobody doubts that Thaddeus Stevens has always been in favor of negro equality, and here, where his domestic arrangements are so well known, his practical recognition of his pet theory is perfectly well understood... There are few men who have given to the world such open and notorious evidence of a belief in negro equality as Thaddeus Stevens. A personage, not of his race, a female of dusky hue, daily walks the streets of Lancaster when Mr. Stevens is at home. She has presided over his house for years. Even by his own party friends, she is constantly spoken of as Mrs. Stevens, though we fancy that no rite of

Mother Church ever gave her a right to it. It is natural for men to desire to sleep their last with those they loved in life. If Thaddeus Stevens insists on being buried side by side with the woman he is supposed to have taken to his bosom, it is entirely a matter of taste' This was published in the leading paper of the small city in which Mr. Stevens lived and at a time when he was in town. There was no demand for a retraction, no suit for libel. The editorial was afterwards copied in papers throughout the country. Lydia Smith continued to live with him in the role of housekeeper and was to stand weeping at his bedside when he died, and to be a beneficiary of his will. These are the facts, and from these the reader must draw his own conclusions." Bowers, Claude, *The Tragic Era*, p. 80.

10. Bowers, Claude, *The Tragic Era*, p. 448.)
11. This was the infamous message in which Sheridan offered his plan to Grant to declare the most substantial people of Louisiana and Mississippi to be bandits, to be dealt with by the military. If Grant would proclaim the protesting people "banditti," Sheridan said, ' no further action need be taken except that which would devolve upon me."
12. This section was amended in 1935, and qualified electors in Mississippi are no longer required to pay all real and personal taxes. Section 241, as amended provides that all poll taxes for the two preceding years must have been paid by the elector.
13. The Supreme Court of the United States upheld the validity of the Constitution of Mississippi in the case of *Williams v. Mississippi*, 73 Miss. 820, 19 So.826, 170 U.S. 213, 18 Sup. Ct. 583, 42 L. ed. 1012 (1898).
14. These figures have been taken from statistics compiled by the United States Bureau of the Census.
15. In substantiation of this statement of fact, read *A Negro's Faith in America* by Spencer Logan (colored), who was awarded the Macmillan \$2500 Centenary Award for writing this book.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter IV

**SOUTHERN SEGREGATION
AND THE COLOR LINE**

Let not man join together What God hath put asunder. -*William B. Smith*

"THERE Is no power in the world-not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied and Axis-which could now force the Southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation." These are the words of Mark Ethridge, Editor of *The Louisville Courier-Journal*. (1)

Mr. Ethridge, who is known as a Southern liberal and whose opinions on the race question are often criticized in the South, was in this case offering no opinion, passing no judgment, but he was simply stating what he knew to be the truth and what is indeed an established fact.

The principle of segregation of the white and Negro races in the South is so well known that it requires no definition. Briefly and plainly stated, the object of this policy is to prevent the two races from meeting on terms of social equality. By established practice, each race maintains its own institutions and promotes its own social life. The residential areas of the towns are segregated; separate schools are maintained; separate accommodations are provided for the members of each race in public places and on the trains, busses, and street cars.

In an article entitled "For Plain Understanding," *The News, and Courier of Charleston, South Carolina*, made the following observations on race relations in the South:

The negroes are entitled, no more and no less than white people, to the enjoyment of the legal rights as citizens, including the right to qualify as electors when they can, and to vote, free from intimidation or interference.

For equal service they are entitled to equal pay, whether as school teachers or in other vocations.

The right of a negro to hire negroes in preference to white people is not to be questioned. The negro undertaker may refuse, if that be his wish, to hire a white man

to drive a hearse. The white employer has the same right. If he prefer a negro to a white man to drive his car, he is at liberty so to do. The manager of a store or a factory may exercise a similar liberty.

The right of white people to operate political clubs excluding negroes is also beyond question. So, in primaries, which are no more than elections by political associations, the exclusion of negroes by white people is lawful, even as it is lawful for negroes to exclude white people from political, social, fraternal and other clubs.

The right of negroes to own and conduct hotels, restaurants, private schools and shops exclusively for themselves is not to be disputed. Negro undertakers are now exercising exclusive rights and no one objects. Follows and exists the right of white people to have business concerns exclusively for themselves. It is the right of white people to enact and conduct separate racial public school, as long as they shall be in the majority and shall choose to make laws of that purpose.

On busses and railroad trains negroes are entitled to equal accommodations with white people for the money they pay. >From this follows no inference that races shall not be separated in busses and railroad cars.

Equal and exact justice to the two races, under the law with racial separation as a right to be enforced, is the principle and the practice that THE NEWS and Courier stands for. It believes that the intelligent and honest people of the state, white and colored, stand for it.

We repeat: The News and Courier advocates equal and exact justice for negroes and whites, with the right of separation enforced at all costs. (2)

The South is determined that segregation of the races be "enforced at all costs." In this section where three-fourths of the Nation's Negroes live and earn a livelihood, the people fully realize that as long as the black race is within our midst, racial segregation is necessary to preserve racial integrity.

Southern people know what it means to live in states where the number of Negroes ranges from 25 to 49 per cent of the total population, and they know what steps are necessary to maintain race and culture. Negroes in Mississippi comprise 49 per cent of the population; 43 per cent in South Carolina; 36 per cent in Louisiana; 35 per cent in Alabama; 35 per cent in Georgia; 27 per cent in Florida; 27 per cent in North Carolina; and 25 per cent in Virginia.

In the South where the Negroes live in such large numbers, the color line was rigidly established and has been just as rigidly maintained. As practically applied, the color line classifies as white only those who are of pure white blood and classifies as Negroes all those of pure Negro blood and of Negro and white blood mixed. With this line tightly drawn, the separate races then live under the policy of racial segregation.

Just as there have been whites in the North who have disregarded the color line and preached miscegenation. there have been some whites in the South who have practiced it. But the Southern white people have drawn the color line unflinchingly and without deviation and have attributed to the Negro race those with any degree of Negro blood. Thus, the miscegenation which has occurred-as deplorable and unforgivable as it may be-has not altered in any degree the purity of the blood of the white Southerner.

The South may be said to have established a record in world history in race relations. Three hundred years could have been sufficient time for the Southern White man to become submerged in the black mass about him; and if our forefathers had not been faithful to race and traditions, the United States would now have to point to a hybrid Dixie. But white Southerners have maintained racial integrity: the purity of the white blood in the South can not be disputed. As proof of her faithfulness through three centuries of immediate contact with multitudes of Negroes and notwithstanding abuse and condemnation from many sources in this country, the South now offers some thirty million Saxon sons and daughters for the Nation's use in war and in peace. Let any one who doubts the wisdom of racial segregation or fails to understand the South's loyalty to the color line make a study of conditions in South America. When the Spaniards arrived on that continent, they conquered the Indian tribes, but instead of expelling them as the English did in North America, they ruled over them and married their women. These Spanish and Portuguese adventurers save in the south of the continent seldom brought their families to the new world and were more interested in obtaining wealth than in implanting race and culture. When the Negro slaves arrived, the colonists mixed with them as freely as they did with the Indians.

The fusion of whites and Indians produced mestizos; the fusion of whites and Negroes produced mulattoes; the fusion of Negroes and Indians produced zambos. Mongrelization started in South America, and there was no power to stop it. The population began to consist of mestizos, mulattoes, zambos, terceroones, quadroons, cholos, musties, fusties, and dusties. There were crosses between Spaniards and Indians, Spaniards and Negroes, Spaniards and yellows; crosses between these half-breed off-spring and the whites and blacks; crosses between mongrels of one kind and mongrels of another kind; half-breeds, cross-breeds, mix-breeds soon infested the land!

A single half-caste race, with here the Negro and there the Indian predominating over the conquering Spaniard, obtains from the Atlantic to the Pacific. from the frontier of the United States to the southern limits of the continent .. American Indians, Negroes, Orientals and Europeans of different origin, are creating the race of the future in homes in which mixed blood is the rule . The Negroes of the Congo have mingled equally with the Spanish and the Indian. The African woman satisfied the ardor of the conquerors; she has darkened the skin of the race ...The Negro is a formidable influence in America (Latin America). But they are revenged for their enslavement, in that their blood is mingled with that of their masters. The black race

is doing its work and the continent is returning to its primitive barbarism. This retrogression constitutes a very serious menace. In South America civilization is dependent upon the numerical predominance of the victorious Spaniard, on the triumph of the white over the mulatto, the Negro and the Indian.

Holland and England-Teutonic America! Portugal and Spain- Latin America! The first transform a wilderness into a mighty civilization; the second conquer a continent, implant a culture and preside over its decay.

In North America the Caucasian, after three centuries of contact with colored races, constitutes ninety per cent of the population. In Latin America the Caucasian constitutes less than ten per cent of the population. The remaining ten per cent of the inhabitants of North America are divided between the black and red races and the mongrel offspring of these races mixed with each other and with the white. The remaining ninety per cent of the inhabitants of Latin America are likewise divided between black and red and their mongrel offspring resulting from their unions with each other and with the white. North America is nine-tenths white; Latin America is nine-tenths colored. North America possesses a vigorous, expanding, self-sustaining civilization; South America, a puny, restricted, dependent culture which, apart from the extreme south of the continent, is receding before a terrible hybridism. (3)

We have no right to point the finger of scorn at South America. Rather, let us pay our respect to the whites who have withstood four centuries of contact with the mongrels and hybrids and remained white. Together with the later immigrants they compose only some ten per cent of the population. but with this group lies the future of South America. We have no time to waste in weeping for the blood which has been corrupted in these neighboring Republics; nothing can restore it. The same fate can overtake our own Nation unless we seek a permanent solution to our color problem. We have withstood three centuries of racial contact and remained white. But many times three centuries are ahead of us, and each succeeding generation faces the Negro problem grown to new proportions.

As we have seen from our study of race relations in world history, (4) there are only two permanent solutions to the race problem: physical separation of the races or their blood amalgamation. Until one or the other of these occur, the problem remains. While this Nation has not yet seen fit to adopt the policy of physical separation of the races, racial segregation and the color line have thus far prevented the corruption of the blood of the white race. It is true that the color line has been the ideal of the Nation as a whole, yet it has been the Southern people living in the midst of the great majority of the Negroes who have met the rigid test and maintained this ideal. As long as the Negroes remain in our midst, Southern white people will use every means at their disposal to continue the policy of racial segregation.

Southern whites, therefore, will not at any foreseeable time relax the taboos which keep the races separate. They fear and believe that once a small crack is made in the

walls of social segregation, the walls will eventually be breached. Yet there are whites and Negroes who would attempt to break down segregation by federal fiat. Let them beware. He who attempts to change the mores of a people by law runs risks of incalculable gravity. I have no doubt that in such an event southern white men would spring to arms and the country would be swept by civil war. (5)

What is the real issue at stake? Why this determination on the part of the South to maintain the color line and to fight back with all her strength against the combined efforts of certain groups in our Nation, white and black, (6) to break down segregation and to destroy Southern ideals and customs? The answer is simple. The South stands for blood, for the preservation of the blood of the white race.

To preserve her blood, the white South must absolutely deny social equality to the Negro regardless of what his individual accomplishments might be. This is the premise - openly and frankly stated - upon which Southern policy is based. This position is so thoroughly justified in the minds of white Southerners that it is sometimes difficult for them to comprehend the reasoning of those who seriously dispute it.

The alternatives are as clear as the sun. If we sit with Negroes at our tables, if we attend social functions with them as our social equals, if we disregard segregation in all other relations, is it then possible that we maintain it fixedly in the marriage of the South's Saxon sons and daughters? The answer must be "No." By the absolute denial of social equality to the Negro, the barriers between the races are firm and strong. But if the middle wall of the social partition should be broken down, then the mingling of the tides of life would surely begin. It would be a slow process, but the result would be the same. And though the process be gradual, it would be none the less irresistible and inevitable. The lower strata of the white population would probably feel the first effects, and within the foreseeable future the middle and upper classes would be invaded. Then, the Southern white race, the Southern Caucasian, would be irretrievably doomed.

For no possible check could be given to this process once established. Remove the barrier between two streams flowing side by side - immediately they begin to mingle their molecules; in vain you attempt to replace it. Not even ten legions of Clerk Maxwell's demons could sift them out and restore the streams to their original purity. The moment the bar of absolute separation is thrown down in the South, that moment the bloom of her spirit is blighted forever, the promise of her destiny is annulled, the proud fabric of her future slips into dust and ashes. No other conceivable disaster that might befall the South could for an instant compare with such miscegenation within her borders. Flood and fire, fever and famine and the sword - even ignorance, indolence, and carpet-baggery - she may endure and conquer while her blood remains pure; but once taint the well-spring of her life, and all is lost - even honor itself. It is this immediate jewel of her soul that the South watches with such a dragon eye, that she guards with more than vestal vigilance with

a circle of perpetual fire. The blood thereof is the life thereof; he who would defile it would stab her in her heart of heart, and she springs to repulse him with the fiercest instinct of self-preservation. It may not be that she is distinctly conscious of the immeasurable interests at stake or of the real grounds of her roused antagonism; but the instinct itself is none the less just and true and the natural bulwark of her life. (7)

Whenever the mingling of the races on terms of social equality is permitted, then the possibility of intermarriage must be admitted. If the social segregation of the white and black races is destroyed, then intermarriage becomes a question of the personal preference of the individual. The possible might then become the actual. There are all sorts of people, and there is no explanation for the actions or tastes of some individuals; for example, note the recent marriage of the twenty-one year old white girl from Canada to the corpulent, fraudulent, pot-bellied, coal-black, seventy year old Negro who calls himself Father Divine.

If social equality should be granted and intermarriage should become a matter of individual taste, then the pride of race and the sense of blood superiority which has heretofore protected the Southern whites would be destroyed. Racial self-respect has been the rock of salvation of the South. Because the otherwise proud Spaniard in South America did not possess this characteristic, he amalgamated with the colored races around him, and the results are evident for all the world to view. Anyone who would destroy racial pride and break down segregation of the races in the South by implanting the infamous doctrine of social equality must realize that such efforts would plunge Dixie into hopeless depths of mongrelism.

The white Southerner firmly, absolutely, and irrevocably denies the contention of the social equality advocates that mongrelization would not degrade the South. Any one who is familiar with the pages of history and the doctrines of biology must know the dangerous results of the amalgamation of the white and black races. That the Negro is inferior to the Caucasian has been proved by six thousand years of world wide experimentation as well as craniologically, and that the mingling of the superior with the inferior will result in the lowering of the higher is just as certain as the fact that half the sum of six and two is only four. (8)

Even if only the lower strata of whites mingled with the upper strata of Negroes, the result would be the same. Not only would the other circles be broken within the foreseeable future, but it is wholly erroneous to contend that a child is born of its immediate parents only. Every child is a child of its race, and there is no escape from the almightiness of heredity. However weak the white man, his ancestors produced the greatness of Europe; however strong the black, his ancestors never lifted themselves from the darkness of Africa.

Should the social barriers in the South be broken down, the mongrel poison would spread far and wide, and there would be no power sufficient to stop it. Once the blood has been corrupted, neither fame nor fortune, neither culture nor science, not even religion itself can ever restore its purity. If the blood of the white and black races mixed freely within her borders, the South, like the white race, would be forever doomed. Pure blood may flow in some veins, but who could

prove it? And no power on earth can redeem the vitiated blood of a race.

At this point, the advocates of social equality are quick to point to the miscegenation which has already occurred in the South. Those who advance this argument must either advocate widespread miscegenation or admit that the South should strengthen her racial barriers instead of removing the ones which exist. We deplore the conditions which have poured a broad stream of white blood into black veins, but we deny that any appreciable amount of black blood has entered white veins. As disgraceful as the sins of some white men may have been, they have not in any way impaired the purity of Southern Caucasian blood. Southern white women have preserved the integrity of their race, and there is no one who can today point the finger of suspicion in any manner whatsoever at the blood which flows in the veins of the white sons and daughters of the South.

The South stands for blood, for the preservation of the blood of the white race. We shall not relax in any way whatsoever the social barriers which have been erected to maintain the purity of that blood. The South will not grant to the Negro race social equality with the whites. There may be individual cases which claim our sympathy and appeal to our sense of fair play, but it is no more a case of individual justice than of individual morality. It is a question of preserving for ourselves and for our posterity the blood, heritage, and culture of the white race.

If the racial instinct of the white race is so strong, then wherein does the danger lie? There is, of course, no real danger when the instinct is aroused and on guard. Without a doubt, this has been the salvation of the South. But today a constant warfare is being waged against this instinct, and every conceivable effort is being made to destroy it altogether or to drug it to sleep in the name of science, of democracy, or of religion. (9) Time and time again the white South is scorned and ridiculed; her people are called "unenlightened" and "prejudiced"; her customs and institutions are insulted and attacked. Agencies of the Federal Government, men and women in high office, powerful political organizations, pressure groups, various associations and individuals are throwing the weight of their power and influence to destroy racial segregation. When those who are preaching social equality are advocating a policy which would be ruinous to the South, can they expect the Southern people to sit idly by?

Let no one doubt but that the fighting South will defend her position. In our section the Negro problem is neither academic nor hypothetical; we live in the midst of it. The South will pledge her strength, wealth, and sacred honor to maintain racial segregation and the color line. Mr. Ethridge was right. There is not enough power in all the world, not in all the mechanized armies of the Allies and the Axis, including the atomic bomb, which could now force white Southerners to abandon the policy of the social segregation of the white and black races.

But let us be realistic. What about the next generation and the next and the next? The Southern whites are in the minority when it comes to determining the policy of the Federal Government; the Negro problem increases yearly; and there are centuries ahead of us. The South needs help, and for the sake of generations yet unborn the South pleads for that help before it is too late.

Alone and unaided, Southerners may maintain a white South for many decades yet, and we shall do so in spite of all outside attacks, even those coming from members of our own race, whose battles we are also fighting. But the South can hope for no permanent victory over the Negro problem without the aid of the North, East, and West. We must have the help of the entire Nation to bring about the physical separation of the races. This is a problem which the Nation created and which only the Nation as a whole can adequately and permanently solve.

When tyranny, backed by immense power, attempted to intimidate the Northern colonies, the South, though not immediately concerned in the struggle, cried, 'Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle?' (Henry.) We know the result. The South made common cause with their endangered 'brethren' and the American nation sprang into existence. Race and culture are imperiled in the South as they never were in the North. There are millions of Southerners who wait for the powerful white North to say, 'Our brethren are in the field! Why stand we here idle?' (10)

Go to [Next Chapter](#)

Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

NOTES

1. This widely publicized statement by Mr. Ethridge was made when he was a member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices during the hearings of this Committee at Birmingham, Alabama, in 1942.
2. As reprinted in *The Southern Watchman* (Greensboro, Alabama), Feb. 19, 1944, p. 5.
3. Cox, Earnest S.. *White America*, p. 181.
4. See [Chapter II](#)
5. Cohn. David I., "How the South Feels," *The Readers Digest*, June, 1944, pp. 2
6. These groups will be discussed in subsequent chapters.
7. Smith, William B., *The Color Line* (New York: McClure, Phillips and Company, 1905), p. 8.
8. Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, p. 12. The differences between the races will be further discussed in [Chapter V](#)
9. These arguments will be answered in Chapter [VI](#), [VII](#), and [VIII](#).

10. Cox, Earnest S., *White America*, p. 253.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter V

**THE DEMANDS OF
THE NEGRO LEADERS**

I love to watch the rooster crow, He's like so many men I know, Who brag and bluster, rant and shout, And beat their manly breasts, without The first damn thing to crow about. -*John K. Bangs*

COMPLETE political, economic, and social equality with the white people is what the Negroes in this country want. This is the stated demand of the leaders of the colored race on behalf of the 12,865,518 Negroes in the United States. They want all racial barriers abolished throughout the Nation; they want racial segregation completely eliminated; they want to eat in the restaurants with the white people, attend the same schools, churches, and theaters, the same social functions, use the same swimming pools, sleep in the same hotels, use the same barber shops; they want the color line forever and Everywhere abolished; they want intermarriage between whites and blacks, the right to date your daughters and to become your sons-in-law.

The demands of the Negro leaders have been stated in fourteen essays which compose the text of the book, *What the Negro Wants*. (1) In the Publisher's Introduction, W. T. Couch stated that this book was written at the request of the University of North Carolina Press. The idea was that the country, and especially the South, should know what the Negro wants, and that statements from leading Negroes might give needed information on this subject.

In the Editor's Preface Rayford W. Logan (colored) says that fourteen Negroes who have devoted many years of study to America's most difficult minority problem have presented their views in this book, their conception of what the Negro wants and the methods by which he can best achieve his aspirations. He states that he selected the contributors, four of whom might be called conservatives, five liberals, and five radicals, and in no way attempted to influence their opinions or conclusions.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the demands of the Negroes today in the words of these Negro leaders themselves. Every one of them asks for full and complete equality for the colored minority in this Nation. Economic, political, and **social equality** is their goal; the abolition of the color line is the ultimate aim of all of them. The reader is urged to give careful attention to

the following quotations, one of which was taken from each of the fourteen essays written by a Negro leader and contained in the book, *What the Negro Wants*.

In the opening discussion entitled "The Negro Wants First-Class Citizenship," the Editor, Rayford W. Logan, Professor of History at Howard University (colored), makes the following statements: (2)

Negroes in the United States want first-class citizenship. . . In the name of democracy for all Americans we ask these irreducible fundamentals of first-class citizenship for all Negroes:

1. Equality of opportunity.
2. Equal pay for equal work.
3. Equal protection of the laws.
4. Equality of suffrage.
5. Equal recognition of the dignity of the human being.
6. Abolition of public segregation.

The crucial question remains: What should be the ultimate objective of this proposed action on both the national (including the state and the local) and the international scene? Should it be continuation of public segregation or should it be the eventual integration of Negroes into the public life of the American people? The answer to this question, indeed vitally affects the achievement of the immediate steps proposed. Many persons who say that they favor economic, political, and educational equality for the Negro oppose such equality in practice for fear that it will lead to 'social equality,' by which most of them mean intermarriage. And the great majority of those who favor economic, political, and educational equality in practice oppose intermarriage. On no aspect of the race problem are most white Americans, North as well as South, so adamant as they are on their opposition to intermarriage.

Now, Southerners especially fear that the abolition of public segregation would result in intermarriage. The fact that mixed schools, mixed employment, even social mingling in the more liberal parts of the United States have resulted in very few mixed marriages does not prevent this real or fancied fear. Mrs. Roosevelt may publicly state that mixed marriages are the personal affair of the couple if they are willing, in communities where they are not prohibited by law, to assume this additional burden upon a happy marriage. Some biologists and anthropologists have concluded that mixed marriages do not necessarily result in an inferior offspring and

that, in fact, there is no pure race. Most white Americans remain nonetheless opposed to intermarriage and many of them to the abolition of public segregation as a possible first step toward it.

There seems to me to be an essentially sound answer to the fear of ultimate intermarriage whether it should result from the achievement of economic, political, and cultural equality under segregation (if that be possible) or from the abolition of public segregation. If, after either or both of these eventualities, laws or custom still rigidly oppose mixed marriages, there will be few more than there now are. If, on the other hand, laws and public opinion should change and there should be more mixed marriages - why, we shall all be dead in 2044 and the people will do what they wish. After all, most Southerners have accommodated themselves to the abolition of the 'divine institution' of slavery.

The author of the second essay in *What the Negro Wants* is W. E. B. DuBois, who was born in Massachusetts, educated at Fisk University in Tennessee, at Harvard University in Boston, and at the University of Berlin in Germany. For many years, Dr. DuBois was a professor at Atlanta University (colored), Atlanta, Georgia, and he has been universally recognized as the head spokesman for the thoughts and ambitions of the Negroes in this country. In presenting "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom," Dr. DuBois, who is now Director of Special Research for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says: (3)

Finally and in summation, what is it that in sixty years of purposive endeavor, I have wanted for my people? Just what do I mean by 'Freedom'?

Proceeding from the vague and general plans of youth, through the more particular program of active middle life, and on to the general and at the same time more specific plans of the days of reflexion, I can see, with overlappings and contradictions, these things:

By 'Freedom' for Negroes, I meant and still mean, full economic, political and Social equality with American citizens, in thought, expression and action, with no discrimination based on race or color.

A statement such as this challenges immediate criticism. Economic equality is today widely advocated as the basis for real political power: men are beginning to demand for all persons, the right to work at a wage which will maintain a decent standard of living. Beyond that the right to vote is the demand that all persons governed should have some voice in government. Beyond these two demands, so widely admitted, what does one mean by a demand for 'social equality'?

The phrase is unhappy because of the vague meaning of both 'social' and 'equality.' Yet it is in too common use to be discarded, and it stands especially for an attitude

toward the Negro. **'social' is used to refer not only to the intimate contacts of the family group and of personal companions, but also and increasingly to the whole vast complex of human relationships through which we carry out our cultural patterns.**

We may list the activities called 'social' roughly as follows:

A. private social intercourse (marriage, friendships, home entertainment).

B. public services (residence areas, travel, recreation and information, hotels and restaurants).

C. Social uplift (education, religion, science and art).

Here are three categories of social activities calling for three interpretations of equality. In the matter of purely personal contacts like marriage, intimate friendships and sociable gatherings, 'equality' means the right to select one's own mates and close companions. The basis of choice may be cultured taste or vacant whim, but it is an unquestionable right so long as my free choice does not deny equal freedom on the part of others. No one can for a moment question the preference of a white man to marry a white woman or invite only white friends to dinner. But by the same token if a white desdemona prefers a black othello; or if theodore roosevelt includes among his dinner guests booker t. Washington, their right also is undeniable and its restriction by law or custom an inadmissible infringement of civil rights.

Naturally, if an individual choice like intermarriage is proven to be a social injury, society must forbid it. It has been the contention of the white South that the social body always suffers from miscegenation, and that miscegenation is always possible where there is friendship and often where there is mere courtesy.

This belief, modern science (4) has effectively answered. There is no scientific reason why there should not be intermarriage between two human beings who happen to be of different race or color. This does mean any forcible limitation of individual preference based on race, color, or any other reason; it does limit any compulsion of persons who do not accept the validity of such reasons not to follow their own choices.

The marriage of Frederick Douglass to a white woman did not injure society. The marriage of the Negro Greek scholar, William Scarborough, to Sarah Bierce, principal of the Wilberforce Normal School was not a social catastrophe. The mulatto descendants of Louise Dumas and the Marquis de la Pailleterie were a great gift to mankind. The determination of any white person not to have children with Negro, Chinese, or Irish blood is a desire which demands respect. In like manner, the

tastes of others, no matter how few or many, who disagree, demand equal respect.

Notwithstanding the foregoing pronouncements by Dr. DuBois, who is the real leader of the Negro intelligentsia in America. you will often find Negro leaders who are not yet so bold as their number one spokesman. This group will deny that social equality is the ultimate aim, dream, and purpose of ninety-nine per cent of the Negroes of the United States. For policy's sake, perhaps through fear of public condemnation, they make their denials when as a matter of fact the sweetest dream of their lives is to live to see complete social equality-the right and daily custom for a Negro man to marry a white woman without criticism or any form of condemnation.

As the summary to his discussion of "What the Negro Wants and How to Get It: The Inward Power of the Masses," Leslie P. Hill (colored), President of State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania, says: (5)

What does the American Negro want? Full citizen status in our American democracy. How shall he reach that goal? By the inward power of the masses. And how shall that power be acquired? Fundamentally, on the highest plane and on the humblest, by a leadership motivated by a world-encompassing philosophy which is rooted in the will of God - a leadership which, itself a vital part of the force of events, is consecrated in humility to the immediate and practical education of the people.

Let me say in response to the hypocritical statement of President Hill that the real and true white man is willing to accept the Negro as his brother in Christ. However, he does not prefer to take him on as a son-in-law in his family, and this decision comes under the head of an honest and true white man's business. No decent white man who has any regard for racial integrity is called upon to sacrifice the purity of his white blood in order to admit the spiritual truth of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

In his article entitled "The Negro Has Always Wanted the Four Freedoms," Charles H. Wesley, President of Wilberforce University (colored), declares: (6)

The Negro wants a revision of the concept of race and of racism. Discriminations in industry, labor unions, education, the Jim Crow pattern for the Army and Navy are based upon fascist racism. The white people of the United States have strong and positive ideas about racial equality. They use these justifications for discriminations. Before the latter can be removed, there must be some change in the former. The Negro is pressing forward against these barriers but the assumption of racial equality is being resisted. The war, with its emphasis upon democracy and its apparent opposition to racial superiority, is continuing to raise the issue, and it will have to be met with sincerity. Speeches and well-meaning committees cannot solve it by themselves. There will have to be education on the subject of race. We shall have to

learn that the doctrine of racism has no scientific foundations . . .

The Negro wants a realistic interpretation of religion in terms of brotherhood. The church is seen consistently to practise segregation and division, although its theory is universal. If it were not for the Negro Church, it is probable that there would be thousands of enemies of Christianity among Negroes. If the church does not desire to be known as a hypocrite in history and in fact, it must cleanse itself of segregation, discrimination and exclusion and begin to minister to all groups without the long-handled spoon. If the church would save itself, it must develop a crusading ardor for Christianity in relation to all men. The church can give the people the will to do, for facts will not suffice in this situation. (7)

"The Negro Wants Full Equality" is the title and the theme of the article by Roy Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of *The Crisis*. Wilkins says: (8)

It has been said that not all the armored divisions of both the Axis and Allied armies can force the South to revise its system of social segregation. It has been said again that if such a demand is made seriously, every white male below the Potomac will spring to arms and another civil war will rend the nation.

Certain it is that the Negro soldiers are not fighting and dying to maintain the status quo for their race. Their place now is in the front of the bullets of the enemy, and below the bombs in enemy planes. Bullets, or threats of bullets, are not likely to cause them to bow and scrape once they are home.

No, the threats of civil war will not turn the trick. The American demands of the Negro are there, made in the American manner, rooted in the American ideal. They are not to be brushed aside, and something more than fulmination and bluster is indicated from the opposition. The next move is up to white Americans, and particularly white Southern Americans.

Let me say to Roy Wilkins, and I am speaking the sentiments and convictions of the true, decent, self-respecting white men and women North and South of the Mason and Dixon Line, that this last war was not fought to change one whit the definition or meaning of true democracy and true Americanism. We fought to preserve what we already had, and those who may have had any other motive constituted a subversive element that was as dangerous to our cause as the enemies we fought. If some over-zealous person or persons or ill-informed Negro intelligentsia or documents compiled by white Quislings to be used in the orientation courses given in some sections of the Army set-up or unreliable newspapers and magazines written by Negroes and white Quislings left colored Americans under the impression that a victory in this recent war meant the breaking down of the color line in the South or social equality and intermarriage with the white race, then I am sorry. World War II and all its great victories will not in any way or in

any manner change the views and sentiments of white America on the questions of social equality and intermarriage of the Negro with the white race. The integrity of the blood of white Americans must be preserved at all hazards regardless of how many wars we might be forced to wage.

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and organizer of the March on Washington Movement, is the author of the next essay, which is entitled "March on Washington Movement Presents Program for the Negro." Before reading the hereinafter direct quotation from this Negro, let it be known by all Americans that he is the most vigorous, audacious, ambitious, and dangerous Negro in America today.

Randolph is the type who believes in force and who has bragged about the technique of force which he used in the threatened march on Washington in 1941. This was the time when he intimidated the President of the United States with the threat of riotous conditions in the Nation's Capital at a moment when the whole Nation was preparing for World War II. Using this method, he and his collaborators secured the President's signature to the famous Executive Order No. 8802, which was the birth of the unAmerican bastard known as the Fair Employment Practice Committee. The word "reason" is not in his vocabulary. He does not know how to plead or ask for anything that he wants for the Negro people. Using the communistic pattern, he vociferously and obstreperously DEMANDS. The following are his words: (9)

We in the March on Washington Movement are disturbed by these things. We call on our fellow Americans to fight with us to wipe out these practices which violate both in spirit and in letter the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

We demand a democratic army and call upon the President as Commander-in-Chief to enforce the Draft Law which forbids discrimination.

We demand that Negroes be employed on the basis of their skill and intelligence in all branches of our federal service in every public and private industry. This means a functioning FEPC with power to end discrimination in training, in placement, in wages, in promotions and in membership in labor organizations. We demand equal education opportunities with equal access for the Negro student to all public tax-supported institutions. We demand the democratic right to vote without poll-taxes, white primaries and other devices which keep the majority of Southern Negroes a voteless group with no voice either in the selection of their representatives or a check on unjust public policies.

We demand an end to segregation in transportation, in housing, in health and recreational facilities and in all other social service.

We demand the enforcement of that provision of the Constitution which provides that 'No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of

law.'

We demand the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color or national origin.

We demand Negro and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may help to determine policies for all people.

In his article entitled "One American Problem and a Possible Solution," Willard S. Townsend, President of the United Transport Service Employees of America (Red Caps) and a member of the General Executive Board of the CIO, states: (10)

While the problem maintains a surface sectionalism in many ways, its real solution lies within the framework of our total national economy. It is intellectually indecent for many of our 'liberal spokesmen' in the North to spend the greater portion of their time berating the South for its obvious shortcomings while at the same time accepting the basic concept of inequities found hidden beneath the surface of such trivial innocent sounding phrases as 'individual initiative and incentive' and the recently revived hoax of 'free enterprise' emanating from the well paid public relations experts of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Discussing "Freedom-Through Victory in War and Peace," Doxey A. Wilkerson, Editor of *People's Voice* and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association, says: (11)

The Negro wants to be free. He wants freedom from every form of discrimination on account of race or color. He wants complete economic, political and social equality- in short, full democratic rights. And they shall attain their goal of full democratic rights- far sooner than many people think.

This Negro, Doxey Wilkerson, is a pal of Benjamin Davis who led the fight along with Communist William Z. Foster against the ex-convict, Earl Browder, in the reorganization and reorientation of the Communist Party in the United States and made Foster the new head of the Party. They have been leading the Negroes to believe that through the Communist Party they will soon seize the deep South, drive out the native whites, and convert the land of Dixie into a soviet republic owned, controlled, and dominated alone by the American Negro. The American people would be surprised at the number of Negroes in this country who believe that this grand and glorious negrophile dream will come true. However, let me assure these poor, deluded fellow-travelers of the darker skin that they will hear Gabriel "toot his tooter" and will see the "Sweet Chariot swing low" before they take possession of the deep South.

Gordon B. Hancock, Professor of Economics and Sociology at Virginia Union University (colored), selects as his subject "Race Relations in the United States: A Summary." He declares: (12)

There is no way to avoid a head-on collision with the color question. It has been raised everywhere by the white man who dominates the Twentieth Century world, in which color considerations have assumed a major importance. Common sense precludes the possibility that Negroes in these war times make a frontal attack for full citizenship without a frontal counter-attack by the resisting white elements who in sheer desperation are threatening again to throw the color question into the politics of the South; and who are at present rumor-mongering in a manner that would provide excuses for a revival of their Reconstruction methods of dealing with the Negroes of the South.

The above quotation from Gordon B. Hancock (colored) Professor at Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, is a very subtle admission that Negroes have made in these war times a frontal attack for full citizenship which to them means social equality. This is further evidenced by the two hundred or more books which have been written in the past four years by Negroes and Quislings of the white race together with the flaming, sensational, irritating, and inflammatory articles appearing in almost every Negro newspaper in the Nation arousing hatred and animosity in the minds and hearts of the Negro population against the whites, North, South, East, and West, while at the same time demanding social equality under the newly-defined definitions of democracy and Americanism. During these same four years, less than six books have been written in the interest of the integrity of the white blood of America, and these books are apologetic in the extreme. In other words, while the white people of the Nation were absorbed in fighting the World War at home and abroad, the Negro leaders and intelligentsia were working and are still working assiduously and indefatigably to force their integration into the white society of America regardless of costs and consequences. Even during the most perilous days of the War, these Negro leaders cared not at all if their equality campaign retarded the war effort. Unless the Negro social equality seekers learn their lesson before it is too late, Professor Hancock will find out that the white people not only of the South but of the entire Nation will rise to resist this united effort on the part of the Negroes to mongrelize the white race and will present a solid front against this greatest menace which has ever confronted white America.

In the next essay in this collection, "Certain Unalienable Rights," Mary McLeod Bethune (colored) President of the National Council of Negro Women says: (13)

Here, then, is a program for racial advancement and national unity. It adds up to the sum of the rights, privileges and responsibilities of full American citizenship. This is all that the Negro asks. He will not willingly accept less. As long as America offers less, she will be that much less a democracy. The whole way is the American way.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's special friend, associate, and coworker, Mary McLeod Bethune, failed to elaborate on her pronouncement of what the Negro wants, but when she says that America will not be a full democracy until complete racial equality is granted, that the "sum of the rights,

privileges and responsibilities of full American citizenship" is all the Negro asks, and that "the whole way is the American way," you can be assured that she meant to ask for total social equality between the two races. Surely, any one would know that this would in the end mean miscegenation, bastardization, amalgamation, and intermarriage of the races. Regardless of what Mrs. Roosevelt and her associate, Mary McLeod Bethune, have actually said or may say about social equality of whites and Negroes and the complete intermingling of the two races, their preachments and practices will eventually lead to the amalgamation, mongrelization, and destruction of both the white and black races. And they might well exclaim: "Oh, what a great day is coming when all Americans will be covered with tan, sunkissed, brown skins!"

"The Negro Wants Full Participation in the American Democracy" is the name of the article by Frederick D. Patterson (colored), President of Tuskegee Institute. He proclaims: (14)

Any form of segregation based on race, creed or color is discriminatory and imposes a penalty inconsistent with the guaranties of American democracy. The more conservative element of Negroes differ from those who hold the most radical views in opposition to segregation only in terms of time and technique of its elimination. In my statement which attempts to speak unequivocally in terms of ultimates, all Negroes must condemn any form of segregation based on race, creed or color anywhere in our nation.

My kind and gentle reader, please let me especially direct your re-reading and analyzing with all its implications the foregoing pronouncement of Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, at Tuskegee, Alabama, in the heart of Dixie in the deep South. I would not pick one laurel from the crown which the American people have placed upon the head of that great, sane, sound teacher and leader of the Negro race, Booker T. Washington, who founded and administered during his lifetime this great Negro Institution. His teachings, philosophies, and convictions on the race question permeated every room on the campus at Tuskegee Institute. The lives, thoughts, and visions of the tens of thousands of his students, who left their alma mater knowing how to live and succeed as they pursued life's journey living in a white man's country where they are out-numbered ten to one, have been a memorial to him.

Everywhere in this broad land where Booker T. Washington's students are found, they are living, succeeding, happy on their way, reflecting credit to the great Negro leader and teacher at whose feet they learned the "Negro's place." A great misfortune has overtaken Tuskegee Institute in that it now has a president who holds and announces such views on the race question in America as we have just read and noted. Figuratively speaking, Booker T. Washington would turn over in his grave if he could read the apostasy of his successor at this Institution where he spent his life in a consecrated work safely to steer and guide the course of the sons and daughters of his race along life's journey. Frederick Patterson, for the sake of the future of the Negro race, should be instantly transplanted to Brooklyn, New York, where there are some whites who have concluded that they are no better than the Negro, or to Harlem where he would not have the opportunity to contaminate and corrupt the minds and hearts of the boys and girls

of the Negro race of the entire Southland.

Dr. Patterson either willingly, willfully, or with no care, thought or vision of the future of his race prevaricates when he says that segregation of race or color is discrimination. Again, he prevaricates when he announces that segregation "imposes a penalty inconsistent with the guaranties of American democracy." By his own statement, he admits that he does not know what American democracy means. The evil of his declaration that in any attempt "to speak unequivocally in terms of ultimates all Negroes must condemn any form of segregation based on race, creed or color anywhere in our nation" is indescribable. With this one statement, he deliberately plants in the hearts and minds of his students and the members of his race a craving for a condition that will not only bring on a bloody conflict between the true, white Americans and the few million Negroes in this country, but he announces an ambition that the Negroes will possess under his philosophy and teachings that will lead to amalgamation, miscegenation, and mongrelization of both his race and the white man's race - total destruction of both.

I do not know whether to blame or to censure Dr. Patterson. He could be just plain stupid and not know what he is doing; but regardless of the reason behind his preachments, he is sowing the seeds that will destroy him and his kind. God give us another Booker T. Washington to save Tuskegee Institute!

George S. Schuyler (colored), Associate Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier and of The African and Business Manager of The Crisis, in an article entitled "The Caucasian Problem" has this to say: (15)

What chance is there of doing this? It would require a revolutionary program of re-education calling not only for wholesale destruction of the accumulated mass of racialistic propaganda in books, magazines, newspapers, motion pictures and all the present laws and regulations which recognize the racial fiction and are based upon it, but for a complete reorganization of our social system. It would have to include the complete abolition of Jim Crow laws and institutions; the rescinding of all racial pollution laws barring marriage because of so-called race; a complete enforcement of the letter and spirit of the federal constitution, and the ending of every vestige of the color bar in industry, commerce and the professions. The words 'Negro,' 'white,' 'Caucasian,' 'Nordic' and 'Aryan' would have to be permanently taken out of circulation except among scholars and scientists. There would have to be an end of gathering population statistics by so-called race. Government service in all its branches, state and federal, would have to be thrown open to all on the basis solely of merit, and promotions made accordingly. It would probably be necessary to have drastic laws against manifestations of color prejudice and discrimination, just as we have legislated against kidnaping, arson and murder which are certainly no more serious from the viewpoint of national welfare.

It is extremely doubtful if the colored people here or anywhere else will accept

anything less than this, and if they do it is very likely to prove unsatisfactory. The alternative is to drift toward an international color war.

Concerning George S. Schuyler, the writer of the above quoted statement, two things are quite evident. First, he is the best news writer and all-round advocate of total social equality and intermarriage of the races in America today. Second, he is bold and reckless in making clear to the world the consummation and fulfillment of the dream of every Negro man in America regardless of whether he can read or write. (Schuyler has personally realized his dream - he already has a white wife!) Many Negroes, and the South certainly has its portion, are too ignorant to be articulate, and others keep quiet on their ultimate dream because silence is the best policy. However, Schuyler throws discretion to the winds in all his writings and leaves no one in doubt about the things for which all Negroes are working and praying, and he thoroughly agrees with the prophecy of Dr. DuBois that we are drifting toward a world war based on color alone.

I have been fighting, I am now fighting, and I shall keep on fighting the plan and pattern of Schuyler and his kind. I beg, plead, and intreat every white man and white woman in this Republic who has any regard for the integrity of the white race and the white man's civilization to see to it that the day never comes when Schuyler's demand shall be complied with and the words "Negro," "white," "Caucasian," "Nordic." and "Aryan" shall be taken out of everyday circulation.

The question of race relations and the matter of social equality which leads inevitably to miscegenation, amalgamation, bastardization, mongrelization, and intermarriage of the races should be the concern of every decent, straight-thinking white man and white woman in this land. It is a question about which there can be no compromise. You are either white and want your offspring throughout all the years to come to be just as white, or you are willing to pursue a policy of "doing nothing about it." If you choose the latter, then step by step, day by day, year by year, century by century, both the white and the black races will be destroyed, and nothing but brown-skinned mongrels will be left to inhabit this fair land of ours.

This question of social equality which involves the mixing of the white and black bloods is in the same category as vice, and the following words of Pope are just as applicable:

Vice is a monster of such frightful mien,
That to be hated, needs but to be seen,
But seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace!

Dear reader, just what stage have you reached? Are you enduring, are you pitying, or are you embracing the African Negro in our midst?

In a discussion entitled "My America," Langston Hughes (colored), a writer and member of the

Advisory Council of the Writer's War Board, declares: (16)

The South opposes the civil rights of Negroes and their protection by law. Witness lynchings where no one is punished, witness the Jim Crow laws that deny the letter and spirit of the Constitution. For democracy to have real meaning, the Negro must have the same civil rights as any other American citizen. It seems obvious that the South does not yet know what this war is all about. As answer Number One to the question, 'What shall we do about the South?' I would suggest an immediate and intensive government-directed program of pro-democratic education, to be put into the schools of the South from the first grades of the grammar schools to the universities.

Although Langston Hughes is a fair writer and poetically inclined, the Negro race and intelligentsia can not get much consolation out of his literary progress because three of his great grandfathers were white men. However, Hughes is a Negro just the same because one drop of African blood or one limb on the family tree makes a Negro.

We are indebted to Langston Hughes for his frankness in telling us what he has up his sleeve in answering the question, "What shall we do about the South?" If we had a white Quisling President, a spineless Congress playing politics for the Negro vote, the first bill Hughes would wish introduced and passed would be to have all the school books from the first grades to the universities rewritten. His purpose in having this done would be to teach the American youth from Maine to California, from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico that the Negro is the equal of the white man and that the type and characteristics, as well as the color of the skin, make absolutely no difference from now until doomsday in white America. The road would then be clear for the immediate and speedy mongrelization of both the white and the Negro races.

According to Hughes -- and this is where the Negro mind and blood asserts itself -- World War II was fought for the purpose of mongrelizing White America. If the South and the decent, self-respecting white people of the rest of the Nation had ever entertained the slightest suggestion that World War II was fought to integrate the Negro into the social life of white America, we would have had a nationwide rebellion against the conscription of the 12,000,000 or more men and women who marched and fought in the uniform of our country in order to win this war.

Let me say to Langston Hughes that the American Republic is still white, and our civilization is still safe because it is white. The mongrelization of the Nation, as Hughes seems so much to desire, would be far worse than an atomic bomb dropped upon every township of American soil.

In the last essay in this book "Count Us In," Sterling A. Brown (colored), Professor of English at Howard University, writes: (17)

The black herring of intermarriage has been dragged too often across the trail to justice. 'Would you want your sister to marry a nigger?' is still the question that is supposed to stun any white man who sponsors rights for Negroes. It stirs Negroes to ironic laughter, although on all levels they recognize the white man's fear of intermarriage as deepseated. From the jokes of the people--of Negroes talking to Negroes, where 'Miss Annie's' name is changed to 'Miss Rope' or 'Miss Hemp'-- to the satire of the publicists, this awareness is to be found. A Negro editor, fighting a covenant restricting housing, was asked point blank: 'Do you believe in intermarriage?' to stop his guns of logic and facts. Some Negro public speakers, faced with the question, dodge behind statements like 'Well, I'm married already myself.' Some take refuge in Kipling's line, 'Never the twain shall meet,' without sharing Kipling's assurance or hope. The twain have met and the twain will meet. But negroes are not convinced thereby that they must give up their struggle to share in American democracy.

Notwithstanding the fact that Sterling A. Brown, nativeborn citizen of the District of Columbia, had opportunities to acquire knowledge while attending Williams College and Harvard University and while teaching and studying at Virginia Seminary, Fisk University, Lincoln University, and Howard University; yet with all these many vaccinations with the virus of wisdom, none were successful. In common, everyday language, or shall I call it localism, he is just a plain intellectual screw-ball.

When any Negro who has even a smattering or a suggestion of intelligence treats lightly and sarcastically the artful tragedy of the commingling of white blood with Negro blood in holy wedlock or in marriage, it is astounding, inexplicable, and beyond the comprehension of a sane and rational mind. It is true that occasionally because of sin, weakness, and infidelity, in violation of all the laws of God and nature, and in total disregard of the purity and the integrity of both the white and black bloods "the twain have met." But by the Eternals, this unpardonable sin against race must stop regardless of cost and consequences; and even though Brown and his kind would have us believe otherwise, it can be stopped without violating in the remotest degree the true principles of American democracy.

Here we have parts of the statements of fourteen Negro leaders. Their demands for complete political, economic, and social equality have been openly and frankly stated for all the world to read and understand. They have used every conceivable argument in an attempt to support their appeal for full equality which to them means social equality. These arguments in the name of democracy, of science, and of religion will be answered in the next chapters. We will see that they are merely smokescreens which can not and will not stand under any sane, sound, and logical analysis.

Since this chapter has been devoted to quotations from the book "What the Negro Wants", it is only proper that we conclude with a part of the Publisher's Introduction written by W. T. Couch (white) of the University of North Carolina Press. In a forceful and unanswerable statement,

Mr. Couch disagrees with the Negro writers in their insistence that all racial barriers be abolished. In conclusion he says: (18)

When the Press asked for this book it was hoped that serious attention would be given the possibilities for the Negro in America and elsewhere. The old complaints against the white man may be justified, but more than that, far more, is needed. More evidence that the white man is not considered responsible for everything, that the Negro himself has some responsibilities would help. Does the Negro have no opportunities in the South? Is the southern white man to blame for everything that happens? Do fate and the Negro have no part?

Do Negro leaders have any ideas on how educational processes can be improved? What is the Negro doing of importance in agriculture, in industry, in the professions? What is he inventing, discovering, writing? What is he contributing that is new and valuable, what does he want, what does he need in order to enable him to contribute more? Is there need for a really great university for Negroes in the South? Can it be that Negroes in this region now have all the educational opportunities they can use? Which is the wiser course for the Negro: continuation of efforts to break down segregation in higher education --efforts which have no chance to succeed-- or efforts to get the southern states to co-operate in supporting a first-rate institution for Negroes in some southern center?

Can Negroes and whites learn to work together, to develop and use all their talents, to live in peace and mutual respect-- can they discover the meaning of human rights, can they learn to practice what they discover? Can they remain racially separate and distinct and at the same time avoid inflicting disabilities on each other? Does the white man have no right to attempt to separate cultural from biological integration, and help the Negro achieve the first and deny him the second? Can biological integration be regarded as a right? What happens to the case for the Negro if it is tied up with things to which he not only has no right, but which, if granted, would destroy all rights? If any two people have a right to lead their own lives, certainly any two others or ten or twenty million have a right to opinions on what ought to be allowed and what forbidden. To say that the twenty million have no right to make and enforce decisions that they think necessary to the well-being of all is to say that society has no right to govern itself. The assumption of a better, a more valid authority, one that can be understood and that ought to be accepted by all rational beings, one that speaks with the voice of reason and justice, is the only foundation for appeals against majority decisions. To say that two may be right and twenty million wrong is to say that there is a more valid authority, that it is the only trustworthy guide, and that all men ought to act in accord with it. But the spokesman for minorities have followed the fashion of the times and denied the existence of any such authority. In doing so they have destroyed the only possible basis for their arguments, and have abandoned their only opportunity to help create understanding

where confusion now exists.

What problem would be solved if the white South dropped all barriers and accepted amalgamation? Would anything be gained if overnight the whole population could be made one color? One of man's great problems in this world is to learn what is good, to learn to recognize the good in whatever form, under whatever circumstances, it may appear. Some day the social engineers may be able to make all men alike, indistinguishable from one another, and equally good. But until that has been done, men need most of all to learn to recognize and use good qualities whether they belong to tall or short, round or long skulled, colored or white. Booker Washington came nearer than anyone else to stating the problem of the Negro in its true terms. Envy, jealousy among his own people seriously hampered his efforts, curbed his program. Nothing is more needed in the South today than rebirth of his ideas, restoration of the great leadership that he was giving.

I believe that regardless of the Negro's abilities the same justice that is good for the white man is good for the Negro. But this justice does not, cannot operate on the basis of a mechanical equality. To be just, distinctions and discriminations have to be made. If the distinctions and discriminations are made in directions that some people say are wrong-- who can take such charges seriously in a world that denies the existence of any real right and wrong? I can and do, because I believe standards of right and wrong are necessary to civilization. Until the modern intellectual abandons his relativistic dogmas, he cannot criticize without expecting to be reminded that, according to his own doctrine, his opinion is merely his opinion and has no real validity. If he can quote 'authorities,' if something that calls itself 'science' supports his views, if the assertion of opposed views is not intellectually respectable, what of it? What kind of 'science' is it that has to support itself in this manner?

Go to [Next Chapter](#)

Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. Logan, R. W., *What the Negro Wants* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).
2. Reprinted from *What the Negro Wants*, edited by Rayford W. Logan, by permission of The University of North Carolina Press. Copyright, 1944, by The University of North Carolina Press.
3. Ibid.
4. The argument presented by Dr. DuBois in the name of "modern science" as well as other arguments in the name of democracy and religion will be answered in Chapters [VI](#), [VIII](#).
5. Reprinted from *What the Negro Wants*, edited by Rayford W. Logan, by permission of

The University of North Carolina Press. Copyright, 1944 by The University of North Carolina Press.

6. Ibid.
7. President Wesley's three arguments for full equality in the name of science, democracy, and religion will be answered in Chapters [VI](#), [VII](#), and [VIII](#).
8. Reprinted from *What the Negro Wants*, edited by Rayford W. Logan, by permission of The University of North Carolina Press. Copyright 1944 by The University of North Carolina Press.
9. Thru 18. Ibid.

Take Your Choice

Separation or Mongrelization

By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter VI

Inequalities of the White and Negro Races

Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. -*Daniel, 5:27*

THE PREVIOUS chapter has presented the demands of the Negro leaders for complete economic, political, and social equality between the white and black races in the United States. These demands must necessarily be based on the acceptance of the doctrine of the equality of the two races and the denial of the inferiority of the Negro. If racial differences do not exist, then these writers are asking for equality for equal races; but if differences do exist, then they are asking for equality for unequals, and the very basis of their argument is refuted. It is the purpose of this chapter to show that both history and science defy the theory of the equality of the Caucasian and the Negro races.

At this point, it should be pointed out that no attempt will be made here to reconcile the different theories as to the origin of the races of mankind. We leave the reader to his own conclusions concerning the plan which was used by the Creator of the Heavens and the Earth in creating and separating the different races. The fact that God did ordain the division of the people of the earth into separate races as a part of the Divine plan is sufficient for our purpose. We do know that for thousands of years, the races have been constituted practically as they are today and grouped into three great divisions: the white, the yellow, and the black. We also know that from the dawn of history the different races have left a record of their accomplishments and achievements upon the pages of time, and from this chronicle we can compare their qualities, abilities, and their contributions to the progress of mankind.

In [Chapter II](#) we found that all the great civilizations of the world have been produced by the white race. Could this have been accidental? Over thousands of years, north, south, east, and west, everywhere, under all conditions, Caucasian man has manifested his conquering, victorious qualities. Throughout the years, history records no achievements of the Negro race which challenge in any manner whatsoever the superiority of the culture and civilization of the white man.

Such is the lesson of history. It shows us that all civilizations derive from the white

race, that none can exist without its help, and that a society is great and brilliant only so far as it preserves the blood of the noble group that created it, provided that this group itself belongs to the most illustrious branch of our species. (1)

The history of civilization and culture is the history of the Caucasian race. Great and glorious cities, monuments and Coliseums, amphitheatres and cathedrals, empires and nations have testified to the ability of the white man. He has bridged the rivers, spanned the oceans, conquered continents, and built mighty civilizations out of wildernesses. Great men, world leaders, brilliant minds that have mastered things material and spiritual, all the endless creations of art, science, literature, law, religion, and of every activity known to man blaze across the pages of history to give evidence of the superior ability of the white race. It was by the white man's brain that the atoms of creation were split and the atomic bomb became the greatest power on earth.

. . .all of this infinite cloud of witnesses gather swarming upon us from the whole firmament of the past and proclaim with Pentecostal tongue the glory and supremacy of Caucasian man. It seems impossible to represent in human speech, or by symbols intelligible to the human mind, the variety and immensity of this consentient testimony of all historic time and place. Not to be overwhelmed and overawed, much more convinced, by such a prodigious spectacle of evidence, is to gaze at midnight into the heavens and cry out, 'Where is the sun?' For over against all these transcendent achievements, what has the West African to set? What art? What science? What religion? What morality? What philosophy? What history? What even one single aspect of civilization or culture or higher humanity? It would seem to be an insult to the reader's intelligence, if we should prolong the comparison. (2)

The Negro has had just as long as the white man to develop a civilization of his own. Thousands and tens of thousands of years have passed, and the black man has not lifted his people from the darkness of Africa. If the white and black races are equal in ability, then why have they not produced equal civilizations? Or why has not the African exhibited his ability to reproduce civilization and culture after the way has been blazed for him? It is a matter of historical truth that no Negro race has ever initiated a civilization and "only, when it is mixed with some other can it even be initiated into one." (3) This may well be said to be the real reason why the American Negro is feverishly and unrelentingly demanding the integration of his kind into every phase of the white man's civilization- in the churches and schools, in politics and government, in the army and navy, and in the air. The only known request that he has not made is for the permission to help handle the atomic bomb! He is afraid of that "bug"!

There were some American Negroes who were repatriated by the American Colonization Society to West Africa and established the Republic of Liberia in 1847. However, they have provided us with no startling revelations of the black man's ability because even in the creation of the Liberian Republic the Negroes adopted almost in toto the Constitution of the United States. The only noted changes which they made in adopting the American Constitution for

their form and scheme of government were two amendments:

1. an amendment to provide specifically that no white man should ever vote in the Republic of Liberia,
2. an amendment to provide that no white man should ever own a foot of land in Liberia. This second provision, however, does not prevent the leasing of the lands of Liberia to traders, merchants, and manufacturers. (4)

The accomplishments of the white and black races in world history prove without a shadow of a doubt the inequality of the two races. "Wherefore by their fruit ye shall know them." (5) The white man has shown his superior ability by the great civilizations and cultures which he has created.

White Americans who have built the civilization of the new world are the descendants of the white men who created the civilization of Europe. Whether a descendant of the Nordic or Mediterranean or Alpine branch of the white race, (6) the white man in America can look back with pride at the accomplishments of his racial family. "Every human being unites in himself the blood of thousands of ancestors, stretching back through thousands of years," (7) and the white man has a right to be proud of his world-conquering Caucasian blood.

What of the ancestors of the American Negro whom the proponents of the doctrine of the equality of the races would attempt to make the equal of the white American? Edmund Burke once wisely said: "People will not look forward to posterity who are not anxious to look backward to their ancestry." Often we hear mention of the ancestors of the Negroes who were slaves in this country. but very seldom is reference made to the African tribes from whence the slaves were brought to the new world.

We are now in position to consider the mental, moral, and physical characters of the negroes and negroids, especially the tribes found in the West Soudan; the Congo Basin, the Slave and Gold coasts of Africa,- in fact the stock from which was derived the negroes that were brought to the United States as slaves. These are the negroes, and the descendants of them are of the race or races that interest us here in this country. It is these we have upon our hands, and it is these we have to deal with in the condition of affairs widely known as the 'negro problem.'

Taking up first some of their external characters, it will be seen that the hair is short, black, and frizzly,- in fact, distinctly wooly.... The negro has a large black eye, with the sclerotic coat tinged with yellow,- a distinctive character frequently noticed in the typical west-coast negroes. The jaws exhibit decided prognathism, or projection forward, the facial angle being seventy degrees against the eighty-two of the average white man. Another marked feature is the nose, which is broad and flat, with dilated nostrils, and with the ridge concaved, often showing the red inner surface of the

mucous membrane. The lips are very large, protruding and heavy. Sometimes they are everted, displaying the red mucous membrane of the mouth. The molar bones and zygomatic arches being prominent, the cheeks are made equally so. These full-blooded negroes have black skins or a deep brownish tint. Climate has nothing whatever to do with this, nor has any special pigment. It is due to a superabundance of coloring matter between the true and the scarf skins. Soft and velvety to the touch, the negro epidermis is, for the most part, quite free from hair, and would be interesting were it not for the outrageous odor it emits, especially under heat and excitement. This is sometimes so strong that I have known persons of our own race brought almost to the stage of emesis when compelled to inhale it for any length of time.

In the skull of the negro the cranial capacity and the brain itself are much under size. On the average the former will measure thirty-five ounces as against forty-five for the Caucasian skull. In the negro the cranial bones are dense and unusually thick, converting his head into a veritable battering-ram: moreover, the cranial sutures unite very early in life. This checks the development of the brain long before the same takes place in other races, and this fact accounts to some extent for the more or less sudden stunting of the negro intellect shortly after arriving at puberty.

In short, as has long been known, whether living in Africa or living in America, the typical west-coast negro is, in his physical organization as near the anthropoid apes as are any of the savage races of mankind, - perhaps the nearest. He is untold ages nearer than is the typical representative of the best in the white race.

We may say the same thing of his mental and moral qualifications. Professor Keane states that the mental and moral differences between the negro and the white races are quite as well marked as the physical ones, 'and as both are the gradual outcome of external conditions, fixed by heredity, it follows that the attempt to suddenly transform the negro mind by foreign culture must be, as it has proved to be, as futile as the attempt would be to suddenly transform his physical type,' - a point that the untutored masses in the United States fail to see. The negro has, in fact, no morals, and it is therefore out of the question for him to be immoral; in other words, he is non-moral rather than immoral.

Throughout the entire historic period of man's career upon the earth, the chapter on the negro is practically a record of the lowest savagery, soon lapsing back into the mere tradition of wild and untutored tribes, whose social institutions are at the lowest possible level, with fetichism for religion, coupled with torture, cruelty, slavery, cannibalism, and a common belief in sorcery. Where not checked by the presence of the European, the native shambles in the middle Congo Basin are still hung with choice cuts of human bodies, and these continue to be sold in the open marketplace. In Africa they even barter their dead relatives, and those securing the corpses in this

way eat them. They will even disinter them for the same purpose and eat them after decomposition has set in. The negroes who still practise this in Africa are several millions in number, and close blood relations of the race in the United States. (8)

Historically and scientifically, the inferiority of the Negro race when compared to the white race is both a proved and obvious fact. It is wholly unnecessary to compile statistics and opinions of distinguished physicians and ethnologists who classify the Negro race as inferior to the Caucasian. The following quotations from the works of Dr. Robert B. Bean are typical of the conclusions of scholars who have studied the Negro race:

The frontal region of the Negro skull has been repeatedly shown to be much smaller than that of the Caucasian. Considering this fact, the conclusion is reached that the Negro has a smaller proportion of the faculties pertaining to the frontal lobe than the Caucasian. The Negro, then, lacks reason, judgment, apperception, affection, self-control, will power, orientation, ethical and esthetic attributes, and the relation of the ego (of personality or self) to environment.

The conclusion is that the brain of the Negro is smaller than the brain of the white, the stature is also lower, and the body weight is less, and any crossing of the two races results in a brain weight relative to the proportion of white blood in the individual.

The skull capacity of the Negro has been repeatedly demonstrated to be less than that of the Caucasian. (9)

From the beginning of time down to the present day, the Negro race has been weighed in the scales and found wanting. Although those who are advocating complete equality for the whites and blacks in the United States claim that "a modern science" supports their demands, neither this argument nor their shouts against what they call "racial prejudice" can refute facts and logic. The chief points which are characteristic of the Negro race may be listed as follows: (10)

1. The abnormal length of the arm, which on an average exceeds that of the Caucasian by about two inches.
2. The projection of the jaws and the facial angle which is about 70 as compared with 82 for the Caucasian.
3. Weight of the brain, which indicates cranial capacity of 35 ounces, as compared with 20 for the highest gorilla and 45 for the Caucasian.
4. Full black eye, with black iris and yellowish sclerotic coat.
5. Short flat snub nose with dilated nostrils and concave ridge.

6. Thick protruding lips, plainly showing the inner red surface.
7. High and prominent cheek bones.
8. Exceedingly thick cranium, enabling the Negro to butt with the head and resist blows which would break any ordinary European skull.
9. Correspondingly weak lower limbs with a broad flat foot with low instep and heel projecting backwards.
10. Deep brown or blackish complexion which is in some cases distinctly black.
11. Short, black hair, elliptical or almost flat in section and distinctly woolly.
12. Thick skin, mostly hairless, and emitting a peculiar rancid odor.
13. Frame of medium height, thrown somewhat out of the perpendicular by the shape of the pelvis, the spine, and the backward projection of the head.
14. Cranial sutures, which close much earlier than in the other races and thus seem to arrest the growth of the brain at an earlier age.

The Negroes in the United States have been citizens for some eighty years. During this time, they have advanced and made notable progress, but they have accomplished nothing which will refute the age-old proof of the inferiority of the Negro race in comparison to the Caucasian.

But to what end is it necessary to marshal facts, discuss theories, and draw conclusions to demonstrate what to the average observant American citizen is already a well established proposition, viz.- that the negro, as he is found today, in our community, is in all respects greatly inferior to the white man with whom he is brought into relationship and resulting competition? Self-evident truths require no argumentative demonstration. **If there be those who, after observation and reflection, are not to be convinced of the truth of the foregoing statement as to existing negro inferiority, then this work is not entitled to their serious consideration.** (11)

We are fully aware that there are different theories being currently publicized as to the reason for the inferiority of the Negro race. However, whether this status is the result of a natural and inherent inferiority never to be overcome or whether it is caused, as sometimes contended, by the fact that the Negro is a backward race, thousands of years behind the white man in civilization and culture, the practical result is the same. If inequality and inferiority exist, then the doctrine of the equality of the races is absolutely false. And if this theory is unfounded and untrue, then the proponents of racial equality have no basis upon which to argue that the blacks should be given full equality with the whites in this country, including the right of

intermarriage.

We hear much about the so-called equality of the races from certain Negroes who seek to defy the laws of God and man in order to mix and mingle and intermarry with white people, but we seldom hear them express any gratitude to white Americans and particularly to Southern white Americans for what has been done for the Negro in America. The slave traffic may have been evil and horrible and the institution of slavery may have been wrong; nevertheless, slavery in America definitely left the Negro in a better condition than it found him. The savage, cannibalistic, barbarian Negro slaves were fed, clothed, civilized, and taught Christianity.

No other people in the history of the world have had thrust upon them a perfected civilization. . . They were given a government, a national home, a citizenship, free schools, religion, language, books, art and science, with helpful hands to instruct them in all economic and civic relations. All of this required a thousand years of experience for other nations to acquire. In all of these contributions their race had no part or parcel in the making or in the creation. All other nations had to fight, work, bleed and die to procure these things. Not so with the American Negro. All these things came to him as a free gift from the white man. They were left a penniless liability among former masters in the South, who assumed responsibility for their welfare. The debt of gratitude they owe the people of the Southern States can never be paid. Instead of gratitude, they revile and abuse their benefactors.

The godfathers of this race in America were the people of the New England States. No sooner had he been born and while he was in his swaddling clothes the godfathers cast him into (the lap of the people of the Southern States, who had been forced to care for, feed and clothe and educate, and Christianize, four generations of these people, and at the same time support, maintain and educate their own children.

For the past eighty years the Southern people have borne the heavy burden of this responsibility and have taxed themselves to educate and civilize more than four or five million Negro children at a cost of nearly a billion dollars. (12)

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of education; grammar schools, high schools, colleges, and universities are indispensable. But who will claim that training and teaching in the school room can overcome racial characteristics? The laws of heredity exist and can not be denied or changed. Every child is a child of its race, inheriting his racial qualities from thousands of ancestors. The child of Negro parents is born of a race that has never shown constructive power, of ancestors who have never founded a civilization, of forefathers who have imitated but never created.

The whole of history testifies to this truth. As the Englishman Meredith Townsend says: 'None of the black races, whether negro or Australian, have shown within the historic time the capacity to develop civilization. They have never passed the

boundaries of their own habitats as conquerors, and never exercised the smallest influence over peoples not black. They have never founded a stone city, have never built a ship, have never produced a literature, have never suggested a creed. . . There seems to be no reason for this except race.' (13)

The importance of environment must be readily acknowledged. But to claim that education and environment are more important or can satisfactorily replace racial integrity and blood purity is to brand as false both history and biology. This we can not do. Spencer, Darwin, Haeckel, Mendel, Pearson and many other great scientists have lived and taught, and we know that the power of heredity can not be denied.

It is not all in training up
A child against its will:
To silver scour a pewter cup,
-- It will be pewter still.

Environment has placed the American Negro in the midst of a great civilization produced by the white man, but neither environment nor education can change the basic traits and characteristics of the race to which the Negro in the United States belongs.

'The endowment of each generation at birth is dictated by heredity, but all that it acquires subsequently is the gift of environment.' (Tillinghast.) Mental characteristics are subject to the laws governing heredity. With regard to race, heredity and environment, Robert R. Marett, Reader of Social Anthropology in the University of Oxford, says in his *Anthropology*, 'nor is it enough to take note simply of physical feature - the shape of the skull, the color of the skin, the tint and texture of the hair and so on. There are likewise mental characteristics that seem to be bound up closely with the organism and to follow the breed' (p.23), 'for race, let it not be forgotten, presumably extends to mind as well as to body. It is not merely skin deep' (p. 60), and 'circumstances can unmake; but of themselves they never yet made man, nor any other form of life' (p. 129) And let us dismiss the unwarranted assumption that environment will directly and immediately affect heredity. Heredity may be affected in but one way - congenitally. *You may breed a superior type of Negro by selective mating, just as you may breed a superior type of Caucasian by the same process; but no amount of imitation will instill a creative instinct or capacity into the Negro, nor will education or sympathetic aid of any kind.* (14)

There are certain mental, physical, and moral characteristics which belong to the Negro race. And these characteristics are thus attributed to the race which has never produced a great civilization in world history, and one which has produced very little indeed during the years of its existence in America. The most outstanding leaders which have come from the Negro race would have passed unnoticed if their skin had been white. They have been prominent in this country because they were Negroes.

Were it not for the super-senslitive mongrels of North America, there would be no clamor for 'equality' of races; nor would there be any eminent 'negroes.' Booker Washington was a mulatto, frederick douglas was a mulatto, bruce, turner, dubois, miller - these are not negroes! Were they white men they would be obscure, but by social custom and by law they are recognized to be negroes, and as such they stand at the head of their race. (15)

History and science refute the doctrine of the equality of the white and Negro races which is proclaimed by the proponents of racial equality in the United States today. There are inequalities and differences between the white and black races, and all the history of civilization affirms that the superior position belongs to the Caucasian. The Negroid writers and the negrophilists will continue to deny the facts of history and the findings of science, for they are color-blind, but white America must realize these truths and accept them as a basis from which we must work to bring about an adequate and permanent solution to the Negro problem.

If any Negro reads this chapter and has just reason to think that he does not possess the inferior qualities of mind, body, and spirit which the greatest and most reliable scientists - students of the comparative qualities of the races - have pointed out, then let him thank God for that portion of white blood which flows through his veins, because of the sin of miscegenation on the part of one or more of his ancestors.

Go to [Next Chapter](#)

Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. De Gobineau, Arthur, *The Inequality of Human Races* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), p. 210.
2. Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, p. 32.
3. De Gobineau, Arthur, *The Inequality of Human Races*, p. 212.
4. The Firestone Rubber Company has leased a large area of Liberia for the purpose of establishing a rubber plantation.
5. Matthew 7:20.
6. A discussion of the three branches of the Caucasian race and a racial history of the white

race in Europe may be found in: Grant, Madison, *The Passing of the Great Race* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916).

7. Grant, Madison, *The Passing of the Great Race*, p. 31.
8. Shufeldt, R W. *America's Greatest Problem: The Negro*, pp. 26-28, 30, 36-37.
9. Pickett, William P., *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, pp 10-11, as reprinted from *Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain*, by Robert Bennett Bean, University of Michigan, vol. V., No. 4.
10. See Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, pp. 46-49, where these fourteen characteristic points concerning the Negro race have been quoted from the works of Prof. A. H. Keane, a profound student of the qualities of the Negro.
11. Pickett, William P., *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, p. 11.
12. Irwin, John R., *Let's Keep the United States White*, p. 6.
13. Stoddard, Lothrop, *The Rising Tide of Color* (New York: Charles Scribner s Sons, 1921), p. 101.
14. Cox, Earnest S., *White America*, pp. 312, 314.
15. Cox, Earnest S., *White America*, p. 190.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter VII

False Interpretations of American Democracy

I hold that this government was made on the white basis, by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever.

-- Stephen Douglas

THE DEMANDS of the Negro leaders for complete political, economic, and social equality between the white and Negro races in the United States were stated in Chapter V. The doctrine of the equality of the two races upon which theory these demands are based was shown to be false in Chapter VI. Thousands of years of world history have shown that the achievements of the Caucasian race have been superior to those of the Negro race. Science has recognized physical, mental, and moral differences between the white and black races, and no amount of argument on the part of these full equality advocates can change or alter these findings. Racial differences and inequalities do exist, and they will continue to exist just as long as white women bear white children and Negro women bear Negro children.

In addition to the contention that science supports the demands for full economic, political, and social equality of the white and Negro races in the United States, the colored leaders and their white Quisling friends state that our ideals of democracy and our concepts of religion force us to grant this complete racial equality to the black race. Upon these three grounds - science, democracy, and religion - the arguments for full equality are based. We have already seen that the scientific arguments are false, and we shall now see that the other two contentions based on democracy and religion are equally fallacious.

The fundamental concepts of democracy upon which the government of this Nation is based are embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. By amendment to the Constitution, the Negroes were made citizens of this Republic, and also by constitutional amendment they were given the right to vote. The Negro, just as much as any white citizen, is entitled to the rights, privileges, and protection which are guaranteed to all American citizens. Every citizen, white and colored, is entitled to the same justice and fairness before the law and in the courts of the land.

At this point, it would be well to state the points upon which there may be said to be general agreement. The Negro leaders agree with W. E. B. DuBois that they are seeking for the members of their race "full economic, political and social equality with American citizens, in thought, expression and action, with no discrimination based on race or color." (1) Concerning the first two demands, there is not so much dispute. All American citizens are entitled to economic equality; every man, white or black, is entitled to a job and to a wage sufficient to support himself and his family. A unified effort should be made to further the economic advancement of the Negro race in this country. This does not mean that the employer should be deprived of the right to select his own employees, nor does it mean that racial segregation should be abolished. (2)

Regarding the second demand, political equality, the matter becomes somewhat more complicated. No one questions the fact that Negroes have the constitutional right to qualify as electors. Even in the South where Negroes heretofore did not vote in the white Democratic primaries, there was nothing to prevent them from voting in the general elections, and many of them did vote if they were qualified under the laws of their respective states. Whenever and wherever he can comply with the qualifications for voting as prescribed by the state in which he lives, the Negro should be permitted to vote.

It is the third demand, that of social equality, which white Americans cannot and will not grant. When the Negro leaders include social equality of the races and the abolition of all forms of racial segregation as a part of their program, they not only are asking for what they will never be freely given, but they are greatly diminishing their chances to secure the economic and political equality which they are seeking for their people. Many Southern white liberals and Southern Negro leaders have made attempts to point out how firmly the segregation of the races is established in the Southland and the dangers which will come from organized attempts to abolish segregation and establish the social equality of the races in this Nation. But the Northern and some Southern Negro leaders have refused to heed any warning.

The no-compromise leadership among the Negroes would have none of this fact-fearing on segregation, however. At the 33rd annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Los Angeles, Assistant Secretary Roy Wilkins vowed (as quoted) that there would be no faltering in the all-or-nothing policy: 'The issues are clear; the stakes are great; the path is straight; the tensions are tremendous; the pressure crushing. This is our answer to the Ethridges of Kentucky, the Dabneys of Virginia, the Graves of Alabama. This is the watchword that must go forward. We cannot give up the trust!' And A. Philip Randolph declared: 'It is better to die fighting than to live begging.'

Against this attitude of the white liberals in the South was the persisting one of Northern Negro leaders. Reciting injustices to the Negro 'particularly in the Southern States,' *The Crisis* declared editorially in March, 1941: '*The Crisis* leaves to its

readers the question of whether there is a great deal of difference between the code for Negroes under Hitler and the code for Negroes under the United States of America - the leading democratic nation in the world.' Roy Wilkins vowed in Detroit after a racial clash there that the Negroes are 'fed up with this democracy stuff.' And when an official of the N.A.A.C.P., William Pickens, issued a statement praising the 99th Pursuit Squadron at Tuskegee, first Negro aviation unit in history, he was dropped from the executive board for implied acceptance of segregation. (3)

The Negro leaders who are seeking social equality of the races and the abolition of every kind of racial segregation cannot justly claim that ideals of American democracy support their demands. They contend that democracy means "full equality" for all citizens, and they quote the Declaration of Independence as proof thereof. Discussing "Certain Unalienable Rights," Mary McLeod Bethune asks for "full American citizenship" for American Negroes. She says: "As long as America offers less, she will be that much less a democracy. The whole way is the American way." (4)

There is absolutely nothing in the immortal declaration "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights" to support this plea for social equality of the white and black races in the United States. Any person who uses the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution to bring about the social equality of the races in this country is placing a false and dangerous interpretation on these two documents which embody the ideals of American democracy.

To say that all men or all people or all races are equal is to assert: (a) that certain qualities exist; (b) that these qualities exist among men; (c) that each and every man has exactly the same portion. Now to discover whether there is any validity in the idea of the equality of all men, it has to be asked: What qualities, if any, are shared equally by all men? The author of the famous phrase 'all men are created equal' also wrote: 'I do not mean to deny that there are varieties in the race of man distinguished by their powers both of body and mind. I believe there are, as I see to be the case in the races of other animals.' (Notes on Virginia.) What then did Jefferson mean when he used the word *equal*? According to his own statement (Letter to Henry Lee, May 8, 1825), among his sources were 'the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney...' Now look at one of these authors, that one closest to Jefferson in time and fighting the divine right of kings exactly as Jefferson was. In his second *Treatise on Civil Government*, VI, 54, Locke says:

Though I have said above 'That all men by nature are equal,' I cannot be supposed to understand all sorts of 'equality.' Age or virtue may give men a just precedence. Excellency of parts and merit may place others above the common level. Birth may subject some, and alliance or benefits others, to pay an observance to those to whom Nature, gratitude, or other respects may have made it due; and yet all this consists with the equality which all men are in in

respect of jurisdiction or dominion one over another, which was the equality I there spoke of as proper to the business in hand, being that equal right that every man hath to his natural freedom, without being subject to the will or authority of any other man.

It is impossible here to go further into the question of the exact content of the word 'equal' as used in the Declaration of Independence. It should be clear that those who deny universal values cannot believe in equality, that they do not know what they are saying, either when they deny the values or when they assert the equality. It is not improbable that they are ignorant of the nature of both

Those of us who believe in universal values can also subscribe without reservation to Jefferson's idea of equality. This idea is more powerful than any high explosive. Handled with knowledge and skill it can civilize the world. Handled ignorantly or maliciously it can blow humane living out of existence and reduce man to a level lower than that of the savage. (5)

It cannot be forgotten that Thomas Jefferson who wrote that "all men are created equal" also wrote the following lines concerning the Negro.

Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government.

Jefferson believed that the race question should be solved by colonization of the Negroes at some place outside the United States, and he devoted much time and energy to promoting such a scheme. There is no indication whatsoever that either he or any of the other Founding Fathers interpreted the words of the Declaration of Independence to destroy the racial barriers which from the very beginning of our history separated the white and black races in the United States. Practically all of these men were owners of Negro slaves, and the indications are that they never even thought of the Negro when they announced to the world that "all men are created equal."

Democratic theories of government in their modern form are based on dogmas of equality formulated some hundred and fifty years ago, and rest upon the assumption that environment and not heredity is the controlling factor in human development. Philanthropy and noble purpose dictated the doctrine expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the document which to-day constitutes the actual basis of American institutions. The men who wrote the words 'we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,' were themselves the owners of slaves and despised Indians as something less than human. Equality in their minds meant merely that they were just as good Englishmen as their brothers across the sea. The words 'that all men are created equal' have since been subtly falsified by adding the word 'free' although no such expression is found in the original document and the teachings

based on these altered words in the American public schools of today would startle and amaze the men who formulated the Declaration. (6)

The Negro leaders not only claim that American democracy teaches the social equality of the white and black races, but they go further and proclaim that the denial of this equality is fascism. According to Doxey A. Wilkerson, many Negroes have asked: "Why fight fascism in Germany when we have fascism right here in America?" (7) It is also contended that segregation of the races is a "Hitler-like doctrine." These social equality advocates completely overlook the fact that racial barriers existed in this Nation before the world ever heard of the fascism of modern Germany or of Adolph Hitler and his doctrines or any of his followers. Segregation of the races, racial integrity and the color line have always been the ideals of this Nation. Segregation of the white and black races is as American as any of the other well-known institutions and ideals which have come to us through the one hundred and fifty years of our national existence. Great American statesmen have proclaimed the inequalities of the white and black races all through our national history. Our illustrious leaders have advocated the segregation of the races in this country; they have warned us of the dangers of amalgamation. The present day leaders of the Negro race may attack the denial of social equality to the Negro as in accordance with the teachings of Hitler, but there is no foundation, no logic, and no reason for such a contention. Long before Hitler spoke of racial superiority and plunged the world into the greatest war in history. the Great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln. said:

I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races - that I am not, nor ever have been, In favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to inter- marry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior. and as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race. (Speech at Charleston, Illinois, September]8, 1858.)

Can it be possible that the Negro leaders who today seek to destroy racial barriers would brand Abraham Lincoln as "fascist"? Do they contend that his opinions concerning the Negro race were Hitler-like? Do they contend that the Great Emancipator and war-time President was "un-American" ? Of course, they dare not make such a charge. Lincoln did not believe in the social equality of the white and black races, and nowhere do we find any record to show that he believed American democracy required him or any other American to subscribe to the doctrine of complete racial equality.

Senator Stephen Douglas, who was Lincoln's opponent in the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates, was also opposed to the granting of full equality to the Negro race. These two statesmen differed on their attitude toward slavery, but they were in agreement that social equality with

the whites must be denied the American Negro as long as he remains in this country. In debating with Lincoln, Douglas, who was a statesman from Illinois, said:

I hold that this government was made on the white basis, by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and should be administered by white men, and none others. I do not believe that the Almighty made the Negro capable of self-government. I am aware that all the Abolition lecturers that you find traveling about through the country, are in the habit of reading the Declaration of Independence to prove that all men were created equal and endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.... Now, I say to you, my fellow-citizens that in my opinion the signers of the Declaration had no reference to the Negro whatever, when they declared all men to be created equal. They desired to express by that phrase white men, men of European birth and European descent, and had no reference either to the Negro, the savage Indians, the Feegee, the Malay, or any other inferior and degraded race, when they spoke of the equality of men. **One great evidence that such was their understanding, is to be found in the fact that at that time every one of the thirteen colonies was a slaveholding colony, every signer of the declaration represented a slaveholding constituency, and we know that no one of them emancipated his slaves, much less offered citizenship to them, when they signed the declaration;** and yet, if they intended to declare that the Negro was the equal of the white man, and entitled by divine right to an equality with him, they were bound, as honest men, that day and hour to have put their Negroes on an equality with themselves. Instead of doing so, with uplifted eyes to heaven they implored the divine blessing upon them, during the seven years bloody war they had to fight to maintain that Declaration, never dreaming that they were violating divine law by still holding the Negroes in bondage and depriving them of equality.

My friends, I am in favor of preserving this government as our fathers made it. It does not follow by any means that because the Negro is not your equal or mine, that hence he must necessarily be slave. On the contrary, it does follow that we ought to extend to the Negro every right, every privilege, every immunity which he is capable of enjoying, consistent with the safety of our society... (8)

How can the Negro leaders contend that it is "un-American" and "undemocratic" to preserve the government as our forefathers made it? As was once emphatically stated by Senator Robert Toombs: "This Republic was born of the soul of a race of pioneer white freemen who settled on our continent and built an altar within its forest cathedral to Liberty and Progress. In the record of man, has the Negro ever dreamed this dream?" (9)

It is difficult to understand the arguments of these advocates of social equality of the races. They contend that American democracy demands that the white and Negro races mix and mingle and intermarry. Does it not occur to them that such a condition would destroy the Nation

to which they claim to pledge their loyalty? Praise and acknowledgment of the power and greatness of the United States and the contention that whites and Negroes should intermarry according to individual preference are thoroughly inconsistent. Racial intermarriage would destroy the "race of pioneer white freemen" who created this Nation, and it would thus destroy the Nation itself. Who can visualize a future of progress for a Nation of octoroons ? The Negro leaders either ignore this possibility, or have no objection to such a condition, or by their silence they admit that they would welcome such a future.

The colored editor of *What the Negro Wants*, R. W. Logan, pleads for the fulfilment of the democratic aims of this Nation by granting full and complete equality to the Negro race, but he is not very much interested in the future of this democratic Nation when, in his plea for intermarriage, he says: "Why, we shall all be dead in 2044 and the people will do what they wish." (10) If our ancestors had been so utterly lacking in racial pride and in vision and hope for their own future and that of their posterity, we would today be a Nation of mongrels. No one except possibly the mongrels themselves would dare to contend that we would have benefitted from such a state of affairs.

At this point, there is a deplorable and sorrowful fact which should be noted by every reader. In eighteen states in this white man's country and also in the District of Columbia, where the Nation's Capitol is located, intermarriage of the races is permitted by law. This fact is a national shame, or should I say crime, against the white race of America, and I pray God that these states and the Congress of the United States, on behalf of the District of Columbia, will do something about this situation before it is too late.

Democratic ideals among an homogeneous population of Nordic blood, as in England or America, is one thing, but it is quite another for the white man to share his blood with, or intrust his ideals to, brown, yellow, black or red men.

This is suicide pure and simple, and the first victim of this amazing folly will be the white man himself. (11)

The Negro leaders themselves say that never in the history of the United States have the members of their race been accorded full and complete equality with the whites. And it is true that "On no aspect of the race problem are most white Americans, North as well as South, so adamant as they are on their opposition to intermarriage." (12) Then, what stronger proof than the actual practice of white Americans do we need in ascertaining how the majority of our people feel toward the demands of the Negro leaders today for the social equality of the races?

We have found that white Americans have never interpreted American democracy to mean that there would be no racial barriers between the white and black citizens of this Republic, and those who now seek to read such a meaning into the Declaration of Independence are misconstruing the immortal words which were penned by Thomas Jefferson. The social equality of the white and Negro races and the abolition of racial segregation have never been in

accordance with the ideals of this Nation. Any one who advances such an argument is placing a false interpretation on the meaning of American democracy, and because he is willing, either consciously or unconsciously, that the future of this Republic be destroyed, he is a traitor to his country as well as to his race.

Go to [Next Chapter](#)
Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. Logan R. W. *What the Nero Wants*, p. 65.
2. See Chapter IV, p. 50 for a statement of equal and exact justice for negroes and whites, with the right of separation enforced at all costs.
3. Graves, John Temple, *The Fighting South* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1943). pp. 127, 132.
4. Logan, R. W., *What the Nero Wants*, p. 255.
5. Reprinted from *What the Nero Wants* (the Publisher's Introduction p. xvi) edited by Rayford W. Logan. by permission of The University of North Carolina Press.
Copynght,1944, by The University of North Carolina Press.
6. Grant, Madison, *The Passing of the Great Race*, p. xvi.
7. Logan R. W., *What the Nero Wants*, p. 196.
8. The speech from which this quotation comes has been reprinted in: Calvin, Ira, *The Lost White Race* (Brookline, Massachusetts: Courtway-White Publications, 1944). p. 39. This speech was made by Senator Douglas at Jonesboro, Illinois, September 15, 1858.
9. Calvin, Ira, *The Lost White Race*, p. 62.
10. Logan, R. W., *What the Nero Wants*, p. 28.

11. Stoddard, Lothrop, *The Rising Tide of Color*, p. xxxii (from the Introduction by Madison Grant).
12. Logan. R. W., *What the Nero Wants*, p. 28.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter VIII
False Concepts
of The Christian Religion

God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. -- *The Acts: 17:26*

CHAPTER VI answered the arguments for complete racial equality in the United States which have been made in the name of science; **Chapter VII** answered the arguments for absolute racial equality which have been made in the name of democracy; and now we come to the third argument which has been advanced by these Negro equality advocates, that of religion.

There have been many discussions and pleas based on the assumption that the concepts of our Christian religion now force us to grant total social equality to the Negro race in the United States. The following statement from the colored president of Wilberforce University, Charles H. Wesley, is typical: "The Negro wants a realistic interpretation of religion in terms of brotherhood." (1)

Many colored leaders, as well as some misguided white people, would have us believe that the Christian religion teaches the social equality of the white and black races. They would have all forms of segregation and all racial barriers in the churches and elsewhere abolished and have the approval of Christianity stamped on marriages between whites and Negroes. It is reported that a few Methodist, Catholic, Jewish, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian ministers, and maybe some others, are now performing such marriage ceremonies. God forbid!

If Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam keeps on in the direction which he is now going he will soon be doing likewise. (2)

Nothing could be more foreign to the ideals of the Christian religion than miscegenation and amalgamation. There is absolutely no foundation for advocating the mixing of the blood of the races as a part of our religious doctrines. Professor Smith has emphatically stated: "The notion of social racial equality is thus seen to be abhorrent alike to instinct and to reason; for it flies in the face of the process of the suns, it runs counter to the methods of the mind of God." (3)

The attempts to destroy the color line in the name of religion are in many respects more dangerous than those arguments relating to science and democracy. Gordon. B. Hancock, Negro Professor of Economics and Sociology at Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, has observed:

"It is a most significant and salutary fact that the races can come closer together in the name of religion than in any other capacity; why this great opportunity is not more thoroughly exploited is at times bewildering." (4) Americans are a religious people and the teachings of the Bible have throughout the years been the very strength and foundation of our Republic. Anyone who would today interpret God's Divine word and His teachings in such a manner as to destroy the blood of the race which created this Nation is a traitor to his religion, to his country, and to his race. However, such false interpretations are being placed upon God's word and upon the teachings of Christ. Pleas for social equality are coupled with condemnation of the Southern policy of segregation as "unchristian." Many colored leaders proclaim that "if the church does not desire to be known as a hypocrite in history and in fact, it must cleanse itself of segregation, discrimination and exclusion...." (5) Concerning such arguments, John R. Irwin of Sandersville, Georgia, has this to say:

During the past decade magazines, newspapers, writers, professors, philanthropists and fanatical reformers have flooded the country with discussions of racial relations, and with propaganda, teaching the public that there is no difference between the various races, and that they are all the same flesh and blood and EQUAL in refinement, culture, accomplishments and civilization, and are physically and mentally alike excepting in COLOR and that intermarriage is unharmed.

If social barriers are destroyed, and all segregation eliminated, social equality enforced by Governmental EDICT and LAW so that schools, churches, hotels, restaurants, parks, recreation centers and picture shows, clubs, buses and Pullmans must be open to all persons of every creed, color, character or station in life, then indeed is racial integrity a thing of the past, and the white people of the United States would be transformed into a hybrid yellow or brown nation within the next several generations.

Human experience teaches that social association and intimacies, between people of different races certainly will bring about, and lead to, intermarriage, even between those who differ in racial affinity, culture or color.

God saw fit to segregate and separate the different races by placing each in different lands. He located the white races in the middle northern hemisphere, and placed the Negro in Africa, and the brown and yellow peoples in other spheres, as far as possible from each other. He divided them by color lines as well as by territorial lines so that each race would maintain its racial integrity.

Isolation and segregation, and racial purity and integrity appear to have been the Divine plan and intent when He divided mankind by giving to them a distinct varied coloring. There are many misguided Christians and fanatics who think God made a mistake when he made the black man, and now seek to bleach him by absorption, and amalgamation.

Some of the Southern states have been criticized severely for the passing of laws segregating the whites and Negroes. Since God set the example, why should Southerners be so severely criticized for following His footsteps? (6)

Probably the most frequently used religious plea for the social equality of the races is that "God hath made of one blood all nations." According to Leslie P. Hill, colored President of State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania: "A thousand years was needed to document and verify the assurance of the most vigorous of all the saints that God has made of one blood all the nations of men. But the laboratories did in the end indubitably produce the proof." (7) With such statements as these, men are supposed to be led to believe that there is no difference in the blood of the white and black races and that it is in accordance with the teachings of Almighty God that the blood of these races should mix freely. What these colored leaders fail to point out is that when their false concepts of religion are used to destroy racial integrity, nothing can ever restore the vitiated and corrupted blood of either the white or black race.

Nothing is more sacred than racial integrity. Purity of race is a gift of God. but it is a gift which man can destroy. And God, in his infinite wisdom, has so ordained it that when man destroys his racial purity, it can never be redeemed. This should be sufficient to show that any statement which says our Christian religion forces us to accept the social equality of the races and to sanction intermarriage as the private affair of the two individuals concerned is utterly and absolutely fallacious. If God gave the Negro the inalienable right to social equality and intermarriage with whites, then we must go further and say that He gave to the black man the right to destroy the white race. Everyone knows that the white person who marries a Negro becomes the parent not of a white child but of a colored one. And that colored child will in turn produce colored offspring. In other words, when the blood of the races mix, the white blood, as far as reproducing its own is concerned, is forever lost. We refuse to believe that the destruction of either the white or the black race is in accordance with the Divine plan of God. Rather, there is every reason to believe that miscegenation and amalgamation are sins of man in direct defiance to the will of God.

The question of the mixing of the races seems simple indeed to those who are not blinded by color. As aptly stated by A. H. Shannon: "Which is better, a mongrel race whose origin is in sin, and which represents the worst of all the races; or a race, whatever its limitations, yet true to its own racial peculiarities and striving to attain, intact, the best and highest of which it is capable?" (8) And from God's own word comes this warning: "A bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord; even to his tenth generation shall he not enter into the congregation of the Lord." (9)

The author of *White America*, Earnest S. Cox, made a special study of the early attempts of the Christian missionaries to spread the Gospel in South Africa. Some of these early missionaries made the fatal and serious mistake of teaching the social equality of the races and advocating intermarriage. At a time when much condemnation was being hurled at the missionaries, Mr. Cox wrote a letter to the Transvaal Missionary Association, which was composed of nineteen separate missionary organizations in South Africa. He stated that his purpose was to show that not Christianity but a false social teaching of certain of the Christian missionaries was the object of the criticism. The following quotations are from this letter:

There has been a tendency in teachers of Christianity to utilize its social tenets to level races and cultures. But Buddhism did this, and so did Mohammedanism. The last named arose among a white people and threatened to attain world domination, but its influence gradually waned as its white custodians interbred with colored races.

In Africa, in China, in India, in Nearer Asia, in Latin America - in these countries, some of them evangelized by the Apostles - Christianity has been implanted by the white man and has not survived the white man. Two thousand years of Christian activities seem to establish that the white race as white is custodian of the Gospel of Jesus, and that to the white man as white is entrusted the spreading of the Gospel.

A Gospel of equality of races cannot but end in free miscegenation of races ...

It will not injure, but actually promote the missionary influence in South Africa for the well meaning missionaries to admit the errors of their movement: The political errors of their influence,... The economic sins of their number who came as spiritual advisers and remained as commercial exploiters. Their social sins, such as the perpetual and pitiless misrepresentations of the Boer civilizers of South Africa; the failure to warn against and prevent by legal mandate the marriage of European men and women to Negro men and women; the endless harping upon the nobility of colored races and the depravity of the white; the licensing of co-racial schools and the persuasion of ignorant and poverty-stricken white parents to send their children to these schools to receive utterly false teachings in matters concerning equality of races; the placing of white children with black ones forming them in public parade, the children carrying banners inscribed 'Ex uno sanguine' (of one blood); the refusal to permit the word 'colour' to be used in co-racial schools, when it is inscribed indelibly in human history; the citing of the willing prostitution of women of the black race to men of the white as parallel to and offsetting black men's forceful assaults upon white women. (10)

The warnings in this letter, although given to missionaries in South Africa, hold a special meaning for those of us who are interested in maintaining and preserving a white America. Mr. Cox further comments on the letter and the false teachings which prompted his writing it:

These 'errors' of the missionary apply mainly to the past. Not so however, the last one enumerated. The missionary type has changed for the better, and also the social teaching of the missionary. The present missionary teaches of the same God as the former, the same Redeemer, but there is a much modified negrophilism in his social teaching.

It is evident that those posing as custodians of a Gospel whose genius is missionary, whose scope is universal, and whose claim is exclusive, may be of great harm to the cause they misrepresent by placing literal constructions upon the anthropomorphisms of a spiritual religion.

Why place an interpretation upon the 'Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man' ideal of the Christian religion which nature and human history have proved to be fallacious? Why literalize 'brotherhood of man' and spiritualize 'fatherhood of God'? If the brotherhood through Christ is physical, then so is the fatherhood through God.

Let those who believe themselves chosen to evangelize the world understand that, up to the present time, after nearly two thousand years of Christian activity, apparently God has entrusted the heralding of the Gospel to the white race, not to the Negro or to the mixbreed. Christianity, times without number, has been implanted by white teachers among colored races, but the Christian religion has never survived the white teachers. When the whites have departed or become eliminated through miscegenation, the Christian religion has been abandoned altogether, or has degenerated into crass superstition. This is a cold fact that is verifiable. It may not be a welcome fact to European Christianity.

The Apostles turned to the white man and to the colored. The white man perpetuated the Apostles' teaching and made the Christian religion ascendant among the creeds of the world. Had the Apostles confined their activities to negroid Africa, how different would have been the result! The Christian Fathers came to Africa and taught and suffered martyrdom. There the blood of the martyrs did not prove to be the seed of the Church. Christianity perished in the soil of Africa, but the Christian religion is becoming universal through the blood of Europe. . .

The God of these churchmen saw fit to make some men white and some men black; to endow the white with potentialities, the realization of which would, in fullness of time, conceive an ethical monotheism and a spiritual brotherhood of mankind. What God has done, the churchmen may succeed in undoing, but that which the churchmen seek to do, God cannot undo. The churchmen may succeed in hybridizing the white and the black. The God of the churchman will not transform the hybrid into its original elements. If the churchmen are making a mistake, it is irremediable. (11)

Mr. Cox has posed a question which should forever answer any argument that suggests an interpretation of the "brotherhood of man" in such a manner as to advocate the intermarriage of the white and Negro races. He asks: "Why literalize 'brotherhood of man' and spiritualize 'fatherhood of God'?" Both the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God are spiritual, and any other interpretation is not only fallacious but is in direct opposition to the ideals of the Christian religion. Racial integrity and the purity of the blood are in accordance with the teachings of Jesus Christ who set the standards for high and noble living some two thousand years ago. Nowhere in the sermons of Christ do we find Him seeking to bring about the social or any absolute equality among men on earth. He preached to all men and the Gospel of Christianity is universal to be spread throughout the earth for all men to hear and accept. But His Kingdom where there will be no human inequalities, no imperfections, no worldly wealth, and where all men will be judged by God's own standard of perfect justice is not of this world but is the Kingdom of Heaven - a spiritual not a physical kingdom.

The Biblical reference to "one blood" which has been so often quoted and misconstrued is from the teachings of the great Apostle Paul. These are the words:

God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of Heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands;

Neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things;

And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation;

That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us:

For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring. (12)

Paul's statement that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth" is as much spiritual as his other statement that God "dwelleth not in temples made with hands" and his assurance that the Lord "be not far from every one of us, for in him we live, and move, and have our being. . . for we are also his offspring." It may also be pointed out that in the same verse which made reference to the "one blood" of all nations of men, the great Disciple said that God "hath determined. . . the bounds of their habitation." Until some men migrated and others were moved by force by their conquerors, who can say that it was not in the Divine scheme of things that the different races should be on the separate continents with physical barriers to prevent their intermingling?

Those who are attempting to implant the doctrine of social equality of the races throughout this land and seeking to promote the intermarriage of the races must indeed think that Almighty God, the Creator of the heavens and the earth, made a mistake, or perhaps played a practical joke, when He made the skin color of the Negro race black. And these social equality advocates would now have the white man share his blood with the Negro in order that the black man may become bleached and the white man lost in the intermingling process. Would those who preach this infamous doctrine have us believe that they would thus improve on the handiwork of God ? "And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so." (13)

There are those who point out that Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, were the fathers of three great divisions of mankind. And this gives grounds for the argument that Canaan, son of Ham who was cursed, was the father of the black race. We quote the following verses from Genesis and leave the reader to his own conclusion as to what constituted the curse of Canaan:

And he said, Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. (14)

It should also be noted that Abraham and his sons had no fear of God's wrath when they practiced "discrimination" in the selection of wives. Surely, God bestowed his blessings and approved his household when He said to Abraham: "Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward: For all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth then shall thy seed also be numbered." (15) Later, we find these verses in the Holy Scripture which we leave to the reader's interpretation:

And Isaac called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan.

When Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob, and sent him away to Padan-aram, to take him a wife from thence; and that as he had blessed him he gave him a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan;

And Esau seeing that the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac his father:

Then went Esau unto Ishmael, and took . . . the sister of Nebajoth, to be his wife.

The fact and permanency of race have been recognized throughout the ages. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" asked the prophet Jeremiah. (17) The answer is quite

evident to every thinking person. The Negro or any other race cannot change the skin color, the hair texture, or any of the other characteristics of race as long as racial integrity is maintained. The only way that modification can be brought about is by the crossing of different races, and we have already seen that this is in direct defiance with the laws of God. Each race should remain true to itself and develop to the highest and noblest status of which it is capable. Racial pride should be instilled in the youth of all races.

The desire to maintain purity of blood and to preserve the blood of his forefathers is a respectable and welcome quality in white and black men. Indeed, it is a necessary quality if the races are to be preserved and racial integrity triumph over mongrelism.

Just as we have never interpreted American democracy to mean that there will be no racial barriers in the United States, so the true concepts of our Christian religion have never taught the social equality and the intermarriage of whites and blacks. There is nothing un-American or unchristian in racial segregation and the preservation of the color line.

The demands of the Negro leaders for complete political, economic, and social equality were shown by statements from the Negro leaders who were asked to write essays for *What the Negro Wants*. From a study of these essays, we found that the pleas for full equality were based on the doctrine of the equality of the white and Negro races. This doctrine, as well as the argument for equality in the name of science, was refuted in Chapter VI. We have considered the demands for complete equality in the name of democracy in Chapter VII and found that they are based on false and dangerous interpretations of American democracy. In this chapter, we have considered the pleas for Negro racial equality in the name of religion and have discovered that they are based upon concepts of our Christian religion which are absolutely unfounded and untrue. Thus, we see that the three fundamental reasons given for the granting of full equality to the Negro race the teachings of science, democracy, and religion, are denied by facts and logic. This leaves the colored leaders asking for full equality for the Negro race when history and science have shown that the white and black races are unequal and when American democracy and the Christian religion have never taught such equality.

Americans must meet the arguments for complete equality openly and frankly, tear away the smokescreens and false interpretations, and then guard the barriers which separate the races more firmly. We must denounce those who would interpret either science, democracy, or religion in such a manner as to bring about the social equality of the races and the intermarriage of whites and Negroes as traitors to race and to country. They are seeking a mongrel America. Those who do not wish such a Nation must join forces to prevent the spread of these fallacious and flammable doctrines and to guarantee a white America for the generations yet unborn.

Whenever and wherever you hear a Negro preacher or a white negrophilistic minister or layman advocating social equality of the races under the high and ecclesiastical sounding terms of "all one blood," "brotherhood of mankind," "the golden rule," or "the fatherhood of God," you will instantly know that he is either a fraud and hypocrite or an unthinking and ignorant man.

Whichever may be the case, you are beholding and listening to a dangerous and destructive enemy to both the white and black races. Selah!

To make secure the purity and integrity of both the white man's blood and the Negro's blood, every congregation whether white or colored in this broad land should promptly and unhesitatingly unfrock the pastors in the pulpits who desecrate their sacred calling by preachments which through direction or indirection seek to destroy and mongrelize both races by advocating or even tolerating social equality in the name of the Christian religion. Selah!

Therefore, let me call upon the good Christian mothers of the Nation never again to take the life of the choicest fowls in the yard with which to please and satisfy the craving and ravenous appetite of an ecclesiastical negrophile! Selah!

Go to [Next Chapter](#)

Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. Logan, R. W., What the Negro Wants, p. 108.
2. See Oxnam, G. Bromley, "The Nazis Aren't Licked Yet," Yet," The American Magazine, October, 1945, p 28.
3. Smith, William B., The Color Line, p. 13.
4. Reprinted from What the Negro Wants, edited by Rayford W. Logan, by permission of The University of North Carolina Press. Copyright, 1944, by The University of North Carolina Press.
5. Logan, R. W., What the Negro Wants, p. 108. These are the words of Charles H. Wesley (colored) President of Wilberforce University, and Trustee of Fiske University, Nashville, Tenn.
6. Irwin, John R. Let's Keep the United States White, p. 1.
7. Reprinted from What the Negro Wants, edited by Rayford W. Logan, by permission of The

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8. Shannon, A. H., *Racial Integrity and Other Features of the Negro Problem* (Nashville: Publishing House of M. E. Church, South, 1907), p. 94.
9. Deuteronomy 23:2.
10. Cox, Earnest S., *White America*, p. 289.
11. Cox Earnest S., *White America*, p. 294.
12. The Acts, 17:24-28.
13. Genesis, 1:24
14. Genesis, 9:25-27.
15. Genesis, 13:14-16.
16. Genesis, 28:1, 6, 8, 9.
17. Jeremiah, 13:23.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter IX
**THE CAMPAIGN FOR
COMPLETE EQUALITY**

In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress. -*Booker T. Washington*

ON SEPTEMBER 18, 1895, a Negro from the black belt of the South stood before a great throng of people convened at the Atlanta Exposition and delivered a speech which echoed across the Nation. This was the first time that a Negro had made a speech in the South on such an important occasion before an audience of white men and women. The colored orator carefully and deliberately spoke words which marked a new epoch in the history of the South:

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal. 'Water, water; we die of thirst!' The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back: 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' A second time the signal, 'Water, water; send us water!' ran up from the distressed vessel and was answered, 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' The Captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbour, I would say: 'Cast down your bucket where you are' - cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing in this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep

in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.... (1)

Booker T. Washington, President of the Tuskegee (Alabama) Normal and Industrial Institute for Negroes, was speaking in Atlanta, Georgia. Before ten minutes had passed, his audience was cheering in an uproar of enthusiasm. When he held his hand high above his head with fingers stretched wide apart, saying to the white people of the South on behalf of his race, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress," a great wave of sound burst forth and the whole audience was on its feet in a delirium of applause.

This speech was winning the support of the Southern white people and also the Southern Negroes. "The wisest among my race," Professor Washington continued, "understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly." And he concluded "I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race, only let this be constantly in mind, that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. Thus, this, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth."

The great mass of Negroes hailed Booker T. Washington as a Moses, and the white South endorsed his program and gave him its support. Support also came from the white North, and thus this colored leader seemed to have accomplished the impossible in winning the confidence of the South, of the North, and the great majority of his own race. He became the recognized leader of the Negro race and devoted his life to the uplifting of his people.

Practically all of the criticism which Professor Washington encountered came from men of his own race. Over the years the opposition grew louder and louder from Negroes in the North who opposed Washington's program which they said fell much too short of their goal of complete equality of the races. They criticized him for not demanding social equality, and they denounced his doctrine of industrial training for Negro youth.

Booker T. Washington possessed ability, a noble character, and a reverent faith in God. He was endowed with qualities of real leadership; he taught no doctrine of hate toward the white man;

he was not bitter. Though he was criticized by members of his own race because he did not ask for social equality, (3) he lived to see Tuskegee, the school which he founded, endorsed and supported by both the North and the South. He saw his vision become a reality as this school, boasting sixty-six buildings and valued at almost two million dollars, sent forth thousands of graduates who had been trained to become honest and respectable citizens of their communities and of their Nation. In the closing chapter of his autobiography, Professor Washington said: "We can safely say that at least six thousand men and women from Tuskegee are now at work in different parts of the South; men and women who, by their own example or by direct effort, are showing the masses of our race how to improve their material, educational, and moral and religious life." (4)

The leadership of the Negro race passed from Booker T. Washington to a group of Northern Negroes whom we shall next discuss. However, let it be noted here that the only hope of the Negro race, if it is to remain in the United States, lies in the revival of the ideas and doctrines of Booker T. Washington. The story of the life of the man who founded Tuskegee should be an inspiration to every member of his race. Until the Negro masses realize the wisdom of his teachings and repudiate the present day leaders who are seeking the destruction of racial barriers and the mongrelization of the races, there can be nothing but conflict and strife and trouble in the matter of race relations in the United States.

Criticism of Booker T. Washington was one of the things which brought W. E. B. DuBois, a New England Negro, educated at Fisk University, Harvard, and the University of Berlin into the limelight. In his book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, published in 1903, DuBois, advocating complete political, economic, and social equality of the races, stated the points on which he and the Professor from Tuskegee differed and referred to Washington's Atlanta speech as the "Atlanta Compromise." With this publication, DuBois became the head of the radical and militant Negroes who were asking for complete and full equality of the white and black races.

According to DuBois "opposition among Negroes to what now came to be called the Washington program grew," and in 1906, he called the Niagara Movement to meet at Niagara Falls. "The manifesto which we sent out fixed my status as a radical, opposed to segregation and caste," says DuBois. (6) The Niagara Movement was an all-Negro organization which asked full equality for the colored race and openly opposed segregation. This organization was later merged with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was formally organized in 1909.

As DuBois assumed the national leadership, the conservative elements within the Negro race gradually came over to his way of thinking. Not many years had passed before Booker T. Washington's doctrines were replaced by demands for complete equality of the Negroes in the United States with the white people. In 1929, the then President of Tuskegee, Dr. R. R. Moton, wrote a book entitled *What the Negro Thinks*, in which he stated, in essence, the demands of DuBois for full equality. The present President of Tuskegee, Frederick D. Patterson, in his essay in *What the Negro Wants* says: "Any form of segregation based on race, creed or color is

discriminatory and imposes a penalty inconsistent with the guaranties of American democracy. The more conservative element of Negroes differ from those who hold the most radical views in opposition to segregation only in terms of time and technique of its elimination. In any statement which attempts to speak unequivocally in terms of ultimates, all Negroes must condemn any form of segregation based on race, creed or color anywhere in our nation." (7)

Most of the Negro leaders will admit that they seized the opportunity which the global conflict presented to press their united campaign for full equality of the races. At a time when the United States was at war and her citizens engaged in an all-out effort to win battles on a dozen fronts throughout the world, the colored leaders and organizations used all their combined efforts to attack segregation and to destroy as many of the racial barriers which exist in this country as possible. They have openly and frankly stated their demands until there is today no question at all as to what the American Negro leader is seeking for his people. As we noted in Chapter V from the essays in *What the Negro Wants*, the aim is complete POLITICAL, economic, and SOCIAL EQUALITY. This point must be made again and again until all America understands the situation and awakes to seek the proper solution to the problem.

These demands are clearly evidenced and openly stated in the two hundred or more books which have been written in the past four years by Negroes and Quislings of the white race. During this same period of time, day after day, week after week, practically every Negro newspaper has printed sensational and inflammatory news items and editorials which have preached that any form or character of segregation is discrimination. They have sought to inflame the Negro mind against the white race, North, South, East and West, and have attempted to incite and embitter the minds and hearts of every Negro man and woman in the United States against the whites.

These same groups have tried by methods of intimidation to bulldoze and influence public officials to pass ordinances, enact laws, and form policies which would carry out their dream of total social equality. In their mad chasing of the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, these full equality advocates have intimidated officials with the voting power of the Negroes, and many of them have tried to threaten the white race with force and bloodshed.

It is well to again note here that during this same war period, when the Nation itself was struggling and fighting for its very existence, only five or six books have been written in the interest and in the defense of white America. Furthermore, most of these books have been apologetic in the extreme.

Many white newspapers, white columnists, and white radio broadcasters have been whipped into line in pursuit of the "will o' the wisp." Some newspapers now go so far with their doctrine that segregation is discrimination that in reporting crimes committed by a Negro they are afraid to say that- the perpetrator of the crime was colored. These same papers in announcing a list of deaths refuse to designate whether the deceased was a white person or a Negro who passed on to his "happy hunting ground." Even in announcing births, some of the papers refuse to state

whether the baby is a white child or a pickaninny.

The Negro equality advocates have invaded the parts of government until today the Civil Service Commission no longer requires the applicant for a position to furnish a photograph of himself. This is to prevent the application from showing through the picture that the applicant is a white person or a Negro. The full equality seekers have even insisted that the various reports recorded when Uncle Sam takes a census should fail to reveal whether the citizen listed is white or colored. The Negro groups have gone so far in their nondiscrimination campaign that even some of the schools, colleges and universities of the Nation which do not draw the color line do not today require the students in matriculating to state the race, color, or nationality to which the registrant belongs. And to refuse to address a Negro as "Miss" or "Mister" is an unpardonable sin and social error! Ye gods, how much further is white America going with this kind of damphoolishness!

Today, as this book is being written, Walter White is in Washington or has just recently been here protesting the building of all-Negro hospitals for veterans. The present day Negro intelligentsia who have repudiated the teachings of Booker T. Washington and have adopted the social equality philosophy of DuBois bitterly protest the establishment by the United States Government of air training centers, Army camps, Navy bases, or hospitals unless Negroes are integrated among the whites. They even insist that no ship shall sail unless it has a quota of Negro crewmen. These colored leaders who demand that Negroes be mixed and mingled with the whites are either ashamed of the members of their own race or they are afraid to trust them to discharge the duties of executive positions.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and by direction of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, segregation has been eliminated in practically all of the departments of Government in the city of Washington. By orders issued at the top, all partitions have been torn out in order to compel the whites and blacks to eat together in the same rooms and at the same tables. Negro wash basins and toilets have been wrecked or removed in order to compel whites and Negroes to use the same wash basins, the same towels and the same toilet facilities. Hundreds of complaints have come to my office from white girls who are now forced to stand and wait patiently until the odoriferous females of the Negro race have finished their toilets in closets formerly used and occupied by white girls only.

It mattered not to those in high authority that these orders from the Fair Employment Practice Committee compelled the clean white girls from American homes who were eager, due to war emergencies, to work in the Government agencies to use all the toilet facilities in common with the Negro employees. It mattered not to some officials and semi-officials that the public health authorities had certified and attested to the fact that an astoundingly high percentage of these colored men and women are infected with all forms of venereal diseases. These facts were immaterial to those in power because they chose to dance to the tune of the theory that segregation is discrimination. Should they fail to do this, their positions would be in jeopardy since the Negro voters would penalize them by political defeat on election day in the many

districts, counties, and states where the Negro holds the balance of power between white Americans Democratic and white Americans Republican.

It is remarkable and hardly understandable that today in all the Government agencies in the District of Columbia over nineteen percent of all the employees are Negroes. When the percentage of Negroes in the United States is compared with our total population, we can readily see that the members of this race are entitled to only nine percent as their pro rata share of Government jobs. Thousands of white girls have been compelled to resign their jobs and go back to their homes throughout the United States, because they have refused to work as clerks and stenographers under Negro executives holding high salaried jobs. Political success at the polls is devoutly wished for, but ye gods, what a price is being paid!

Stuart O. Landry has emphatically pointed out that social equality is the goal toward which the present day leaders of the Negro race are working. He says:

The Negro press makes no bones about it. Says Dan Gardner (colored) in *Plain Talk*:

Rankin, Bilbo, and Cotton Ed Smith are dead right in their fears that the Negro wants, in fact, demands social equality. The redneck block in Congress correctly sees the situation and its warning yelps reflect the wild, confused alarm in which the reactionaries are stewing over the approach of the day when All Americans will enjoy the full advantages democracy holds forth

By social equality, the Negro does not mean what some people think he does: He doesn't want equal, but separate conditions. He doesn't want another parlor car hitched onto the train into which he is segregated. He doesn't want a side of the theatre roped off for his exclusive use. He doesn't want to be considered apart from other people. He wants **the same consideration that all americans should get** in stores, on trains, busses, hotels, restaurants, schools, and in residential districts. He wants the same right to worship in so-called white churches as do white parishioners. **That is the social equality the negro wants and will get.**

Dan Gardner did not emphasize the point here, but he and the others of his ilk want white people to receive them in their homes and to extend to them all social courtesies. This kind of social equality will lead as the Negroes well know, to the breaking down of race barriers, to intermarriage and to the final amalgamation of the races. (8)

The campaign which the Negro leaders launched in time of war has reached alarming proportions. Social equality is their ultimate goal. To further their scheme of the mongrelization of the races, they have raised the race question on every possible occasion in recent months.

Already, too much time has been wasted; we must point out the individuals and organizations that are conducting this campaign for racial equality and absolutely refuse their demands.

Since its organization in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been the leading organization in the campaign for the COMPLETE AND FULL EQUALITY of the races in the United States. Roy Wilkins, who is now Assistant Secretary of this Association says: "From the very beginning the NAACP was for complete equality." (9) Political and social equality was the stated goal of this organization thirty-five years ago, according to Wilkins. However, it has been only in recent years that the campaign has reached such a degree as to receive nation-wide attention.

The Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter White, a Georgia Negro, leads the activities of his organization in the fight to secure COMPLETE racial equality. He and the other present-day leaders have followed the course set out by the now elderly DuBois and they adhere, in essence, to his ideals. The Negro author, Roi Ottley, says: "To put their objective briefly, they seek for Negroes UNCONDITIONAL equality with whites!" (10)

Walter White has been associated with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since 1918 and has been Executive Secretary since 1931. In recent years, the organization has been something of a one-man show with White never missing an opportunity to make the headlines, to espouse the cause of equality, and to continue his attacks on racial segregation. Seeking all-out equality for the Negro race, "he is willing to lose a whole battle rather than accept a partial victory." (11) In general, the Negro press has supported White and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but when he objected to the Tuskegee Institute's flying school because it was an all-Negro school (he wanted the Negroes mixed with the whites), the *Nashville Globe and Independent*, a Negro paper said:

Rank and file members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should start a rebellion in their local branches against the regime of Walter White, the executive secretary. They might get this choleric little man to change his ways or force him to resign . . . The vendetta he is now carrying on against Tuskegee Flying School is undoubtedly injurious to the morale of the young men being trained there. His opposition to Tuskegee getting funds from the state of Alabama could be suppressed until it is shown that state aid for the great school proved injurious to it. . . But Walter White specializes in agitation, and still worse in fury too vindictive to accomplish any worthwhile results for the race he is trying to serve. (12)

From a Southern white paper comes the following analysis of Walter White's activities:

Walter White has issued one tirade after another against the South. He has preached the political, economic and social overthrow of the South. He has held that the Southern racial pattern must be destroyed. He has inveighed against segregation,

North and South. Walter White has preached for the absolute equality of the races. In so doing, he has contributed no small amount toward strife in America. He has a large equity in the Detroit riots. As much as any man in America, he has brought about discord. With every additional dollar which he raises to fight 'the negro's enemies,' he is raising money for the shedding of more negro blood. He has the power to promote harmony He has fed upon discord in the past and he continues to feed upon it. This is tragic, but it is true. (13)

Another of the organizations championing the Negro's cause is the March on Washington Movement. This is an all-Negro group, headed by A. Philip Randolph, (14) President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL). In 1942, Randolph rallied some twenty thousand Negroes at Madison Square Garden to protest against what was termed discrimination in industry and in the armed services. Walter White and other of the Negro leaders spoke of their campaign for full equality to the loud approval of the throngs in the Garden. Harlem's *Amsterdam-Star News* carried the headline: "20,000 Storm Madison Square Garden to Help Bury Race's 'Uncle Toms'." (15)

Randolph did not speak at this mass meeting, but in a statement to the press, he said: "American democracy is a failure. It is a miserable failure. It has failed because it is a limited and racial and divisible democracy." He warned that "America will have to answer to the colored peoples everywhere before the bar of world opinion" and asked, "How can we fight for democracy in Burma, a country we have not seen, when we don't have democracy in Birmingham, a city we have seen?" This is typical of the type of propaganda which Randolph feeds to the Negro masses.

The program of the March on Washington Movement follows:

1. We demand in the interest of national unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social economic, and political privilege; and especially we demand, in the capital of the nation, an end to all segregation in public places and in public institutions.
2. We demand legislation to enforce the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments guaranteeing no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, so that the full weight of the national government may be used for the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.
3. We demand the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax bill so that all barriers in the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.
4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the army, navy, marine

corps, air corps, and all other branches of national defense.

5. We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the FEPC be made a permanent administrative agency of the U. S. Government and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.
6. We demand that federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.
7. We demand colored and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.
8. We demand representation for the colored and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the post-war settlement. (17)

The colored writer, Roi Ottley frankly proclaims: "A program of this character obviously means social equality." And according to Ottley: "The masses of Negroes are supporting it with their money, time, and energy. The Negro press has flatly demanded social equality. Said the *Baltimore Afro-American*, 'We believe in social equality if it is anything other citizens have !' It remains to be seen whether this development in the Negro's thinking will continue as aggressively racial, or eventually become absorbed in some sort of proletarian revolt. If Randolph has his way, 'Negroes will continue to hammer on this evil of Jim Crow until the monster is buried for all time.' " (18)

The March on Washington Movement was primarily responsible for the issuance of Executive Order No. 8802 by President Roosevelt. Protesting against what was termed nationwide discrimination in war industries, an estimated two hundred thousand Negroes threatened to march on Washington on July 1, 1941. The plans were made under the leadership of Philip Randolph, and when President Roosevelt asked that the march be called off, he was refused. Randolph and several other Negro leaders were summoned to Washington, but not until the President agreed to issue Executive Order No. 8802 forbidding discrimination in war industries and in government and creating the Fair Employment Practice Committee did they agree to call off the threatened march on the Nation's Capital. The Order proclaimed:

" . that it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens in the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin... that all departments and agencies of the Government concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination....and that all contracting agencies of the

Government shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate ... "

"It was purely a knock-down-drag-out affair," Randolph is reported as saying. "I don't want anyone to think I called off that march on Washington permanently. That's still our ace in the hole. We could rally thousands of Negroes to stage it next week." 19 In another statement Randolph said: "The march was postponed by the timely issuance (June 25, 1941) of the famous Executive Order No. 8802 by President Roosevelt. But this order and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, established thereunder, have as yet only scratched the surface by way of eliminating discriminations on account of race or color in war industry. Both management and labor unions in too many places and in too many ways are still drawing the color line."

Randolph continues his efforts to abolish the color line. He was jailed during the first World War because of his stand against this country's participation in that conflict, but during this war he has avoided any direct utterances which would get him into trouble with the Federal authorities. However, much of the material published by the March on Washington Movement could not be termed patriotic. One of the pamphlets issued by this group, headed by Randolph, carries the threat that American Negroes may be lured by the propaganda that the Japs used on the Burmese. Japanese propaganda "has attracted little support among Negroes-yet" according to this booklet which sought disunity in time of war. And the statement that "After this war we will be lucky if the army's racial policies inflict nothing worse on us than race riots" can certainly put nothing except fear of the future in the minds of the readers. Such publications as these sow "the seeds of insurrection by inflaming the black race against the white."

Certainly the pamphlet just issued cannot be considered by anyone, no matter how friendly to the negro race, as any evidence of ordinary common sense.

It is difficult to understand the mental processes of a man who decries against racial discrimination and then does his utmost to stir it up.

It looks like he wanted to create racial prejudice in order to prove he was right when he charged it existed. Maybe it does exist to various degrees in various sections of the country.

But the kind of propaganda the self-appointed negro saviors are now circulating can do nothing but intensify it when it exists and arouse it when it does not exist.

Consider this, for instance. The pamphlet supports the action of a negro draftee who refused to serve in any black military unit, probably considering himself superior to his race.

Whatever his motives, this man defied the government of the United States in war and refused the call to service.

That's good stuff, according to Randolph.

He says the defiant negro is asserting his rights in refusing to submit to prejudicial treatment.

But is any white man permitted to say where he will serve and where he will not serve? Is he permitted to defy the government if he does not receive special consideration?

He is not.

Yet Randolph claims this s privilege for negroes. He demands special privileges which are denied to white men. That isn't racial equality or any other kind of equality.

That's what Randolph asks the labor press of America to support. Labor is not sympathetic to such appeals. Almost two million members of labor are in the armed services.

They went where they were assigned and did what they were told to do. They did not ask or receive any preferential consideration. They did not refuse to serve with their own people.

The pamphlet cynically quotes another Negro who refused to fight because, he said, 'this is a white man's war and it's no damn good.'

It is our opinion that the purpose of quoting this negro is to give others the same idea and suggest they can defy the government without penalty because 'you can't send 13 million people to jail.'

When Randolph says this is a 'white man's war' he must be color blind. Our allies are the yellow-skinned Chinese, the brown-skinned Filipino and the black-skinned people of every locality that has come in contact with the japs. (22)

The above quotation is part of an article which appeared in *The International Teamster*. This magazine is the official publication of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, headed by Dan Tobin, and the article therein condemns A. Philip Randolph's efforts at disunity in no uncertain terms. Such leaders as Randolph do nothing except agitate the race question and will certainly bring more and more trouble to the Negro race in the United States.

Walter White and A. Philip Randolph with their respective organizations work in close harmony with the Negroes in Washington who compose what is known as "The Black Cabinet.

This is another group which is constantly active in the campaign for complete racial equality.

"The Black Cabinet" is composed of Negroes who hold key positions in Washington; they serve as racial advisers to the heads of various government departments and bureaus. "The men and women who form this influential body are determined, one of them told me, 'to secure for Negroes all the rights, privileges, and benefits now enjoyed by whites,'" says Roi Ottley. (25)

It has been due chiefly to the efforts of this group of Negro leaders in Washington that the number of Negro employees of the Federal government has increased to such large proportions. As a result of the application of Executive Order No. 8802 and upon the insistence and direction of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, segregation has been abolished-over the protest of many white Democrats-in the offices of the Federal government in Washington, and the Negroes and whites are working in the same rooms, the same offices, eating together at the same cafeterias, using the same rest-rooms and recreational facilities. Destroying racial barriers is the aim of these Negroes; they want to see white girls working for Negro men and Negro girls working for white men. and to some small extent, they have been successful in bringing about this deplorable condition in the Nation's Capital. Because of this forced mixing of whites and blacks in the Federal departments, many white girls resigned their jobs and left Washington.

"The Black Cabinet," sometimes called "The Black Brain Trust," may be said to have opened a second front on the home front in time of war, for they devoted their time and energy to gain full equality for their race in this Nation as a part of the war effort. At every opportunity they have been ready to plead their cause, and no one can deny that they have done all in their power to tear down the racial barriers in this country. There is no question at all as to the fact that they used the all-out war effort of this Nation in every way that it would help promote their cause. When accused of taking advantage of the war, "they boldly admit it, insisting that if this is a war for liberty, they want theirs." (24) They made no secret of the demand that before the close of the war, they "want to see the stuffing knocked out of white supremacy." (25) Roy Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has been quoted by the press as saying at a meeting of his organization in Detroit in June, 1943: "We refuse to listen to the weak-kneed of both races who tell us not to raise controversies during the war. We believe, on the contrary, that we are doing a patriotic duty in raising them."

The Negro leaders in Washington use their position and every other possible means to accomplish their purpose. Whenever there is a chance to further their plan for complete equality of the races, they leave "no stone unturned" to achieve their objective. "The Black Cabinet, to accomplish its ends, often employs much of the positive features of the lobby -- it arouses public interest through the press and the pulpit, approaches influential white persons, puts the heat under congressmen with large Negro constituencies, and frequently goes directly to the White House." (26)

Today's Black Brain Trusters don't beg. These new Negro leaders have shed every tradition handed down from slavery days. They operate efficiently through official

government agencies, through their press with a million and a half readers, through shrewd lobbying in Congress, even through direct pressure on the White House. Specifically the Black Brain Trust is divided into the government and non-government branches. The government branch in Washington consists of race-relations advisers in numerous departments who look out for Negro interests. But they would be fairly impotent if it weren't for the outsiders -- union leaders, preachers, politicians, editors, and heads of national organizations who can turn on the political heat when ordered. The Washington boys provide the fancy footwork; the others provide the heavy punches. As a team, they work as smoothly as Joe Louis and his managers. (27)

Until his resignation in 1943, Judge William H. Hastie (colored), who was civilian aide to Secretary of War Stimson, was considered the top man in "The Black Cabinet." Hastie, who subscribes to the theory that segregation is discrimination, has led the attempts to have segregation abolished throughout the armed forces. In a speech made at the meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Detroit in June, 1943, as reported by the press, Hastie proclaimed that "segregation results inevitably in discrimination and inferior treatment," and that the Army is suffering a terrific wastage of man-hours "by denying trained Negro officers the right to command Army groups composed in part, or entirely, of white men."

When the Tuskegee Flying School was established for colored flyers in Alabama, Hastie protested because it followed the traditional Army policy of segregation and was opened for Negroes only. It has been said that this was the incident which brought about his resignation from his post in the War Department. "Early in 1943, Hastie became fed up and resigned his job, charging the War Department with an anti-Negro bias that made his work there a travesty" is another explanation which has been given. (28)

After Hastie's resignation, Robert C. Weaver (colored), racial adviser to Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, moved to top place in "The Black Cabinet." Weaver, who holds a Ph. D. in economics from Harvard University, formerly held a post in the Department of Interior. In 1934, he and Hastie "struck a preliminary blow for Negroes in Washington" by eating in the Department of Interior's Cafeteria from which tradition had always excluded Negroes. (29)

Other Negroes who have been listed as members of "The Black Cabinet" are: Ted Poston, racial adviser to Elmer Davis, who was head of the Office of War Information; Frank S. Horne, chief of the racial relations office of the Federal Public Housing Administration; William J. Trent, Jr., race-relations adviser to the Federal Works Agency; Mary McLeod Bethune, who was director of the Office of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration and is now head of the National Council of Negro Women; and Crystal Bird Bauset, racial relations adviser to Dean Landis, head of the Office of Civilian Defense.

In addition to such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the March on Washington Movement, and the individual Negro leaders who are promoting the campaign for complete equality of the white and black races in the United States, there are a number of white people, properly designated as Quislings of the white race, who are aiding in this campaign. There is first of all Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who, through misuse of her prestige as First Lady of the Land, probably did more than any other one white individual to aid the fight for Negro social equality in this country. Continuing her activities today as a private citizen, she is now a member of the Board of Trustees and Directors of Walter White's National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which organization has for its first objective social equality and intermarriage between the white and black races.

Mrs. Roosevelt's activities have been so widely publicized that everyone is familiar with her speeches and ideas on the race question. Photographs of the former First Lady as well as statements made by her have caused no small amount of antagonism and resentment in the South where her methods of handling the color question have been widely criticized and condemned. Mrs. Roosevelt has gone so far in aiding the campaign for complete social equality that she has, in effect, endorsed intermarriage. She thinks marriage between whites and Negroes is an individual matter since it is a "very personal problem." The unanimous condemnation of the Southland came down upon her as she told the Negro students at Howard University that "I would never say yes or no to intermarriage." (30)

Our ex-First Lady of the Land, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, cannot deny that she believes in social equality and the intermarriage of Negroes with white people and continue to be a trustee and sponsor of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She resigned from that great patriotic White American association known as the Daughters of the American Revolution because the DAR members refused to let Constitution Hall be converted into a Negro Concert Hall by Marion Anderson. Likewise, Mrs. Roosevelt must resign from the NAACP or stand branded by the white people of America as advocating and believing in social equality and intermarriage between the white and Negro races -- the primary objective of this organization.

The above statement about Mrs. Roosevelt applies with equal force to every white man and white woman who hold membership in the NAACP or who encourage or sponsor this group by spoken word, by written word or by financial contribution. Unless you believe in and are willing to encourage or tolerate your sons and daughters, relatives, neighbors and friends associating with and marrying into the Negro race, then you must turn your thumbs down on the NAACP and all its activities, branding it as Public Enemy No. 1 of the white race in America. There is no middle ground: you must take your choice -- white or black. If the above and foregoing statements about the NAACP and its white sponsors are bigotry and intolerance -- then make the most of it!

Another white woman who has done her share in the campaign for complete social equality is Pearl Buck, who recently received an honorary degree from Howard University (colored). Her

article, "Race Barriers Must Be Destroyed" in the *New York Times* in May, 1942 is typical of her type of racial propaganda. The late Wendell Wilkie, author of *One World*, was another of the nation-wide figures who advocated full racial equality. This position of Mr. Wilkie is especially interesting in view of the fact that he was born and reared in Elmwood, Indiana, the town from which his father helped drive away every Negro, and which had signs reading "No Negroes Admitted Here" on every road leading into the city limits.

As a potential candidate for President of the United States making a bid for the Negro vote, Mr. Wilkie made a speech in New York in July, 1943, in which he demanded full rights for Negroes and said the cause of race riots could be found in an "attitude of mind" akin to fascism. (31) In promoting the doctrine of the equality of all races neither Miss Buck nor Mr. Wilkie seemed to realize that the fulfillment of their program would destroy the race which created this Nation to which they both have pledged their allegiance.

The Negro paper, the *Chicago Defender*, published an "honor roll for 1943," in which white and colored men and women were named. The white people who "have battled against barriers of prejudice" in behalf of the Negro were listed as follows: Malcolm Ross, Chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Committee; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady of the Land; Wendell Wilkie, political leader; Thomas Sancton, managing Editor of the *New Republic*; R .J. Thomas, President of United Automobile Workers; Vito Marcantonio, American Labor and Communist Party member of Congress; Edwin Embree, President of the Rosenwald Foundation; Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States; John P. Lewis, managing Editor of *PM* (militantly communistic); Samuel Heller, Chicago Municipal Judge (of the district known as the "River Ward" or the "Bloody Twentieth"); and Aubrey Williams (with communistic, pinkish and negrophilistic affiliations), editor and publisher of *The Southern Farmer*, Montgomery, Alabama. (32)

These eleven men and women have, in their own ways, aided in the campaign for racial equality in the United States. "There they are, eleven men and women; without a single exception, they are professional anti-Southerners. They are the people who would destroy the civilization of the South, and set up in its stead a mongrelized people." (33) For their efforts to destroy racial barriers, they have been commended by a Negro newspaper; but they are forfeiting the confidence of the white people, not only in the South but in all sections. They should suffer the condemnation of all white Americans unless they promptly repent of their sins and are "baptized by emersion" in the clear, crystal waters of racial integrity and our white Caucasian civilization, followed by active and militant efforts to prevent the mongrelization of their offspring throughout the centuries to come.

There are other white individuals, some of them in Congress, who are serving the campaign for equality whether they intend to or not by aiding in the movements to abolish by federal law the poll tax in the Southern states, to secure the passage of anti-lynching legislation, and to have a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee established. And there are such organizations as the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, the United Committee Against the Poll Tax

Filibuster, The Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Committee of One Hundred of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which are aiding in this cause. Such organizations as these with white and colored members do all that they can to promote the cause of social equality. To these groups may be added the hundreds of communist-front organizations scattered throughout the United States.

The most subtle, deceiving, and hypocritical of all the Negro social equality fronts or organizations is the communistic Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which has been listed above. Notwithstanding the fact that this group is advertised as a Southern organization, it was conceived and organized in New York City and its sponsors and members can be found all the way from Harlem, New York, to the heart of Dixie. It is a kind of Mother Hubbard or cover-all that reaches out and tries to "mother" all the minor social equality fronts. While most of the respectable and outstanding members of this organization are inactive, yet its militant membership is composed of leading members of the Negro intelligentsia and a few questionable betrayers of the white race.

All true Southerners resent the implication of the name of this mongrel organization -- Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- which means or leaves the impression that humanity in the South is sorely neglected and ungodly, depressed and oppressed. If these Northern intermeddlers with Southern affairs are such great humanitarians, then why do they not organize a Northern Conference for Human Welfare and devote their time, money, energy, writing, and much loud speaking to do something for the "human welfare" of the depressed and oppressed people in the slums of Washington, the Nation's Capital, in the ungodly, immoral, sin-soaked sections of Harlem, New York, the "black belt" of Chicago, and in some of the other sore spots on the body politic in the large cities of the North? There is much work to be done, the harvest is great, but it seems that the laborers are few in the unfortunate "black spots" of our national life in the great Northern and Eastern sections of our country

This so-called Southern Conference for Human Welfare with nominal headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee, with James A. Dombrowski as Secretary, a well-known Communist female helper as assistant Secretary, Clark Foreman of Atlanta, "black sheep" of one of the South's most distinguished white families, President, and other officials, white and black, good, bad, and indifferent, has been staging some wonderful banquets from New York to the Southland. They have fooled and seduced many very fine citizens into sponsoring and becoming parties to these mongrel meetings. The most disgraceful performance of this un-American negrophilistic outfit has been the desecration of the name and memory of that great Democratic leader of the South, Thomas Jefferson, who said,

Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government,

by bestowing upon the well-known Negro communist, Mary McLeod Bethune, and others the

so-called "Jefferson award." God forgive such a desecration of a great man, a great leader, a great President, a great philosopher, a great statesman, who helped to organize the American Colonization Society for the voluntary repatriation of the American Negro to his fatherland, West Africa, because he foresaw the mongrelization of his race and the destruction of our blood-bought civilization if the two races attempted to live side by side in the same country.

Let it be noted here that the "black sheep" Clark Foreman, President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, is the same Clark Foreman who joined the staff of Harold Ickes in the Department of Interior as racial adviser in 1933, and in that capacity he was the first white government official to employ a Negro secretary. It was this same Foreman who, as President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was instrumental in persuading Congressman Lee Geyer of California to introduce the first anti-poll tax bill in Congress in 1938. He also sponsored the creation of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, of which another white Quisling of the South, Jennings Perry, is President.

It should also be noted that Robert W. Dunn as Treasurer and Joseph R. Brodsky as Secretary of the Sound View Foundation, Inc. issued a check dated April 20, 1943, for \$250.00. payable to the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, this check being drawn on the Amalgamated Bank, 11-15 Union Square, New York City. It is a well known fact that the Sound View Foundation, Inc. is a communist outfit and has handled communist funds from abroad through Sidney Hillman's bank, the Amalgamated Bank of New York.

The white people of the South never fail to denounce those in high office or elsewhere who are endeavoring to bring about the social equality of the races in the United States. There are many white Americans in other sections who also condemn such activities and still many, many more who will do likewise when they fully realize the issues which are at stake. The New England author, Ira Calvin, has emphatically stated:

If it be treason to advocate the overthrow of the government of a people, it follows, as truly as the fact that the whole is greater than any of its parts, that to advocate the destruction of the people themselves is the highest kind of treason. Whoever in any way contrives to get the Negro into white society is guilty, either consciously or unconsciously, of advocating the destruction, not only of the white people of that particular country, but of the entire white race. Any man who accepts public office must expect that, sooner or later, the spotlight is bound to be thrown on his doings. As Swift says, 'Censure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.' Up until now these men have apparently been quite proud of their actions, but any man or woman who cannot see that the entrance of the Negro into white society would eventually destroy that society, is void of reason and should not be permitted to hold public office. (34)

Another type of white person promoting the cause of racial equality is Lillian E. Smith, of Clayton, Georgia, and we can at least be thankful that there are not very many like her. She is

the editor of the magazine, *South Today* and the author of the novel, *Strange Fruit*. Miss Smith says that she is a Southerner. but in her thinking and writing she is as alien to the South as the darkest corner of Africa. She preaches the destruction of segregation and the wiping out of all racial barriers. In the winter 1942-43 issue of *South Today*, there is an article entitled "There Are Things To Do." We do not have space here to list the suggestions which are clothed in beautiful and exemplary language, but still designed to break down all segregation, and to make the South a great big happy mulatto family." (35)

In Miss Smith's book, *Strange Fruit*, she has thrown a "halo of romance" around the illicit affair of a mulatress heroine and a white man. Containing obscenities that would have jailed the author a few decades ago, banned by the police in Boston and Detroit, praised by Mrs. Roosevelt, *Strange Fruit*, with its immorality and miscegenation, could have no other possible aim except the mongrelization of the Nation. This book by such a strange-minded lady of the deep South was condemned by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, as evidenced by the following press report:

GUILT AFFIRMED IN SALE OF *STRANGE FRUIT* AS BAY STATE COURT DEEMS IT OBSCENE

Boston, September 17--Declaring that *Strange Fruit*, the novel of racial conditions in the South by Lillian Smith, could be found to be obscene, indecent, and impure, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court upheld today the conviction of a Cambridge book store proprietor for selling the book.

In a dissenting opinion, Justice Henry T. Lummons asserted that while the majority opinion seemed to construe the statute rightly, he did not believe the evidence warranted a finding of guilty.

'Under normal conditions, I think the book could do no substantial harm to the morals of youth, for few juveniles would ever see it, much less read it,' he stated.

The opinion of the six other justices upheld the action of Judge Edward F. Hanify, who found Abraham A. Eisenstadt, guilty of possessing an obscene book with intent to sell and selling an obscene book. He was fined \$100 on each of the two counts on December 4. His sale of the novel was made, for a test case, in March 1944 to Bernard De Voto, the literary critic, in the presence of representatives of the Civil Liberties Union.

In the 17-page majority opinion, written by Justice Stanley E. Qua, the court's majority said:

'Regarding the book as a whole, it is our opinion that a jury of honest and reasonable men could find beyond a reasonable doubt that it contains much that even in this post-Victorian era would tend to promote lascivious thoughts and to arouse lustful

desire in the minds of substantial numbers of the public into whose hands this book obviously intended for sale, is likely to fall.'

The majority further stated that 'the matter which could be found objectionable is not necessary to convey any sincere message the book may contain, and is of such character and so pervades the work as to give the whole a licentious quality calculated to produce the harm which the statute was intended to prevent.'

For the same reasons, the majority said, an honest and reasonable judge and jury could find that the book 'manifestly tends to corrupt the morals of youth,' the words of the statute. (36)

Strange as it may seem, there are religious leaders and organizations who are aiding in this campaign for complete racial equality. In 1942, the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing twenty-four denominations, appealed to its membership to end race bias. The statement said: "Interracial fellowship must become a deeper reality in the church itself. The church, as the body of Christ, cannot accept any barrier to fellowship, either locally or nationally, based upon considerations of race." And in December, 1943, the Council called upon Christian people to be "unprejudiced and wise enough to bridge and cross the chasms of racial isolation and segregation." (37)

Of course, the reader will understand that in quoting and condemning the words of a few of the leaders and part of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, we are not censuring or even holding responsible the great congregations of white men and women who belong to these churches. Millions of these good Christian American people who believe in the integrity of the white race condemn in their hearts the pronouncements and declarations of such leaders, and these members would not for a moment tolerate miscegenation and the mongrelization of the white race. However, those who compose the membership of these churches have a responsibility which they should and ought to perform; that is, they should purge their organizations of these negrophiles who are trying to lead the great body of white Christian men and women who belong to these churches into social equality, intermarriage, and the mongrelization of their race.

It is to be devoutly hoped that the great bodies composing the membership of these churches will no longer tolerate the apostasy and perfidy of some of their leaders but will at once rise and drive them from the temples as Christ drove the thieves from the Temple of God. It is most certainly a time when righteous indignation, as in the case of Christ with the thieves, should express itself not in hushed conversation but in militant and affirmative action. Throw them out! Selah.

There is in existence another religious organization operating under the name of The United Council of Church Women which should be discussed here. Without a doubt, this group, which we understand is interdenominational, is rendering a great disservice to the integrity of the

white race in the United States. Some members of this organization are not only preaching social equality between the white and black races, but they are brazenly practicing it.

The following quotation is from the *Washington (D.C.) Post* article, dated October 24, 1945, about the meeting of these "negrophilistic religionist" women in the Nation's Capital:

The United Council of Church Women (opened) a four-day conference at the First Congregational Church, 10th and G Sts., N.W., here yesterday....

The council devoted part of its opening session to racial problems, hearing, among other speakers, Charles H. Houston, Negro member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

The council accepted an invitation from the Washington chapter to hold its conference here only on the condition that there would be no racial segregation of members. A number of members are guests during their visit in Washington at Negro residences, and some Negro delegates are being entertained in white homes. Mrs. Harper Sibley, president of the council, is a guest at the residence headquarters of the National Council of Negro Women, 1318 Vermont Ave., N.W. Mrs. Sibley lives in Rochester, N. Y.

Mrs. Emory Ross and Miss Jane Tiffany Wagner, both of New York City, are guests of Judge and Mrs. Armand Scott, Negroes. Dr. Paul Douglass, president of American University, is among white persons entertaining Negro delegates.

Such "stunts" in practicing social equality, especially in Washington, the Capital of the Nation, are not only disgraceful, unthinkable, and outlandish, but these practices are an open, brazen and defiant betrayal of the integrity of the white race and an affront to every suggestion of the decent, cultural, American ideals and aspirations of the Anglo-Saxon race. Of course, we are not questioning the right of freedom in the choice of associates or the right of American homes to select and entertain their own guests. Neither do we question the right of a white citizen to "bed up" in a Negro residence. However, we do question the right of any white man or woman, be he or she high or low, to compromise, contaminate, and do those things which will lead to miscegenation and the mongrelization of our white race.

We have carefully read the press reports of this four-day session of The United Council of Church Women in Washington. It has been noted that their time was spent in discussing and passing resolutions

(1) in opposition to peace-time compulsory military conscription, (2) for the creation of an international body to control the atomic bomb, (3) for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, (4) for the extension of financial aid to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, (5) for the passage of the anti-poll tax bill, (6) to increase the wage scale to a sixty-five cent minimum, and (7) to obtain Palestine for the Jews.

At no time during the session did we read an account where they were discussing and resolving concerning Jesus Christ and Him crucified as the Savior of sinful men and women. Evidently they do not endorse the words of the Apostle Paul who said: "And I, brethren, when I came to you . . . determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified. . . . And my speech and my preaching was . . . in demonstration of the Spirit and of power." (35)

Mrs Harper Sibley, who is the head of this negrophilistic organization, went away from Washington fanatically exclaiming: "We made Washington an inter-racial City for the moment." May she and her kind never return! The one gratifying thing about the meeting was that this group vowed never to hold a session in any city in the United States where the people do not practice social equality of the races. Thank God that we will not be bothered with them below the Mason and Dixon Line!

The Methodist General Conference which was held in Kansas City on May 5, 1944, moved for the "ultimate elimination" of racial discrimination in that church. However, at this point let it be noted that this resolution would never have been proposed or adopted by the general Methodist Conference if there had not been the unification of the Southern Methodist Church with the Northern Methodist Church. Since the unification, some of the Northern Methodist bishops and leaders have taken the social-equality-Negro-ball and are trying to run away with it. It can also be said with certainty that the great body of white Methodism is fed up with these teachings of social equality which form, for the white race, a suicidal policy.

God grant strength and courage to the millions of the true white men and women who are members of the great Methodist Church to stop this insidious campaign of Negro or social equality miscegenation, amalgamation, intermarriage, and mongrelization before it is too late. My mother was a devout Methodist until the day of her death, but as she now looks down from her heavenly abode, I know that she would not want her offspring to follow leaders, whether bishop or pastor, who would lead the members of their church into mongrelization.

This picture of what is to be under the teachings of these few negrophilistic leaders - no matter how high in their church - may sound a little bit harsh, but remember that it is a picture of what will ultimately take place unless these leaders are stopped, suppressed, or thrown out. It is better that you know the truth now than to continue unheedingly in this path until the day comes when your offspring will wake up and find that they have become mongrels.

In an article which was recently sent to all newspapers, trade journals, and magazines by the *Writers War Board*, a publication issued by a government agency, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, pastor of one of the biggest churches in New York, quoted what he termed an unequivocal statement by a foremost American sociologist: "The assumption of the inherent superiority of one (race) over all the rest, of the Nordic over the Latin, of the Anglo-Saxon over the Slav, of the Gentile over the Jew, of the Western over the Oriental, of the white over the colored, is childish folly, contrary to the teachings of science, dangerous to the common weal, and

unworthy of civilized man."39 Such doctrine as this and all others which would lead to the amalgamation of the white, Mongolian, and Negro races in the United States must be repudiated whether they come from those high in government or those high in religious circles. White America cannot afford to allow such teachings to go unchallenged.

We must also condemn the activities of the United States government whenever its agencies are guilty of spreading Negro racial propaganda. In 1943, the Office of War Information issued an elaborate seventy-two page booklet showing Negroes at work, at play, and in uniform. The cost to the taxpayers for the two million copies of this booklet must have been close to a half-million dollars. Although the information contained in this publication is generally factual, it is certainly unusual that the Federal Government should spend the taxpayers' money in an attempt to promote the cause of a minority group. As Stuart O. Landry observes: The Government, as far as I know, has never gotten out a folder about the Indians in the United States, telling what they have done to help the war effort; it has issued no booklet pleading the cause of the Jews; neither have the Poles been favored with Government help through the Office of War Information; nor has any other minority racial group or association of American people been so honored."40 Clearly, such publications as the one referred to are used to aid the cause of Negro racial equality and at best the motive behind their publication by an agency of the Federal Government is questionable and political.

The United States Office of Education has likewise been guilty of spreading racial equality propaganda. In a report to the press, Dr. John W. Studebaker, head of the Office of Education, and his Negro assistant, Dr. Ambrose Caliver, who is racial adviser in the office of Education, called upon the colleges and universities of the South to open their doors to Negro students. (41) Replying to this report advocating the mingling of whites and Negroes in institutions of higher learning, Frederick Sullens, Editor of the Jackson, Mississippi *Daily News*, in a most appropriate editorial, told the advocates of such a practice to "Go straight to Hell." No government agency or organization or individual will ever convince the people of the South that separate schools for whites and Negroes should not be maintained. The people of the South know that the doctrines of those who argue for the mixing of the races in the institutions of learning would lead to the destruction of all racial barriers and to the amalgamation of the races.

Although separate racial schools have always been maintained in the South, it is understandable that in some sections of the North, East, and West where there were only few Negro families that the frugal, economic, money-saving objectives of town, city, county or state officials permitted the dangerous and destructive practice of integrating the few Negro children in their midst into the white schools. Little did these planners of the past dream of the great harm they were doing the white race by not enforcing the absolute segregation of the races in their school systems. As the Negro population has migrated from the South to all parts of our common country, more and more of the white people of those sections are realizing the great crime they have committed against the white children and the white race.

Today, the failure to segregate the white and black children in the public and all other schools is

becoming the source of acute racial tension and disturbances because the white children are instinctively and rightfully protesting against the presence of the Negro children in their schools. The unwise yet frugal planners of the North, East, and West, are now reaping the harvest of their folly and betrayal of the white race in strikes, riots, antagonism, and all sorts of disturbances in those places where the white children are forced to attend mixed schools. All Americans have just read of the militant and uncontrollable situations in the schools in many sections, notably in New York, Chicago, Illinois, and Gary, Indiana. God grant that the day will soon come when the white people of the whole Nation realize the crime that is being committed by the failure to provide for racial segregation in the schools of this Republic no matter what the cost. Money used to correct this fatal mistake will be well spent, because if the white children are forced to social equality with the Negro children in our schools, colleges, and universities, such contacts will lead to and prepare the way for social equality miscegenation, amalgamation, mongrelization, and intermarriage of the two races.

The responsibility for the salvation and perpetuation of the white race - for the prevention of the eventual mongrelization of both the White and black races - is upon the lawmakers and school authorities in every village, township, county and state of the Nation. Delay is dangerous and will be fatal in the end. I call upon the decent, right-thinking people of America to correct their mistakes of the past by immediately providing for racial segregation in the schools of our common country. And remember, if you fail or refuse to do this, do not blame me when some day you look upon your family tree and behold, there will be little mulattoes and mongrels hanging on every limb.

The most active of all government agencies in the full equality campaign was the Fair Employment Practice Committee. This Committee was the government agency created under Executive Order No. 8802 to which we have already referred. The stated purpose of this agency was to prevent discrimination in employment in government and war industries, and this was and is still being used as a basis for a constant campaign for the destruction of all racial barriers in the United States. In a speech before the House of Representatives, the Honorable John A. Rankin, of Mississippi, referred to the Fair Employment Practice Committee as "one of the most dangerous communistic agencies ever created to annoy and harass the white people of this country . . . it has attempted to force the railroads of the country to place Negroes in positions of conductors and engineers. It is attempting to force business establishments to employ Negro clerks, and even managers and place them beside, and even over, the white men and white women they have always employed."

The Fair Employment Practice Committee employed over one hundred people in its own organization, three-fourths of whom were Negroes. Thus, it seems to have been chiefly a Negro organization though it preached no discrimination. This Committee did more than any other agency to create bitterness between the races and to promote racial conflict. Such attempts as were made by this Committee to force employers to accept employees regardless of race, creed, or color are definitely undemocratic, and the efforts which are now underway to enact legislation to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee must be defeated.

The only serious attempt which was made by the Fair Employment Practice Committee to enforce its orders in the South resulted in the Mobile Shipyard race riot. This should be sufficient warning to these advocates of complete racial equality to confine their activities to areas above the Mason and Dixon Line. (42)

In promoting their campaign for complete racial equality in the United States, the Negro leaders and their white collaborators not only have the support of their organizations and some agencies of the Government, but they have the Negro press and magazines and some few white publications back of them. *Time* and *Life* magazines have supported the equality campaign by pictures and articles; newspapers such as *PM* and *The Daily Worker* give so much space to racial equality that they have a wide reputation of being anti-Southern. With its attacks on Southern policies and Southern leaders, as well as other groups who meet its disapproval, *PM* is certainly "one of the finest examples of a hate sheet that flourishes in this country." (43)

The Negro newspapers and magazines are, of course chiefly responsible for familiarizing the Negro masses with the aims of the equality campaign. They devote as much space to promoting their "cause" as they do to reporting the news to their readers. "They descend to every form of diatribe and denunciation. They make bitter, vitriolic, slurring attacks on southern whites. When it comes to racial hate and intolerance, these newspapers and magazines have no equals." (44) If any doubt this description, they need only to obtain a few copies of the magazine *Negro Digest* or Negro papers, such as the *People's Voice*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburg Courier*, the *Amsterdam Star-News*, or any one of the ten *Afro-Americans* and read for themselves.

In 1940, there were 339 newspapers, magazines, and bulletins published by Negroes, and 155 of the newspapers had a total circulation of 1,276,700. (45) Thus, the campaign for racial equality receives a strong and widespread backing from the Negro press.

Another group of workers in the campaign for the complete political, economic, and social equality of the white and black races are the members of the Communist Party. Concerning the Negroes, one section of the platform adopted by the Communist National Convention in 1940, stated:

The Negro people, most exploited of the toilers, suffering from lynching and jim crowism, robbed of their constitutional rights, are being prepared to fight another war for 'democracy' in order to further enslave them.

Pass the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax bill to give the vote to the Negro and white masses in the South....

Guarantee to the Negro people complete equality, equal rights to jobs, equal pay for equal work, the full right to organize, serve on juries and hold public office. Pass the anti-lynching bill. Demand the death penalty for lynchers. Enforce the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. (46)

In his essay in *What the Negro Wants*, Doxey Wilkerson, a member of the National Committee of the newly organized Communist Political Association, quotes a statement on the race issue from Earl Browder, formerly the head of the Communist organization in the United States. Browder says that the status quo of the Negroes in the United States is based "on Hitler-like racial conceptions," and he adds: "We must, as a war necessity, proceed to the systematic and relentless wiping out of every law, custom, and habit of thought, which in flagrant violation of our Constitution enforce an unequal status between Negro and white citizens of the United States." (47)

The destruction of all racial barriers is one of the chief aims of those in the United States who are branded as communists. They would abolish segregation and establish in its place the doctrine of social equality and intermarriage of the races. The fact that this group aids in promoting the campaign for racial equality should not only make us suspicious of such objectives but should definitely mark them as un-American. The following quotation from the pamphlet *Negro Liberation* by James S. Allen, Communist, should be carefully noted by all loyal and true Americans:

In every phase of life, whether it be in the shop, or in social or political relations, the Negroes suffer most, and therefore must demand more than the white workers or poor farmers.... In industry this demand takes the form of equal wages, equal conditions of work, etc.; in social life, the wiping out of all Jim Crow and segregation, and the right to be treated on a plane of equality with the whites; in political life, the right to vote, to hold office, etc....

In the South, and therefore in the North too, the Negroes can only be assured true equality by winning the demand of the right of self-determination, the most important of all democratic political rights....

The right of self-determination as applied to the Negroes in this country means: That the Negro people in the Black Belt, (48) where they have formed the majority of the population for many generations and where they have developed as a people, have the right to set up a republic of the Black Belt in which the Negro would exercise governmental authority (and where the significant white minority would have full equal rights with the Negroes), and determine for themselves whether their country should be federated to the United States or have complete political independence....

Communism strives to bring the people of the world closer together, to unite them into larger and larger states. The Communist Party of the U. S. A. strives to unite the Negro toilers and the white masses of the country, but this objective cannot be reached until the Negroes have the freedom - which they do not have now - to enter of their own free will and without coercion into such a union. (49)

The Negro leaders and all the other individuals and organizations which are aiding them are

presenting a united effort in their attempts to secure complete racial equality in the United States. In addition to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the March on Washington Movement, which we have discussed in this chapter, the National Urban League, the National Negro Congress, and the National Council of Negro Women are strong organizations engaged in this fight. Including this group, sometimes referred to as the "Big Five," there are 125 national Negro organizations (50) which are in a position to aid in the campaign for equality.

Representatives of twenty-five Negro organizations met in December, 1943, and made public the terms upon which the Negro voters would support a candidate for President in 1944. The Negroes served notice on both major political parties in the United States that they would oppose any candidate with an "anti-Negro" record who might be nominated. The statement, presented to the Democratic and Republican parties, declared: "The Negro voter will support a political party which by words and deeds shows its determination to work for full citizenship status for thirteen million American Negroes and to better the lot of all disadvantaged people in this country."

The statement offered by these Negro organizations demanded the right of the Negro to vote in every State, unre- stricted by poll taxes and white Democratic primaries, action against lynching and mob violence, an end to imperial and colonial exploitation. It also condemned segregation of the races and "discrimination" against Negroes in the armed forces and declared that any political party which wanted to obtain Negro support must adopt a program with the follow ing provisions:

Full integration of the Negro into the armed forces without segregation.

Abolition of quotas by race in the medical corps, nurse corps, technical and all other branches of the services.

A program of education in decent and democratic race relations to be carried out in the army and navy.

A revised navy program which will include acceptance of Negroes as commissioned officers, the use of Negroes in general and technical service in sea-going vessels and the acceptance of Negro women in the Waves, Spars and nurse corps without segregation.

Abolition of segregation in recreational and other facilities at army posts and naval shore installations and abolition of segregation of blood plasma.

Progressive removal of Negro troops from those areas where they are treated with violence, abuse and disrespect in the civilian community in view of the demonstrated inability of the federal authorities, military and civil to cope with such behavior.

The same opportunity as others to serve in combat forces.

In presenting their demands to the major political parties, the Negro organizations declared: "The Negro knows that his voting strength in seventeen or more States with 281 or more votes in the electoral college gives him the potential balance of power in any reasonably close national election and in many State and local elections. His vote no longer belongs to any one political party." (51) The importance of the Negro vote makes it possible for the Negro leaders and organizations to wield much more power today than they did in former years. Functioning as a pressure group, the Negroes often are able to secure some favorable action from a political faction in exchange for the colored vote. The Negro organizations are using the political strength of their minority group in every way possible to aid in their campaign for equality, and they are much more powerful today than they have ever been in the past. The political importance of the colored vote comes from the fact that it often represents the balance of power in balance-of-power states. Along the Eastern Coast and in the middle West, the Negro vote may turn the tide of victory in a national election when the vote is close. In these states, the Negro vote is an important factor in the gubernatorial elections, and it assumes even more importance in municipal elections in the cities where the Negroes are concentrated.

When the doubtful state of Illinois went Democratic in 1932 by a majority of 382,290, the Negro vote of about 170,000 amounted to a balance of power. When the normally Republican state of Pennsylvania went Democratic four years later by a majority of 581,646, the Negro vote played a big role in the upset; the Republican majority in 1932 in Pennsylvania had been less than 70,000 - and there was some 207,000 Negro votes in the state. Pennsylvania counts for more in the Electoral College than Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina combined, while Illinois outweighs Virginia and North Carolina put together.

Perhaps the most significant political event below the Potomac since Lincoln freed the slaves was the winning of the Negro vote above the Potomac by the Democrats in 1932 and its retention in 1936 and 1940. (52) It means that from now on the Democratic Party will be competing for what has heretofore belonged to the Republicans. And because the vote represents something near a balance of power in balance-of-power states, it means also that Northern Negroes may become more important than Southern whites in the party of the white South's long allegiance. (53)

The colored leaders use this political strength of the Negro vote whenever possible to influence members of Congress to support legislation favorable to this minority group. The pressure groups keep up a relentless fight to secure passage of the so-called anti-poll tax bill, and anti-lynching and FEPC legislation, and various other measures which they feel would aid in their campaign for racial equality in the United States.

Minority groups can be extremely powerful especially when they are well organized. The colored minority in this Nation has a definite objective which has been stated as the complete

political, economic, and social equality of the white and black races throughout the country. To accomplish this goal, they are using their combined strength and that of other groups which are sympathetic with these aims. The Negro leaders, the Negro organizations, the Black Cabinet, the white individuals and groups who are aiding the colored minority are constantly and actively engaged in spreading the infamous doctrine of Negro equality. They declare that the white and black races are equal and plead for the destruction of racial barriers in the name of science, democracy, and religion- reasons which we found to be absolutely false in [Chapters VI, VII, and VIII](#).

In demanding racial equality, occasionally the Negroes and negrophiles present arguments which are somewhat factual; more often their pleas contain half-truths which are extremely dangerous, and often they use what must be branded as outright lies. The Negro equality propaganda has now reached an all-time high. It seems as if these full equality advocates have taken the advice of Adolph Hitler, who once said that if you make the lie big enough, tell it often enough and emphatically enough, it will appear to the masses of the people as the truth. But such a damnable doctrine will not be accepted by the people of the United States. White America must condemn every individual, every group, and every organization that is directly or indirectly aiding in the campaign for complete racial equality which will bring about the mongrelization of this Nation.

Go to [Next Chapter](#)
Return to [Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. Washington, Booker T., *Up From Slavery* (Garden Clty, New York: Doubleay, Doran and Company, Inc., 1900), p. 219.
2. Washington, Booker T., *Up From Slavery*, p. 224.
3. Some of the present day leaders of the Negro race have even tried to desecrate the memory of Booker T. Washington by claiming that he endorsed their total social equality demands. Disregarding Washington's spoken words, his speeches, his writings, and the philosophy which he taught the youth of his race at Tuskegee, Roy Wilkins, now Assistant Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has had the audacity to write that Washington "envisioned complete equality as

the goal for his people," that he was "a shrewd man, thoroughly in tune with his time and its people," and that he "appeared to be an appeaser and did his great work under that protective cloak." (This statement by Wilkins may be found in: Logan, R. W., *What the Negro Wants*, p. 117.)

4. Washington, Booker T., *Up From Slavery*, p. 314.
5. Logan, R. W., *What the Negro Wants*, p. 55.
6. *Id.* at p. 55.
7. Reprinted from *What the Negro Wants*, edited by Rayford W. Logan, by permission of The University of North Carolina Press. Copyright 1944, by The University of North Carolina Press. (Patterson's statement has already been discussed in [Chapter V](#).)
8. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality* (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1945), p.298.
9. Logan, R. W., *What the Negro Wants*, p. 117.
10. Ottley, Roi, *New World A-Coming* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), p.240.
11. Embree, Edwin R., *13 Against the Odds* (New York: The Viking Press, 1944), p. 71.
12. Embree, Edwin R., *13 Against the Odds*, p. 91.
13. *The Southern Watchman*, July 3, 1943, p. 5
14. See [Chapter V](#), p. 67.
15. Ottley, Roi, *New World A-Coming*, p. 252.
16. *Id.* at p. 252.

17. Randolph, A. Philip, "Why Should We March?", *Survey Graphic*, November, 1942, p. 489.
18. Ottley, Roi, *New World A-Coming*, p. 253.
19. Birnie William A. H., "Black Brain Trust," *The American Magazine*, January, 1943, p. 94.
20. Randolph, A. Philip, "Why Should We March?", *Survey Graphic*, November, 1942, p. 489.
21. Ott]ley, Roi, *New World A-Coming*, p. 249.
22. Hunt, Lester M., "Negro 'Leader' Stirs Race Hate," *The International Teamster*, June, 1943, p. 11.
23. Ottley, Roi, *New World A-Coming*, p. 254.
24. Birnie, William A. H., "Black Brain Trust," *The American Magazine*, January, 1943, p. 37.
25. Randolph, A. Philip, "Why Should We March?", *Survey Graphic*, November, 1942, p. 488.
26. Ottley, Roi, *New World A-Coming*, p. 265.
27. Birnie, William A. H., "Black Brain Trust," *The American Magazine*, January, 1943, p. 37.
28. Ottley, Roi, *New World A-Coming*, p. 261.
29. Birnie, William A. H., "Black Brain Trust," *The American Magazine*, January, 1943, p. 95.
30. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 302.
31. *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis, Tenn.), July 25, 1943.
32. This list was published in *The Southern Watchman*, January 8, 1944. p. 4.
33. Ibid.

34. Calvin, Ira, *The Lost White Race*, p. 111.
35. *The Southern Watchman*, March 20, 1943, p. 2.
36. This article may be found in the Congressional Record (Daily), September 20, 1945, p. 8947.
37. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 18.
38. I Corinthians 2:1-2, 4.
39. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 18.
40. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 14.
41. Jackson (Mississippi) *Daily News*, March 8, 1943.
42. "The racial outbreaks of this week (the Mobile riot) were the result of this FEPC policy. Obeying the FEPC, the company sent negro welders on the same shift with white welders - and then the trouble came. Eight men, seven of them negroes, were injured in the fight which followed - and 7,000 negro workers in the Mobile area were called from their jobs! State guardsmen were sent into the area; highway patrolmen were rushed out.

"The Mobile trouble didn't 'just happen.' It had a background. It had been in the making for months. It happened because wise men of the South, giving solemn warning, were utterly ignored. It happened because the troublemakers thought that they knew more about our affairs than did we ourselves. The only thing for which we have a right to be thankful is that it wasn't more serious. But there is one thing certain: If the meddlers - the radical negroes of the North, the professional meddlers all over the country and our own 'liberal' quislings of the South don't leave us alone, more trouble will come -- and it might be a lot more serious next time." _ *The*

Southern Watchman, May 29, 1943, p. 8.

43. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 257.
44. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 257.
45. Murray, Florence, *The Negro Handbook* (New York: Wendell Malliet and Company, 1942), p. 201.
46. Id. at p. 172.
47. Logan, R. W., *What the Negro Wants*, p. 209.
48. Allen has previously described the "Black Belt of the South" as "the old cotton country which sweeps through parts of twelve southern states from the southern border of Maryland into the Mississippi delta" and where "today there are 5,000,000 Negroes."
49. Allen, James S., *Negro Liberation* (New York: International Pamphlets, 1935), pp. 18, 20, 21.
50. Murray, Florence, *The Negro Handbook* (New York: Current Reference Publications, 1944), p. 271.
51. *New York Times*, December 2, 1943.
52. And also in 1944.
53. Graves, John Temple, "The Solid South is Cracking," *The American Mercury*, LVI, Jan-June, 1943, p. 401.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter X

**ASTOUNDING REVELATIONS
TO WHITE AMERICA**

Lord, what fools these mortals be!
-William Shakespeare

THOSE PEOPLE in the United States today who advocate a mongrelized Nation may be called disciples of Professor Franz Boas, who for many years was a member of the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University. Professor Boas, a Jew, brought considerable notoriety to himself during the early years of this century by his efforts to destroy all concepts of race and to encourage and promote miscegenation in this country.

A naturalized citizen of the United States. Professor Boas did everything in his power to destroy the racial ideals of the Nation which he took for his own. When he arrived on these shores, from the heart of Germany at the age of twenty-one, he saw what the white race had accomplished in the new world. He certainly must have been familiar with the history of the American colonies, and the civilization of this country was proof before him of the ability of the American pioneers and their descendants. Yet for some reason which has never been publicized, this German Jew, a newly-arrived immigrant, wanted to destroy the racial stock which had carved this mighty Nation out of a wilderness. Professor Boas frankly and boldly proclaimed that he was in favor of the miscegenation of the races. He wrote a number of books and made numerous speeches which were recorded so that there can be no doubt as to what were his beliefs and objectives.

Professor Boas criticized the South for not promoting a general program of amalgamation so that it would become a land of mulattoes. He wished to lighten the Negro race by an infusion of white blood and pointed out that if light Negro men formed unions with darker women, the colored population would tend to become darker which would be "an undesirable condition." His solution was, of course, the intermarriage of the races. He believed that an "increase of unions of white men and colored women would be desirable but as far as we know he never went so far as to practice what he preached. Of course, the failure to practice what they preach is an outstanding characteristic of all white Quislings. Mrs. Roosevelt and many of these hypocritical negrophilistic preachers are shining examples.

In one of his addresses, Professor Boas proclaimed that in instances when white Mohammedans mixed with the native Negro tribes, they were able to "civilize these tribes and to raise them to nearly the same standard" which the white people had attained. Contrary to this policy of the "introduction of culture" by the intermingling of the blood, Boas pointed out that white Europeans have been reluctant to mix with Negroes, and he lamented that "a real amalgamation between the higher types of the whites and the negroes has never taken place." Referring to this particular argument for amalgamation by Professor Boas, Dr. Smith, of Tulane University, has written:

Such is the program for 'influencing' the Negro! Such is the war to introduce 'culture,' whereby, in a thousand years, the 'mixed race' may 'nearly' attain the present Caucasian standard! That is, the only successful 'method of introduction of culture' is to introduce blood, to introduce a new stock, a new germinal principle. Then comes a race of mongrels, of average mental powers higher than the lower breed, with exceptions little lower than the higher. Since the forms of civilization are easily imposed on inferior breeds, the resulting mongrels do what one may be pleased to call 'nearly attaining' to the standard of the higher. Bear witness the West Indies, and Mexico and Central and South America. What interest has any one in contesting such statements? To our mind they give away the case entirely; out of their own mouths such speakers are unappealably condemned. Bornu and Haiti may have attractions for some; but for us, none whatever. (3)

Those people in the United States today, and especially those who call themselves students of science, who contend that the white and black races are equal, should be interested in the fact that even Professor Boas, who longed to see white men taking Negro brides, did not go so far as to plead that the two races were mentally equal. He admitted that "it is true that the average size of the Negro brain is slightly smaller than the average size of the brain of the white race." (4) His explanation that this is off-set by the fact that "a wide range of brain-forms and brain-sizes occur among the white race" (5) as well as among Negroes is wholly inadequate. When Boas is forced to admit that "low brain-weights are slightly more frequent among the Negroes, high brain-weights slightly more frequent among the whites," (6) his case for racial amalgamation is lost. Of course, mental ability does not depend upon the size of the brain alone, but even Professor Boas says: "There is presumably a slight increase of average ability corresponding to a considerable increase in average brain-weight." (7) If the white race, as a group, is mentally superior to the black or if the world's greatest minds, whether they be listed by the tens or hundreds or thousands, have been the products of the exceptional "high brain-weight" of the white race, (8) then this race, as such, is worthy of preservation contrary to all the teachings of Professor Boas and his followers. These advocates of amalgamation have purposely overlooked the fact that in all history the Negro race has produced no men to stand beside the towering geniuses of the white race, and they have utterly failed to show any civilization produced by Negroes to compare with all the great civilizations which have been created by the white man.

It is extremely difficult to understand what kind of reasoning went on in the mind of Professor

Boas. He contended that biological analogy and historical evidence "do not favor the assumption of any material inferiority of the mulatto," (9) but he evidently meant inferiority to the Negro race, for there seems to be no record that he was ever so bold as to assert that the mulatto was the equal, much less the superior, of the white man. And while he wrote that he could not predict "what the result of the intermingling of two races will be," (10) he not only advocated but he encouraged the white and black races to mix in the United States so that we would become a Nation of mulattoes and octoroons. Let it be especially noted here that in all of his dangerous, disastrous, and destructive teachings and in all his arguments urging that the white and black races in this Republic commingle in order to produce a Nation of mulattoes and mongrels, Professor Boas never at any time gave us any hope that he could remove from his new brown race of Americans the odoriferous African aroma which forever remains with a human being no matter how small an amount of Negro blood flows in his veins. He could have truthfully proclaimed: "I give you a brown race of mongrels, but the smell and the odor of the true Negro shall be with you always!"

Though he said he did not know what the result would be, Professor Boas advised this great Nation to plunge into a program of amalgamation! He did promise that the "disappearance of the most distinctive type of Negro" would "tend to alleviate the acuteness of race feeling."¹¹ And he held out the glowing hope that "an unbiased examination of conditions as they exist at the present time points to the ultimate result of a levelling of the deep distinctions between the two races and a more and more fruitful co-operation." (12) Co-operation between whom? There would be no two races to co-operate if a scheme of amalgamation, as was advocated by Boas, should make this a Nation of mongrels.

What of the future of the Nation of mongrels of which Professor Boas dreamed? He might not have known, certainly he did not care, what the result of his program would have been (perhaps he preferred not to mention the race mixture of ancient Egypt or the results of miscegenation in South America); but he did know that when racial purity was destroyed, it could never be restored. He advised whites and Negroes in the United States to mix while at the same time he wrote: "All attempts to reconstruct the component elements of a population of mixed ancestry are destined to fail. Supposing, for instance, that we did not know a White race and a Negro race, but only Mulattoes. Could we reconstruct a White race and a Negro race?" (13) of course, we could not; Professor Boas knew that the races could not be reconstructed; he knew that his program would be fatal. He said: "We are not able to predict, even statistically, much less individually, what the result of the intermingling of two races will be. Much less are we able to reverse the process and determine the types from which a population may have sprung." (14) This last statement is certainly true, and the very fact that it is true is sufficient reason within itself why the advice of Professor Boas must never be taken. He may have visualized a Nation of mongrels, but the people of the United States, both white and Negro who believe in racial integrity, must join in a united effort to see that this vision never becomes a reality.

Where is the true, straight-thinking, decent white American man or woman who can read of the dreams and objectives of Professor Boas without becoming nauseated? But we can not dismiss

his teachings with a shrug of the shoulders regardless of how much we would like to turn away from them in disgust. As Professor and Dean of Anthropology and Ethnology at Columbia University, this immigrant from Germany - totally un-American to the last - literally pried open Pandora's box. Through the tens of thousands of students who came under his influence and teachings and accepted them, he scattered his evil, disastrous, and racial suicidal preachments and his insane and corrupt doctrines of miscegenation, amalgamation, intermarriage, and mongrelization throughout this broad land. Carefully and deliberately he sowed the seeds for the undermining and destroying of both the white and Negro races in this Nation.

We are today reaping in many ways the evil doctrines and damnable teachings of Professor Boas. We have notorious examples of the writings and philosophies of his students; *Strange Fruit* by Lillian Smith and *Races of Mankind* by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish are examples. Ruth Benedict and other students of the late Professor Boas were employed during the recent World War by the Office of War Information, and they assisted in writing racial equality propaganda which was used for the orientation courses taught in our Army as well as other branches of the Service.

Many of our outstanding colleges and universities throughout this Nation have had and have today deans and professors of anthropology, ethnology, and sociology who were educated at Columbia University and who were vaccinated with the virus of poison of Boas's teachings. Of course, there were thousands of students who were at Columbia University during the days of Professor Boas who never sat in his classrooms; there were thousands who completely disagreed with his racial views and disastrous doctrines of mongrelization. Some of the students who majored in his field did not accept the teachings of Professor Boas and have not taught them in their own classrooms. However, we are sorry to say that large numbers of his students did endorse the doctrines and philosophies of their master and have in the past and are today teaching these infamous theories and advocating mongrelization of the races to the youth of this Nation.

At the present time, Edwin E. Embree, head of the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, is granting fellowships and scholarships in order to place the apostles of Boas's doctrines in some of our best educational institutions, even in some of our Southern colleges and universities. In this manner, the damnable and blighting teachings of these disciples of Boas are being disseminated and inculcated into the minds of the pure-blooded Anglo-Saxon students of Dixie. It is also true that Embree is granting fellowships to Negroes and white Quislings to write books on the subject of Negro or social equality. Many of us believe that Embree, who is in fact the custodian of poor old Rosenwald who is dead, is using the Foundation's funds in a way that violates every thought and intention which Mr. Rosenwald had in mind when he set up the fund for the education of the Negro children of the South. We are sure that he never even dreamed that his money would be used to give scholarships and fellowships to carry out the objectives, paralleling those of Professor Boas, which are now in the mind of the Negrophile Embree.

It is a safe presumption that Professor Ruth Benedict and Dr. Gene Weltfish, who are now

members of the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, were students of the late Professor Boas, since they belong to this same school of thought. In a pamphlet entitled *The Races of Mankind*, published in 1943, these modern disciples of Professor Boas contend that no one has been able to show that this (race mixture) is necessarily bad, and they conclude that racial intermixture is not harmful. (15) Discussing the mixing of different races, they advise so-called sensible parents not to be guilty of grieving if their children make such unions. It will be noted that Professor Benedict and Dr. Weltfish are not so bold and frank as Boas their master in advocating miscegenation, but in their own subtle manner they endorse the practice. In fact, the underlying purpose of this entire pamphlet which is based on the false assumption that all races of mankind are equal seems to be to further the program of amalgamation in this country.

The booklet is written in language and terms which the authors evidently thought would appeal to the masses of the people and they constantly advise the reader that the authors are scientists whose conclusions are not subject to doubt or contradiction. Using unsupported statements and accepting the opinions of so-called scientists who agree with them, they have attempted to prove that race is a myth and that all men are equal physically and mentally. Their conclusions are not only inaccurate, but many of them are absolutely false. If this be "science," then we weep for its future!

According to the advocates of miscegenation who wrote this pamphlet, they have only stated such facts that they claim have been learned and verified by science. This claim we must refute. In preparing an answer to this booklet, Earnest S. Cox, the distinguished author of *White America*, has said: "Not only are the conclusions of the authors open to question but a considerable amount of their data set forth as fact is questionable. Some of it is in error. Some of it is inaccurate. It is not sufficient to dogmatically declare that color is determined by climate, for there are dark skinned races at the poles and light skinned races at the equator. Nor is it sufficient to say that 'Blue eyes appeared in the North,' emphasis being placed, presumably, on northern environment. Full fledged anthropologists would know that the 'North' has also produced dark eyed races, and so have the sub-polar regions of the South."

Another example of bold statements made without proof is that there were great Negro states in Africa when Europe was a thinly settled forest and that Negroes made iron tools and wove fine cloth when fair-skinned Europeans wore hides and knew nothing of making iron tools. The story of Egyptian civilization, now generally agreed to have been the product of the white race, (16) has been traced some six thousand years, and if the authors of this pamphlet are familiar with any "great Negro state" in Africa which did not derive what civilization it had from the white Egyptians, they should have made their knowledge public. "Based upon the authority of one writer the booklet asserts that history records that there were great civilizations in Africa in the past, and that Negroes have made important contributions to world culture-a statement that is ridiculous." (17)

According to Professor Benedict and Dr. Weltfish, all the racial differences among the races of mankind are in nonessentials such as texture of hair, quantity of body hair, shape of nose or

head, or color of the eyes and the skin. It is probable that these writers would not have admitted these differences had they not been outwardly apparent to everyone who is not blind. When these authors deny any other racial differences except these so-called "nonessentials," they deny the conclusions of their own master, Professor Boas, who wrote: "Thus it may safely be said that there is no anthropological evidence showing inferiority of the Negro race as compared with the white race, although we may assume that differences in mental characteristics of the two races exist." (18)

They are also denying all the great scientists, too numerous to mention, who have in the past found physical, mental, and moral differences between the Caucasian and Negro races. Perhaps they think that their denials are justified by the thought that their unscientific teachings may aid in the fulfillment of the dream of Professor Boas, who wanted to see the white and Negro Americans replaced by chocolate-colored mongrels. Mr. Cox asks: "If the races of mankind are 'equal' as claimed by the authors, what advantage would flow from miscegenation? Like produces like. There could be no biological gain from mixing 'equal' races. If races are 'unequal' there could be no gain in mixing them, for one or the other must suffer loss in the process. But we know that 'inequality' is the iron law of nature. No two people, much less two races, are 'equal.' One or the other is 'superior,' the other 'inferior' under all norms. Why then the zealots' demand for miscegenation?"

On April 27, 1944, *The Races of Mankind* was denounced by the Military Affairs Subcommittee of the House of Representatives as containing statements ranging "all the way from half truths through innuendos to downright inaccuracies." (19) The Congressmen halted distribution of the pamphlet to members of the armed forces by the United States Army, and they answered the booklet's "basic theme" that the races of mankind "are all brothers" by saying that "even brothers in the same family are not necessarily equal mentally, physically socially, politically, or morally." (20)

The most controversial of the inaccurate statements in this booklet is the table which purports to make an intellectual comparison between Northern Negroes and Southern white people, giving the highest scores to the Negroes. According to the authors, "scientists" compared the scores of Southern whites and Northern Negroes as taken from the intelligence tests made during the First World War. But they not only fail to show how they arrived at these ridiculous figures, but they obviously refrained from listing the complete percentages and the general conclusions which were made from these World War I tests. "The tests showed that . . . in the same section the whites always graded better than Negroes. In fact, in testing 1,500,000 troops the intelligence of the white soldiers proved to be greater than that of the Negroes.... The conclusions drawn by the authors of this pamphlet with respect to the army intelligence test are unjustified," says Stuart O. Landry. (21)

It is impossible to refrain from pointing out at least one more false assumption made by these two faculty members of Columbia University. Under the title of "What is Being Done" by the government to promote their program, they refer to Abraham Lincoln and his Emancipation

Proclamation. Lincoln's own speeches and statements deny the whole theory of the equality of the races as espoused by Professor Benedict and Dr. Weltfish. These advocates of miscegenation are evidently ignorant of Lincoln's expressed opposition to amalgamation and his belief, which was embodied in one-half of the Emancipation Proclamation, that the Negroes should be colonized somewhere outside the United States. Mr. Cox has emphatically stated:

Lincoln stood for a white race in a white nation. Professor Boas stood for a mongrel race in a mongrel nation, and so do the authors of the pamphlet "The Races of Mankind."

These hapless authors, seeking to promote a program of race equalization, even to miscegenation, seem to have assumed that Lincoln stood a sponsor for their program. I have said that many of the dogmatic statements in this work lack historical foundation. There may be mitigating circumstance when they err in the less known records of early times and we can bear with them even though they announce their conclusions to be the voice of 'science.' But we cannot acquit them when they deal with Lincoln who preserved the Union and who from the standpoint of the Union would unquestionably be ranked as the foremost of statesmen and the foremost of men. There are many people living who lived in the days of Lincoln and a number who saw him in the flesh. Yet the authors of this pamphlet assume that Lincoln sponsored race equality and race amalgamation, an assumption that is wholly contrary to fact, wholly false, and which brings to question every unsupported statement that they have advanced to bolster their race destroying theories.

And as a conclusion to this discussion of *The Races of Mankind*, nothing is more appropriate than these closing words from the pen of Mr. Cox:

I have written at length, but before I have finished my estimate of the pamphlet I want to call your attention to an inescapable conclusion so bald and nauseating that it might well be left unrecorded were it not an inseparable reflex from the miscegenation propaganda with which we here deal.

All of us, possibly, have observed the tendency of groups within our nation bringing forward their peculiar problems and asking for immediate relief on the assumption that the inequalities that they endure here are similar to the inequalities in enemy governments against which we are contending. These groups assert that the peculiar inequalities under which they labor should be corrected so that our armed forces may return and find that their ideals have been effected here as well as in enemy countries.

The pamphlet assumes that 'race prejudice' is one of the things against which we are fighting. But the miscegenation ideals are also in the pamphlet, inter-twined with our

ideals of liberty and economy. I have stated that the inflammatory material in the pamphlet need not have been a part of it. If it is not disengaged from our war ideals, but left with them, it could be truly said that when our soldiers, white and black, return from the war and find that in their absence their sisters have not conceived a mulatto child they will feel that their sacrifices have been in vain. Could an excess of zeal carry a group to a more pathetic conclusion? And, in the history of America has there been a more 'un-American' assertion, or one more likely to inflame 'race prejudice' rather than eliminate it?

After five years of research sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish Professor, with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose, wrote *An American Dilemma*, a two volume study of the Negro problem. Published in 1944, this work is the most comprehensive and the most elaborate which has been written concerning the Negro in the United States. However, only because of the circumstances under which it was prepared and its verbosity does *An American Dilemma* differ from other books and pamphlets which have been coming off the press in recent years to promote the campaign for racial equality.

An American Dilemma subscribes to the theory that race is a myth, that the Negro's condition in the United States is not due to any racial inferiority but wholly and completely to race prejudice and the segregation and discrimination inflicted by the white man. With such a doctrine, this wellfinanced book takes its place with the teachings of Professor Boas to aid in bringing about a mongrelized United States.

According to Dr. Myrdal, "The trend of psychology, education, anthropology, and social science is toward environmentalism in the explanation of group differences, which means that the racial beliefs which defended caste are being torn away. It also means, by implication, that the white majority group in power is accused of being the cause of the Negro's deficiencies and unhappiness. Authority and respectability are no longer supporting the popular beliefs. The beliefs are no longer nourished from above. Instead they are increasingly fought." (23) And if this author had the power to solve America's race problem, he would suggest that the campaign for complete equality be "increasingly fought" until all racial barriers and racial lines disappeared and this country turned into a land of mixbreeds.

After pointing out that "the racial inferiority doctrine is beginning to come into disrepute with people of higher education and is no longer supported by the press or by leading public figures," (24) *An American Dilemma* treats the Southerner's fear of intermarriage as if it were emotional, silly, and unfounded. (25) With much discussion of the "American Creed," this book would have us believe that our democracy is a failure and the country approaching fascism unless we solve our race problem by the acceptance of the doctrine of racial equality which would permit the intermarriage of the races. The reader is often reminded that if America would give up her "social definition of 'race,'" (26) and the "unfortunate whites" would cease to "believe in the system of segregation and discrimination and to justify it to themselves," the race problem would solve itself. Of course, the editor of *An American Dilemma* is a thousand times wrong. If

the white people of this Nation should agree with the conclusions of this editor, instead of the race problem solving itself, such a course would complete the destruction of our race and civilization.

In the closing chapter of *An American Dilemma*, Dr. Myrdal says that America has the opportunity to "demonstrate that justice, equality and cooperation are possible between white and colored people." Then, having no objection to intermarriage and amalgamation, this author concludes that if this country fulfills its destiny, the Negro will finally become "integrated" in our democracy. It is our belief, as has been expressed by W. T. Couch, of the University of North Carolina, that this book "was written under gross misapprehensions of what such ideas as equality, freedom, democracy, human rights, have meant, and of what they can be made to mean. I believe the small measure of these gained by western man is in serious danger of destruction by widespread misunderstanding of the kind represented in *An American Dilemma*." (29)

Our democracy, our Nation, our people are in danger of destruction by the kind of doctrine presented by Dr. Myrdal. Such a proposed solution of the race problem as would permit amalgamation of the races would bring with it no hope of the future - only utter desolation - for a Nation of mongrels.

Another author who, in his own way, has added his plea for a mongrelized Nation is William B. Ziff, of Chicago, Illinois, a Jewish ex-candidate for Congress and a former chairman of an interracial society, who discusses "The Tragic Struggle of Race" in his book, *The Gentlemen Talk of Peace*. (30) Although he has no rating as a scholar and little influence, Mr. Ziff has been mixed up in half a dozen ill-fated publishing enterprises. Mr. Ziff says that the colored peoples are convinced that the true meaning of the war is not a battle between the ideals of two contrasting social philosophies, but between the rival imperialisms of the defunct white races, whose brief tenure of world rule is drawing to a close. They see their own appointed task as that of hastening its final conclusion. And he adds that the dark peoples will move to end every type of exclusion, social or economic, and will see such discriminations even where there are none.

Mr. Ziff believes that all racial barriers should be removed, and the fact that this would pave the way for amalgamation in the United States does not seem to bother him at all. This author says that the race question should not be ignored, and he suggests that it could be solved by outlawing racial assault and the violent slander on which it feeds, as was done in the Soviet Union. Although he expresses no objection of his own to this solution which would result in the mixing of the blood of the races, he is wise enough to know that to attempt "to outlaw prejudices by legal enactment" would only increase such prejudices in the long run. This brings him to observe that "a determined effort" to liquidate the basic cause of the race problem in this country would result in the moving of the minority peoples into areas of self-jurisdiction. If this were the solution that he endorsed, then he would be rendering a service to the Negro Americans who, he says, are not received anywhere as the "social equal" of the white people.

Does Mr. Ziff believe that the future American should be the product of miscegenation? He does not say that he would welcome such a condition, as did Professor Boas, but he warns that it is a process which the Caucasian cannot stop whether he wills it or not.

We absolutely and emphatically disagree with those who believe that the white American would be improved by an infusion of Negro or any other type of colored blood. And we believe that the great majority of white Americans and self-respecting Negroes also disagree with those who plead for a mongrelized Nation. We might suggest to these advocates of miscegenation that they go to some of the South American countries or elsewhere where there is general racial intermixture and preach their infamous doctrine to their heart's content.

Frank H. Hankins, who wrote a series of articles in *The Progressive* entitled "Meaning of Race and Race Superiority," (31) is another writer who is doing his part for a mongrelized Nation. Mr. Hankins says that he is a "scientist more devoted to the facts than to worthy propaganda." He denies that he belongs to the group of scientists who assert that there is no such thing as race" or to the group who claim that "all races are equal in cultural potentialities." From this position, he continues the development of his own theory which is indeed abundant with fallacies.

Acknowledging that there are distinct races of people and that they have racial characteristics, this writer says: "Even an ignorant man can tell the difference between a white man and a black one at a glance" and "the contention that the Jews are not a race will continue to fall on deaf ears, so far as the mass man is concerned, so long as many of them are racially visible, that is, carry the marks of their genetic descent in their faces." Yet the doctrine which Hankins expounds says that we must treat "all persons as individuals" and ignore the fact of race. He could have made a better argument for "dealing with each person" as an individual, not as a member of a race had he not made so many admissions of racial differences.

Mr. Hankins evidently belongs to a school of thought similar to that entertained by Professor Boas and the authors of the pamphlet, *The Races of Mankind*. It has been noted in his biography that he was a student at Columbia University; therefore, it is a safe presumption that he was there infected by the Boas poison from which he has never recovered. However, his arguments are even less founded than those of Professor Boas and the authors of *The Races of Mankind* for he does not state, much less attempt to prove, that the races of mankind are equal. He is thus in the position of admitting the inequality of the races, while setting forth a doctrine that would permit the intermarriage of the white and black races in the United States.

When he discusses the "moot question of White-Negro intelligence," Mr. Hankins is forced to admit that those who argue "that there is no difference in the average of the two groups" rest their case "on doubtful evidence." But he is quick to add that "Democracy does not require that a man be equal to the average" - a statement which has no relation whatsoever to the comparison of the mental qualities of the white and Negro races.

After illogical and fallacious reasoning, this author summarizes: "From all this it follows that there is not in the logic of either race or democracy any ground for discrimination against the Negro as a race, unless it can be shown that all Negroes are inferior to all whites and thus wholly incapable of profiting by opportunity for self-development." Has there ever been a more ridiculous statement? It would be just as logical to say that because there was one man who, because of some fatal disease of the mind, was absolutely void of any mental power or control and thus unable to respond to directions as would a trained dog, then it followed as a natural conclusion that there must be no difference in the treatment of men and beasts. Such a presumption is not worthy of an answer!

After the above statement which has been quoted from Mr. Hankins, he says: "Now since the lower level of whites are idiots, imbeciles, and morons, this amounts to a *reductio ad absurdum*." Therefore, he contends, since every white person, including the mentally defective, can not be said to be superior to every Negro, we must abolish all racial barriers in the United States. This argument, if it can justly be called an argument, is utterly absurd. But somehow from such reasoning he justifies his theory which is to treat all persons "as an individual, not as a member of a race." This is the view, he says, that the "man on the street can be made to understand."

If the doctrine of Mr. Hankins should be accepted, then the color line which he says causes Virginia to class "all persons with one drop of Negro blood as Negro" would no longer exist. If his infamous theory should be adopted, the twenty-eight states, which according to his analysis, "prohibit the marriage of white and black regardless of genetic constitution or personality development, thus checking that amalgamation which is the only final solution of any race problem" would wipe the legal restrictions on intermarriage from their statute books and open the flood gates for the amalgamation of the Nation.

Action which could only be designed to promote the mongrelization of this country has been demanded of the Junior Hostesses at the Stage Door Canteen in New York City. In the summer of 1943, Margaret Halsey, captain of the Junior Hostesses, ordered the white girls serving as hostesses to the service men at this canteen to dance with Negro soldiers and to accept them as their social equals.

The author of an article which was distributed to the Junior Hostesses regarding "Dancing with Negro servicemen at the Stage Door Canteen" and was reprinted in the newspaper *PM*, Miss Halsey told these girls that the Canteen was giving them "a golden opportunity to come into contact with Negroes under the best possible circumstances." She dismisses the question of intelligence, saying: "Actually, I don't believe any of you are very deeply concerned with Negro intelligence. What worries you more is the fear of rape. You unconsciously, but very arrogantly, assume that no male Negro can so much as glance at you without wanting to get you with child. The truth is, that while you are an extremely attractive group of young women, there isn't one of you who's *that* good." And from this absurd statement, she concludes that there is no reason at all why the white girls and Negro men should not mingle on terms of social equality.

Miss Halsey continues her article with a discussion of the "machine age" which, in her opinion, is going to make it necessary for white girls to "spend an increasing amount" of their time "mingling with Negroes" so some of them "might as well get used to it here and now, on Sunday nights at the Canteen." While our fighting men were dying and facing the enemy's bullets all over the world so that mankind could again know peace, Miss Halsey attempted to destroy the social customs in this country so that they may return home to find the way prepared for the mongrelization of the Nation. Any white woman who would give such advice, as did Miss Halsey, to the young girls of her race, should forever be ostracized from the people of her own blood.

Another attempt to encourage amalgamation was made in the Nation's Capital in February, 1944, when the Congress of Industrial Workers opened a canteen for service men and women. On opening night there were some two hundred members of the armed forces present. About an equal number of white and Negro soldiers were in attendance, and white and colored girls served as hostesses in about equal numbers. Discussing the opening of this canteen, Congressman McKenzie of Louisiana asked: "How can anyone be a party to encouraging white girls into the arms of Negro soldiers at a canteen while singing 'Let Me Call You Sweetheart'?"

The sponsors of this place of entertainment where whites and Negroes mingled on terms of social equality declared that the "plan was proving successful." And Joseph Phillips, president of the C.I.O. Washington Industrial Union Council, said that his organization was proud to sponsor the "first effective non-Jim Crow canteen in Washington." He added that "when people come to our dances they dance with whomever they choose."

If we have reached the place in this country that we are going to permit white girls to attend social functions with Negro soldiers, then we can no longer profess to be surprised at whatever may happen. Such practices of social equality, which is communism in its worst form, can only result in harm to both races and the furtherance of the scheme of the mongrelization of the Nation. Denouncing the "uninformed agitators and starry-eyed, half-baked theorists in other sections" who are attempting to meddle with the question of race relations in the South, Congressman Joseph R. Bryson, of South Carolina, made the following remarks:

Some days ago you doubtless read reports published in the newspapers of the country of the opening of a local United Service Organizations unit in Washington for service men and women, regardless of color. The stories published at the time noted the presence at the opening of outstanding officials and semiofficials of the United States, and indicated that they joined with others of both races in singing such songs as Let Me Call You Sweetheart.

No member of this House has greater respect for our leaders than I, but one can be pardoned if he questions the wisdom of such officials participating in these festivities. I unhesitatingly brand that affair as a distinct disservice to the Negro race - one to which our sanction should not be given. Whatever the intent of those

responsible for the creation of this particular U. S. O. unit, its continued operation can result only in the intensification of the race problem, with which we of the South must constantly struggle.

Negroes in the armed services who visit Washington or other centers do not lack U. S. O. units of their own, as well organized and conducted as any for white service men and women. In all conscience, why not permit them to patronize the units created especially for them. They are always happier among themselves on social occasions, most of them preferring not to mingle with white folks. The race problem is grave enough without deliberately aggravating it by promoting the intermingling of Negroes and whites on such occasions. (32)

Perhaps those who operate and sponsor the "non-Jim Crow" canteen in Washington believe, as does Gluseppe Antonio Borgese, in promoting any scheme which will increase the number of interracial marriages in the United States. This white Professor of Italian literature at the University of Chicago has expounded his ideas on the race question in an article entitled "A Bedroom Approach to Racism," which appeared in the magazine, *Negro Digest*. (33) **"EQUALITY," says Professor Borgese, "IS NOT YET BROTHERHOOD, WHICH IS CHARITY, OTHERWISE NAMED LOVE .. THIS ALTAR OF CHARITY IS IN THE BEDROOM."** And thus, he declares, the race problem which confronts this Nation can be solved only in the bedroom!

Professor Borgese admits that it will be difficult to abolish racial lines, but he thinks that everything possible should be done to bring about the "demolition of the color line." He is forced to acknowledge that the miscegenation in South America "has failed anyhow to bring forth so far a pattern of social civilization and intellectual culture unquestionable enough to affect with its prestige the rigor of Anglo-Saxon racialism." But this does not dampen the ardor of this Professor for a mongrelized United States. Instead, he laments that the process cannot be hastened so that Negroes could see the destruction of the color line in this generation.

Giuseppe Antonio Borgese was born in Polsizzi, Genorosa (Palerma, Italy), in 1882 and came to this country in 1931 at the age of 49. He was naturalized in 1938. This immigrant who entertains and preaches such racial doctrines which are foreign to every suggestion of true Americanism in this white man's country should be promptly deported as a public enemy. He should immediately and most certainly be ostracized by all decent, white American citizens regardless of their nationality. Nationalities have nothing whatsoever to do with the race question which we are discussing in this book provided that the nationality belongs to the white race. This is a white man's fight for his perpetuation and involves every white man in this country regardless of what his nationality might be.

"Slow melting pots that may keep simmering for centuries" before finally producing a Nation of octoroons in North America will involve too much time, according to this Professor who advocates miscegenation. Therefore, he suggests that all legal restrictions, all forms of

segregation, and all social customs which now separate the races in this country be removed, because **"only when the bedrooms open and the two bloods mix freely in many marriages, free from blame and bane"** will the race question, in his opinion, be solved.

The civilization and culture of the Caucasian race mean nothing to this Italian immigrant Professor at the University of Chicago. He does not place any value whatsoever on the accomplishments of the white race from which all races of mankind have benefited, and he evidently is far from being proud of the blood which flows in his own veins. What type of man is this who wishes to bequeath to his posterity the destruction of the race of his fathers?

When a white man pleads for the mongrelization of his country, places his stamp of approval on miscegenation, and denies that the white-skinned, blue-eyed, blonde women of his own race are more beautiful than the dull-skinned half-breeds, then we are forced to exclaim:

Do I sleep? Do I dream?
Do I wonder and doubt
Are things what they seem?
Or is visions about?
Is our civilization a failure?
Or is the Caucasian played out?

Professor Borgese claims that "the snow-white, blue-eyed archetype of Aryan beauty" is in "a process of revision" and gradually losing its "exclusive purity." This, of course, he views with satisfaction and looks forward to the day when an infusion of Negro blood will give all white people the "extrapigmentation of the creole or mulatto." "A 'global' color, somewhere midway between sun and shade, light and earth, that should narrow and smooth the distances across which we are allowed or forbidden to look at our fellow-creatures as brothers and sisters" is his aim. We can but wonder if Professor Borgese has carried out his doctrine and contributed his part to the lightening of the Negro race by forming a union with a colored woman.

Now we come to the pitfall which this writer has dug, and we can only hope that his teachings will be forever buried therein. After pleading for white-Negro marriages and a mongrelized people, he says that science should find some means "to discolor the Negro." Professor Borgese evidently thinks that Almighty God made a grave mistake when He made the Negro black; and if this race can not be bleached right away by a sufficient mixture of white blood, then science must speed the process by finding a way to make the colored man white. With this suggestion, the author admits that there is not only some kind of superiority but also beauty attached to a white skin. And since this cannot follow from his plea for the destruction of the white race, then his reasoning is not only fallacious but utterly ridiculous.

This advocate of a bedroom approach to racism is forced to admit that race is more than skin deep. Even though a Negro might be made white by "science," Professor Borgese does know that he would become the parent of a colored child. And then the whitening would have to be

done all over again. He says:

Mixed marriages would be insured against racial nemesis by the knowledge that the treatment that was inexpensive and successful for the parent will be no less so for the progeny, with the other and less definite differential characteristics of the races merging by-and-by much more easily in the multiple miscegenation of the border zones.

This it is that would make a substantial and positive - not nominal, not utopian - bequest by us to children and grandchildren. The color line should blur almost past recognition in the course of the very next generations.

Every white man and woman in the United States who has any pride in the Caucasian race will condemn the teachings of Professor Borgese. Likewise, every Negro who has racial pride, and whose race has been insulted by the suggestion that scientists should make the Negro white, will condemn the doctrines of this advocate of miscegenation. Such a theory as that advanced by Professor Borgese is revolting and nauseating to everyone who believes in racial integrity, and anyone who espouses such a doctrine is a disgrace to his own race.

Without a doubt, the above and foregoing recital of thoughts, beliefs, sentiments, and teachings of this Italian immigrant, Gluseppe Antonio Borgese, who is now a Professor of Italian literature at the University of Chicago, will come as a shocking surprise to every white man and woman in America who chances to read this book. The young men and women throughout this Nation who are planning to finish their education at the University of Chicago, as well as the mothers and fathers who are planning to send their sons and daughters to this great Institution, should certainly be apprised of the fact that the minds of the young men and women who come under the tutorage of this member of the faculty may be subjected to his baneful, criminal, disastrous, and racial suicidal teachings and philosophies.

If the President of the University of Chicago and the members of the Board of Trustees are informed of such damnable and un-American teachings which are being disseminated by Professor Borgese and refuse to take prompt action by discharging him from the faculty, then they are thereby condoning, endorsing, and sponsoring a philosophy which will mongrelize white America. If they refuse to remove such a cancerous sore from their great educational Institution, every white American who believes in the integrity of his blood and race will be forced to say that the University of Chicago needs a complete and thorough house cleaning.

In this chapter, we have called attention to only a few of the individuals who have followed the teachings of Professor Boas by promoting the campaign for the amalgamation, miscegenation, and mongrelization of the white and black races in the United States. The arguments used by the few are typical of those used by the many who are aiding in this scheme of racial mongrelization. The clock has struck, the hour is here - to delay is fatal - when every white man and white woman in the South and North, in the East and West, regardless of his nationality,

must take drastic steps to stop these enemies of the white race from spreading their damnable doctrines of destruction. They would destroy the white race through the process of social equality which leads to miscegenation and intermarriage of the two races which are so widely and vitally divergent. We must denounce, condemn, and ostracize from white society any person and every person regardless of station or position - high or low - in religion, in politics, or in society - who by word or deed endorse or encourage the mongrelization of the Nation. To do this is not bias, bigotry, prejudice, un-American, or undemocratic. It is merely the white race fighting for the protection of its purity and integrity and for the perpetuation of the white man's culture and civilization.

Go to [Next Chapter](#)
Return to [Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. Boas, Franz, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: The Macmillan and Company, Inc., 1938), p. 272.
2. Boas, Franz, *Anthropology and Modern Life* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1928), p. 75.
3. Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, p. 127.
Professor Smith has forcefully and adequately answered the doctrines of Professor Boas in Chapter Four, "Plea and Counterplea," of his book *The Color Line*. Using science and history, this able Southern writer and scientist has refuted what he terms the plea for the "backward races" which was made by the Jewish professor of Columbia University.
4. Boas, Franz, *The Real Race Problem* (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1910), p. 2.
5. Ibid.
6. Boas, Franz, *The Real Race Problem*, p. 3.
7. Ibid.

8. "'We might, therefore, anticipate a lack of men of high genius, but should not anticipate any great lack of faculty among the great mass of negroes living among whites and enjoying the advantages of the leadership of the best men of that race.' (Boas) These words seem to surrender everything. They admit a sensible inferiority of the Negro. This defect may be slight as expressed in ounces, and yet, as measured by achievement, it may be inexpressibly great."
_Smith, William B. *The Color Line*, p. 146.
9. Boas. Franz, *The Real Race Problem*, p. 6.
10. Boas, Franz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 71.
11. Boas, Franz, *The Real Race Problem*, p. 8.
12. Ibid.
13. Boas Franz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 70.
14. Boas, Franz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 71.
15. Benedict, Ruth and Weltfish. Gene, *The Races of Mankind* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1943), p. 14.
16. See [Chapter II](#).
17. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 17.
18. Boas, Franz, *The Real Race Problem*, p. 4.
19. The Evening Star (Washington, D. C.), April 27, 1944.
20. Ibid.
21. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 17.
22. Ira Calvin had ample reason to state that "if you are a decent person you will need a clothes pin on your nose while you study it (The Races of

Mankind), for it stinks. Imagine trying to convince sensible white people that they are no different from Negroes, Japanese, Chinese, and Indians." _Calvin Ira, *The Lost White Race*, p. 115.

23. Myrdal Gunnar, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 2 vols., p. 1003.
24. Id. at p. 583.
25. Id. at p. 1012, 587.
26. Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma*, p. 117.
27. Id. at p. 660.
28. Id. at p. 1021.
29. Logan, R. W., *What the Negro Wants*, p. xv (from the Publisher's Introduction).
30. Ziff, William B., *The Gentlemen Talk of Peace* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), p. 379.
31. *The Progressive* (Madison, Wisconsin), April 16, 1945, p. 8.
32. The Congressional Record (Daily), March 8, 1944.
33. Borgese, G. A., "A Bedroom Approach to Racism," *Negro Digest*, December, 1944, p. 31.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter XI

**THE SPRINGFIELD PLAN AND
SUCH**

Anyone who would, in the name of Christianity, make us a negroid people betrays his religion and his race. It should be the desire of both races to maintain racial integrity and have their blood remain pure. We condemn, we will not condone, the attempt on the part of any group, or individual, to destroy our ideals and principles in the name of history, or of science, or of democracy, or of religion. -*Theodore G. Bilbo*(1)

THE GROUPS and individuals who are today advocating either directly or indirectly, the social equality of the white, black, and Mongolian races which all intelligent people know will lead to mongrelization and intermarriage of these races in the United States are quick to endorse the so-called "Springfield Plan." This is the name applied to the program inaugurated some six years ago by the town of Springfield, Massachusetts, under the leadership of one of the students of the late Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University, who, it will be remembered, spent his life teaching intermarriage and mongrelization of the races. Although the plan has been widely acclaimed as America's Number One method of fighting racial intolerance through intelligent schooling, it is in fact only another one of the schemes aimed at the destruction of all racial barriers and the abolition of the color line.

Without a doubt the promoters of the "Springfield Plan," as well as the disciples of the late Professor Boas to whom we have referred in the previous chapter, found comfort and consolation in the statement issued on October 31, 1945, by Dr. Ralph S. Linton, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University. The press report of Dr. Linton's announcement in which he predicted that the mongrelization of the races in the United States will be completed within three hundred years follows:

SEES BLACK RACE
ABSORBED IN WHITE

Dr. Linton of Columbia Holds Process Will Be Finished in U.S. in 300 Years

Absorption of the Negro race into the general population of the United States within 300 years was forecast yesterday by Dr. Ralph S. Linton, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University.

In an address before Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen and religious leaders attending the second weekly lecture series sponsored by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary, Broadway at 122nd Street, Professor Linton said that this process already had gone further than was generally known.

'Not more than 10 per cent of the American Negroes now have unmixed blood,' he told the 300 men and women enrolled in the five-month course. 'The bulk of the American Negro population is a rather complex mixture.'

As the absorption continues, Professor Linton asserted, 'in every generation a certain number of Negro genes will be incorporated in the white population.' However, he contended, as time goes on the appearance of Negroid characteristics will 'cease to be socially significant.'

Speaking on the general topic, 'Anthropology as a Bridge to Intercultural Understanding,' Professor Linton first pointed out the conditions under which two racial or cultural groups have been found living peaceably, side by side.

It has been established, he declared, that two groups 'get along best' when each engage in certain occupations, thus eliminating direct economic competition, and when each group 'regards itself as somewhat superior and has no particular desire to be accepted by the other.'

Citing isolated examples in this country, such as that of the Mennonites in Pennsylvania, Professor Linton conceded, though, that such conditions could not be put into general effect in this country because of our tradition as a 'melting pot' and because of our belief in 'individual social mobility.'

Dr. Robert M. Maclver, Lieber Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology at Barnard College and Columbia University, presided at the luncheon session of the inter-faith forum.

At the two morning sessions, Dr. Hunter Guthrie, dean of the Graduate School at Georgetown University, discussed St. Francis of Assisi; and Dr. John T. McNeill, Professor of Church History at Union Theological Seminary spoke on the 'dissenting tradition' in American life. Dr. Louis Finkelstein is president of the institute. (2)

What hope for the future does Dr. Linton give us? His statement should surely be enough to awaken us to the grave threat of mongrelization which confronts white America. He says that

within three hundred years or nine generations the white and black races in the United States will have ceased to exist as distinct racial groups. If the mixing of the races continues at the present rate, the United States will be a negroid Nation within three centuries, according to this Professor at Columbia University. Dr. Linton could well have concluded with the statement that when this day comes, the dream of his predecessor, Professor Franz Boas, for a brown race may be realized, but our white civilization will be destroyed and this country will suffer the fate of all the great Nations in world history whose populations have become mongrelized.

If our buildings, our highways, our railroads should be wrecked, we could rebuild them. If our cities should be destroyed, out of the very ruins we could erect newer and greater ones. Even if our armed might should be crushed, we could rear sons who would redeem our power. But if the blood of our white race should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of Africa, then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for the future would be forever gone. The maintenance of American civilization would be as impossible for a negroid America as would be the redemption and restoration of the white man's blood which had been mixed with that of the Negro.

The promoters of the "Springfield Plan" surely must not be concerned about the future of the white race or of this Nation. The entire program ignores the existence of the different races although the word "race" is written indelibly upon the pages of human history. It is my understanding that there has never been any segregation of the races in the schools of Springfield, but the program adopted in recent years has been aimed at total abolition of all racial distinctions. In the public schools where the white and Negro students attend the same classes, no records are kept concerning color or creed and all students attend the same social functions.

Dr. John Granrud, Superintendent of Schools, is said to be the father of the Springfield Plan." He accepted the position of Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Springfield about ten years ago, and soon after his arrival in the New England town he noted the differences of race, nationality, and religious affiliations of the school children and the teachers. He concluded that something must be done about the fact that practically all of the teachers were from the "oldline American families." James Waterman Wise says in *The Springfield Plan* (3) that the situation which Dr. Granrud found in the schools was not only incongruous but that it was destructive of our concepts of democracy and our theory of the equality of all peoples and all races! Therefore, the School Superintendent began to place teachers of all races and all faiths in the public schools of Springfield. Vivid evidence of the results of his theory may be found in the November, 1945 issue of *Ebony* Magazine where there is a photograph of a Negro teacher instructing a class of eighth grade white students. (4)

The "Springfield Plan" places primary emphasis on the teaching of the full equality doctrine to the youth in the public schools. This town of some 160,000 inhabitants "feels that children are born free from bias and attempts to keep them that way." (5) However, there are also various programs aimed at promoting social relations between white and colored citizens of all ages.

There is a photograph in *The Springfield Plan* of two couples, one white and one Negro, visiting together socially. The author remarks that such scenes as these are not yet commonplace, but that the promoters of the "Springfield Plan" feel that they will become more common during the coming years. He further comments that this is the plan which will "clear the tracks for democracy unlimited!" (6)

We certainly do not question the good which may come from the sincere and wholehearted cooperation between the white and Negro races when both races are working to benefit themselves and to benefit the community and Nation as a whole. However, we not only question the wisdom of the "Springfield Plan" but condemn this or any other program which calls for the mixing of the white and Negro races in the public schools and for the promotion of the doctrine of social equality between the members of these two races.

The book, *The Springfield Plan*, tells the story of the experiment being carried on in Springfield and contains many photographs, some of which show the white and colored students in the same classrooms. This book together with the picture of the Negro teacher instructing white students which appeared in *Ebony Magazine* should be enough to convince any person that the "Springfield Plan" goes all the way in promoting racial equality. Such a plan which attempts to level the races and destroy all racial lines can only lead to miscegenation, intermarriage, and the destruction of the blood of both the white and Negro races.

Those who sponsor the "Springfield Plan" and other programs of similar nature evidently agree with Louis Adamic that all races and nationalities must be mingled and integrated in order to form the United States of America. Mr. Adamic's philosophy as set forth in his book, *A Nation of Nations*, (7) is all right insofar as the various nationalities of the white race are concerned, but when he includes the Negro he proposes a way of life that can only destroy racial integrity and the blood of both the white and black races. The integration of American Negroes into white society in this country would destroy the white race and within several generations make our entire population negroid. As Dr. Linton has pointed out, the process of intermixture and interbreeding is going on today at a rapid rate; the threat of mongrelization hangs as a heavy, dark cloud over white America and the danger increases with every year that passes.

Another program which promotes the social intermingling of the white and Negro races is one which originated in Vermont under the direction of Reverend A. Ritchie Low. Under this proposal of Reverend Low, pastor of the United Church, Johnson, Vermont, Negro children are sent to his state from Harlem, New York, to live with white families during part of the summer vacation season. Regardless of what the intentions of this minister may be - and no doubt he is absolutely sincere - his plan goes far beyond that which is necessary to provide vacations for the children from the slum sections of Harlem.

Reverend Low's plan for the mixing and mingling of white and Negro children began in Vermont in 1944. In 1945, a similar program was carried out in Vermont, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Illinois. Hundreds of Negro children from Harlem who had been exposed to life

in this slum section with all the vices connected therewith have been placed in white homes throughout New England to "live, eat, and sleep" with white children. What possible good could come from such an experiment? The Negro children could be given vacations with their own people - members of their own race - and receive all the benefits of getting away from Harlem without being sent to live with white children on terms of social equality. Any white man, minister or layman who would promote such a program certainly is either totally misinformed or has no regard for the integrity of his race.

If no good can come from sending Negro children to live with white families in New England, surely no good but only harm can come from sending white children to visit in Harlem. This is the other part of the program of "exchanging" children for vacations for according to the Negro press and other newspapers white children from Vermont and other places have been sent to spend awhile in Harlem while the Negro children visited in the white homes. Anyone who is familiar with life in Harlem, where it has often been said that a white person enters at his peril even in the day time, shudders at the very idea of sending young children from white, Christian homes in New England to this center of sin, vice, and practically every disease known to the human race, venereal diseases predominating.

The only possible results which may be accomplished by this infamous scheme of sending children from New England to Harlem would be to expose the white children to every known form of wickedness and crime! Surely every white man and woman responsible for such a plan in the past will immediately begin to work to see that the practice is never carried out again in order to make amends for the harm which has already been done and to make sure that it shall never occur again. Any minister of the Gospel who is so fanatical or indifferent to the integrity of his white blood and white civilization as to endorse such a scheme - no matter how sincere he may be - should at once be unfrocked and removed so far away from the scene that he can never again perpetrate such a great and grievous wrong on a trusting, confiding congregation under his jurisdiction.

Similar plans of teaching social equality and thus integrating the Negro into the white society of America have originated and been endorsed by some ministers of other denominations, a number of whom have been named in other chapters of this book. However, there is another religious leader who sets forth a philosophy capable of doing untold harm to the Negro mind and whose writings have been given wide circulation. This church leader, Father George H. Dunne, S.J., who wrote "The Sin of Segregation," would surely endorse the "Springfield Plan," Reverend Low's plan, and all others which would help in any way to break down the segregation of whites and Negroes and contribute to the ultimate mongrelization of both races in the United States.

Father Dunne's article "The Sin of Segregation" first appeared in *Commonweal* on September 21, 1945, and was reprinted in pamphlet form available to all those interested in sending out this article to promote the Negro social equality campaign. It was sent out by Friendship House, 309 East 43rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, and widely distributed by the Harlem Friendship House.

This well-written article is evidently being widely distributed to mislead and confuse the average reader, white and black, and incite him to desert race and blood and plunge into a program of racial amalgamation.

Condemning all forms of racial segregation, Father Dunne has no fear of and offers no objection to intermarriage of whites and Negroes. The American Negro should, according to Father Dunne's theory, be fully integrated into white society, and he is doing his best to speed the process of racial intermixture. However, he admits that complete integration make take some years yet. Father Dunne says: "It is probable - at least we must think so if we are not to despair - that one hundred years from now the Christian conscience will repudiate with equal decisiveness the whole pattern of racial segregation. In that happy event the lucubrations of mid-twentieth century apologists for Jim Crow will make interesting, if sad, reading."

This religious leader blasts the schools of his own Church for failure to admit white and black students to the same institutions. In order to conform to Catholic principles, one of which is "uncompromising repudiation of racism in all its forms." Father Dunne calls on every Catholic school to open its doors to white and black students. After quoting Pope Pius XII who said: "The only road to salvation is definitely to repudiate all pride of race and blood," Father Dunne comments: "If Jim Crow is not the natural off-spring of pride of race and blood, whose off-spring is it?"

This Catholic priest announces that the Christian religion demands the abolition of all racial segregation and endorses the mingling and mixing of the two races on terms of social equality. Furthermore, those who advocate racial segregation are guilty of a sin which is punishable in hell, according to Father Dunne. He concludes: "*Racial segregation* is certainly a sin against charity and, in the Christian dispensation, is certainly immoral and not to be tolerated. We can go to hell for sins against charity as easily as for sins against justice, perhaps more easily."

Racial segregation is an established policy of the South and is also practiced in other sections of the country. It is believed in and adhered to by true, loyal, patriotic Americans in every walk of life, some white and some black, some Christian and Jew, some Protestant and Catholic. Neither Father Dunne nor any other religious leader has the right to sit in judgment and proclaim the acts of these people in practicing racial segregation as sins punishable in hell. Instead of spreading the doctrine of racial integration and intermarriage which will bring about the destruction of both the white and Negro races through mongrelization, Father Dunne should be spending his time preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It would be far better for him to expend his efforts and spend his time in saving both white and black people from hell instead of trying to change the color of their skin.

We can thank God that there are very few decent, straight-thinking, right-thinking white Catholics of America who agree with this fanatical, radical, race-baiting ecclesiastic to whom we have just referred. Catholic leaders in justice to their Church should lose no time in figuratively liquidating this destroyer of racial integrity from any and every position of

authority and leadership in this great religious organization. When any man, no matter how high his position in his church desecrates the teachings of the word of God and deliberately and knowingly goes out to destroy the white race and white civilization, he should without delay, unceremoniously, be "squelched" for all time to come. Again, we thank God that the Catholic Church does not believe in or teach any such "rot" as proclaimed by Father Dunne.

In these days of world changes and disturbances, a large number of religious leaders are forsaking the teaching of the Bible and the preaching of the Gospel to a sinful world in order to bring about a new social order and to carry on political lobbying. Various churches and church groups have established lobbies in Washington for the purpose of influencing legislation and bringing pressure to bear on the Nation's lawmakers. These practices caused Carlyle B. Haynes to make the following statement in a recent publication: "It is beginning to appear as if the church has mistaken its divine calling and has come to believe that its mission is to influence governmental legislation and administration. Earnest, devoted Christians in many communions are becoming concerned about it. They miss the preaching of the word. They do not like the preaching on current political themes, or the sermonettes which are reviews of current books."

Within recent months, there have been many notable examples of church organizations and religious leaders demanding that the Congress pass certain legislation. During the filibuster in January, 1946 on the bill to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, Senators' offices were flooded with telegrams from certain ministers of the Gospel, and these groups have long been outspoken in their demands for the passage of the anti-poll tax and the anti-lynching bills. Perhaps one of the most outstanding examples of a church organization going into politics was the convention of the United Council of Church Women which was held in Washington in October, 1945. This group passed resolutions on everything from the atomic bomb to the race question; in fact, they seemed to talk about everything except religion, (8) and they went on record as condemning the segregation of the races and as endorsing complete racial equality.

Sponsors of such as the "Springfield Plan" and other programs to bring about racial social equality are advocating racial intermarriage. Some of these groups and individuals may not be conscious that they are preaching this infamous doctrine to bring about the destruction of the white race but this they are doing just the same.

On June 23, 1946, there appeared the following article in the *Vallejo, (California) Times-Herald*:

U. C. PROFESSOR PROPOSES NEGRO, WHITE INTERMARRIAGE

Grinnell, Ia. (UP) - The biennial meeting of the general council of Christian churches here yesterday was still considering a proposal by Prof. Buell G. Gallagher, Berkeley, Cal., that Negroes and whites be allowed to marry 'at the dictates of the individual's heart and mind.'

Gallagher told the council that a policy of integration was the best means of solving inter-racial tensions. He labelled integration as 'not favoring any barriers of separation between any people.' It is 'an indifference to marriage between races,' he explained 'which should be dictated by the individual's heart and mind.'

The Californian listed as other possible solutions to the inter-racial tensions, extinction of minority groups, expulsion to the lands from which they came, parallel racial civilizations, amalgamation and segregation within communities and creation of a '49th state' where all would be enclosed.

All these, he said, were beyond serious consideration. He said the Congregational church has not practiced integration and 'is the leading candidate for the Jim Crow badge of honor.'

'Amalgamation,' he said, 'was a policy of forced intermarriage recognized as a 'red herring' across the path of any discussion which seeks a feasible solution to racial problems.'

The following is from the *Chicago Defender* (colored), July 8, 1946:

Over at Englewood High School Negro and white students not only talk democracy, but live it as was evidenced Friday night when the Circle Saronies, Negro club, gave its annual graduation prom. . . White boys dated Negro girls and brought them to the dance. . . Negro boys went to the homes of the white girls and escorted them to the dance. . . Everybody had a good time and nothing happened... And while on the interracial subject, it might interest you to know that Harry Field's El Grotto cafe was jammed packed Friday night when George Auld, white band leader and his ork played their first engagement.. . This is the first time it has been done on the Southside and again we say, everybody had a good time and nothing happened....

On August 7, 1946, there was a news item in the *Washington, D.C. Post* (Jewish-controlled) in which the following appeared:

**FATHER DIVINE WED WHITE GIRL
HERE IN APRIL, RECORDS SHOW**

Maj. J. Divine, a name used by Father Divine, the Negro cult leader... (who claims to be God) was married on April 29 in Washington to a 21-year-old white girl from Canada, Marriage License Bureau records today disclosed....

Philadelphia, Aug. 7 (AP)-The secretary to Father Divine, 'Martha Blessed Love,' today confirmed reports that Divine has married a 21-year-old Montreal (white) girl. She said further details would be published August 10 in Divine's publication, New

Day, and stated 'this marriage is to propagate virtue. . .and to give the whole Nation a new political and religious birth of freedom.' (9)

. Any individual in this Nation, man or woman, white or black, who demands the abolition of racial segregation and endorses racial social equality is just as guilty of advocating the mongrelization of the races as Professor Gallagher, who boldly proposes white and Negro intermarriage, as the Englewood school officials who permit inter-racial social functions, and as the Negro, Father Divine, who married a Canadian white woman! Let the social equality advocates read the above three news items and they will understand the result of their teachings. Every decent white man and woman and every self-respecting Negro guilty of bringing about such practices should read and weep!

The sad, sickening, heart-breaking fact is that happenings similar to the ones above mentioned are increasing at lightning speed every day, every week, every month, every year that we delay some certain and definite action which will stay and prevent the evil, horrible day in this country when both races will be thoroughly mixed and mongrelized and a brown mongrel race will wreck and destroy forever the greatest scheme of government and the most glorious civilization that the white race has ever conceived and built in all the annals of time. Again and again, I beg, I intreat and plead with every white man and white woman, regardless of nationality, in the United States to enlist now - today - as a fighting soldier under the banner of race purity and our white civilization and wage a relentless war without ceasing in high places and in low places. In our churches and in our schools, in every nook and corner in this great Republic that we may escape the evil day and certain doom that approaches us hour by hour, day by day, week by week, month by month, year by year.

The great thinkers and leaders in every age of this new Republic have tried to impress upon the minds of the white race that the white and black races cannot live side by side in this country or any other country without the final results being mongrelization and the destruction of both races; yea, the destruction of everything - our white civilization, our form and scheme of Constitutional Government that makes us today the greatest and most powerful Nation on earth - leader of the whole world. All have agreed that the physical separation of the races is our only salvation. This will take time but it can be done - it must be done - it will be done.

While we wait and work to accomplish this great task which is absolutely and beyond every reasonable doubt necessary if we are to save and perpetuate a pure race and a great white civilization for our children's children, there is one thing we can do which will help to lighten the burden while working and waiting to bring about the final and permanent solution and that is to pass laws in every state - thirty out of the forty-eight have already acted - making it a violation under the laws of the land for our white race to intermarry with either the black or Mongolian races. To accomplish this purpose and to bring the imperative necessity for immediate action before the minds of the people of the remaining eighteen states and the District of Columbia, the author of this book just recently introduced in the United States Senate for himself and Senator Johnston of South Carolina the following amendment to the so-called

anti-poll tax bill:

Hereafter, in any State, Territory, possession, or the District of Columbia, the marriage of a white person and a Negro or mulatto or a person who shall have one-sixteenth or more of Negro blood, or with a Mongolian or with a person who shall have one-sixteenth or more of Mongolian blood, shall be unlawful, and such marriage shall be void. Any person who is a party to any such marriage, or who knowingly performs a marriage ceremony to which such persons are a party, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not to exceed \$10,000 and by imprisonment of not to exceed ten years.

Go to [Next Chapter](#)
Return to [Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. From the Address delivered by Senator Bilbo before a joint session of the Mississippi Legislature on March 22, 1944.
2. *New York Times*, - October 31, 1945.
3. Wise, James Waterman, and Alland, Alexander, *The Springfield Plan* (New York: The Viking Press, 1945), p. 10.
4. "Spotlight on Springfield," *Ebony*, November, 1945, p. 29.
5. "Spotlight on Springfield," *Ebony*, November, 1945, p. 28.
6. Wise, James Waterman, and Alland, Alexander, *The Springfield Plan*, p. 120.
7. Adamic, Louis, *A Nation of Nations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945).
8. See [Chapter IX](#), p. 145.
9. To this news item, the noted Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux, colored preacher and radio

commentator, said that it was not right for Father Divine, who claims to be God, to marry either a white or a black girl.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

Chapter XII
**THE DANGERS OF
AMALGAMATION**

A god created the whites;
I know not who created
the blacks; certainly a
devil created the mongrels.
-African proverb

THOSE PERSONS who plead for a mongrelized Nation are forced to deny that the intermingling of whites and Negroes will prove harmful in any respect. If they admit the inferiority of the offspring of such unions to either the Caucasian or the Negro races, then their case for amalgamation is lost. It is our purpose here to show that the mixing of the white and Negro races is unquestionably most harmful, yea, totally destructive to the white race.

We have already determined that the Negro race is physically, mentally, and morally inferior to the white race, (1) and those who accept this comparison can readily see the dangers of amalgamation. In fact, it is difficult to understand how any sober-minded man can hesitate to conclude that the mingling of the inferior with the superior will result in the lowering of the higher stock. This is true of the crossing of plants, of the crossing of animals, and thousands of years of racial contact have proved that it is true of the crossing of the different races of mankind.

Concerning the inferiority of the mixbreed, Professor Smith has said:

We shall content ourselves with citing a single authority, than whom there is none higher; whom not even the most suspicious will suspect of Southern ignorance and prejudice. We allude to the distinguished author of 'The American Commonwealth,' and the 'Assimilation of Races in the United States.'

In his Romanes Lecture of June 7, 1902, on 'The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind,' Mr. Bryce says (p. 24): 'Where two races are physiologically near to one another the result of intermixture is good. Where they are remote, it is less satisfactory, by which I mean not only that it is below the level of

the higher stock, but that it is not generally and evidently better than the lower stock.... But the mixture of whites and negroes, or of whites and Hindus, or of the American aborigines and negroes, seldom shows good results. The hybrid stocks, if not inferior in physical strength to either of those whence they spring, are apparently less persistent, and might - so at least some observers hold - die if they did not marry back into one or other of the parent races. Usually, of course, they marry back into the lower.' (N. B. Mr. Bryce, it appears, is so 'provincial, unintelligent and unchristian' as to assume that the Whites are superior - a higher stock, and the Negroes inferior - a lower stock!) Again, p. 26: '... the two general conclusions which the facts so far as known suggest are these: that races of marked physical dissimilarity do not tend to intermarry, and that when and so far as they do, the average offspring is apt to be physically inferior to the average of either parent stock, and probably more beneath the average mental level of the superior than above the average mental level of the inferior.' Again, p. 35: 'Should this view be correct, it dissuades any attempt to mix races so diverse as are the white European and the negroes.' And on p. 36: 'The matter ought to be regarded from the side neither of the white nor of the black:, but of the future of mankind at large. Now for the future of mankind nothing is more vital than that some races should be maintained at the highest level of efficiency, because the work they can do for thought and art and letters, for scientific discovery, and for raising the standard of conduct, will determine the general progress of humanity. If therefore we were to suppose the blood of the races which are now most advanced to be diluted, so to speak, by that of the most backward, not only would more be lost to the former than would be gained to the latter, but there would be a loss, possibly an irreparable loss, to the world at large.' Lastly, p. 39: 'The moral to be drawn from the case of the Southern States seems to be that you must not, however excellent your intentions and however admirable your sentiments, legislate in the teeth of facts....' (2)

In the *Biological Basis of Human Nature*, H. S. Jennings, one of the world's leading authorities, writes: "To the superior race admixture with the inferior one is adulteration; it means a lowering of quality. All other biological consideration give way to this one." (3) And Lothrop Stoddard says: "Two things are necessary for the continued existence of a race: it must remain itself, and must breed its best.... Hence, when a highly specialized stock interbreeds with a different stock, the newer less stable, specialized characters are bred out, the variation, no matter how great its potential value to human evolution, being *irretrievably lost*.... And, of course, the more primitive a type is, the more prepotent it is. This is why crossings with the negro are uniformly fatal. Whites, Amerindians, or Asiatics - all are alike vanquished by the invincible prepotency of the more primitive, generalized, and lower negro blood." (4)

There was a time when it was generally contended that the mulatto was inferior to both the white and the black parent, and there are still those who belong to this school of thought. From a moral standpoint, the pure Negro with his God-given heritage of racial integrity is certainly superior to the mulatto, the quadroon, or octoroon. And there are many half-breeds who are

inferior in every respect to the pure - blood Negro. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly numerous cases where the mulatto distinctly rises above his coal-black parent and some cases where he rises above the median line and approaches the level of his white parent.

F. L. Hoffman in *Race Traits and Tendencies* says that the mulatto is inferior to the pure Negro and possessed of the least vital force of all races. According to Hoffman, mulattoes are physically and morally lower than blacks. but intellectually they are superior. (5) A. H. Shannon writes: "The mulatto may be superior to the negro; he certainly is inferior to the Caucasian both in intellectual ability and physical vigor. At best, amalgamation can improve the negro only at the expense of the white race. Amalgamation is not, therefore, desirable on scientific grounds; it is revolting when considered in its ethical bearings." (6)

Regardless of the number of authorities which might be quoted, we are quite aware that there are still those who will argue for amalgamation. If these advocates of a mongrelized Nation contend that the Negro race is the equal of the Caucasian and in no way inferior, it is still impossible for them to present a convincing argument for the mixing of the races. This is true because they must admit certain physical differences between the Negro and the white man. These physical characteristics of the black race exist and must be recognized even by those who contend that there is no inferiority attached thereto. When the blood of this black race is mixed with white, the mulatto offspring of the union possesses a combination of the characteristics of the two races. If these equality advocates now say that the Negro or mulatto can not be undeniably proved to be inferior, then we answer that it can not be proved that the pure Negro, the mulatto, or any mix-breed of white-Negro blood is the equal of the white man.

If the mulatto can not be proved the equal of the white man or if there is even a reasonable doubt that equality does not exist, then amalgamation must be condemned. This is true because the mixing of the blood of the races is a fatal process. It cannot be said to be a matter of trial and error, for if the scheme of mongrelization is tried and found to be an error, there is no remedy. Corrupted blood can not be redeemed. Professor Smith has asked these questions: "Who, then, would have the foolhardihood to make this experiment of race amalgamation - an experiment which, once made, is made forever; whose consequences could never be undone - when there is at least and at the very lowest an undeniable possibility, not to say certainty, that those consequences would be disastrous in the extreme? Can we imagine a more wanton folly? Would such an experiment beseem any other place so well as the madhouse?" (7)

Some years ago, a colored man, William H. Thomas, reported to be one-sixteenth Negro, wrote a book entitled, *The American Negro; What he Was, What he Is, and What he May Become*. The arguments which Thomas presented have been thoroughly answered by that profound scholar of the race question, Dr. R. W. Shufeldt. After quoting Thomas's plea for interracial marriage because the "inevitable outcome" of amalgamation will be "a perfect blending of our heterogeneous peoples," Dr. Shufeldt says:

I can conceive of no greater calamity that could happen to the people of this country

than this. We have here at least a certain proportion of the population who can call themselves true Americans, - a race that although it came from the Old World, is a composite stock of great antiquity, and one that has arrived at a stage of civilization unexcelled by any other race in the entire range of history. This civilization speaks for itself, and it is not necessary for me to dilate upon it. And it is this civilization, the building of which has taken thousands of years, that Thomas would now jeopardize by the injection into it of a poison so foul that, whenever or wherever it mixes with it, rottenness is the only result.

Has Thomas ever seen a case of atavism in this country, resulting from the very interbreeding he so extravagantly proposes? Permit me to give an account of one that a few years ago came under my personal notice. A young American artisan of the better class and of excellent type, born of parents born in this country, and untainted by any mixture of African blood, meets a young and very pretty girl in Virginia, and in due course marries her. At the end of a year a boy child is born to them; but, horror of horrors! it is found to be as black as coal, and with hair as kinky as the veriest young Congo that a negress of that race ever gave birth to in Africa. Imagine the state of mind this at once threw the unhappy husband into! His poor young wife pleaded with him that he was the only man who had ever embraced her, and that the very suggestion of receiving the approaches of an African were most repugnant and disgusting to her. But the husband knew there must be a cause for it, as he was present in the room when the black child was born, and he quietly went to work to investigate his wife's antecedents. After no end of trouble and expense, he finally ascertained that her great grandmother was a plantation slave who had borne several children to her master. It was in this stock, through crossing and recrossing with other whites, that this young wife saw her pedigree, and her first child was simply a reversion to the black ancestry on her maternal side, which had inherited the African characteristics, and among them the black skin and kinky hair. I have heard of several other well-authenticated cases of this nature.

This is what Thomas would make general throughout the country, that Europe may point the finger at the American and say: Go to! You have negro in your blood, and you come of a mixed race who were slaves and eaters of human flesh. (8)

When colored writers such as Thomas plead for the amalgamation of the races, do they not admit that the Negro race can not equal the achievements of the white race? When he says, "The future American negro will part, undoubtedly, with many of his racial characteristics as he approximates in color and conduct the white race," does he not acknowledge the superiority of the white race? Of course, he does. In fact, he frankly states the Negro's inferiority by saying: "As we have already shown, the pure negro people are, by the very nature of their characteristic endowments, precluded from reaching a high degree of efficiency. Whatever the freedman has achieved in the way of intelligence and character is due to alien characteristics incorporated into his being through race amalgamation." (9)

Any Negro who pleads for the mixture of the blood of the races is condemning the blood of his fathers. He may wish, as did Thomas, to improve the Negro race "by an infusion of virile blood," but no gain to the black race is worth the destruction of the Caucasian. And we certainly have the right to question the motives of some of the advocates of miscegenation. Is their primary desire to improve the Negro race or is it to make everyone else mongrels like themselves?

Negroes who do not value their racial integrity should be interested in the following observation which was made by a Southern writer: "Of the five races with which the Earth is peopled, only one, the Negro, is ashamed of his race and tries to be something other than what GOD made him. Neither the Red, Yellow nor Brown races want to be white; as the Negro ever strives to become. Instead of having that pride-of-race attached to the white, red, yellow and brown races, the black race is wholly lacking in that attribute; ashamed of his ancestry, and always trying to get as far from it as possible - deluding himself with claims of equality with the white race that are not borne out by his appearance, his present attainments nor his background in recorded history." (10)

O wad some Power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us!
It wad frae monie a conceit free us--

In 1926 and 1927, C. B. Davenport and Morris Steggerda made a study of miscegenation under the auspices of the Carnegie Institute of Washington. After studying whites, blacks, and hybrids, the authors compiled the results of their findings in the book, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*. The conclusions which were drawn from the many tests that were given were that the mix-breeds graded much closer to the blacks in differential traits than they did to the whites. It was shown that black traits were perhaps dominant in the mix-breeds, and they showed no evidence of what has been referred to as hybrid vigor.

In a speech before the House of Representatives, Congressman Joseph R. Bryson, of South Carolina, said: "On the basis of test performances, whites are superior to Negroes. The testing of the drafted soldiers during World War I gave the first extensible body of data on Negro-white differences in this country. In a special analysis of the results of this study by C. Brigham, Princeton University Press, 1923, the conclusion was reached that there was clear evidence for the innate intellectual superiority of whites over Negroes. R Pintner, *Intelligence Testing*, 1931, after summarizing the results up to 1930, came to the following conclusion: 'All results show the Negro decidedly inferior to the whites on standardized intelligence tests.... These results are sufficiently numerous and consistent to point to a racial difference in intelligence. ' "

Congressman Bryson continued: "P. L. Boynton in his *Intelligence, Its Manifestation and Measurement*, 1933, concludes: 'That most studies point so definitely to the superiority of the average white over the average Negro that it would seem justifiable to assume this condition to exist.' P. C Young, for example, administered the national intelligence test to 282 whites and

277 Negro children in Baton Rouge and Lake Charles, Louisiana. Principals and teachers assisted in labeling the Negro subjects lighter, darker, and miscellaneous. He found a 'noticeable decrease of intelligence as we go from the white child to light Negroes and then to dark Negroes' and concluded that the light Negroes were on the average 19.7 per cent more intelligent than the dark Negroes. This may be explained by the hypothesis that white blood makes them more intelligent than the dark Negroes." (11)

Professor Boas, who made his outstanding plea for the intermarriage of the white and black races, admitted that mental differences did exist between the races, with the higher mentality belonging to the white race. Does not this one admission make all the pleas for amalgamation but "as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal"? Scientific facts are cold and hard, but where is the scientist worthy of the name who will say that the mixing of a superior stock with an inferior one will not result in the lowering of the higher? If the white race with its higher mentality mixes with the black race, it is an unalterable fact that the hybrid offspring will possess a mentality somewhere between the average of the two races. And does it not follow that if the mulatto is mentally or any other way inferior to the white man, the mixing of the white and black races is harmful and should be forbidden.

Science teaches of the dangers of the amalgamation of the white and Negro races. However, anyone who doubts the harmful results of miscegenation need not accept the conclusions of the scientist or the warning of the historian or the advice of those who believe in racial integrity. He may observe the mulattoes in our own Nation or he may go to South America and study the results of the mixing of the races which has occurred there. It is certain that any sensible, fairminded person who will make an impartial investigation will come to the inescapable conclusion that the mulatto is unquestionably and undeniably the inferior of the white man.

It is our contention that even if science and history did not prove the mix-breed to be the inferior of whites, there is still another reason why the intermingling of the blood of the races should never be sanctioned. We approach all questions with a belief in the existence of a Supreme Ruler Whose laws can not be denied. The very fact that separate and distinct races of mankind have been created makes it impossible for anyone to claim that God did not ordain the racial distinction. When man breaks the laws of God and brings about the mixing of the blood of the different races, he and his posterity will pay the penalty. From this there is no escape. Archibald Coody IV has wisely said: "The Creator made them (the races) as they are, and the wise man accepts the work of the Maker. Foolish men seek to remake races according to their crazy plans. And when they have done their worst the subjects are two-fold more children of hell than before." (12) Mongrelization works nowhere in the Animal Kingdom from snakes to mankind. Without respect to inferior and superior, if you crossbreed Hereford and Jersey, you have neither milch cow nor a beef cow. If you crossbreed an Irish setter with a blood hound, you have neither bird dog nor man hunter. If you should crossbreed Percheron with "Man O' War," you would have neither race horse nor draft horse. Consequently, when the superior is mixed with the inferior, you will inevitably get an offspring of inferior quality.

At this point, we wish to point out another reason why the blood of the white and black races should not be mixed. Perhaps it is a contention which we could not call upon the cold facts of science to verify, but it is a fact upon which all white men are agreed. The white race produces men and women who possess a greater physical beauty than the colored races. "Does some one say that physical beauty is a poor, inferior thing at best - that beauty of soul is alone sufficient and only desirable? We deny it outright," says Professor Smith. "Beauty of form and colour has its own high and inalienable and indefectible rights, its own profound significance for the history alike of nature and of man. Even if the intermingling of bloods wrought no other wrong than the degradation of bodily beauty; the coarsening of feature and blurring of coloration, it would still be an unspeakable outrage, to be deprecated and prevented by all means in our power." (13)

We are fully aware that every race and every man have particular ideas of beauty, but since the white man is in the majority in this country, he has not only the right but the duty to preserve his own ideal of perfection - the womanhood of his race. Ira Calvin of Brookline, Massachusetts, has made an able plea for the preservation of the white race, and he has interwoven throughout his book, *The Lost White Race*, a profound appeal for the protection of the pretty pink skin, blue eyes and blonde hair" of "our lovely women." Says Mr. Calvin:

Even Nature cries out that a pretty white girl is its supreme effort to produce a living being both beautiful and intelligent. It displays its displeasure at a union of black and white by making the offspring neither beautiful nor very intelligent. A female of such a union finds that the lovely clothes displayed in the shop windows do not blend with her dusky skin, and that every pretty color is made for pure white skins only. She finds also that her features and lips are negroid.... White men haven't protected and preserved the delicate whiteness of their women's skins these thousands of years to wind up by handing them over to the colored races to despoil. They will die first! (14)

Why should any white man advocate a mongrelized Nation when he knows that when this condition is brought about the physical beauty of his race will be forever marred? The superior beauty which is attached to white blood is too generally recognized to be disputed. The following comment is interesting:

A familiar illustration of the Negro's limitations is found in the practices of the three outstanding mail order houses of America - Sears-Roebuck and Montgomery Ward, retail, and Butler Bros wholesale - all domiciled in the North and unaffected by Southern influences. These concerns each distribute millions of expensive catalogues, carrying thousands of attractive human likenesses - beautiful women and handsome men - to demonstrate the appearance of their clothing offerings as worn. Among these thousands of illustrations, *not one of Negro or Negress is found!* There is a reason, a God-given, physical, non-political reason for this 'racial-discrimination,' and that reason is simply the Negro race, whose dark skin, dull,

expressionless eyes, flat nose and thick lips (facts) do not lend themselves to illustrations of harmony and beauty as those characteristics are regarded by the superior race. (15)

While the mulatto is inferior to the white man, it is often true that those generally recognized as leaders of the Negro race have some degree of white blood in their veins. It is also true that this is the group which leads the campaign for racial equality in the United States. The supersensitive mongrels are constantly agitating the race question and clamoring for the destruction of all racial lines in this country.

In 1918, E. B. Reuter issued his comprehensive study of Negroes who had achieved prominence during the three hundred years of their history in this Nation. In the book, *The Mulatto in the United States*, which gives the results of Reuter's studies, there are 246 persons listed. Of this group, 227 were mulattoes, 16 pure-blooded Negroes, and 13 unclassified. Thus, the list included fourteen mulattoes to one black. It has been estimated that during the period which this study covered, ten per cent of the Negroes in the United States were mulattoes which means that ten per cent of the race produced eighty-five per cent of the leaders. However, it should be noted here that many of the so-called leaders of the Negro race are prominent chiefly because they are Negroes. As white men, they would pass unnoticed, but when classified as Negroes, they stand at the head of the race.

Stuart O. Landry has observed: "Of course, the Negroes who have come into prominence in the last quarter century are not listed, but I think that Reuter's proportion of mulattoes to pure Negroes would still hold true." (16)

The half-breed Negroes in the United States are objectionable factors to our Nation and to our civilization. Many of them specialize in agitating the race question and promoting conflict between the white and black races. "They are dangerous from whatever point we may elect to view them, says Dr. Shufeldt, "as they may possess all the vicious and sensual traits of the negro, without the color of the latter's skin as a warning flag to the unwary. In any question at issue they will invariably choose sides with the colored race, and from their keener wits and higher intelligence they are capable of giving a greater amount of trouble. Then, too, mulattoes have better opportunities to contract white alliances in marriage, and thus insidiously perpetuate their savage blood. This is most deplorable; for, as I have frequently remarked, the negro has absolutely nothing of the slightest value in his organization that can be added to our own; while, on the other hand, nearly everything about him, mentally, morally and physically, is undesirable in the highest degree. . Mulattoes have no higher sense of our civilization than has the black stock from which they are derived. I have found them equally superstitious, treacherous, mendacious, and unreliable. The better class of hybrids command place and position in this country; many regard them as *colored* doctors, *colored* lawyers, *colored* clergymen, *colored* poets and authors and so on; whereas, as a matter of fact, they are nothing of the kind - they are hybrids, nothing more nor less, and often with a very minute tincture of the African blood in them." (17)

A group of the present day leaders of the Negro race has been referred to as the "Mulatto Menace" by Horace C. Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney. In a speech before the Kiwanis Club of Ensley, Alabama, in December, 1942, Mr. Wilkinson said:

My subject today is the Mulatto Menace. I selected that for my subject because a group of mulatto agitators are, in my judgment, a menace to the negro race and a menace to America.

This group, the offspring of generation after generation of illegal unions, are selectively and congenitally immoral on both sides - immorality of the most degrading type since both were untrue to the purity of the race to which they were born.

This group, aided and abetted by some unfortunate whites, has made the negro question a national problem, not a sectional issue. These people are the leaders and advisors of the negro race. The National Association for the Advancement of 'Colored' People, and other similar negro pressure groups are working to make the negro ashamed of his dark color. They want to make a counterfeit white man of him.

Continuous efforts are being made to convince the negro that he is abused. It is claimed that we must now state our aims and that these must exclude any element of race consciousness. Unhappy and unattainable ideas of social equality and ultimate amalgamation are being urged upon the negro. Intermixture and inter-marriage and the destruction of segregation is the ultimate aim and secret ambition of these pressure groups whose activities are centered in Washington where they are undertaking to make the Federal Government accessory to the crime. (18)

There seems to be no doubt but that the official staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is light in color. We have no record of the ancestry of this group, but it has been reported that Walter White, the Executive Secretary, is only one-sixty-fourth Negro. (19) And Edwin R. Embree, the President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, one of the purposes of which is to better conditions of Negroes in America, has written a book, *13 Against the Odds*, in which he has thrown some light on the parentage of a number of the most prominent Negroes in the United States. We presume that the blood which runs in their veins is typical of that of the outstanding Negro leaders of today.

Mr. Embree conducted a poll in which a special panel of two hundred persons, white and colored, selected the Negroes who had attained the greatest prominence in the United States. "There was a great deal of variation in the choices, says the author. "But the poll was so definite that the following thirteen persons stand out as at least representative of highest distinction among Brown Americans today." The thirteen Negroes whose biographies compose *13 Against the Odds* are listed below in the order in which they appear in the book, and the statement following each gives Mr. Embree's description of the parentage and blood of these who have

been named the outstanding "Brown Americans."

Mary McLeod Bethune: Her parents were black slaves with "not a drop of any blood but African."

Richard Wright: His parents were "part white, part black part Indian."

Charles S. Johnson: His father was a "brown boy" who married an "octoroon, Winifred Branch."

Walter White: "Son of a fair-skinned Georgia postman and his fair-skinned wife, Walter White, is a blue-eyed blond. He is so light that no one thinks of him as having Negro blood.... Actually he does not know the percentage of his black ancestry, and he doesn't care."

George Washington Carver: "Born a slave in the early sixties, nobody knows just when, the boy never knew his father or mother."

Langston Hughes: "He has white blood on his father's side from a Jewish slave trader; his mother's people were French, Irish, and Indian, as well as Negro."

Marian Anderson: Her mother had "light-brown skin" while her father was "much darker."

W. E. Du Bois: "Du Bois has in his veins the blood of all the great races of man. On his father's side were French Huguenots who came to this country in 1674 and whose life with Negro women threw this branch of the family into the colored group, though his own father-small, handsome, olive-skinned - was no darker than his New England neighbors." On his mother's side, his great-grandmother was an "African girl" and there was an "Indian strain" as well as more Negro and "Dutch" blood.

Mordecai W. Johnson: His mother "had a skin of burnished copper" and his father was an ex-slave.

William Grant Still: "One grandfather of each of his parents had been Irish: one an overseer and one a rich planter. Grandmothers on each side had Cherokee blood. His mother's father was a Spanish landowner in Florida. There was so little of Africa on either side of the family that his father, with straight black hair and clear-cut features, passed for white anywhere he pleased, and his mother, equally white but with brown eyes and dark, wavy hair, looked like a Castilian."

A. Philip Randolph: His father, "black, possibly pure African" married a "light mulatto."

Joe Louis: His father was "half white and his mother part Indian."

Paul Robeson: "His mother, a tall slender woman of strikingly Indian type with straight black hair and reddish brown skin, was a Bustill" and she traced her ancestry through "Quakers,

Indians, and Negroes." His father worked "his way from slavery."

From the information listed above which has been taken from Embree's *13 Against the Odds*, it may be noted that in this group of Negroes who have attained the greatest prominence in the United States, only one, Mary McLeod Bethune, is definitely said to be of pure Negro blood. Another one of the group, George Washington Carver, may have been born of Negro parents since no information about his father and mother is given. This would leave eleven of the thirteen classified as having the blood of other races mixed with their Negro blood. From this proportion of eleven to two, we may conclude, that the mixed bloods produced eighty-five percent of the outstanding "brown Americans." Thus, the percentage of prominent Negroes in the United States who have part white blood seems to be about the same today as it was in 1918 when the study was made by E. B. Reuter.

It is also interesting to note that practically all of the men in Mr. Embree's list may be said to have "discriminated" against full-blooded Negroes for they married "light-skinned" women, and two of them, Richard Wright and William Grant Still, married white women. The author says: "In 1940 Richard Wright married Ellen Poplar, a Jewish girl of New York City, whom he met in one of the left-wing groups of earlier days." And he describes William Grant Still's wife as a "Russian Jewish musician." There can be no doubt about how these two Negroes feel about inter-racial marriage; they have endorsed the amalgamation of the races in the most effective of all manners.

The attitude of Wright and Still toward the marriage of whites and Negroes is not new and is not unique among certain groups of Negroes and negrophiles today. It has long been the desire of these factions to promote inter-racial marriage. As early as 1864, D. G. Croly wrote:

All that is needed to make us the finest race on Earth is to engraft upon 'em the negro element, which Providence has placed by our side on this continent.... The white people of America are dying for want of fresh blood . . . until church and state and society recognize not only the propriety but the necessity of the marriage of white and black.... in short, until the great truth shall be declared in our public documents and announced in the messages of our Presidents, that it is desirable that the white man shall marry the black woman and the white woman the black man. (21)

It is with regret that we must deface these pages with the above quotation, but it is the same doctrine which these modern full-equality advocates are preaching although many of them are not bold enough to admit it. Sterling A. Brown, colored professor at Howard University, has said: "Some Negro public speakers, faced with the question (of intermarriage), dodge behind statements like, 'Well, I'm married already myself.' Some take refuge in Kipling's line, 'Never the twain shall meet,' without sharing Kipling's assurance of hope. The twain have met and the twain will meet." (22)

Following the example of W. E. B. Du Bois, perhaps the most outstanding of all the Negroes in

the United States today, many of the Negro leaders openly endorse intermarriage of the races. As part of their program they seek the repeal of the statutes which the majority of the forty-eight states - to be exact thirty - have enacted to prevent white-Negro marriages.

The following states prohibit marriage between the white and Negro races: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming. In addition to prohibiting the intermarriage of whites and Negroes, some of the state laws prohibit the marriage of a Caucasian to a Mongolian or a Malay or an Indian. However, in eighteen states, mainly east of the Mississippi river and north of the Mason and Dixon Line, and in the District of Columbia public sentiment has never been strong enough to force the enactment of a statute forbidding interracial marriage.

Public opinion throughout the United States unquestionably frowns on the marriage of whites and Negroes although some states permit such unions. Comparatively speaking, there are few Negroes in the states where there are no legal prohibitions on intermarriage. More than 10,000,000 of the Nation's 12,865,518 Negroes live in states where white-Negro marriages are forbidden by law.

In the majority of interracial marriages which take place in the North the man is a Negro or mulatto and the woman white. It has been estimated from studies of intermarriage in Boston, New York, Michigan, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts that in eighty-three percent of the white-Negro marriages, the groom is a Negro. The social and economic status of Negroes who marry white persons is generally higher than the average, while the white men, and particularly the white women, who marry Negroes are of a lowclass, socially and economically.

"Boston furnishes us with the best record of mixed marriages available." says Stuart O. Landry. "From 1867 to 1890 the mixed marriages in Boston averaged 25 per year. In 1904 in Boston 13.6% of all the Negro marriages were mixed marriages. In 1918 this percentage had gone to 5.2% and in 1923 it was 3.1%, but in 1938 it rose to 3 7%." (23) And from studies in other states, Mr. Landry concludes that about 575 marriages between whites and Negroes take place yearly in the United States.

In asking for the complete political, economic, and social equality of the races, the Negro leaders are unquestionably asking that Negroes be accorded the right to marry white people. In addition to the attempts to abolish the legal restrictions on such unions, the propagandists are extremely active in advising interracial marriage and in advertising the "success" of mixed marriages. In recent months the magazine *Negro Digest* has featured articles in each issue under the heading of "Does Interracial Marriage Succeed?" The purpose of these articles is undeniably to promote and encourage the marriage of whites and Negroes.

In the April, 1945, issue of *Negro Digest*, William Grant Still, Negro composer of classical

music, and his white wife, Verna Arvey, also a musician, proclaimed the success of their marriage. From this statement: "If there were the shadows of lynchings in one of our racial pasts, there was also the remembrance of anti-Jewish pogroms in old Russia, in which the other's great-grandfather had been murdered. If there had been discriminations against Negroes, there had also been - less noticeable, but undeniably present - discriminations against Jews," we see that the white wife in this marriage is Russian Jewish. After telling about their backgrounds, their "common interest" in music and their friends this couple says: "All right, let's think of the children. They certainly won't have to suffer any more than any other colored person in America has had to suffer." With this statement this white wife refers to her colored children, who will be classified as Negroes in the United States. Regardless of how one may view the laws of man regarding intermarriage of the races, the laws of God are undeniable. It has been so ordained that when a white woman crosses the color line and marries outside her race, she does not reproduce herself; she can not perpetuate the blood of her race. She becomes the mother of a colored child, not a white one. From this truth, there is no escape.

Writing in May, 1945, *Negro Digest*, Jack Johnson, former Negro heavyweight champion of the world, makes some observations on his private life. His first marriage to a "colored girl" ended when "she turned to another man." When he had won the boxing championship of the world, he married a white woman who found escape from the "gossip and slander" by taking her own life. Johnson says: "She was the first victim, the high price I had to pay for the 'crime' of marrying outside my race." In his third marriage, he made "another unsuccessful attempt to find happiness in marriage to a white woman." After this marriage, he "become entangled with the law" and was sentenced to serve one year and a day in prison on a Mann act charge. "When I paid my debt to 'white society'," writes Johnson, "and finished serving my sentence, I married another white woman." Still living with this third (white) wife, he says, "I have no regrets, no sorrows" and he recommends and endorses interracial marriages. Such a man may write that marriage between whites and Negroes "can and does succeed" but his words fall on deaf ears.

George S. Schuyler, colored Associate Editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, and his white wife, Josephine, stated in an article appearing in the June, 1945, *Negro Digest*, that "individuals who cross the marital color line must be people of superior courage." They evidently mean that they must have the "courage" to ignore public opinion for they add: "Or at least they should have a healthy disdain for the opinions of the crowd." It certainly must be agreed that persons who marry outside their races invoke the condemnation of the members of both races who believe in racial integrity. Without a doubt, public opinion throughout the United States generally condemns the marriage of whites and Negroes even though such marriages occur where the unions are legal.

The white people of the various states of this Nation have a right to forbid interracial marriage by law. And whether such statutes exist or not, they have the right to condemn by public opinion and by social ostracism any white man or woman who crosses the color line and marries a Negro. Self-preservation is a universal law and the prohibition of interracial marriage is necessary for the preservation of the white race.

It can be truthfully said that the white people who advocate social equality of the races are seldom sincere. Some of them preach the equality doctrine for political or other reasons best known to themselves. But as far as we know none of the prominent white advocates of complete racial equality has gone so far as to carry out the doctrine of intermarriage by marrying a Negro.

The following statement is noteworthy:

The inconsistency of that (Social gain) is found in the absence of Negro or Negress among the several marriages in the White House family. What explanation does Mrs. Roosevelt tender to her Negro proteges for THAT? If the Negro is the equal of the white man socially; (if) Negresses (are the equal) of those admirable young women, wives of the four Roosevelt boys, why that discrimination? Evidently those young Roosevelts take ABRAHAM LINCOLN seriously in his debate with Douglas; nor do they believe that a lot of mulatto grandchildren would enhance the attractiveness of the White House. That condition respecting the White House family, prevails in a similar degree all through the country, as these FACTS prove:

The United States Senate is composed of 96 white Senators, none of whom ever contracted marriage among the Negro race.

The House of Representatives consists of 429 white males, none of whom ever contracted marriage with a Negress, and 5 white women members, none of whom ever contracted marriage with a Negro. (The sole Negro Representative, to his credit, married within his own race.)

The 9 Supreme Court Justices confined matrimonial alliances to their own white race, as did all U. S. Judges throughout the Union. Governors of the 48 States are white men, none of whom ever married a Negress - all practiced 'race-discrimination' in the selection of life-partners, as did the head of every State University and all members of State Supreme Courts.

FACTS are stubborn things, and all persons referred to in the above list, to which may be added the President's Cabinet, are guilty of that same 'race discrimination' hurled by mulatto-minded editors against the Southern whites! To say the least of it, 'race discrimination' in the South, as regards matrimony has precedent in the highest official circles - not excepting the White House, whose home-hating mistress does not practice in her own family, that policy which she preaches so tirelessly within her social and political orbit.

The insincerity of those Negrophiles who inspire interracial gatherings and flood the press with assertions that the Negro race is equal to the white, is proven by a simple test - one that never fails. Ask him:

'If you have a white daughter of marriageable age would you be willing for a NEGRO to marry her?'

His reply, prompt, positive and emphatic, is 'NO'! In that reply, the Negro race finds full evidence that claims of equality with the white race, with which white renegades delude them are 'but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals,' and with no motive above politics. If the Negroes, themselves, will put this question to that type of whites - pointedly and publicly - the embarrassment following will perceptibly chill the enthusiasm of 'interracial' gatherings.(24)

There is no middle ground on the question of interracial marriage. A person either favors or condemns such unions. The Negroes and negrophiles in the United States today who are waging the campaign for complete racial equality must be assumed to favor the amalgamation of the races unless they have openly stated their opposition.

The danger of amalgamation may be stated very simply - it means the destruction of the white race. When the blood of the white and Negro races mix, the fair-skinned Caucasian is lost beneath the black flood. This result can not be denied. And because miscegenation means the death of the white race, every white person not only has the right but the duty to do all in his power to prevent such destruction.

Just as every white man has the right to marry a white woman in preference to a Negress so he has the right to join with the majority of his fellow citizens to prohibit any other member of his race from forming such a union. When the majority believes that society is endangered by the marriage of whites with Negroes or Mongolians, they may prohibit such unions by statute. This right is a fundamental principle of our Reptlblican form of government.

The fact that a white man believes that white-Negro marriages should be prohibited is no indication that he thinks the Negro should be treated with cruelty or injustice. It is often true that those who criticize the Southern policy of racial segregation recognize no neutral ground between love and daggers' points or in physical embrace. There is, of course, hatred. They seem to think that the races must be either at no excuse for such ignorance. A man may use all the power at his command to see that Negroes are treated with fairness, justice, and consideration and still refuse to marry a Negress or to recognize socially any white person who crosses the color line.

Southern white people have been greatly alarmed by the intensity of the current campaign for racial equality in this Nation. They have lived with the race problem for generations and have gained knowledge which many of their Northern friends have had no opportunity to gain. Southern white people know and realize the dangers of amalgamation, and they have been quick to condemn the agitators and troublemakers who have been attempting to spread the doctrine of social equality of the races in the Southland. The following quotation from a resolution passed by the House of Representatives of South Carolina's General Assembly in

1944 is typical:

We indignantly and vehemently denounce the intentions of all organizations seeking the amalgamation of the white and Negro races by a commingling of the races upon any basis of equality as being destructive to the identity and characteristics and integrity of both races, and as being un-American and hostile to the existence and preservation of the American Union of States.

We reaffirm our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the South, and we solemnly pledge our lives and our sacred honor to maintain it, whatever the cost, in war and in peace.

At the close of the War Between the States, a Confederate soldier inscribed a poem on the back of a Confederate note. These are the words which he wrote on the worthless piece of paper:

Representing nothing on God's Earth now
And naught in the waters below it
As the pledge of a nation that passed away
Keep it, dear friend, and show it.

Show it to those who will lend an ear
To the tale this trifle will tell
Of Liberty born of a patriot's dream
Of a storm cradled nation that fell.

Amalgamation can write the same obituary for the United States of America by insuring that the future generations of Americans will sink into hopeless depths of mongrelization from which there can be no return. On the other hand, a white America can guard and protect the white blood in her veins, guarantee the right of Caucasian racial integrity to generations yet unborn, maintain her civilization and continue to rise in strength and power.

Go to [Next Chapter](#)
Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. See [Chapter VI](#).
2. Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, p.63.
3. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 315.
4. Stoddard, Lothrop. *The Rising Tide of Color*, p. 300.
5. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 316.
6. Shannon, A. H., *Racial Integrity*, p. 94.
7. Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, p. 70.
8. Shufeldt, R. W., *America's Greatest Problem: The Negro*, p. 114. The distressing and horrible event which has been related above by Dr. Shufeldt and which is called a case of atavism is why the statement "one drop of Negro blood makes a Negro" is absolutely true.
9. Thomas, W. H., *The American Negro*, pp. 408, 409, as quoted in: Shannon; A. H., *Racial Integrity*, p. 17.
10. From a pamphlet entitled *The Negro Disillusioned*, written by Demps Alexander Oder of Childersburg, Alabama, in 1944.
11. Congressional Record (Daily) March 8, 1944.
12. Coody, Archibald, *The Race Question* (Vicksburg, Mississippi: Mississippi Printing Company, 1944), p. 23. The Race Question is Chapter VI of *The White Chief*, unpublished biography of James K. Vardaman, which has been written by Mr. Coody.
13. Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, p. 38.
14. Calvin, Ira, *The Lost White Race*, pp. 178, 108.

15. Oden, Demps Alexander, *The Negro Disillusioned*, 1944.
16. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 318.
17. Shufeldt, R. W., *America's Greatest Problem: The Negro*, p. 112.
18. *The Southern Watchman*, April 3, 1943. p. 6.
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20. Embree, Edwin R., *13 Against the Odds*, p. 1.
21. From *Miscegenation* by D. G. Croly, as quoted in Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 315.
22. Reprinted from *What the Negro Wants*, edited by Rayford W. Logan, by permission of The University of North Carolina Press. Copyright, 1944, by The University of North Carolina Press.
23. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p. 314.
24. Olden, Demps Alexander, *The Negro Disillusioned*, 1944.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

CHAPTER XIII
PHYSICAL SEPARATION
PROPER SOLUTION TO
THE RACE PROBLEM

God has lent us the earth for our life; it is a great entail. It belongs as much to those who are to come after us, and whose names are already written in the book of creations as to us; and we have no right, by anything that we do or neglect, to involve them in unnecessary penalties, or to deprive them of benefits which it was in our power to bequeath. -*John Ruskin*

TIME AND time again throughout our history, great statesmen have warned the people of the United States that physical separation of the white and black races is the only way permanently and adequately to solve the race question which has confronted us for so many years. Sixty centuries of racial contact in world history prove that there are only two permanent solutions to any race problem, and the time has come when the American people must face this fact. We must choose between the two alternatives: physical separation of the races or amalgamation.

As long as the two races are in contact, the race problem will continue. Remedial measures may lessen racial friction, but the race problems exist until the races are either separated or amalgamated. Unless the races are physically separated the problems will continue until amalgamation has reached such a point that racial lines no longer exist. Then of course a Nation of hybrids and mongrels of mixed blood would have neither race nor race problems.

The dangers of amalgamation have already been pointed out, and without a doubt the great majority of our people realize that the mixing of the blood of the white and black races in the United States would be fatal to the future of our Nation. They know that amalgamation is undesirable from a scientific and historical standpoint and that it is revolting when considered from its ethical and moral aspects. But here is the danger. Until we take the active steps necessary to adopt the program of physical separation of the races, we are on the road to amalgamation. If the white and Negro races continue to dwell together, they will eventually amalgamate and both races will be destroyed.

"Where two distinct species are located side by side," says Madison Grant, "history and biology

teach that but one of two things can happen; either one race drives the other out, as the Americans exterminated the Indians, or as the negroes are now replacing the whites in various parts of the South; or else they amalgamate and form a population of race bastards in which the lower type ultimately preponderates. This is a disagreeable alternative with which to confront sentimentalists, but nature is only concerned with results and neither makes nor takes excuses. The chief failing of the day with some of our well meaning philanthropists is their absolute refusal to face inevitable facts, if such facts appear cruel." 1

Earnest S. Cox has written: "The nature of race problems limits their solution to that of amalgamation of the races, or that of the separation of the races.... Race problems endure. They last as long as races exist side by side. Race problems are eventually solved, but they cannot be solved except by mixing the races or separating them. The nature of race problems precludes other forms of solution. From the alternatives of separation or amalgamation we cannot escape and between these alternatives we must choose. We are witnessing the process of the solution of the Negro problem by the amalgamation of the races. If amalgamation is not to be the ending of the Negro problem in this nation, we are confronted by the need of devising means for a final separation of the races." 2

This warning that amalgamation is already underway in the United States brings us to the consideration of the fact that our policy of racial segregation is totally insufficient to guarantee the preservation of the white race in this Nation. The white South has waged a gallant fight against mongrelization. For three hundred years, racial segregation and the color line have kept the white and black races distinct and prevented the swamping of white blood beneath the flood of miscegenation. White Southerners must be credited with the most practical and most successful attempt to preserve racial integrity which has been made in all the history of mankind. Racial segregation, enforced by law and by custom, has been the established policy of the South.

The time has come when we must face the facts. The color line has preserved a white South, but it has not prevented a partial mixing of the races. Some 3,000,000 mixbreeds with a mixture of white and black blood are today classified with the Negro race. With these millions of mongrels around us, we see the evidence of the historical truth that the blood of the two races living side by side will eventually mix. "In the presence of millions of mixbreeds, the White South looks backward through three hundred years of contact with the Negro, and feels that the color line, however strongly supported, does not offer a guarantee that the white race is to survive." 3

The South must stand condemned for the part which she has played in the mongrelization of the Nation. Even though the Southern white people have established a world record in preventing miscegenation of the races, there have been those who have sinned against race and family by crossing the color line. The men who have been responsible for the flow of white blood into the blood stream of Africa must ever stand in humility and shame before the white women of the South who have preserved the integrity of their race and produced white children whose blood purity could never be questioned.

There are several things which should be noted in connection with the presence of the mixbreeds in the United States. The fact that the hybrids number into the millions indicates that miscegenation has been more widespread than in reality it has been. It must be remembered that the percentage of the hybrids which are the offspring of first crossings is small; many of them are the products of marriages between mixbreeds. Some of them are several generations from the original crossing of the white and Negro parents and have only a small portion of white blood. This is given as factual information, not in any way to condone miscegenation, for every white-Negro union, legal or illegal, has been one too many.

White men of the South cannot be blamed for all the mixbreeds in this Nation, although many writers assume that they are. Records show that a considerable number of the slaves who were brought from Africa had some touch of white blood. In addition to this, many slave traders, not a few of whom were New Englanders, took advantage of slave women, and some of these Negro women bore half-white children shortly after their arrival in the United States.

As early as 1681, twenty out of every hundred of the slaves in Chester County, Pennsylvania, were classified as mulattoes. And the proportion of mulattoes and mix-breeds in the cities has always been greater than in the rural sections. Thus, there is no foundation whatsoever for claiming that the plantations of the South furnished the only broodland for mulattoes.

It is true that there was some mixing of the whites with the Negro slaves on the plantations of the South, but the overseers, who were often Northerners cannot be said to have been any less guilty than Southern slave owners. In fact, any truthful survey will show that the code of morality of the average Southerner concerning unions with Negro women has not been any worse than that of the average Northerner.

Another factor which must not be overlooked is the Union Army which was so long in the South both during the War Between the States and in the post-war period of military occupancy. The colored writer, W. H. Thomas, in his book *The American Negro*, points out that everywhere the Federal armies camped, Negro women flocked to their quarters. He says: "All occupied cities, suburban rendezvous and rural bivouacs, bore witness to the mad havoc daily wrought in black womanhood by our citizen soldiery. We have personal knowledge of many Federal officers of high station and some of strong prejudices against the race, who openly kept Negro mistresses in their army quarters; nor do we doubt that the present lax morality everywhere among Negro womankind is largely due to the licentious freedom which the war engendered among them."⁴

It is also true that many of the Northern carpet-baggers who came to the South following the war lived with Negro women. Perhaps they were following the example of Senator Thaddeus Stevens, who led the fight in the Senate to legislate racial equality following the War Between the States and who has been reported on good authority to have had a Negro mistress.⁵

Thus, we see that those who hurl the charge at the South that Southern whites have been solely

responsible for the racial mixture which has occurred in the United States have no foundation whatsoever for their denunciation. The North and South must each be blamed for its share in the amalgamation which has occurred in this country. With the millions of mix-breeds around us, all white Americans must now realize that the color line is not sufficient to preserve the white race in this Nation.

Many of the racial equality advocates and Negro propagandists have referred to the presence of the hybrids as proof that white people have no "inborn prejudices" and have no dislike of mixing with Negroes. This is an utterly false assumption. As Stuart Landry has pointed out:

The writers who argue this wise are not practical psychologists and biologists. They overlook the fact that such interbreeding is 'lefthanded.' It is the result of the male sexual urge which is most often indiscriminate and casual. For the same reason men patronize the oldest profession in the world. While they despise the scarlet woman, they use her, and then throw her into the sewer of life to float away to perdition. In like manner men use the women of inferior races. It is not a matter of love, since they do not often marry their dusky mistresses. If children are born the fathers are as unconcerned as Rousseau, who is said to have left several of his progeny on the doorsteps of foundling homes. The moralist must view such conduct with grave concern, but that it is common cannot be denied.

The interbreeding of whites and dark-skinned peoples is accomplished by white men 'on the loose' with women of the darker race, who are more than willing and even pleased to bear children by palefaced males. Seldom do white women marry or give themselves to dark-skinned men. Women are the protectors of racial purity, and if the women of inferior races were as particular as their white sisters, there would be less race mixing. Ninety-nine per cent of the mulattoes are the result of the union of white men and colored women, and this fact is a striking admission of the lack of racial pride on the part of colored women.⁶

Any student of biology knows that races which live side by side will eventually mix, and the mixing will occur, as it has in the United States, when organized society does its best to prevent it. In view of this condition, it would seem that efforts would be underway throughout this country to draw the color line tighter and enforce segregation in the strictest manner. Instead, we find a constant campaign to destroy all racial barriers which now separate the races. Whatever motive may be behind those who preach racial equality, they threaten the very existence of the white race with every attack they make on segregation and the color line. They wish to destroy the remedial measures which we now have against mongrelization. It may be true that these measures have not prevented the practice, but they have checked it, and those who would destroy the racial barriers wish to open the floodgates for the complete mongrelization of the Nation.

The race problem has now reached alarming proportions. With racial segregation, which at best is insufficient to preserve the white race, constantly being attacked, the South now asks the other sections of the country to consider her plight. And to be sure, it is the plight of the entire

Nation, for the race question is national in scope. All sections must unite to bring about the condemnation of amalgamation as a final solution to the race problem and to work for the only adequate answer, which is the physical separation of the white and Negro races.

"The one and only solution of the race question which confronts the South is complete separation," says Archibald Coody, "and that is the physical removal of the negro to a country of his own. Less than this is not a solution, but an armed truce. All have overlooked, or ignored, this elemental proposition.... After four hundred years the Hebrews were still aliens, and their flight from the land of adoption serves to indicate that separation, wide and complete, is the only sensible treatment of race troubles. Compromise and concession, with practiced expediency, make it possible to have relative peace and order but offer no prospect of permanent solution."⁷

The pages of history tell us what our fate will be unless we adopt the policy of physical separation of the races. In every place on the globe, in every century, in every record known to man, races which have lived side by side have intermingled and mixed their blood unless there was some sort of physical separation. No amount of argument can change what fate will bring upon us if millions of Negroes remain within our midst. Any student of racial history knows that if the Negroes remain in the United States, the last American will be an octoroon or a mongrel with some portion of Negro blood. If the Negroes are not removed, this condition may come about in three to five hundred years: **THE FACT THAT IT WILL COME SOONER OR LATER IS A CERTAINTY.**

Physical separation is the only way to insure a white America for all time to come. Our present policy of segregation, even in the South where it is enforced in the strictest sense, is not sufficient to save us, as has already been noted. As long as the Negroes remain in this country, we must enforce racial segregation and draw the color line tighter and tighter so that we may use all the power at our disposal to keep the races distinct and separate. However, racial segregation can only prolong the eventual and inevitable mongrelization of the races; it cannot prevent it. This is why the people of this Nation must be urged to adopt the policy of physical separation before it is too late.

Alfred P. Schultz has written: "What is to be done with our negroes? If conditions that now exist continue, nothing need be done.... As soon as the amount of blood of coloured races in our veins will be equal to the amount that flowed in the veins of the Spaniard or Portuguese when they came to America, the Negro problem will have ceased to exist. There will no longer be any talk of separation of the races, of social inequality, or of disfranchisement. The prospect of a negro son-in-law will seem not at all hideous to a sub-white melanoid Southern Senator, with muddy skin, broad face, protruding cheeks, big ears, thick nose, and thick lips. The sub-white American girl, no longer a beauty, will be well content with a tenth, eighth, seventh, quarter, half, wholly red, black-yellow-white, or anything at all mixtum-compositum spouse. A worthless herd will infest the land." ⁸ And then our boasted Anglo-Saxon civilization will speedily disappear, and our fate will be the same as that of the whites of ancient Egypt and

India whose civilizations were lost, engulfed, and forever submerged in a muddy sea of mongrelization.

The above statements do not present a very inviting picture to be sure, but perhaps they will serve to awaken some Americans. There is no other adequate permanent solution to this grave race problem except physical separation. Any plan short of this will eventually end in amalgamation.

In a recent broadcast, America's Town Meeting of the Air sponsored a discussion enabled "Are we solving America's race problem?" There were two white speakers and two Negro speakers, and it is interesting to note what they had to say about the race question. Irving Ives (white) and Elmer Carter (colored) took the position that we are solving the race problem in the United States while Congressman Jerry Voorhis (white) and Richard Wright (colored) argued that we are not solving this great domestic issue. Let us see what solutions were offered by the four speakers.

Elmer Carter, Negro journalist, proclaimed that the "walls of fascism and racial bigotry and intolerance are cracking and tumbling down." He pointed out many advances which the American Negro has made in World War II as compared with World War I and contended that one by one "racial inequalities" are being abolished. Stating that "in the South there is a growing revolt against the evils of segregation and discrimination," this colored speaker, who asks for complete racial equality, offered no adequate and permanent solution to the question. He said he was aware of the fact that the "race problem" is not solved but believes that "America moves forward toward a solution." He did not say so, but the solution which we are "moving" and drifting toward unless the Negro is removed from among us is amalgamation.

The next speaker, Richard Wright, Negro author, who was born in Mississippi, denounced the "gradual solution" as set forth by Carter. He advocated "a nation in which there will exist no residential segregation, no Jim Crow army, no Jim Crow navy, no Jim Crow Red Cross Blood Bank, no Negro institutions, no laws prohibiting intermarriage, no customs assigning Negroes to inferior position." In the next breath Wright was forced to admit that "racial segregation is our national policy, a part of our culture, tradition, and morality." Yet, this he wishes to tear down and he wants to do it immediately! No gradual solution or gradual amalgamation for this colored writer; he wants the floodgates opened now. And unless his suggestions are adopted, Wright warns the Nation that "violence may be upon us." The removal of all racial barriers and all forms of segregation would result in the mongrelization of this Nation, and Wright knows it. Furthermore, this is what he and the other Negro leaders want and it is the condition for which they are fighting and striving. Wright may say that he does not "advocate the solution of the Negro problem through intermarriage," but how can anyone believe this statement when he says that the thirty states which prohibit the intermarriage of the races must wipe the statutes from their books and when he himself is married to a white woman ?

The third speaker, Irving Ives, member of the New York State Assembly and author of the Ives-

Quin Anti-Discrimination Law recently passed in New York, said that the antidiscrimination statute in his state was put into operation "to solve the race problem." Mr. Ives explained the law in the following manner:

This New York law applies primarily to discrimination in employment. Even in this field certain exceptions are made. Social clubs and fraternal, charitable, educational, or religious associations or corporations not organized for private profit; persons in the domestic service; and concerns with fewer than six employees are not included. (Author's note: If this law "gives reality to the great principles of our country" as Mr. Ives quoted Governor Dewey as saying, then why the exceptions?)

Its coverage is therefore not so broad as to make it unworkable. It is sufficiently inclusive, however, to cover most employees in New York State.

The law applies to employers, labor organizations, and employment agencies. It lists certain unlawful employment practices and provides for the establishment of a five member commission for its administration and enforcement. Its operation is simple. If I refuse to give a man a job and he claims discrimination, he may file a written and verified complaint. Then comes an investigation by one of the commissioners who must try to settle the matter by conference, conciliation, and persuasion. If this effort at mediation fails, there follows a hearing before three other members of the commission. Then if it exists I am ordered by the commission to cease and desist from this unlawful employment practice. Under these conditions, I may institute a judicial review. If I am then found by the court to have practiced discrimination and refuse, in defiance of the court, to desist from such practice, I may be held guilty of a misdemeanor.

The two most important features of this law are its mediation and educational provision. As I have already stated, conference, conciliation, and persuasion are required at the outset and the records of our Federal FEPC and the New York State War Councils Committee on Discrimination in Employment show that well over 90 per cent of cases of this kind can be and are being settled by peaceable discussion.

What Mr. Ives referred to in the last paragraph is not mediation and conciliation, but in reality it is a method of intimidation. The so-called fair employment agency uses bluffs and threats to force employers to hire colored workers in direct defiance of the freedom which is a part of our American way of life. Any law which is designed to legislate racial equality is doomed for failure.

In practical application of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, as sponsored by Mr. Ives, it is the white race which suffers discrimination. This is true because the average employer will discriminate against the white race for fear of becoming involved in the toils of the law should he for any reason discharge a Negro man or woman from his business. There is already on record a case where a corporation had been employing white Gentile, Negro and Jewish

women. When it became necessary because of lack of orders to release a hundred of these women employees, the manager discharged all white Christian Gentiles and kept the Negroes and Jews. When he was accosted about the action, he said that he had chosen this policy because he did not wish to go into courts to defend his corporation against a charge of discrimination which would have been true had he fired even one Negro woman. Therefore, he just dismissed Christian Gentile women and retained the Negroes and the women of Jewish faith!

Before his speech was finished, Mr. Ives stated his position on this problem which he claims to be solving. "If we can eliminate discrimination from the field of employment, we shall have gone a large share of the way toward removing it generally," said this New York legislator. Thus he placed himself on record as favoring the abolition of all racial barriers, the intermarriage of whites and blacks, and the final solution of amalgamation to the race problem.

The last speaker, Congressman Jerry Voorhis of California, took the position that America is not solving the race problem although he said, "we are making some progress." As examples, he cited the abolition of the poll tax in Georgia, increased funds for Negro education in North Carolina, and the anti-discrimination law passed by New York. He said that there still exists today "prejudice" against minorities and gave the maintenance of separate racial schools as one illustration. His speech indicated that he thinks the race problem could be solved by full racial equality with no segregation or racial barriers. He dodged the question of intermarriage by repeating his contention that the problem "is to make it possible for every American to have the fullest opportunity to make his full contribution to the life of the Nation." However, the Congressman must know that the removal of all racial barriers would serve to further the intermarriage of the races and to hasten what is to be the final solution of the race problem in this Nation unless the Negroes are removed - amalgamation and mongrelization.

The discussion among these speakers on this nation-wide broadcast gave evidence that any solution of the race problem which falls short of physical separation must eventually end in amalgamation. Neither the white nor colored speakers offered any plan to prevent the mingling of the races; on the other hand, each of them is an opponent of segregation and may be said to be an advocate of full equality. Their suggestions on the race question, though differently stated, would all result in the mongrelization of the American people.

Stuart O. Landry has pointed out three possible solutions to the Negro problem in this country. He says: "In this chapter I have suggested three solutions, any or all of which are feasible. Emigration (by this Mr. Landry means repatriation) will not be the solution because of the reluctance of American Negroes to leave this country. Intensive segregation may come about in the course of time, since it offers many advantages to the Negro from a social and economic standpoint. This leaves the third solution as the probable one -- that is, the maintenance and development of a bi-lateral civilization, in which Negroes and whites, living side by side while maintaining the distinction of race, will enjoy the same political rights with equal educational and economic opportunity. Each race will then be free to develop the highest type of civilization

of which it is capable."9

Only the first plan which Mr. Landry has termed the emigration of American Negroes to another country and under which he includes repatriation of the Negroes to their fatherland, West Africa, is a solution to the problem. The other two plans, intensive segregation and the maintenance of a bi-lateral civilization, are only methods of relieving racial tension and offer no permanent solution. By intensive segregation, Mr. Landry means "the grouping together in cities or communities of several hundred thousand or more Negroes, such as we find in Harlem, a section of New York." But as the author observes, "To gather Negroes into such groups or communities on a large scale is in a manner more difficult than arranging for the emigration to Africa." In addition to this objection, the intensive segregation would still leave the Negroes in this country, and with their presence the many race problems would continue. Such a plan would have the tendency to check the mixing of the races, but the races would still be in contact and amalgamation would be the ultimate result. India tried the strictest form of segregation through caste, but it failed miserably.

Mr. Landry has written an able and worthwhile book and has made a profound plea for the preservation of racial integrity. However, if he will make a visit and survey the conditions which now prevail in Harlem, he will surely conclude that his second plan, intensive racial segregation in this country, will not work. If he should then need further proof, he should buy a ticket to the "black belt" of Chicago. This should be more than sufficient, but an excursion to the Negro section of Detroit will furnish collateral evidence.

The third plan, the development of bi-lateral or parallel civilizations for the two races in this Nation, is, in practical operation, impossible. If such a plan should be universally accepted by the members of both races, it might have a tendency to relieve racial tension, but it would also result in the final amalgamation of the white and black races in this country. The program, according to Mr. Landry, would consist of "a civilization within a civilization - a race living side by side with another race - with it but not of it." If this objective could be accomplished, it would be acceptable, in that it would preserve the white race while benefiting the black. But all the pages of history are against the practical operation of the dual civilization theory. When races live side by side, the blood will eventually mingle and racial lines will disappear. It is this fatal racial mixture which we must avoid. Furthermore, the plan for "parallel civilizations" would not remove the cause of the constant friction over the race issue, and the campaign for the full equality of the races would still be forever before us. As Mr. Landry says: "Equalitarians and some Negro leaders oppose the idea of 'parallel civilizations.' They are seeking social equality, and any theory or arrangement that prevents its realization is unsatisfactory to them."

It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to bring about the maintenance of "parallel civilizations" in this country. Even if both races announced approval of this plan, they would still be in contact and the dangers of amalgamation would still be present. Would it not be much more practical to launch a program to bring about the physical separation of the races?

Separation, which removes the cause of the trouble, is the only adequate solution to the problem.

William P. Pickett, an outstanding white scholar, who made a thorough study of the Negro problem in this Nation some years ago, arrived at this conclusion:

We have carefully examined the current remedies proposed for the country; could we but regard these possibilities as they shaped themselves to the prophetic eye of that master student of the negro question, we would consider no effort too arduous, and no outlay too extravagant, which bore the promise in the end of emancipating our country from the evils resulting from the African element in our population."¹²

When William Pickett's dream, so beautifully and convincingly outlined above, comes true, we can then say - and it will be everlastingly true - that there will be no North, no South no East, no West. The white man in America will be free from the one great threat to his national integrity, and he can be assured that his blood will always be kept pure. Our laws will be written and our policies formed without the blighting influence, intimidation, and fear of the Negro vote. The minds, hearts, ambitions, dreams, and efforts of a united pure Anglo-Saxon people will at once become dedicated and consecrated to the continued growth and expansion to perfection of the ideals of the Founding Fathers who created this white man's country with a white man's scheme of Government. Our people and our Nation shall then be united and solidified and shall lead the way in ushering in a golden era of peace, prosperity and happiness until the light of a new day will be like unto the coming of the millennial dawn.

Physical separation of the races will not only benefit the white race and insure a white America for future generations, but this solution will also save and benefit the Negro people. This is the only method by which the integrity of both races can be guaranteed. The pure African faces complete annihilation in this country. Already some one-third of the Negroes in the United States are of mixed blood and within five or six generations the birth of pure Negro babies will have practically ceased. Unless the Negro welcomes the mixture of white blood, he faces the absolute necessity of leaving this country. The American Negro must choose to repatriate to his fatherland, if his racial integrity is to be preserved, and every decent, straight-thinking Negro wants his blood kept pure.

Just as the white race would be left free to maintain and improve their civilization in the United States after the removal of the Negro, so the Negro race would be free to develop their own culture in a land of their own. If the chance were offered to the black race to establish a country of their own, how great would be the opportunity of Negro leaders to lead their people forth to a new and promising land, as the Israelites of old were led out of Egyptian bondage into the better and brighter land of Canaan.

In the United States, the Negro is bound to play "second fiddle" as long as he remains a distinct race. And amalgamation which will be the final solution to the race problem unless a program

of racial separation is brought about offers destruction to the black as well as the white race. There could be no progress for a land of mongrels. But with the Negroes in a land of their own, the white race would be left to continue progress in this Nation, and the Negro would have the door of opportunity opened to him in his own government. There he could enjoy political freedom, industrial opportunity, mental and spiritual development. Just imagine the degree of happiness and respectability that could be attained in an all Negro government for the black race. With the help of the United States in giving them a start in the new land and with trained leaders from this Nation, the Negroes could have a country in Africa which would take its rightful place among the Nations of the earth.

We must not listen to those people who say that physical separation of the races is impossible. Of course, it will be difficult to put such a program into operation, but it is not impossible. To refute those who speak of the impossibility of the repatriation of only some twelve or thirteen million Negroes to their homeland, West Africa, let us remind them that we have just finished a War in which we enlisted about 12,000,000 men and women; more than two-thirds of these were transplanted to all the battlefronts of the world. Many of these fronts were twice as far away as West Africa. The cost of such a program is not prohibitive because the money which will be required will be expended over a period of fifteen to twenty-five years. Furthermore, the American people will gladly pay the cost of this undertaking, since it will be an investment to save white America from total mongrelization, yea, to save our entire civilization.

Both races will have to cooperate in this plan for racial separation in order to save their own blood from destruction. When a person says that separation is impossible, ask him what solution he has to offer. There can be but two permanent solutions to the race problem - separation or amalgamation. Every person must take a position as favoring one or the other of the alternatives.

When the people of the United States have decided that physical separation is the only permanent and adequate solution to the race problem and make their opinions known, the Congress of the United States will take the necessary action to promote the plan. The Federal Government could obtain sufficient territory in West Africa and make all the arrangements for locating American Negroes in a land of their own. The Government would provide the ways and means of transportation and offer aid to the settlers for a specified length of time. The important thing now is to convince the whites and Negroes in this country that this plan must be adopted, and then the details will be worked out by the Congress.

Millions of American Negroes have already expressed their willingness to return to the land of their forefathers. The plan will of course be wholly voluntary; no one can or should be forced to go. At first, the number will be small, but as the news of the new land comes back to those who remain in the United States, the number of volunteers will increase. With the program being sponsored by the government of the United States, it will succeed. The migration to Africa will be gradual, as well it should be, but with this plan underway, every year that passes will find the race problem in this country in the process of being solved permanently and adequately for the

benefit of both races.

The plan is practical; it must be adopted, for it is the only way to preserve both the white and black races. Some of the greatest statesmen which this Nation has produced have advocated that American Negroes be colonized in a land of their own. These were wise men of sound judgment, and their expert testimony on behalf of this plan of separation will be presented in the next chapter.

Amalgamation will make America negroid, destroy race, culture, and hope for the future. Separation will make America white, guarantee the preservation of the white race and the maintenance of our white civilization.

Go to [Next Chapter](#)

Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. Grant, Madison, *The Passing of the Great Race*, p 69.
2. Cox, Earnest S., *The South's Part in Mongrelizing the Nation* (Richmond: The White America Society, 1926), pp. 7, 13.
3. Cox, Earnest S., *The South's Part in Mongrelizing the Nation*, p. 15.
4. As quoted in Landry, Stuart O, *The Cult of Equality*, p. 310.
5. See Chapter III, p. 35, footnote 9.
6. Landry, Stuart O., *The Cult of Equality*, p 303.
7. Coody, Archibald, *The Race Question*, pp. 89, 34.
8. Schultz, Alfred P., *Race or Mongrel*, p. 547.
9. Landry, Stuart O. *The Cult of Equality*, p. 536.
10. Pickett, William P., *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, p. 537.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

CHAPTER XIV
**OUTSTANDING ADVOCATES
OF SEPARATION**

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience.
I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. -*Patrick Henry*

THE PLAN of physical separation of the white and black races as the proper solution to the race problem in the United States is not a new one. Early in the history of this country, Thomas Jefferson was the first man of great prominence to be identified with a repatriation movement. Jefferson, the father of the Democratic Party, was a statesman, philosopher, scholar, and writer, and he devoted much attention and study to the Negro problem. This great Virginian, who penned the immortal Declaration of Independence, announced time and time again that he did not believe both the white and Negro races could inhabit this country peacefully. The following quotations from Jefferson give evidence of his conclusion that the only possible solution to safeguard the future of this Nation was the complete separation of the races:

You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Mrs. Mifflin, to take measures for procuring, on the coast of Africa, an establishment to which the people of color of these States might, from time to time, be colonized, under the auspices of different governments. Having long ago made my mind up on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying that I always thought it the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off this part of our population most advantageously for themselves as well as for us. Going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa, and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seeds of civilization, which might render their sojournment and sufferings here a blessing in the end to that country. (From a letter written by Jefferson to John Lynch, under date of January 21, 1811, and found in Jefferson's Works, Volume 5, page 563.)

I concur entirely in your leading principles of gradual emancipation, of establishment on the coast of Africa, and the patronage of our Nation until the emigrants shall be able to protect themselves. The subordinate details might be easily arranged....Personally, I am ready and desirous to make any sacrifice which shall insure their gradual but complete retirement from the State and effectually, at the same time, establish them elsewhere in freedom and safety. But I

have not perceived the growth of this disposition in the rising generation, of which I once had sanguine hopes. I leave it, therefore, to time, and not at all without hope that the day will come, equally desirable and welcome to us as to them. (From a letter written by Jefferson to Dr. Thomas Humphreys, under date of February 8, 1817, and found in Jefferson's Works, Volume 7, page 57.)

Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. (From Jefferson's Works, an autobiography written in 1821, Volume 1, page 48.)

Henry Clay also believed that the proper solution to the Negro problem was to be brought about by the deportation of the members of this race to another country. In a speech in the House of Representatives at an annual meeting of the American Colonization Society in January, 1827, he announced his support of the policy of physical separation of the races. The following excerpt is from this address:

Of the utility of a total separation of the two incongruous portions of our population (supposing it to be practicable) none have ever doubted. The mode of accomplishing that most desirable object has alone divided public opinion. Colonization in Hayti, for a time, had its partisans. Without throwing any impediments in the way of executing that scheme, the American Colonization Society has steadily adhered to its own. The Haytian project has passed away. Colonization beyond the Stony Mountains has sometimes been proposed; but it would be attended with an expense and difficulties far surpassing the African project, whilst it would not unite the same animating motives. There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty.

The third outstanding advocate of separation was Daniel Webster. In a speech on March 7, 1850, the famous Webster said:

In my observations upon slavery as it existed in this country, and as it now exists, I have expressed no opinion of the mode of its extinguishment or melioration. I will say, however, though I have nothing to propose, because I do not deem myself so competent as other gentlemen to take any lead on this subject, that if any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme to be carried on by this government upon a large scale, for the transportation of the colored people to any colony or any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object.

As President of the United States at a time when the country was facing disruption over the

Negro question, Millard Fillmore made a thorough study of the problems involved. In preparing his annual message to Congress in December, 1852, he offered a history of the agitation for the emancipation of the Negro slaves and declared that freedom without colonization could only operate to create a worthless population to ruin the South, and could not be endured by the North. He wrote:

Thus having stated the evil, I am bound to offer my views of the remedy. This I do with unfeigned diffidence and with a most sincere declaration that I will cheerfully concur in any other constitutional mode of relief which Congress may see fit to adopt. But after the most anxious and mature consideration of this perplexing question in all its bearings, I confess that I see no remedy but by colonizing the free blacks, either in Africa or the West Indies, or both. This, it appears to me, is all Congress can do.... But this bare removal of the free blacks would be a blessing to them and would relieve the slave and free states from a wretched population, that must ever be kept in a state of degradation by the prejudice of color and race, whether they reside in the slave or free states. There can be no well grounded hope for the improvement of either their moral or social condition, until they are removed from a humiliating sense of inferiority in the presence of a superior race, and are enabled to feel the wholesome stimulus of a social equality.

It is true that this must be the work of many years, not to say centuries, for it can only progress as the slave-holding states, who are chiefly interested, shall find it for their advantage to encourage emancipation. It cannot be expected that a social evil like this, which has been accumulating for more than two hundred years, and is now intertwined with all the industrial pursuits of one half of the States of the Union, can be eradicated in a day. Its increase has been insensible, and its decrease should be so gradual as to create no shock. But it cannot be commenced too soon for the good of the country; for the rational philanthropist will see in its gradual accomplishment the only sure mode of relieving the country from this increasing evil without violence and bloodshed, and instead of joining in the fanaticism of abolition, he will patiently await its fulfillment; and the devout Christian, who has longed for the conversion of Africa, and mourned over its idolatry, and degradation, will see in these Christian slaves, emancipated and returned to their own country, the true missionaries of Africa, and recognize in this whole transaction the mysterious wisdom of an Allwise Being who by these means will bring benighted Africa to a knowledge of the Gospel.

Within a few years after President Fillmore's speech, part of which is quoted above, Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln were engaged in their famous debates. Said Senator Douglas on August 21, 1858:

For one I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever; and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men,- men of European birth and descent instead of conferring it upon negroes, Indians, and other inferior races.

The immortal Lincoln answered Senator Douglas with the following statement:

I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in anyway the social and political equality of the white and black races - that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race. (Speech at Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858.)¹

As President of the United States, Lincoln carried on his efforts to bring about the physical separation of the races which was his proposed solution to the Negro problem. He told a group of free Negroes gathered at the White House on August 14, 1862: "It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated." And in the famous Emancipation Proclamation, he again embodied his views on the race question by stating therein:

And that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

Physical separation of the races was the solution of Abraham Lincoln, the great wartime President and Emancipator of the Negro race. He condemned the idea of the amalgamation of the white and Negro races; and throughout the many years of his public service, he used his efforts to bring about the removal of American Negroes to a country of their own.

Abraham Lincoln and Robert E. Lee were in agreement on the advisability of the removal of the American Negro from this country. The beloved Southern General who led the Confederate Army made the following statement with reference to the Negro problem:

The only reason why I have allowed myself to own a slave for a moment is the insoluble problem of what to do with him when freed. The one excuse for slavery which the South can plead without fear before the Judgment bar of God is the blacker problem which their emancipation will create. We've played our parts, gentlemen, in a hopeless tragedy, pitiful, terrible. At least eighty thousand of our sons are dead or mangled. A million more will die of poverty and disease. Every issue could have been settled and better settled without the loss of a drop of blood. The slaves are freed by an accident. An accident of war's necessity - not on principle. The manner of their sudden emancipation, **UNLESS THEY ARE REMOVED**, will bring a calamity more appalling than the war itself. It must create a race problem destined to grow each day more threatening and insoluble....

At a time when General Robert E. Lee was entering his fateful Gettysburg campaign, one of the

ablest men in the cabinet of President Lincoln, Montgomery Blair, of Missouri, made a speech at Concord, Massachusetts, on June 17, 1863. This experienced statesman, familiar with the Negro problem in all its aspects, made the following observations:

All the early patriots of the South - Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Clay, and others - were the advocates of emancipation and colonization. The patriots of the North concurred in the design. Is the faction now opposing it patriotic or philanthropic? Are they not rather, like Calhoun, working the negro question to accomplish schemes of selfish ambition, and, after his method, making a balance-of-power party of a phalanx of deluded fanatics, keeping the Union and the public peace perpetually in danger, and seeking power in the government through its distractions? The author of the Declaration of Independence and his associates declared EQUAL RIGHTS impracticable in society constituted of masses of different races. De Tocqueville, the most profound writer of the Old World on American institutions, predicts the extermination of the blacks, if it is attempted to confer such rights on them in the United States. It is obvious that an election would be a mockery in a community wherein there could be no other than BLACK and WHITE parties. In such communities, reason and experience show that one or the other race must be the dominant race, and that democracy is impossible.... They are not ambitious of ruling white men, and will, I believe, be contented to set up for themselves in some neighboring and congenial clime, on the plan of Jefferson and Lincoln.

Ulysses S. Grant, soldier-President, who most probably has been as highly praised and as severely criticized as any other statesman in American history, was another advocate of physical separation as the proper solution to the Negro problem. As President, Grant negotiated for the annexation of San Domingo and told the Senate that the purpose of his efforts was to afford a refuge for the black population of the South. In his memoirs he penned the following words of justification for his action:

The condition of the colored man within our borders may become a source of anxiety, to say the least It was looking to a settlement of this question that led me to urge the annexation of San Domingo during the time I was President of the United States. San Domingo was freely offered to us, not only by the administration but by all the people, almost without price. The island is upon our shores, is very fertile, and is capable of supporting fifteen million people. The products of the soil are so valuable that labor in her fields would be so compensated as to enable those who wished to go there to quickly repay the cost of their passage. I took it that the colored people would go there in great numbers, so as to have independent states governed by their own race. They would still be states of the Union, and under the protection of the general government, but the citizens would be almost wholly colored.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century, Senator John J. Ingalls, the illustrious statesman from Kansas, pleaded for the removal of the Negro to another country. In a speech which was reported by the Chicago Tribune of May 28, 1893, he approved the physical separation of the races as the proper solution to the race problem. The following quotation is from this speech:

If this condition is the inevitable consequence of the contact of the two races, separation, voluntary or compulsory, at whatever cost, is the dictate of wisdom, morality, and national safety. If reconciliation upon the basis of justice and equal rights is impossible, then migration to Africa should be the policy of the future. To that fertile continent from whence they came they would return, not as aliens and strangers, but to the manner born. To their savage kindred who still swarm in its solitudes they would bring the alphabet, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bible. Emancipated from the traditions of bondage, from the habit of obedience and imitation, from the knowledge of its vices, which is the only instruction of a strong race to a weaker, the African might develop along his axis of growth and Ethiopia stretch out her hand to God.

The negro might not want to go. He is a native. He is a citizen. He has the right to stay. So he has the right to vote. He has the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness - he has been deprived of them all. Only the right of domicile remains. He could, perhaps, submit to the loss of this with the same resignation which has accompanied his surrender of the rest. There are vague indications of cleavage. In some regions the inertia is being overcome. Communities are pervaded by aimless agitations like those which preceded the flight of the Tartar tribe across the desert. The 'exodus' is an intimation of what may follow. The feasibility of this colonization of Africa, the cost and conditions of a migration so prodigious, its effect upon the civilization of the two continents and the destiny of the two races, are subjects too vast and momentous for consideration.

Another advocate of separation was John Temple Graves,² outstanding Southerner and noted orator. In an address reported by the New York Times, September 4, 1903, Mr. Graves made the following eloquent plea for a permanent solution to the Negro problem:

Here, then the issues - Unity of the Republic, material development, purity of politics, political independence, respect for the ballot, reverence for the Constitution, the safety of our homes, the sanctity of our women, the supremacy of law, the sacredness of justice, and the unity of the Church.

There he stands, that helpless and unfortunate inferior. For his sake, the one difference has widened between the sections of our common country. Over his black body we have shed rivers of blood and treasure to emphasize our separate convictions of his destiny.

And yet, as the crimson tide rolls away into the years, we realize that all this blood and treasure and travail was spent in vain, and that the negro, whom a million Americans died to free, is, in present bond and future promise still a slave, whipped by circumstance, trodden under foot by iron and ineradicable prejudice; shut out forever from the opportunities which are the heritage of liberty, and, holding in his black hand the hollow parchment of his franchise as a freeman, looks through a slave's eyes at the impassable barriers which imprison him forever within the progress and achievement of a dominant and all-conquering race.

Separation of the races is the way - the only way....

For half a hundred years we have wrangled and fought and bled and died about this black man from Africa! Is the wrangle worth its fearful cost? Shall the great Northern section of our common country always turn its hand against the great Southern section of country? Shall the young American of the North steel his heart against the young American of the South over an alien's cause?

I appeal for Caucasian unity. I appeal for the imperial destiny of our mighty race. This is our country. We made it. We molded it. We control it, and we always will. We have done great things. We have mighty things yet to do. The negro is an accident - an unwilling, a blameless, but an unwholesome, unwelcome, helpless, unassimilable element in our civilization. He is not made for our times. He is not framed to share in the duty and the destiny which he perplexes and beclouds. Let us put him kindly and humanly out of the way. Let us give him a better chance than he has ever had in history, and let us have done with him.

When he was governor of Florida some thirty-five years ago, N. B. Broward looked forward to a permanent settlement of the race problem by the removal of American Negroes to a country of their own. He wisely proclaimed to the Florida Legislature that physical separation was the proper solution to this grave domestic issue. In a message to the Legislature, he said:

I deem it best and, therefore, recommend a resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to purchase territory, either domestic or foreign, and provide means to purchase the property of the negroes at reasonable prices, and to transport the negroes to the territory purchased by the United States. The United States to organize a government for them of the negro race; to protect them from foreign invasion, to prevent white people from living among them in the territory; and to prevent negroes from migrating back to the United States. I believe this to be the only hope of a solution of the race problem between the white and black races, as I can see no ultimate good results that can accrue from the education of a race without planting in their being a hope of attaining the highest position in government affairs and society. In fact I can see no reason to expect that any man can be made happy by whetting his intelligence to that point where he can better contemplate or realize the hopeless gulf that must ever separate him and his race from the best things that the dominant race (who employ him as a servant) have in store for themselves. I believe that any person so situated would grow miserable, in proportion as he increased in intelligence. I believe that we should consider the fact that the negroes are the wards of the white people and that it is our duty to make whatever provision for them would be best for their well-being, and it is my opinion that the above recommendation that they be given a home of their own, where they can hope by living their proper lives, to occupy the highest places in it, thus educating and civilizing them, may tend toward their happiness and good. More especially do I make this recommendation for the good of the white race; to keep sweet the lives of the white people; to keep their consciences keen and clean. It is absolutely necessary to the civilization and Christianization of the world by them. Our children must be able to read the history of our lives and see: that it contains accounts of the best lives, and that

their ancestors were the best people of the earth. Whatever tends to sour our natures, or that causes us to give way to passion or temper, tends to destroy us, and no cost should be considered in a matter so fraught with danger to the attainment of the civilization and Christianization of the world as will the attempt to compel these two races to live in the same territory.

To conclude these quotations from advocates of separation, the words of the colored Bishop, Henry M. Turner, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, as the representative of the members of the Negro race who have supported repatriation, are most appropriate. After long years of study concerning the condition of his people, this colored religious leader became an ardent supporter of the program of emigration and colonization of the Negro race in a land of their own. In a letter to William P. Pickett,³ dated January 12, 1907, Bishop Turner said:

The plan will meet with the approval of all sober thinking people, and it will have the endorsement of the God of the Universe. The presence of the black man in this country is a curse to both races. It keeps the white man lying, stealing, misrepresenting, and the black man abusing, vilifying, and cursing, and neither white nor black can be Christian. I pray God you will continue in the great work in which you are engaged, and move this country to help the negro to emigrate to the land of his ancestors.

I know all about Africa. I have been from one end of it to the other. I have visited that continent as often as I have fingers upon my hand, and it is one of the richest continents under the heaven in natural resources. This country is not compared to it, and millions of colored people in this country want to go. But to pay our way to New York, then to Liverpool and then to Africa is too much for the little wages the white people pay to our workers. Give us a line of steamers from Savannah, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina; Pensacola, Florida; or New Orleans, Louisiana, and let us pay as much as the million or more white immigrants pay coming from Liverpool, London, and Hamburg to this country, and the negro will leave by thousands and tens of thousands, yes, by millions. And you white people will have peace and Christianity, and the black people will have peace, wealth, Christianity, and be a blessing to the world.

Throughout this Nation's history, outstanding leaders have supported a policy of physical separation of the white and black races. These were practical men; they were not dreamers or fanatics. They studied the race problems brought about by the presence of the millions of Negroes in the United States and foresaw the ultimate outcome if this race remained in our country. They did not believe in amalgamation and opposed policies and practices which would make this a nation of mongrels. They pleaded for a program of repatriation which would make America white and which would give to the Negroes unlimited opportunities for the development of their own culture. They understood the difficulties involved in adopting and carrying out the plan of racial separation, but they knew that it must be done in order to preserve white America.

Diseases desperate grown

By desperate appliance are relieved,

Or not at all. (Hamlet)

Americans have honored Jefferson and Lincoln as two of the greatest statesmen this Nation has ever known. What could be a greater tribute to the first great Democrat and to the man who saved the Union than to carry out the solution to the race problem which they advocated? It is within our power to complete the work of Jefferson and Lincoln by adopting a program for the resettlement of the American Negroes in a land of their own. When this task has been accomplished, what a great problem we will have solved for ourselves and for our posterity!

Go to [Next Chapter](#)

Return to [TYC - Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. For other quotations from President Lincoln advocating separation, see Chapter III, p. 28 and Chapter XV, p. 264.
2. This John Temple Graves was the father of the present John Temple Graves, a local newspaper commentator in Birmingham, Alabama. Without Any desire or purpose to belittle or discount the present John Temple Graves, it is fair and right to say that in thought, spirit, ability, and oratorical renown, the father towered above his son like Pike's Peak above a pea-ridge hill.
3. Mr. Pickett was at this time writing his book, *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

CHAPTER XV
**THE NEGRO REPATRIATION
MOVEMENT**

I asked, where is the black man's government? Where is his president, his country, and his ambassadors, his army, his navy, and his men of big affairs? I could not find them and then I declared, I will help make them. - *Marcus Garvey* (1)

FOR A number of years before the organization of the American Colonization Society in 1817, the purpose of which was to promote a program of Negro repatriation, Thomas Jefferson was active in advising and encouraging his fellow Americans to adopt a plan to bring about the physical separation of the white and black races. We have already referred to some of Jefferson's statements in the previous chapter and it is a fact of special significance that the author of the Declaration of Independence was the first American of great Importance to aid in a scheme to resettle American Negroes in a land of their own.

In 1777, Jefferson was chairman of a committee of the General Assembly of Virginia which reported favorably on a measure for the emancipation and colonization of the slaves in that state. The terms of the bill provided for the acquisition of territory and gradual colonization of the Negroes in a land of their own. The plan was to send young men of twenty-one and young women of eighteen to the colony where they would be cared for until they could become established. Later, when he was President of the United States, Jefferson continued to be interested in obtaining territory which would be suitable for a settlement of Negroes; and he tried to secure the consent of Sierra Leone, a small country on the west coast of Africa, to receive Negro emigrants from the United States. But the Nation was young during the days of Jefferson, and the institution of slavery was destined to remain for many years. Jefferson knew that the removal of American Negroes to Africa or elsewhere would be a Herculean task, and as he approached the sunset of his life, he realized that the work could not be accomplished in his time. In a letter written to Jared Sparks on February 4, 1824, the father of the Democratic Party stated some of the benefits of colonization and admonished the Americans who were to come after him to see that the program was carried out. He said:

The article on the African colonization of the people of color, to which you invite my attention, I have read with great consideration. It is, indeed, a fine one and will

do much good. I learn from it more, too, than I had before known of the degree of success and promise of that colony. In the disposition of this unfortunate people, there are two rational objects to be distinctly kept in view. First, the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa, which may introduce among the aborigines the arts of cultivated life and the blessings of civilization and science. By doing this we may make to them some retribution for the long course of injuries we have been committing on their population.... The second object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population from among us and establish them, under our patronage and protection, as a separate, free, and independent people in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness I do not go into all the details of the burdens and benefits of this operation. And who could estimate its blessed effects. I leave this to those who will live to see their accomplishment, and to enjoy a beatitude forbidden to my age. But I leave it with this admonition-TO RISE AND BE DOING. (*Jefferson's Works*, vol. 7, p. 332.)

There are two other men who should be mentioned as supporting the repatriation plan before the movement finally brought the American Colonization Society into formation. One was William Thornton, a philanthropist, who lived in Washington and who believed that the race problem should be permanently solved by the physical separation of the races.

Although he proposed the resettlement of all people of color in Africa, the home of their fathers, his efforts did not take the shape of a definite movement.

The other man was a Negro, Paul Cuffe, who succeeded in obtaining the consent of Sierra Leone to receive free American Negroes. This was the project in which Jefferson had been interested. A native of Massachusetts, Cuffe was a sailor on a whaling vessel at the age of sixteen. He became captain of his own vessel, acquired other vessels, a ship, two brigs, smaller boats and property in lands and houses. After he became interested in Negro repatriation, he sailed to Sierra Leone with a crew of Negro seamen. In 1811, he made arrangements for this small west African country to receive Negro emigrants from the United States; in 1815, he carried at his own expense a ship load of free Negroes from Massachusetts to Sierra Leone. Paul Cuffe died in 1817, the very year when the American Colonization Society was organized in Washington, and white Americans adopted a program to assist Negro repatriation.

The stated purpose of the American Colonization Society was to carry on a program of repatriation for American Negroes. The members of this organization knew that land would have to be acquired upon which to settle the Negro emigrants from the United States and that ways and means of transportation as well as temporary maintenance would have to be provided. They further realized that the task was far beyond the powers of this organization unless aid was given by the Federal Government. It was their purpose to begin the work of repatriation, enlisting government aid and cooperation until such a time as the Federal Government would

take over the movement.

The American Colonization Society was composed of one of the most distinguished groups of American citizens ever assembled in any organization in our history. Bushrod Washington was the first President. Among the nationally known men who were members of this Society were Francis Scott Key, John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison,

James Monroe, Charles Fenton Mercer, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln, and a long line of other prominent men and women.

Not many years after the Society was organized, Rufus King proposed to the United States Senate that proceeds from the sale of public lands, with the exception of the amount needed to meet certain obligations, be set aside by the Government to aid in a scheme of Negro colonization. As private citizens, James Madison and John Marshall agreed with the supporters of the King proposal. But the power of the slave states and others who opposed emancipation and colonization of the slaves defeated the first attempts to have the Federal Government take over the repatriation movement.

At a time when the Colonization Society was without strength to obtain land and colonize American Negroes, Charles Fenton Mercer, a member of Congress who belonged to the organization, devised means of obtaining aid from the Federal Government. Mercer had been interested in Negro repatriation long before he was elected to Congress. As a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, he had introduced a resolution requesting the President of the United States to obtain land for a colony for free Negroes and for slaves who would later be made free. The General Assembly of Virginia passed the memorial in December, 1816.

When he became a member of Congress, Mercer's first move toward the repatriation of the American Negroes was to strike at the slave trade. The Anti-Slave Act of March 3, 1819 initiated and engineered through Congress by Mercer, contained an appropriation of funds which was to be used to return to Africa slaves who had been illegally brought to the United States. When the time came to execute the provisions of this act, Mercer went to President Monroe and pointed out that if the unfortunate captives should be returned to the coast of Africa and released, as the act provided, there was the probability that they would again be sold as slaves and eventually returned to the United States. President Monroe was favorably impressed with this reasoning, and he decided to acquire lands on the west coast of Africa on which illegally imported slaves to the United States could be settled and cared for by the Federal Government. Cooperating with the American Colonization Society, President Monroe sent agents to acquire this territory. Sam J. Mills and E. Burgess were directed by the Society to proceed to West Africa and report on their findings. The reports of these men justified the Society in proceeding further with its colonization movement, and two years later the first group of eighty-eight Negroes sailed from this country to the African coast. They were in charge of three white Americans, named Bacon, Bankson, and Crozer. Crozer was the agent for the Colonization Society and Reverend Sam Bacon was the agent of the United States

Government. This was the first step in acquiring the land now called Liberia, the capital of which is Monrovia, named for President Monroe.

Mercer did not stop when the Anti-Slave Act of 1819 had been passed. In 1820, he secured the passage of a measure which declared that citizens of the United States engaged in slave trade should be adjudged pirates and upon conviction would suffer death. In 1830, Congress published a volume of 293 pages dealing with the efforts made by Mercer to suppress slave trade and to bring about Negro repatriation. It has been said to the credit of Mercer: "There is no portion of the African Continent now under political control of Negro people save that portion reserved for them principally through the labor of Mercer."

During the time when Mercer was trying to carry out a program of repatriation, there were some 200,000 free persons of color scattered throughout the Nation. The members of the American Colonization Society thought that if a colony of 200,000 freed Negroes of the United States could be established in Africa, they might with the aid and care of this Nation become a self-supporting community and prepare a home for the other Negroes in America who were then slaves but who would eventually be given their freedom. The next year after the first ship of eighty-eight Negroes sailed for the African coast, the ship *Nautilus*, chartered by the United States Government, carried a second group of Negro emigrants to their fatherland. Again, they were accompanied by government agents and two officials of the Colonization Society.

In 1821, Dr. Eli Ayres was appointed chief agent of the Colonization Society, and he proceeded to Cape Montserrado, the site of the present city of Monrovia. He succeeded in acquiring the whole of the Montserrado promontory, and all the emigrants were transferred to the newly acquired territory. There, they made good their final occupancy.

When Dr. Ayres returned to Washington, the Society selected a Negro, Jehudi Ashmum, to serve with the Negro emigrants in Africa. He sailed for the colony in the brig *Strong*, taking charge of the settlement upon his arrival in August, 1822. Ashmum was an able administrator and to him is due much of the credit for the development of the colony of Liberia. As a representative of the Colonization Society, as an administrator and a leader of men, Jehudi Ashmum won for himself a place of highest importance in Liberian history.

When Ashmum returned to the United States, he placed the Reverend Lott Cary in charge of the administration of the colony until his successor could be appointed by the Society. Reverend Cary remained in charge until the arrival of Dr. R. Randall, who was named chief administrative agent. During the administration of Dr. Randall when the number of emigrants reached 3,000, it was decided that the time had come for the appointment of a governor for the colony.

The first Governor of Liberia was a white American named Thomas Buchanan. He was succeeded by a Virginia mulatto, J. J. Roberts, who was confirmed by the Society. During the administration of Roberts, Liberia continued to grow in size and importance. Realizing the need

for funds in the treasury to carry on the administrative duties, Roberts imposed a six per cent ad valorem duty on goods imported into Liberia. Foreigners refused to pay this duty on the ground that Liberia was a colony, an experiment of a philanthropic society which was incompetent to exercise sovereign rights such as levying duties on imports. Upon inquiry the United States Government stated that it had no intention of assuming the responsibilities of a protectorate of the colony, and the American Colonization Society decided that the colony was now able to continue on its own. Thus, the bonds which had held the colony to the Society for so many years were severed. With unfaltering faith and courage, the Liberian authorities called a convention and on the 26th day of July 1847, a declaration of independence was adopted.

In the meantime, the program for Negro repatriation was having hard sailing in the United States. During the early years of the Colonization Society, the members had high hopes of resettling American Negroes in Africa if governmental aid could be obtained. When it was contended that aid by the Federal Government for this movement would be a violation of the rights of the sovereign states, the state of Ohio came forward to propose a program of repatriation known as the Ohio Plan. The Legislature of Ohio, through the Governor, requested that the governors of the other states submit to their respective legislatures a plan by which the free states, with the approval of the slave states, would begin a program of emancipation and colonization of all slaves. This plan, which provided for the continuation of slavery while repatriation was being carried out, deemed slaves who would not volunteer to return to their fatherland to establish a country of their own to be unworthy of freedom.

The free states accepted the Ohio Plan, but the slave states rejected it. It has been claimed by an outstanding author that this disagreement over Negro repatriation was the first major division between the North and the South. We do know that when the Southern states refused approval, the Ohio Plan was abandoned, and another attempt at Negro colonization with a white America as the goal met with failure.

Soon after the rejection of the Ohio Plan. William Lloyd Garrison and his abolitionists moved into the limelight. Garrison, once a member of the American Colonization Society, now made a vicious attack on the organization, claiming that it was merely an instrument of the slave power for removing troublesome free Negroes from the country and from the presence of the slaves. He charged that the real purpose of the Society was to make secure the bondage over the Africans who were already in slavery. On the other hand, the slave power launched an attack on the Colonization Society, charging that it was collaborating with the Garrisonian Abolitionists. The combination of attacks by Garrison and the slave states would surely have destroyed the organization had it not been supported and defended by some of the most eminent men in the Nation.

Garrison and the slave power limited the activities of the Colonization Society, but they could not destroy it. When this group relinquished control of Liberia in 1847, to the American Negroes and their children residing there, they reserved substantial portions of this country for the settlement of future emigrants from the United States and planned to continue colonization

in spite of attacks from within the Nation. Some 12,000 emigrants had gone to Liberia when the War Between the States interrupted the activities of the Colonization Society.

The War Between the States succeeded in suspending the work of the Society, but it was the Reconstruction period following the War which almost destroyed the organization. During this dark era of our history, reconstruction politicians urged the Negroes to relinquish all plans for setting up a country of their own in Africa or elsewhere. In 1870, agents of the Society toured the South and reported to the officials of the organization in Washington that unscrupulous politicians were causing the Negroes to abandon the idea of establishing a Negro nation on some foreign land and urging them to remain in this country to take over the lands and wealth of their former masters.

Not only did those in charge of the Federal Government fail to give approval to the idea of removing the freed Negroes from this country, but they succeeded in making them citizens of the United States and bestowing upon them the right to vote. When Senators Stevens and Sumner were holding forth in the United States Senate, the idea of full racial equality was replacing the repatriation program. Without a doubt, the Civil Rights Acts passed by the Congress in 1866, 1870, and amended in 1871 and 1875, mark the highest point which negrophilism has ever reached in this country. The sole intent of these measures was to level the black and white races. Charles Sumner believed in the necessity of equalizing the two races and on his death bed he is reported to have said to Senator Hoar: "You must take care of the Civil Rights Bill - my bill - the Civil Rights Bill - don't let it fail." This law had as its purpose the abolition of the color line in the South; it purported to give to Negroes the full and equal privileges of hotels, street cars, trains, and other modes of transportation by land and water, of theaters and other places of public amusement. However, it did not contain the provision urged by Sumner for the destruction of the color line in churches, schools, and cemeteries. This infamous attempt to level the races and mongrelize the Nation was killed by the Supreme Court of the United States. When the highest tribunal in the land intervened on behalf of the Caucasian race, the tide of negrophilism began to wane.

These post-war attempts to destroy the colonization movement and to make the Negro the equal of the white man were in direct contradiction to the ideals and plans of Abraham Lincoln. The Great Emancipator lived to see the War ended and the Union saved, but an assassin's bullet took his life as he stood on the threshold of reconstructing the South and forever solving the race problem. Throughout his career of public service he was a student of the Negro problem, and on numerous occasions he announced his approval of the plan of physical separation of the races. He believed that the only adequate solution of the race problem was to colonize American Negroes at some place or places outside the United States. **In fact, the emancipation proclamation proclaimed the continuation of the plan of colonization as well as freedom for the slaves.**

Lincoln was just as interested in settling the Negroes in a country of their own, somewhere outside the United States, as he was in freeing them. Freedom was a war measure which he

accomplished, but colonization was a post-war measure which he did not live to complete. Most of our great historians seem to have ignored Lincoln's plan for colonization, but it is a fact which can not be denied. These ideals of Lincoln have been thoroughly recognized by Carter G. Woodson, probably the most outstanding of the Negro historians. In his book, *The Negro in Our History*, Woodson says that Negroes of this generation severely criticize Abraham Lincoln because of his delay in bringing about the emancipation of the slaves. Many of these Negroes who are today considered the intelligentsia of the race ridicule Lincoln's expressed opinion of the black race and laugh at the reference to him as the "Great Emancipator." According to Woodson, Sumner and Stevens urged Lincoln to free the slaves immediately, but he had little patience with these abolitionists who worried him about the "d----d niggers."

Lincoln often said that he would save this Union with slavery or without slavery, but that his primary objective was to save the Union. He could not easily accept immediate emancipation, since he had long anticipated gradual emancipation which would not be completed until 1900. His plan also provided for compensation to the slave owners.

Woodson further acknowledges that after the slaves were freed, Lincoln's viewpoint was still far from liberal. He was practically forced to admit Negro soldiers in the Union Army and did not wish to give them the same pay and treatment which the white soldiers received. He repeatedly said that if the Negroes were liberated, they should be colonized abroad since they could not hope to remain in this country on terms of social and political equality with the white man.

We have already referred to Lincoln's attitude toward the Negro and his colonization plan in Chapters III and XIV, but no discussion of the repatriation program would be complete without references to two more of Lincoln's speeches. The first of these passages comes from his address on Henry Clay. For many years, Lincoln was an admirer and devoted friend of Clay and upon the death of the Kentuckian in 1832, he delivered an eloquent memorial address. Concerning the efforts of the renowned Henry Clay for colonization, Lincoln said:

The American Colonization Society was organized in 1816. Mr Clay, though not its projector, was one of its earliest members; and he died, as for many preceding years he had been, its president. It was one of the most cherished objects of his direct care and consideration, and the association of his name with it has probably been its very greatest collateral support. He considered it no demerit in the society that it tended to relieve the slaveholders from the troublesome presence of the free negroes; but this was far from being its whole merit in his estimation. In the same speech from which we have quoted he says: "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion civilization, law and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the universe, whose ways are often inscrutable by shortsighted mortals, thus to transform an original crime into a signal blessing to that

most unfortunate portion of the globe?' This suggestion of the possible ultimate redemption of the African race and African continent was made twenty-five years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized! Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues, and his hosts were lost in the Red Sea, for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them more than four hundred years. May like disasters never befall us! If, as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery and at the same time in restoring a captive people to their long-lost fatherland with bright prospects for the future, and this too so gradually that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation. And if to such a consummation the efforts of Mr. Clay shall have contributed, it will be what he most ardently wished, and none of his labors will have been more valuable to this country and his kind.

On August 14, 1862, Lincoln spoke to an assembled group of free Negroes in the White House. In this speech which embodied clear-evidence of Lincoln's views on the Negro and his reasons for advocating colonization, he said:

You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think. Your race suffer very greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated. You here are freemen, I suppose?

A voice: Yes, sir.

The President: Perhaps you have long been free, or all your lives. Your race is suffering, in my judgment, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people. But even when you cease to be slaves you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race. You are cut off from many of the advantages which the other race enjoys. The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated best, and the ban is still upon you. I do not propose to discuss this, but to present it as a fact with which we have to deal. I cannot alter it if I would. We look to our condition. Owing to the existence of the two races on this continent, I need not recount to you the effects upon white men growing out of the institution of slavery.

I believe in its general evil effects on the white race. See our present condition - the country engaged in war - our white men cutting one another's throats - none knowing how far it will extend - and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your

race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence. It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated. I know that there are freemen among you who, even if they could better their condition, are not as much inclined to go out of the country as those who, being slaves, could obtain their freedom on this condition. I suppose one of the principal difficulties in the way of colonization is that the free colored man cannot see that his comfort would be advanced by it. You may believe that you can live in Washington, or elsewhere in the United States, the remainder of your life as easily, perhaps more so, than you can in any foreign country; and hence you may come to the conclusion that you have nothing to do with the idea of going to a foreign country.

This is (I speak in no unkind sense) an extremely selfish view of the case. You ought to do something to help those who are not so fortunate as yourselves. There is an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh as it may be, for you free colored people to remain with us. Now, if you could give a start to the white people, you would open a wide door for many to be made free. If we deal with those who are not free at the beginning, and whose intellects are clouded by slavery, we have very poor material to start with. If intelligent colored men, such as are before me, would move in this matter, much might be accomplished. It is exceedingly important that we have men at the beginning capable of thinking as white men, and not those who have been systematically oppressed. There is much to encourage you. For the sake of your race you should sacrifice something of your present comfort for the purpose of being as grand in that respect as the white people. It is a cheering thought throughout life, that something can be done to ameliorate the condition of those who have been subject to the hard usages of the world. It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and claims kindred to the great God who made him. In the American Revolutionary War sacrifices were made by men engaged in it, but they were cheered by the future. General Washington himself endured greater physical hardships than if he had remained a British subject, yet he was a happy man because he was engaged in benefiting his race, in doing something for the children of his neighbors, having none of his own.

The colony of Liberia has been in existence a long time. In a certain sense it is a success. The old President of Liberia, Roberts, has just been with me - the first time I ever saw him. He says they have within the bounds of that colony between three and four hundred thousand people, or more than in some of our old States, such as Rhode Island or Delaware, or in some of our newer States, and less than in some of our larger ones. They are not all American colonists or their descendants. Something less than 12,000 have been sent thither from this country. Many of the original settlers have died; yet, like people elsewhere, their offspring outnumber those deceased. The question is, if the colored people are persuaded to go anywhere, why not there?

One reason for unwillingness to do so, is that some of you would rather remain within reach of the country of your nativity. I do not know how much attachment you may have toward our race. It does not strike me that you have the greatest reason to love them. But still you are attached to them at all events.

The place I am thinking about for a colony is in Central America. It is nearer to us than Liberia - not much more than one-fourth as far as Liberia, and within seven days' run by steamers. Unlike Liberia, it is a great line of travel - it is a highway. The country is a very excellent one for any people, and with great natural resources and advantages, and especially because of the similarity of climate with your native soil, thus being suited to your physical condition....

The practical thing I want to ascertain is, whether I can get a number of able-bodied men, with their wives and children; who are willing to go when I present evidence of encouragement and protection. Could I get a hundred tolerably intelligent men, with their wives and children, and able to 'cut their own fodder,' so to speak? Can I have fifty? If I could find twenty-five able-bodied men, with a mixture of women and children, - good things in the family relation, I think, - I could make a successful commencement. I want you to let me know whether this can be done or not. This is the practical part of my wish to see you. These are subjects of very great importance - worthy of a month's study, instead of a speech delivered in an hour. I ask you, then, to consider seriously, not pertaining to yourselves merely, nor for your race and ours for the present time, but as one of the things, if successfully managed, for the good of mankind - not confined to the present generation, but as

From age to age descends the lay
To millions yet to be,
Till far its echoes roll away
Into eternity.

If any answer was ever given by the Negro men to Lincoln's appeal, it was not recorded. The President himself was thoroughly occupied with the winning of the War, but he continued his efforts toward colonization by embodying these ideals in the Emancipation Proclamation and by making recommendations to the Congress. However, upon his death in April, 1865, Lincoln's plans were cast aside and replaced by the schemes of Stevens and Sumner for the equalization of the white and black races.

Even the Reconstruction program for complete equality did not succeed in killing the colonization movement. The American Colonization Society has remained in existence and kept its ideals alive for almost one hundred and forty years. The campaign for racial equality in this Nation has submerged the activities of repatriation since the War Between the States, but the time is coming when the objective of this Society - a white America - will be accomplished.

One of the leading advocates of repatriation during the Reconstruction era and the years following was a Negro, Henry M. Turner, who was born of free parents in Abbeyville, South Carolina, in 1834. As a youth he worked for a group of lawyers who aided him in obtaining an education and he became a Methodist minister. While in Washington during the War Between the States, Turner attracted the attention of President Lincoln, who appointed him chaplain of the first Negro troops used in the Federal Army. After the war, he continued in politics and worked to build up his church organization. He was a delegate to the Georgia Constitutional Convention in 1867, a member of the State Legislature, and in 1869 was appointed postmaster of Macon upon recommendation of Senator Charles Sumner. However, he resigned this post shortly thereafter. He became Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Georgia and for twelve years was head of the Negro School in Atlanta, which is now Morris Brown University. He visited Africa a number of times, introducing Methodism on that continent.

Bishop Turner knew that the race question was much deeper than the surface question of slavery. He knew the problems would continue as long as the races remained in contact. It was his contention that the Negro would more likely obtain four hundred acres and an hippopotamus in Africa than forty acres and a mule in the United States. He refused to accept the arguments of those who advised the Negro to remain in this country and profit by the achievements of the whites. It was his belief that racial initiative was a prerequisite for racial progress, and in this regard he observed that the black man would be better off in Hell than in America.

At a time when the white politicians in charge of the Federal Government and most of the Negro leaders were telling the masses of Negroes that the two races would be made equal in this country, Bishop Turner rose above the crowd to understand the current activities and to foresee the future. He saw the Negro freed, made a citizen, and given the right to vote, but he knew this was a fleeting and incomplete victory for the colored man. **He saw through the reconstruction politicians and understood that as long as the negro remained in the united states - as long as negro women bore negro children - the race would suffer discrimination and inequality in this country. With prophetic vision, he told his people that the only permanent solution to their problems was to return to the home of their forefathers to establish a country of their own.**

During the last years of Bishop Turner's life, no doubt he realized more than ever before the necessity of the physical separation of the races. He saw the triumph of white supremacy in the South and witnessed the hardships and trials of his people. As an old man, he wrote the letter to William P. Pickett which has been referred to in the previous chapter. This aged religious leader knew that his own work was about finished, and he said to Mr. Pickett: "I pray God that you will continue in the great work in which you are engaged, and move this country to help the Negro to emigrate to the land of his ancestors.... Give us a line of steamers..., and the Negro will leave by thousands and tens of thousands, yes, by millions."

Following the death of Bishop Henry M. Turner, Marcus Garvey a Negro born in Jamaica, took up the movement of repatriation. Authorities who have devoted effective study to the efforts of

Garvey relate that he was a man of good education who brooded long during his youth over the disadvantages suffered by his race. After coming to the United States, he organized a Universal Negro Improvement Association, which stressed the importance of economic progress, blood integrity, and race nationality. This organization became international, and it has been said that during the course of his activities, Garvey developed into the most powerful and effective advocate of race nationality that this country has ever seen. He organized a vast empire of workers devoted to his program of repatriation, and his organization reported a total membership of 6,000,000. Rallying men and women to the slogan, "Africa for Africans," he preached to his world-wide followers that black men should return to Africa, the home of their ancestors, where they could establish a nation of their own.

Garvey's organization was colossal and spectacular. He succeeded in attracting the attention of the American press, but he found the recognized Negro leaders in the United States opposed to him and to his program. He was attacked on every hand by Negroes who believed in amalgamation and who opposed any form of repatriation. But in spite of opposition among the Negro leaders, Negro organizations, and some white groups, Garvey succeeded in rallying the Negro masses to his program. He appealed to their imagination and aroused their sense of racial pride and integrity. "I asked" said Garvey, "where is the black man's government? Where is his president, his country, and his ambassadors, his army, his navy, and his men of big affairs? I could not find them and then I declared, I will help make them."

Garvey made an effort to finance the Black Star Line of steamships to be used to carry Negro emigrants back to Africa and to develop trade among Negro people. This unfortunate enterprise resulted in the temporary arresting of his repatriation program, for he was convicted of having fraudulently used the mails to sell stock in the Black Star Line. His conviction took place just before the economic collapse known as the depression. The judge who presided at the trial referred to Garvey as an impractical dreamer and considered it necessary to protect innocent Negroes against the schemes of this repatriation idealist. It may be true that this Negro leader sold stock in the Black Star Line which went to pieces as a financial investment, but it is also true that other men, men who have been called practical, have sold worthless stock. President Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence, but since he was an alien he was automatically exiled from the United States. Removed from the mass of his followers in this country, he was unable to carry on his program of repatriation.

The most significant thing about the achievements of Garvey is that notwithstanding the collapse of his colonization movement at the height of its popularity, notwithstanding his conviction, imprisonment and deportation, the movement he had originated did not die with the passing of the founder. The chief value of his labors lay in the quickening of a race consciousness and in the birth of a new hope for racial integrity and nationality. He definitely succeeded in establishing the fact that there is an overmastering impulse, a divine afflatus among the masses of Negroes in the United States for a country of their own and a government administered by themselves. Without a doubt, Garvey was the most conspicuous of all the organizers of his race.

The longing for economic freedom and progress, the yearning for the establishment of Negro nationality, the burning desire to make secure racial integrity which Garvey had implanted in the souls of millions of Negroes in the United States survived after he had gone from these shores. Garvey's thunderous words, "Up, you mighty race, you can accomplish what you will," were still echoing in the ears of his followers when another repatriation movement was organized. The new organization had a single ideal - to return people of African descent to their fatherland, Africa. This group, called the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, prepared a memorial for presentation to President Roosevelt asking for the return of American Negroes to their fatherland, Africa. The following extracts are from the memorial:

...The signatories pay no dues or other fees and the officers of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia serve entirely without pay... We are simple-minded, sincere, lowly, law-abiding workers who have maintained traditions of simple honesty, industry and frugality, as much from choice as from necessity. Few of us have education, but we have learned not to heed the blandishments of self seeking politicians, impostors, and the unworthy and the undesirable products of a hectic civilization that is foreign to our nature.

We have a vivid realization of the hardships and toil that the fruition of our plans in a strange land entails. But we are inured to toil and the ultimate goal of social and economic freedom gives us the heart to welcome the hardships for our children's sake... Given an opportunity in our ancestral Africa, the knowledge of farming and of simple farm machinery and implements, which we have acquired here would enable us to carve a frugal but decent livelihood out of the virgin soil and favorable climate of Liberia... We are a liability now, and any cost of this project, no matter how great, would still, we sincerely believe, be a sound investment for the American people. We, the subjoined and accompanying signatories, merely ask respectfully that we be eliminated from an overcrowded labor market and given a helping hand in establishing such social and economic independence as we are fitted for - establishing it where it will give no offense and where it may serve as an object lesson to tempt those who remain.

Within eight months, 400,000 colored Americans had signed the memorial which was sent to President Roosevelt on November 14, 1932. When the President replied that it was not practical at that time to consider the proposed steps for repatriation, the leaders of the memorialists sought aid in Virginia. This was the State which had taken the initiative in acquiring the territory which formed the country of Liberia. In February, 1936, the General Assembly of Virginia passed the following Memorial to Congress:

Whereas there is valuable land sparse]y populated in the republic of Liberia, a portion of which land is reserved for American Negro colonies, and many of our Negroes evidence a desire to live in an independent nation of Negroes and strive to

achieve a high and honorable race destiny:

Therefore be it resolved by the House of Delegates, the Senate concurring, that the General Assembly of Virginia memorialize the Congress of the United States to make provisions for the colonization of African descent, with their own consent, in Liberia, or at any other place or places on the African continent.

The Virginia memorial was similar to the following resolution, which was passed by the Senate of the Mississippi Legislature in 1922.

Be it resolved, by the Senate of the State of Mississippi, the House of Representatives concurring therein, that we do hereby most solemnly memorialize the Congress of the United States of America to request the President to acquire by treaty, negotiations or otherwise from our late war allies sufficient territory on the Continent of Africa to make a suitable, proper and final home for the American Negro, where under the tutelage of the American government he can develop for himself a great republic, to become in time a free and sovereign state and take its place at the council boards of the nations of the world, and to use such part of our allied war debt as may be necessary in acquiring such territorial concession, to the end that our country may become one in blood as in spirit, and that the dream of our forefathers may be realized in the final colonization of the American Negro on his native soil, and that the spirit of race consciousness now so manifest in the American Negro may be given an opportunity for development under the most advantageous circumstances.

On May 24, 1938, I introduced in the United States Senate an amendment to the general relief bill, then under consideration, which provided for the repatriation of citizens of the United States of African descent to the Republic of Liberia and/or such contiguous territory as may be acquired by the United States by purchase from France and Great Britain. Such negotiations were to be consummated on the basis that the purchase price of the acquired territory should be represented by a credit on the war debts owing to the United States by these countries. I then withdrew the amendment, having availed myself of the opportunity of submitting what I believed to be irrefutable reasons for its support, because I considered it the wiser plan to offer the proposition to the next Congress as an independent measure.

In conformity with my pledge, I submitted to the Senate a bill for the voluntary resettlement of American Negroes in West Africa on April 24, 1939. By this time, the number of signers to the memorial requesting the repatriation of American Negroes, which I now have in my possession, had reached more than two and one-half million. At the beginning of this speech, I remarked:

The most gratifying thing in my life is to be able today to present to the American Congress petitions signed by two and a half million American Negroes pleading and begging for a physical separation of the races. By their act in signing these petitions

to be resettled in their fatherland - Africa - they say to the world, 'We are proud of our race; we believe in racial integrity; we are not willing to have our blood stream commingled with the white blood. We want to flee from this certain disaster that is going to overtake both races by complete amalgamation and the production of a mongrel race.'

These petitioners know that in saving their race they are likewise saving ours. They have faith in their ability to work out their own destiny and establish a nation in a country all their own, where they can reach their highest destiny in a land of freedom - a land without oppression and a land without discrimination.

I call the attention of the Senate to the presence of the petitions. The signatures have been carefully counted, and the petitions have been signed by two and a half million Negroes of the United States. I may add that the petitions come from every State in the Union, praying and asking for a physical separation of the races, or that an opportunity be afforded the Negroes to be resettled in their fatherland.

Since the time of this speech and the introduction of the bill to voluntarily resettle American Negroes in Africa (copy of the bill may be found in Appendix A, page 298), approximately another half million Negroes have signed the petition. Let me at this point, here and now, vividly impress upon the mind of every reader of this book that at no time in the history of the program for repatriation - from 1817, the year of the organization of the American Colonization Society, to the present date - has any advocate of this plan, with the possible exception of one, ever suggested or even intimated that force would be used to carry out the program of resettling the American Negro in his ancestral home, West Africa. Not even during the days when the Negroes were held in slavery did Jefferson, Monroe, Clay, Mercer, or Lincoln suggest that they be removed to Africa or anywhere else by force.

The repatriation of the Negro to Africa has at all times during the long history of the movement been left to the will of the Negro to go. And today, by virtue of the adoption of the war amendments to the Federal Constitution, the Negro is a citizen of the United States, and it would certainly be foolish to talk about sending him to Africa by force. Therefore, let me again repeat that no one has ever suggested the use of force.

Notwithstanding the above fact, certain negro leaders - the smart intelligentsia - who want mongrelization have tried to leave the impression with the american negro population that bilbo and his followers are trying by force to send the negro to africa. this is a vicious and malicious mis-statement of the facts.

I believe that the great body of American Negroes will gladly return to their fatherland if the Congress will provide the ways and means for their transportation and will provide for their support and maintenance in their new home until they can get their feet on the ground. The petition with some 3,000,000 signers is certainly evidence to support this contention. If the

Congress would defy the present day Negro leaders, who advocate full equality and amalgamation, ignore their threats and intimidation and enact the necessary legislation for the repatriation program, this great movement could be inaugurated and completed within the next fifteen to twenty-five years. This is the only way that we can save both the white and Negro races from the certain doom of universal mongrelization; hence, the title of this book, *Take Your Choice - Separation or Mongrelization*.

Without a doubt, the interest in the repatriation program is being reviewed today, and millions of American Negroes are expressing the desire to establish a country of their own in Africa. There is still opposition to this plan among certain Negro leaders and those who favor the amalgamation of the races. But there are real leaders, Negroes who believe in their own race and its future, who are interested in colonization and are ready to cooperate in a plan for repatriation. In a speech in the United States Senate on May 10, 1945, I read in full correspondence which I had recently had with a Negro preacher in Savannah, Georgia. Because these letters from the Reverend Lewis Lewellyn Scott show evidence of real leadership, they are here given in full:

The Second Baptist Church
Savannah, Georgia
May 1, 1945

Senator Bilbo
United States Senate Building
Washington, D.C.
My Dear Senator:

Mr. Anderson, the publisher of the Macon (Ga.) Journal tells this story. He has the reputation of making small loans and often outright gifts to worthy causes and one day he was surprised to look up from his desk into the face of a strange Negro, who asked Mr. Anderson to loan him \$5, whereupon Mr. Anderson asked him why he came to him to borrow \$5, to which the Negro replied, 'Well, it is like dis, you were recommended to me by a friend of mine as a man who would let me have this money.'

This is exactly the situation in my case, except for the money involved. I understand that a bill prepared by you is either in the records of Congress, or was at some time past, submitted. I do not have the information as to the title of the bill, but as I understand it, it was a bill designed to offer to Negroes the opportunity to return to Africa. Negroes will never be the people they should and hope to be until they shall rise by their own boot straps, and make for themselves a country worthy of world recognition. He will forever be a menace to society wherever he is until this is done.

I am asking that you reintroduce your bill to Congress and so are millions of others,

for I think that while Libya and other provinces formally belonging to Italy will soon after the fall of Germany, become an issue, it would be the logical thing for American Negroes and those from every part of the world to return there and if the great powers would assist in industrializing those parts of the world, the Negro could make a real contribution to civilization.

You will hear from others in this connection, and it is hoped that you give this your most serious consideration. This is the time for such measure to receive support even from those who opposed it when it was first offered. If I may be of service, I shall be only too glad to do so. Do me the favor of an early answer.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) Lewis L. Scott

May 3, 1945

Rev. Lewis Lewel]yn Scott
Pastor, Second Baptist Church
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Brother Scott:

It was good of you to write me your letter of May 1 - one good Baptist to another. Your observations about the proper thing to do in giving the Negro of America a real chance in life has the ring of real statesmanship on your part.

I have been trying to convince these Washington and northern Negroes that I am the best friend they have because I know their troubles. I know what is in store for them. I know they will continue to be discriminated against for centuries to come and I am trying to do something about it.

A physical separation of the races is the only solution to our impending race frictions and troubles and a physical separation is the only means by which the integrity of both the white and black races can be made safe.

History has proven for thousands of years that where the white man and the black man have tried to live side by side in the same country total mongrelization finally takes place and that is something that no white man worthy of the name nor any self-respecting Negro wants to see take place.

I will take great pleasure in complying with your request by sending you a copy of the bill I introduced published along with the speech that I made on the occasion of its introduction.

Thank you for writing me and may God bless you in your labors. I am

Yours truly,
(Signed) Theo. G. Bilbo
U.S.S.

The Second Baptist Church
Savannah, Georgia
May 7, 1945

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo
United States Senate Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

Yours was the most welcome letter I have ever received. It was full of facts and truths, the things which make people strong. My only concern now is the next step in the direction toward which a full realization of the program under discussion may be had. I have just completed reading your speech of April 24, 1938, and assure you that it was truly factual. For the protection of the future of your race and mine, a thoughtfully worked-out plan can be made which will modernize and industrialize Africa under the guidance of the United States, to which Negroes may by a gradual process go without disrupting their effort to make themselves into a great race.

The United States owes this debt to the Negro, who will forever be an enigma to the peace of this country, to take the initiative in making possible and profitable his return to his native land. Why cannot Libya and Tunisia, provinces which have been under the heel of Italy, and the disposition of which has not been settled, be given as a protectorate of the United States, and placed in the hands of Negroes? Shall white and black Americans continue to die for the liberation of these lands, and their restoration to their former holders, only to repeat this process every 25 years?

Yes, Senator; Americans white and black are great dreamers, idealists, and wishful thinkers, seeing through their prejudices, demanding that the facts be good, and when one attempts to disclose the facts, he is at once labeled a radical, fanatic, and hothead. The realist must be patient and wait his turn, for time will finally give him a hearing. The time is now.

Mongrelization of the races is as certain the fate of this country as the night follows the day. This or the extermination by one of the other. This may not occur in yours and my time, but unless a program consistent with the one under discussion here is inaugurated it is an eventual certainty.

Please understand that my statement is not motivated by some unpleasant personal experience, for I am speaking as a Negro, without regard to anything except the facts. The greater portion of my 44 years of life, I have given this matter careful study, and I entertain no ill-will toward any man, white or black, I therefore ask in the name of God, and your country and mine, give your cooperation to this matter, for you are in position to point out the 'ears' who will listen to this plea, and thereby gain for yourself immortal fame, and because you will have rendered a great service to humanity. By this I mean that you are in position to arrange a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or any other agency through which the machinery may be set in motion leading to the realization of our aims.

I close with apologies to you, for having taken so much of your very valuable time, but finding that you are a Baptist, I felt that I could without running the risk of having an experience of the Negro Preacher, who just before winding up his dry 2-hour sermon on a hot Sunday afternoon, called out to Deacon Johnson, requesting him to wake up Deacon Jones who had gone fast asleep, whereupon Deacon Johnson replied, 'No sir, brother pastor, you put him to sleep; now you wake him up.'

If I may hear from you again in this connection with suggestions and advice, I shall regard this as a great service rendered your race and mine, and so will many who oppose yours and my ideas today.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) Lewis L. Scott

May 8, 1945
Rev. Lewis Lewellyn Scott
Pastor, Second Baptist Church
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Brother Scott:

Your letter of May 7 received today. To say that I enjoyed your letter is putting it mildly indeed. The more you write the stronger and better you get. If every leader of your race throughout the Nation could have the inspiration that you have and then do something about it, as you are vowing that you will do from now on, it would not take long to solve and settle once and for all the ever-perplexing and disturbing race question in our common country.

I am sure that you noted in my speech that I said nothing about deporting the American Negro to his fatherland in Africa. The Negro is as much a citizen of this country as I am. Therefore, the Congress cannot compel any Negro to go to West Africa, the richest country on earth, unless he goes voluntarily.

My proposition is to provide the ways and means for his transportation and then to 'grub stake' him for one whole year, giving him land, a house, and equipment, so that he will have the time and opportunity to get his feet on the ground in his new home. My bill would further provide that our country shall build roads, schools, and hospitals, and guarantee sanitary conditions for the health of him and his family.

I had two leading Negroes from Chicago to make a personal visit to Liberia and make first-hand investigation of the great opportunities that await the coming of the American Negro to his fatherland. These two 'spies' made a great and glorious report on the 'promised land.' Just as soon as this war is over we want to start our campaign in dead earnest.

We can get the land and Uncle Sam has the ships already built. And I believe that God will bless the Negro in his new home. In fact, I have always believed that since God works in mysterious ways His wonders to perform that the Negro was brought to this country, although he came as a slave, to be trained and educated and taught the arts of peace and industry and given the true religion of Christ and His salvation that he might return some day to his fatherland and preach the gospel of salvation, Christianizing and saving the multiplied millions of his race now in darkness and despair in the junglelands of the dark continent.

You have convinced me that you are a farseeing and brave leader of your people, and I am taking the liberty of publishing our correspondence in the Congressional Record, that all the people of our country, both black and white, can begin to understand the true and only solution to our race problem.

Again let me repeat that physical separation is the only solution. Separation or mongrelization is inevitable - two roads - we can take our choice, and I know that every self-respecting white man and every right-thinking and decent Negro revolts at the idea of mongrelization.

I can assure you that as soon as this horrible World War is over I am going to push the campaign with all my might.

May the good Lord protect you and make you strong and useful for this great work that can be accomplished in your day and generation.

Yours truly,
(Signed) Theo. G. Bilbo
U.S.S.

Former President Edwin A. Barclay of Liberia has announced that millions of acres of land in Liberia are ready and waiting to be settled by American Negroes. The gateway to this country

in West Africa is open for thousands, even millions, of Negroes who are anxious to return to the land of their ancestors, and the Federal Government can acquire other lands in Africa which will afford suitable homes for American Negroes. The Congress of the United States must enact legislation to carry out a program of repatriation in answer to the demands of both the white and black races who realize that physical separation is the only adequate solution to the race problem in this country.

Millions of American Negroes have signed a petition asking to be returned to their fatherland, Africa. In making this request, they have said: "With you, we have learned, we cannot form one homogeneous people, neither can our race dwell with you together on an equality. We believe in racial integrity and condemn the amalgamation of the races. Send us back to Africa that we may do our long-delayed divinely appointed work. Provide the ways and means for those of us who are willing and anxious to go to the Republic of Liberia, already founded by the beneficence of the American Government. Start the emigration by government aid and acquire new territories adjacent or contiguous to Liberia so that in time all citizens in your country of African descent may find a home in the fatherland and there be privileged to work out their own salvation and the redemption of benighted Africa."

The colonization movement is not new; it has been interwoven as a part of our nation's history. The time has now come when this task can no longer be postponed if racial integrity is to be preserved. The successful completion of a program of repatriation was the dream of Jefferson and Lincoln and many other of our most outstanding statesmen. We must make their dream a reality.

Go to [Next Chapter](#)
Return to [Table of Contents](#)

Notes

1. A noted and world-renowned Negro leader.

Take Your Choice
Separation or Mongrelization
By Theodore G. Bilbo

CHAPTER XVI
**STANDING AT THE
CROSSROADS**

There is a time, we know not when
A point we know not where,
That marks the destiny of men,
For glory or despair.

There is a line, by us unseen
That crosses every path;
The hidden boundary between
God's patience and his wrath.
-Joseph A. Alexander

OUR NATION is now standing at the crossroads, and we must choose between a white or mongrel America of the future. The Negro problem can be adequately solved only by the physical separation of the races. There are but two roads - separation or mongrelization - and we must take our choice.

We must choose not only for ourselves but for our posterity. Without a doubt the policy of separation would be adopted within a matter of months if we thought the tide of mongrelism would overtake those of us now living. However the fact that the calamity of amalgamation may not spread over the Nation for several generations should not make us hesitate to begin now to put into operation a program of Negro repatriation. The problems caused by millions of Africans within our midst increase as the years go by; the time for a permanent solution is now.

If we continue to bequeath to the next generation the task of solving the race problem, it will assume such proportions that any solution except the amalgamation of the races will be impossible. Every day that we hesitate, the mixing of the races continues. and we approach closer and closer to the precipice of mongrelism. We must act now so that we may be certain that our descendants will not fall into depths of miscegenation from which there can be no return. Unless we take the necessary steps to bring about the physical separation of the races and insure a white America for the future generations, we are unworthy of our ancestors, untrue

to the blood which flows in our veins, and a curse to our posterity.

White Americans must now decide what is to be done with the ten per cent of our population who belong to the African race. When we have determined that the mixing of the blood of the races will not be tolerated in this country and that racial integrity must be preserved, we shall then be ready to begin our program of repatriation. Fundamentally, the question is one for white Americans to decide. The white race claims this country as its own, and it is the right and within the power of the white man to determine what the future policy of the United States will be regarding the 12,865,518 American citizens who are colored. We must make our decision as to whether the Negroes will remain in our midst and the future American be partly colored or whether the United States will forever become a white man's land. If the latter is our choice, then the Negroes must be resettled in a land of their own.

All obstacles which stand in the way of the physical separation of the races must be overcome. Since there are only two ways of solving the race question, everyone who does not favor the separation of the races must be assumed to endorse amalgamation. The time for permanently settling the question has come; every American citizen must choose one or the other of the solutions. If we fail to adopt the policy of separation and do not repatriate the Negro to a country of his own, then we have made a mistake which can never be corrected. Failure to solve the race question by separation will doom our race to mongrelization, our country, our institutions, and our civilization to decay.

Race tension today is reaching an all-time high. Americans in all walks of life, North and South, East and West, are becoming conscious of the race problem and of the many dangers that are involved. Race riots and minor incidents are insignificant when compared to the great and grave threat of mongrelization which faces this country. Remedial measures and temporary compromises may relieve the tension and ease the friction, but it is toward a permanent solution that we must devote our efforts.

Temporary measures are, of course, necessary even after we adopt a program of physical separation and begin on the plans for the repatriation of American Negroes to a country of their own. Since this will be a gradual process, migration will continue for a number of years. While repatriation is being carried out, every possible effort should be made in this country to keep the color line intact and to prevent any further mixing of the races. Segregation must be rigidly enforced, both by law and by custom, as it is now in the South. The eighteen states and the District of Columbia which now permit intermarriage should join the other thirty states in enacting measures to insure the purity of the white race by prohibiting interracial unions. Steps should be taken by the leaders of both the white and the black races to suppress racial friction and to improve racial relations. Economic progress and education of Negroes should be encouraged so that they will be better trained and ready to assume the responsibilities in their own government.

Let us again view the two alternatives. If we choose any plan short of the physical separation of

the races, we are in effect adopting the scheme of amalgamation of the races. We have thousands of years of racial contact in world history to prove to us that where different races live side by side, their blood will intermingle and a mongrel people will be the result. The road of amalgamation and mongrelization leads to the destruction of both the white and the Negro races and to the decay of our civilization which is the product of the white man. This plan insures nothing except a mongrel Nation where there can be nothing except stagnation and chaos. At best, Caucasian man progresses but slowly; and when his blood is mixed with that of the African, his half-breed offspring spring is below the creative level. If the white race in the United States is to mix its blood with that of the millions of Negroes within our midst, then the Nation is forever doomed and the next centuries will find the only evidence of American greatness in the history books. Mongrelization will destroy our race, our civilization, our Nation itself.

On the other hand, if we choose the other alternative, a program of physical separation of the races, we shall be preserving our race, institutions, and culture for the future generations of Americans. A white America will retain civilization and continue to progress. The future of the white race will be insured in a white America, and the black man will be given the opportunity to develop his own culture in a land of his own with the aid of the most powerful Nation on earth. It is difficult to believe that any sane and reasonable man can view these two alternatives and fail to choose the separation of the races.

The road of physical separation leads to the development of both the white and the Negro races to the highest point of which each is capable. The United States will become a white man's land, as the Founding Fathers intended that it should be, and our people will be left to carry on the torch of civilization unhampered by the millions of Africans now in our midst. A white America can lead the world in progress and continue to blaze the trail for the uplifting of the standards of living of all the races of mankind the world over. The strength and greatness of the United States of America can be a blessing to the world, and it shall be if this Nation continues to be the arsenal of the civilization of the white race.

When we have adopted the plan of physical separation of the white and Negro races, we shall have the comforting knowledge that with every month that passes, the perplexing race problem is being forever solved. And finally, when the program shall have been completed, the integrity of the two races will be preserved and each race will then be free to work out its own destiny. White America will continue her civilization to new heights; a black Nation in Africa will develop her own place in the sun. Is there any greater goal toward which we could labor?

Since the preservation of racial integrity which can only be assured by the physical separation of the races is in accordance with the laws of God, surely He will bless our efforts. A program of repatriation of American Negroes to their fatherland, Africa, will insure a white America, and it will carry to the dark continent Negroes who have been trained in the new world and who have been taught the Christian religion. They will go as teachers back to the land of their forefathers to lead the Negro race in establishing an independent culture and to Christianize

their black brothers who are lost in darkness. God works in mysterious ways His wonders to perform. Perhaps it was in His divine scheme of things that out of the institution of slavery in the new world would come thousands, yea, millions, of Negroes who would return to Africa as leaders of the Negro people to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The Negro question as we observed in the opening chapter, is our greatest domestic problem. Now that the War is over and the Nation is settling down to normalcy, it bids fair to reach even new proportions. The danger signs are already out. We must now make preparations to launch a program for the adequate and permanent solution of this issue at the earliest possible date. Thousands of Negro soldiers have had the opportunity to visit Africa and have witnessed first-hand that this is one of the richest continents on earth. The time is now propitious for the Congress to take the necessary steps to put the repatriation program into operation.

Throughout the pages of this discussion, we have observed again and again that there are only two solutions to the race problem; separation or mongrelization. We have found that only separation can preserve the white race which has produced all the great civilizations of the world. The mongrel has never created a worthwhile civilization and has never been able to retain a culture which was thrust upon him. No matter what the cost of saving Americans from mongrelization, it is a price which must be paid.

America cannot be saved from the fate of mongrelism except by the physical separation of the races. If the races continue to live side by side, the mixing of the races will make us a Nation of mix-breeds just as surely as night follows day. Throughout American history, the Negro problem has been a constant source of friction and bloodshed, and now the time has come when the color line and segregation cannot save us much longer. It is absolutely necessary that we continue to enforce this policy of segregation as long as the Negroes are in our midst, but we must realize that this is a temporary measure, designed to postpone or prolong, not to prevent the eventual amalgamation of the races.

Those who are today waging the campaign for full racial equality in this Nation can be expected to oppose the program of repatriation. They are opposed to everything except the scheme which will finally mongrelize the entire country. They preach that the races are equal and plead for equality in the name of science, democracy, and religion, when they know that their arguments are utterly false and without foundation. Our people must realize the dangers of amalgamation and arise to condemn all the individuals and organizations, white, black, and mixed, who are devoting time and effort to bring about a mongrelized America.

There are only two roads - separation or mongrelization - and America must choose. It is a choice which the entire Nation must make because no one section can solve the race problem alone. This is a matter which confronts every state in the Union, and all American citizens must join in bringing about the proper solution, physical separation of the races. The South alone is not responsible for the Negro problem, and the Southern people cannot permanently settle this issue without the help and cooperation of the other sections, North, East and West. The plan of

repatriation must be accepted as a national policy and carried out by the Federal Government.

The Negro race should be just as anxious as the white to select the proper solution to the race problem. Just as separation is the only way to protect the integrity of the white race it is the only way to protect the integrity of the black race. Remaining in this country, the Negro faces mongrelization just the same as the white man. Negroes as well as whites who have respect for their race and for their blood abhor the idea of miscegenation. Millions of American Negroes have already asked that they be given a chance to return to the land of their ancestors to establish a government of their own. They have faith in the future of their race and want to have the opportunity to build a Nation which will take its place in the affairs of the world. This is the type of American Negro who must join with the white Americans in adopting and carrying out to a successful conclusion a program of repatriation. Such a combination can remove any obstacle and surmount all difficulties. The group of Negroes and whites who favor mongrelization will be completely helpless when all self-respecting and honorable white and colored Americans join to preserve and protect the racial integrity of both their races.

No time can be lost. We must here and now begin to make preparations to adopt and launch a repatriation program. Again, let it be stated that the plan will be entirely voluntary; it will merely provide the ways and means for those Negroes who wish to return to Africa to establish a Nation of their own. They will be cared for and protected by the United States Government until they are able to continue on their own. Millions of American Negroes who know that they will always be discriminated against in this country are ready to go to their fatherland to find equality and unlimited opportunities.

Since millions of American Negroes are now willing to return to Africa, the task will be much easier than most people have been led to believe. When the rank and file of the Negro masses begin to leave this country, the half-breeds, mulattoes or mongrels, many of whom are exploiting the masses of their own race and living on the "fat of the land" will follow in the course of time. They will get lonesome and be more than glad to go. Some of these Negro preachers who are desecrating their pulpits by inciting race hatred and clamoring for social equality will have empty pews - their congregations will be back in their fatherland. Negro lawyers will have no clients - they will be in Liberia. Negro doctors will have no patients - they will be ailing in their forefathers' homeland. Negro dentists will have no teeth to fill or pull - their clientele will be in Africa. Negro editors will go out of business - their readers will be gone and the news will be stale before the papers can be shipped to Africa. Negro teachers will have to close their schools - the Negro children will be in better schools in Liberia. Negro undertakers will be out of business - their potential victims will be dying of old age in their fatherland.

Let us hasten to provide for the voluntary repatriation of American Negroes in their fatherland, West Africa. The great majority who are suffering the discrimination, doing the manual work, and who are discouraged with toil and humiliation are now ready to go. We need not worry about the objectors. They may be howling their protests today, but they will soon be on their

way - Africa bound!

Public opinion must make itself known. It will be necessary for white and colored Americans to cooperate in convincing their leaders that the policy of separation must be adopted. When the majority of Americans desire such a program, the Congress will enact the necessary legislation to carry it out. Let Americans state the ultimate goal - a white America for the white race and a Negro Nation for our colored population - and then the lawmakers will find a way to accomplish the objective.

This is a plan for men of strong will and determination. Of course, there will be difficulties, problems, and opposition from many sources. Sacrifices will be demanded. But the program can and must be carried out; once it has been begun, the success is assured. When the Negro Nation has been established, those who have remained in this country will find it easier to make the decision to migrate, and the number of volunteers will increase yearly. With the guiding hand of the Government of the United States, the program can not fail.

Thomas Jefferson and many more of our greatest statesmen pointed to this solution to the race problem many decades ago. Abraham Lincoln knew that colonization of American Negroes in a land of their own was the only proper solution to the race question. If he had lived, the plan might have been carried out immediately following the War Between the States. The politicians cast the policy of separation aside when Lincoln was assassinated, but no longer can the American people afford to permit any groups or individuals, powerful though they may be, to prevent the adoption of the only solution which will guarantee the preservation of the blood of both the white and the black races.

White Americans received the heritage of the white race. We live today under the greatest Government on earth, which is the product of our forefathers. Shall we devote the necessary efforts permanently to settle the race problem which threatens our national existence? Or shall we permit this race issue, our greatest domestic problem, to become the cause of the downfall of our Nation? The physical separation of the races will insure that the future generations of Americans will be born white with centuries of progress before them.

It will be easy for us to do nothing about permanently solving the race problem and drift into the path of mongrelization which will make of us a negroid people. We are, in fact, on this road now, and the mix-breed in our midst as well as the weak, misinformed, and degenerate of both races are crying out that we must continue in the way we are going. But this is the broad road which leads to destruction. The real Americans, brave, strong, and courageous members of both races who believe in racial integrity, must arise and demand the enactment of the necessary legislation which will place this Nation safely and surely on the straight and narrow path which leads to physical separation and the preservation of the blood of both races. In the sermon on the mount, the Lord said: "Enter ye in at the strait gate, for wide is the gate and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." (1)

We are today standing at the crossroads, and there are but two roads ahead. Separation leads to the preservation of both the white and Negro races, to a future which belongs to God. Mongrelization leads to the destruction of both races, to the destruction of our Nation itself.

Take your choice - separation or mongrelization. The America of tomorrow - white or mongrel? Let us pray that Almighty God will guide our feet upon the road to a white America which will continue to lead the world in civilization and culture.

THE END

Notes

1. Matthew, 7:13-14.