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J L. Tucker

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Speech of the Rev. J. L. Tucker, D. D.
of Jackson, Miss.
Before the Church Congress, held in
Richmond, Va., on the
24-27 Oct., 1882

THE RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO THE
COLORED PEOPLE.

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SPEECH OF THE REV. DR. TUCKER, OF JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI,
BEFORE THE CHURCH CONGRESS, HELD IN
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The selection of this as a topic for discussion is an indication of a growing feeling that the relations of the Church to the colored race are, or ought to be, somewhat different from the relations of the Church to the white race. This is true, and the reason for it lies in the vast mental and moral differences between the races.

The Church must know the facts before she can make wise or successful plans; and I pray God to help me tell some of these facts to-night, that those who do not know the race experimentally may be able to perceive something of the difficulties which lie in the way, and which have caused the apparent apathy of Southern Christians concerning the moral and religious condition of the negro race.

To speak as I propose to speak to-night has been in my mind for at least ten years, but I have been restrained, as many others have been, by three considerations: One, the fact that Northern people, having a sentimental idea of the negro, probably would not believe the facts; second, that the politicians of both races who cater for the negro vote, would make any man who told the

Jackson, Miss. :

Charles Winkley, Steam Book and Job Print,
Capitol Street,

1882

truth in the matter a target for vituperation and abuse, a thing from which most of us shrink ; and third and most important, that the truth itself was of such a nature that to tell it in adequate fulness in press or speech was a simple impossibility. I do not mean that words could not be found, but that the truth itself would not bear publicity. A further thought has given me a courage lacking before—for it has become plain that something must be done and done soon. The negro is retrograding in morality, and the white people are not awake to the consequences of this fact though they are largely to blame for it. Let me speak plainly. The North is largely to blame for it, for the North made citizens of a race utterly unfitted for citizenship, and then failed utterly in a second step which its own first step had made its bounden duty, namely, to educate the race into fitness for citizenship. Instead of this a burden was laid upon the South far beyond its strength. Impoverished beyond the conception of the North, the white people of the South were yet expected to do a work for the negroes which they were not able to do even for themselves. The two races were put into a false position politically, and it was assumed to be Southern wickedness that kept the negro down.

It is time now to lay past prejudices, hostilities and misunderstandings aside. It is time to look our great problem squarely in the face, to scan its features, and set about a solution in that wise way which measures its difficulties before it acts. I think, further, that when the real condition of the negro is known and believed there will begin a great movement in the North, from whence the necessary money must come, to raise the negro to a higher plane of life. Therefore, I cannot but believe that he is the best friend of the colored people who goes most directly to the root of the matter, to show what the facts are, what must be done to better them, and why and how this should be done. Probably no one man is equal to the full task; but I propose to-night to do something towards it, if I can find decorous words in which to clothe indecorous truths.

One word more of explanation. The logical necessity of my subject will compel me to-night to speak severely of slavery.

desire to say that there is another side to that subject. Contrast the condition of the colored people in this country with their condition in Africa, and you will see what I mean. Slavery worked good as well as evil. Upon a proper occasion I should have much to say in defence of those States which protested through their Legislatures against the fastening upon them of this great curse upon the white race; to whom, perhaps, slavery worked more harm than to the negroes.

It seems to me, looking back and looking forward, that God ordered this thing of slavery in order to bring a great body of the African race, in the only way possible, through many troubles, to a civilization and a Christianity, which they can carry by colonization back to Africa itself, in a mighty movement, when, by and by, God shall see that the time has come.

THE FIRST POINT.

Race differences have been too much ignored in the past. In Foreign Missions but scanty success is ever attained until the missionaries learn to understand the character of the alien races among whom they labor. There must be many trials, experiments and changes of method, until the missionaries learn to comprehend the mental processes of the foreign people, to know how to present the truth so that it shall appear to them to be true. This is a far more important point than it appears to be at first thought. I cannot argue it now, but simply state the fact as a positive one, that all your labor is thrown away until you know the idiosyncracies of the alien race, and can adapt your presentation of the truth to their perceptive powers.

In the South, and with the negroes, failure has resulted, because those who labored among them were not compelled to study them to the point of understanding them. The same methods were used that were used with the white race, and the result was the giving to the negroes a form of Christianity without its substance.

This is a grave statement; no one knows better than myself how grave. But I say deliberately, with a full realization of what the words mean, that the great mass of the negro race in the South professing religion, have a form of Christianity without its

substance: and further, that they have no comprehension of what that substance ought to be. There are exceptions, but not many. When we speak of them as a race, this statement is true.

I am well aware that there are many listening to me who do not know the colored people, and who will be unable to understand how this statement can be true; not being able to conceive how the substance of Christianity can be separated from its form. Let me therefore briefly glance at the past, and show how it came to be so. And those of us who know the faults of the negro race and who often lose both patience and charity because of them, will find it well to consider philosophically how the negroes came to have those faults, since we are not guiltless in the matter.

THE NEGROES IN AFRICA.

Doubtless most persons present have read books of African travel, but probably have read them without gaining any true comprehension of the social state of the African tribes. We are so accustomed to the family as the basis of all civilization, that when we read of an African household or family, or husband and wife, we attach our meanings to the words and not the African meanings. The travelers use these words because they have none other; they are obliged to use the terminology of civilization; but the resulting confusion of thought is as great as if a chemist were obliged to describe chemical action in the terms of botany, or a geologist to describe the formation of rocks in the phraseology of a prayer meeting. In actual truth the African at home has "wives" as he has sheep, oxen and other stock, buys and sells them freely, makes presents of them occasionally, pays tribute with them sometimes, and values them chiefly at so much per head. Human life has no sacredness, and men, women and children are slain as beasts are, and even more carelessly as less valuable. Human suffering excites no pity, and blood flows like water. Their wars are wars of extermination or slavery, and some of the tribes, as the Fan tribe, feast upon the slain. Among some of them also, the aged and the infirm are killed as the easiest way to dispose of them. Du Chaillu and other travelers could find no traces among the

tribes of the West Coast, from whom the slavers procured their cargoes, of any belief in or idea of a future state; and describes their religion as a mixture of witchcraft, bloodshed, fiendish orgies and terror-driven superstition. All travelers agree that in the languages of most of the native tribes there are no words to express the ideas of gratitude, of generosity, of industry, of truthfulness, honesty, modesty, gentleness and virtue. Where there are no words there are no ideas. That is to say, narrowing it somewhat, that what we call morality, whether in the relations of the sexes, or in the sense of truthfulness, or in the sense of honesty, has no lodgment whatever in the native African breast. It is necessary to understand these facts and to understand them clearly, in order to properly estimate the progress the race has made in this country, and to understand the roots and causes out of which have grown their present ideas and practices as regards morality.

When I have stated these facts at other times, I have been accused of putting them forward as my "views." I desire it to be understood, therefore, that I did not create these facts, and that I am not responsible for them. I assert, however, that they are absolutely true. The consensus of all authorities establish them beyond the power of any man to overthrow them. We of the South should remember these facts, for the recollection of the state out of which the negroes came, only a few generations ago, would often modify our harsh judgment of the colored people and dispose us towards patience and charity.

THE TRAINING OF SLAVERY.

When the negroes were brought over to this country their condition was what I have briefly described. They were absolute barbarians. Slavery did something for them; they were under outward restraint. There were many masters who endeavored to teach them at least the elements of civilization, and on many plantations the points of marriage, truthfulness and honesty were enforced by precept and by punishment. It must also be said that on many plantations the house servants only were instructed, and the field hands had no preceptor but the driver's whip; and the field hands were the great majority in number. They

were not willing scholars. I know of no race who would be under such circumstances. They soon learned to feel the injustice of slavery, and it seemed to them that those who so wronged them in so great a matter could not be sincere guides in any minor matters. Their owners must want them to be virtuous, truthful and honest, not from any good motives, but simply to make them more valuable as property. Being punished for transgression in these things, they quickly learned to conceal the transgression. Being told that these things were right, they learned to protest that they believed in and practiced them. Being banded together in suffering, and having their own society among themselves, their own ideas, their own superstitions and beliefs, having the secret practice of their religious rites to hold them together, and the tradition of former lives in freedom as guides to them as to what was right for negroes to do and believe—they opposed a passive wall of resistance against the intrusion of new ideas. Yet there was the power of the lash behind the new ideas. What could they do? They did what was natural under the circumstances, what any race would do—they accepted the outward form but refused the inward substance of the new ideas. They seemed to believe and obey, but really disbelieved and disobeyed. To please their masters they would proclaim the beauty of virtue and truthfulness and honesty, while not clearly understanding the meaning of the words. Thus they soon learned to use the phraseology of righteousness as a cover for wrong doing, and in time grew to think that the two belonged naturally together. I beg you to make note of the force of this point, as it explains much that would otherwise be inexplicable in their present condition.

I suppose that any race, unintelligent and slow to comprehend as the negroes then were, if suddenly confronted with new ideas in violent contrast with all hitherto cherished customs, and if driven by fear of punishment into an adoption of the new ideas, would learn the required phraseology while rebelling against the substance. It must be remembered too that the language was new and difficult, much more rich in words than the negroes were in ideas. It was not suited to their modes of thought. But if they

could not comprehend meanings they could comprehend the lash ; and when they learned the words and phrases which they could use as shields against punishment or as instruments wherewith to gain the good opinion of their masters, they adopted them as a cover under which they could live and act as they pleased. The fear of punishment taught them what to say, their passions and traditions taught them what to do, and they were not able to perceive any incongruity between the two.

I desire to make this matter plain to you, for it is the key to much that puzzles one in the negroes to-day. There was in the native African no idea of a moral difference between truth and falsehood; when brought here he learned that certain acts were followed by punishment unless he could use words in such a way as to cover himself. Often he did not quite comprehend the meanings of the words, but as they served his purpose he learned to trust to them for safety without any sense of guilt. This is in truth hypocrisy, an hypocrisy most difficult to overcome because it is unconscious. The great mass of the negroes did not know that they were hypocrites, and do not yet know it.

My friends, reflect a moment. We are ourselves more or less drawn or driven into hypocrisy or something very like it, under stress of fear, and we often feign to be something better than we are, half unconsciously. Children do this continually, and the mass of the negroes are very like children in mental development. When we are conscious of this we have a sense of guilt, but I appeal to you if children do not have to be taught the sense of guilt? What wonder that the negroes, "untutored barbarians," suddenly confronted with an alien civilization which they could not understand, which was thrust upon them by force, learned lying, stealing, and adultery, not simply as they knew those things in Africa but with a bitterness of rebellion against coercion which made the practice of these things seem almost like patriotism; and the effort to deceive their masters, like loyalty to their race and native land!

Please do not think that I am speaking contemptuously or even unkindly. I am simply trying to give to those who do not know

the negro race a somewhat adequate idea of their present condition, with the philosophical reasons for that condition.

It is the history of slavery in all countries that it teaches hypocrisy, we may even say, compels hypocrisy; for this is the slave's only weapon, his only defense, his only protection against wrong.

To my mind it was not without reason that when the Ten Commandments were given to a half barbarous people, just escaping from slavery, the sole commandment about truthfulness was simply—not to bear false witness against a neighbor. Any higher or deeper idea of truth must have been beyond their power of conception.

SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS.

With each succeeding generation after the native Africans there came, of course, a modification and improvement; but race movements are always slow, doubly slow when education is interdicted. The slaves could not read, were not taught and had little beyond their own traditions to guide them. Vague items of information of other lands and better circumstances occasionally reached them; but these were not fully comprehended. To them the world consisted of toiling field hands, indulged house servants and pampered whites; with a hope of something better to come after death, and a vague idea that there was a better land somewhere towards the North. Their only enjoyment lay in meeting together for religious indulgence, and the only excitement and zest in life was in the pursuit of the pleasures which the white people said were wrong. In India, under English rule, the caste system still prevails largely, the native religions still hold sway over the people, and all progress is exceedingly slow, although education is not interdicted. Yet the various races of India were on a far higher level when the English conquered them than the Africans were when brought over here. The negroes have made very great progress in many things, and if their progress has been slow in morals, that is not to be wondered at; and we must remember that it is but sixty or seventy years since the importation of native Africans on a large scale ceased.

STEALING.

It never seemed wrong to the slave to steal from his own master. He was but property himself, and it was "all in the family." Besides, he worked for nothing and it seemed to him but justice that he should enjoy some of his master's good things for which his labor paid. Something of this feeling the owners also had, so that petty pilfering was looked upon by both races as a matter of course, a thing to be winked at. See the result of such a feeling and such a training. That result was simply to destroy the sense of wrong in this matter almost wholly. If one desired now to train up a child to steal no better course could be pursued; for of course the negro parents taught their children how to pilfer so as not to be suspected, at least so as not to draw down too heavy a punishment, and the parents profited by the child's dexterity. This was always in all countries one of the natural results of slavery.

Nor did the slaves feel it to be anything but venial to steal from each other. The field hands would steal from the house servants arguing that they ought to have some chance to get partly even; the house servants could easily recoup themselves, and the final loss fell where it ought to fall, upon the master. They would rarely steal money, even when they had opportunity. This one fact throws a flood of light upon their estimation of the morality of stealing. The habit of pilfering would lead eventually to the taking of money, but they had the sense of guilt in this which they did not have in any other stealing. Stealing from neighboring plantations was also venial in their eyes. In Africa they had led a predatory life and the habit and instinct of it continued. When in danger of detection and punishment the slave had no sense of sin in lying. To protect himself by lies seemed to him natural and just. It was his only defence against what he believed to be an unjust punishment. Of course the lying about one thing led to lying about another. I have heard them argue with each other as to the permissible extent to which lying might go, asserting that it was simply impossible for colored folks to get along with white people without lying to them at least "sometimes."

MARRIAGE.

The slaves could not understand why a man should have but one wife. The white people taught them that as a matter of religion; but instinct, natural desire, and the customs of their race taught them the very contrary. It was a part of the religion of their oppressors, and as such was *prima facie* oppressive in itself. Loyalty to their race, as well as custom and desire, moved them to reject this item.

That the white people were at heart no better than themselves, they were positive. Had they not proof? Whence came so many mulattoes? The intrigues which the white men supposed to be secret were well known in all their most minute details to the negroes, even to the young ones. They were boasted about, carried from plantation to plantation, gloated over as additional evidences that their own customs were more natural, more honest, more true. Furthermore, the negroes concerned in these intrigues at once took higher rank among the women, obtained privileges, better dress, less labor, and some influence to help the others in their hard lives. What wonder that such a thing became a coveted honor among them, coveted by their relatives, even by their parents as well as by themselves, to the utter destruction of the very sense of virtue!

Again: They had but little security for permanence when they did marry. It is a necessary concomitant of slavery that families should be separated, husbands and wives and children sold apart from each other. The gigantic wrong includes all lesser wrongs. I cannot speak at length upon this point, for it involves facts which will not bear publicity. To my mind their present moral condition in this matter of the relation of the sexes is but the natural outgrowth of the training of slavery upon the habits of the native Africans. We should not too severely blame them, but we should bestir ourselves to teach them better. Were the full facts known I believe that there would run a thrill of horror, yes, and of sympathy, through the whole North, resulting in a great movement to raise them up to a higher plane of life.

RELIGION.

There was one part of the religion of the whites which they accepted with avidity; namely, the person and errand of Jesus Christ. Something in the story of the Cross appealed to them with a force unknown to those who live easy and comfortable and self-indulgent lives. They believed in it with all their hearts and souls, for in it was a divine pity, a divine promise of succor. But this belief made no difference in their daily lives. They could grasp the vague ideas of pity and of hope, but could not grasp the sense of duty. Duty always came to them under the sternness of oppression, and they could not connect the idea of love with that of duty.

I beg you to note this point also. To them it was slavery that brought duties. They had never known of any constraint upon desire except the constraint of slavery. However kind and pleasant an owner might be, yet the lash lay behind disobedience. Feeling the monstrous wrong of slavery it seemed to them that all duties of all kinds, religious, moral, or physical, all labor, all constraints upon desire, were parts of the wrong thing slavery. When white teachers taught them that they should govern their desires, they thought the white man was but trying to enslave their souls as well as their bodies. When taught that certain acts would displease the Lord Jesus, they thought that the white people were trying to make them believe that the Lord Jesus was a slave driver too. They could not understand how any obligation to do or not to do, could be separated from a state of slavery. To their perception the white people, who were free, did just what they pleased in all things, whether in abstaining from labor or in gratifying desire—of the latter they had proof—. It seemed to them that whoever loved them would set them free, and freedom meant absence of all constraint, positive or negative. Satan can always vary his temptations to suit the circumstances of those whom he would destroy. And so the religion which they did accept from the white people grew to be a matter of emotion only, having no constraining force upon their conduct. Religion meant love, and love meant freedom, and freedom meant absence of duty,

moral or physical. They were taught that they had to "get religion" by some process of conviction and conversion. He who "got religion" therefore, got a sense of God's love for him, and thenceforward was free so far as any moral law or moral guilt was concerned. Man's law might constrain his actions, but man's law was slavery; God's law was freedom. Faith was the one thing needful, and would cover a multitude of sins. He who became a Christian had no further fear of God's law, and felt an intensified antagonism against man's law. The only interpreter of man's law was the slave driver. He was to them the law-maker, book of statutes, prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner, all in one. When freedom brought them relief from the overseer, they thought there would be no more law of any kind to trouble them.

Furthermore, the removal of the constraint of slavery brought a relapse into many practices of African barbarism. Witchcraft had never lost its hold upon them, and with freedom, increased its power. The weaving of spells upon enemies, the carrying of charms and the trust in various incantations, were mingled in a most inextricable way with love for God and trust in Christ. I could give many instances of this, occurring from time to time within my knowledge down to this present year. The town negroes were comparatively free from these superstitions, but their freedom must be spoke of as comparative only; on the other hand in the country districts often a whole neighborhood of negroes would be terrified at the advent of some "witch," would endeavor to move away, and where that was impossible, to propitiate such a person in trembling fear. It is my judgment, formed upon close observation and enforced by personal inconvenience and losses, that these superstitions, which are really remnants of African devil worship, have had since the war and up to within a few years, a stronger influence upon the race than any other force whatever, moral or physical. There was the worship of God by the lips, in prayers and hymns, but the practical worship in fear of consequences and acts of propitiation was of the devil.

To engraft the old customs upon the new religion was easier than to discard them, and accordingly this was done. We know

that something similar was done in ancient Rome, and even the Bishop of Rome became "Pontifex Maximus" by direct inheritance from the high priest of Roman paganism. What wonder that the ignorant negroes, unable to read the Bible for themselves did this more completely?

Of late years the town negroes have emancipated themselves more than ever before from these parts of the old race traditions; but this cannot be said of the country negroes.

All these things of which I have spoken and of which I have yet to speak, have combined to produce a strange obliquity of moral vision, a strange perversion of judgment, a curiously conglomerated religion—which it is exceedingly difficult for any white people to understand, and utterly impossible for those to understand who have had no practical experience with the race.

My friends: What I have here briefly described is their religion to-day. It is an outward form of Christianity with an inner substance of full license given to all desires and passions. There are many exceptions, thank God for them. Every Southern man knows exceptions; and to many of their preachers the moral condition of the race is a matter of great humiliation and concern. But in spite of all exceptions, what I have said is true of the great mass of them.

Again, I beg you to believe me when I say that I am not speaking in contempt or in anger or any such feeling. My heart goes out to the colored people with a great and longing desire to do them good. My ordination vow constrains me and the love of Christ constrains me to labor for them; I would fain see the church, yea and all christian people, awake to the great duty of caring for their perishing souls. But every thinking man knows that any effort towards any end must conform itself to the circumstances surrounding it. The effort will fail if aimed to overcome obstacles that do not exist, while ignoring obstacles that do exist. I have heard of a recent gift of a million dollars for the benefit of the negro; yet if my understanding of the disposition of that gift be correct, it might almost as well have been thrown into the sea. A hundred thousand, rightly invested, would do far more good. And so I speak as I do to-night, praying God to

give force to my words, that those who desire to help the colored people may have some conception of the things wherein they need help.

THE INSTINCT OF CONCEALMENT.

One thing they learned in slavery which they had not known before, and that was to act together. They were drawn together by the sense of mutual suffering, a common fate, a common oppression. They were in feeling banded together against the white race, and it became a point of honor with them to stand by each other. Often they would suffer to extremity before they would betray each other, even in acts of sin. Parents taught their children that the one thing utterly despicable and vile and unforgivable was such a betrayal to the white people; and their punishment for this act, even when it was unpremeditated or unconscious on the part of the child, was terribly severe. This mutual defence of each other was their only safety. They felt that at any time their very lives might depend upon their fidelity to each other. You must understand that this fidelity could only consist in lying for each other, and supporting each other in denials and protestations. My friends, I do not blame them for this. It came not from bad hearts, but from the circumstances of slavery superimposed upon the circumstances of barbarism.

Under such training, it was from the first an instinct with them and quickly became second nature, to conceal all that concerned them from the whites. Instinct and second nature it is yet. They will make excuse for each other, deny for each other, steal for each other, lie for each other, not only in great matters, but in all manner of small matters. Lie gratuitously and uselessly from the first mere instinct of answer to a question. And mingled with the lying and stealing will be all manner of pious protestations and edifying talk, and calls upon God to witness—which will also be sincere. This is the amazing thing in it! It is this strange sincerity in hypocrisy which often angers those who know the race to the loss of all patience with them or belief in them. And it is this unconsciousness and sincerity in hypocrisy which often misleads those who do not know them into supposing them to

be—poor and ignorant, indeed—but honest-hearted, humble-minded, consistent Christian people, who are, from some unaccountable prejudice, greatly maligned and abused by Southern whites.

A few years after the war a party of gentlemen, mostly Clergymen, representing a great Northern church, came into Mississippi to visit and inspect the colored churches of their denomination and to devise methods of aiding them. The negroes gathered to welcome them and there were a series of great meetings. The Northern visitors preached and heard certain negroes preach, looked on at the eagerness and earnestness of the colored congregations, listened to the fervent prayers from both men and women, heard the pious talk, the ejaculations of thanksgiving, all the verbal evidences of true religion, and went home saying, "what earnest, what humble minded, what grand Christians these poor negroes are!" Had they sought information from their white brethren of the same church, South, they would have been told that while the earnestness and fervor were there and were correct enough, yet there was no real substance of religion beneath it; that the very opposite of Christian lives were led by almost every one who listened to them or to whom they listened. But their hearts were full of anger against the South then, they refused to listen to the Southern people who asked permission to speak to them, rejected evidence, and departed shaking the dust off their feet, thinking that no Southern man could be just to the negro. Yet the negro preacher in whose church they held their largest meetings, at that very time was living in open and undisguised adultery. This sufficiently illustrates his idea of morality and the duty of a Christian; his idea of theology was shown by another act. Shortly after the visitors left, this negro preacher offered a so-called "Paschal Lamb" in "sacrifice," in a way which violated every sacrificial idea, and was a mingling of African rites and Mosaic names. The lamb was selected, slain and roasted, and placed upon a table in front of the "altar." There was a great meeting, loud and continued praying and singing, which lasted all night long, during which there were many trances and convulsions. The lamb was cut into little pieces in church during the night, and the pieces were eagerly bought by the congregation; some of them were eaten

on the spot, and some tied up in little bags to be worn around the neck as charms. There was a considerable pecuniary profit, though I do not think the preacher had the profit for his main object.

The Northern visitors knew nothing of this, but went away with the firm conviction that the negroes were the same sort of Christians that they were themselves. The result of their visit was that considerable sums of money were sent down to the colored people to encourage this sort of religion; and then, as it seemed to the visitors that the colored people were doing very well, all help ceased.

It was the instinct of concealment in the negroes which so covered over the facts of the case from the visitors that they never even suspected the truth. This instinct of concealment is powerful yet in the race, and most powerful where there is the least intelligence. When questioned they will answer or deny as they think will please you and make them stand well in your eyes. They are very shrewd. They will give you the information you want, provided it be not true. If true, and if it be such as would excite your disapprobation, you cannot get it. They are suspicious of all inquiries. It seems to them that your only object in desiring to know anything about them is in some way to do them harm. An ordinary negro simply will not tell you the true facts about his life, or the lives of his friends, or the habits of his race. An educated negro may answer truly, after a struggle with himself; but then he will tell you no more than he perceives you know already. The instinct of his race is strong in him, and will be strong in his children, probably for generations. There are a very few highly educated ones who will do more; but their own race call them "white folks' niggers," look upon them with suspicion, and conceal from them as carefully as from the whites. There are exceptions to this, too, for I know myself a few educated colored men who are not afraid to tell the truth about their race, and who yet possess the confidence of their people; but I am giving facts that are generally true.

THE EFFECT OF FREEDOM.

With freedom came a great subsidence into evil. The outward restraint was gone and they rejoiced and revelled in following out the bent of their passions. Hundreds and thousands of marriages were at once dissolved without formality, and new ones formed also without formality. For several years immediately succeeding the war, the great mass of the negroes were continually migrating from one district to another, with the intent that if slavery were restored no owner should be able to find his own slaves again. Many families moved together in this migration, but very many more broke up and separated into their component parts. Liberty meant license to most of them. Slavery had forced them to work, freedom should give them rest. What we call laziness and vagabondage, they called freedom. Agriculture was carried on during those years under very great difficulties, and with each season there was a great change of laborers. Live stock disappeared through the whole South like magic—killed by the negroes for subsistence. A single year of freedom caused as much as or more loss to the South in this item, than all the gigantic loss and destruction of the four years of war. Amongst the white people there were terrors and alarms everywhere; there was a state of apprehension, of excitement, of fear, and of anger, that was but little short of anarchy. While amongst the negroes, amid all their joy and exultation there was, underneath the surface, a seething mass of new sins of a character indescribable—unnamable.

Simultaneously with this great outburst of evil negro churches sprang up everywhere, built largely by Northern money, in which there were shouting, praying, singing, all manner of excitement, hysterics, trances, loud calls upon God; but in which there was no religion, at least none of that kind which has its issue in an holy, humble and obedient walking before God.

The colored people did not believe that religion had anything to do with conduct and resented any attempt to convince them of it. The first effort I made among them was to open a night school on a plantation on which I was working some fifty hands

just after the war, in 1866, before I became a Clergyman. To this school all the colored people on the place came and some from neighboring plantations, three times a week and on Sunday afternoons, to learn to read, and to hear the Bible read and explained. For a month or two all went well, until one Sunday afternoon, when I read and explained somewhat carefully the Ten Commandments. This broke up the school. The men were sullen and would not talk, but the women were outspoken and indignant: "Fo' de Lawd, dat air wor an impersition. Dat mought be white folks' Bible, but 't worn't no hones' Bible. Moses never spoke no sich trash. 'T worn't no sort a 'ligion fur black folks." For months afterwards through all that neighborhood, those ten commandments were used as awful warnings to the colored people to keep to their own teachers and their own religion and let the white folks alone.

PROGRESS SINCE THE WAR.

The seventeen years since the war have brought great changes to the colored race, great improvements in many things to some of them, but no change in morals. The decadence into evil of which I have just spoken, has not been followed by any upward growth in morals. Sins are more persistent than virtues. Their pecuniary condition is greatly improved, especially in the cities and towns. Those of them who are willing to work are in no danger of suffering, except in cases where an utter want of thrift, and utter folly in spending money, overbalances the earning power. They are slowly acquiring property, slowly learning how to take care of what they have. There is certainly in progress a modification in their ideas as to the meaning of freedom, and as to the necessity of labor; and there is a slowly growing feeling that their lack of greater material progress has its causes in themselves, out of which the white people can help them if they only will. But this improvement in condition is not shared by the plantation negroes. I have read accounts of improvement in the country districts in some parts of the South where the white people are largely in the majority; but such cases are but side eddies on the borders of a great stream. The vast majority of the race live

away from towns and cities. We have counties in Mississippi where the black population is twenty or thirty thousand, and the white population only some few hundreds. There we have Africa over again, only partially restrained. In such districts there is almost no improvement in physical condition or in willingness to labor. But what more especially concerns the Church is their religious and moral condition, and in these there has been no perceptible improvement since the great descent into evil after the abolition of slavery. In the midst of a prayer I have known them to steal from each other, and on the way home from a prayer meeting they will rob any hen-roost that lies conveniently at hand; and this without any thought of sin against God, and even without any perception of an incongruity. The most pious negro I know is one confined in a penitentiary for an atrocious murder, who can see no especial sin against God in his crime, though he acknowledges an offense against man. He cannot be made to see that God must be angry with him, and thinks all intimations to that effect in prayer or exhortation, founded in personal dislike or prejudice, or because he is not well dressed and has a sore on his leg. Absolutely he cannot conceive of any other reason or motive for "taking part against him" and imputing sin against God to his crime.

I have known a negro preacher guilty of incest, another of habitual theft, a third with two wives being married to neither, a fourth who was a constant and most audacious liar—yet who were earnest and successful preachers. I could give names, dates and witnesses for these and twenty other similar cases, and it would be easy to find any required number more. Yet the four men of whom I speak were not conscious of hypocrisy, and their known sins did not diminish their influence with their race. It was impossible to hear them preach or pray and doubt their absolute sincerity.

I do not mean to say that all negro preachers are such men, for I personally know those who are not, some of whom I am glad to call my friends; but I desire you to notice the great force and significance of the fact that these sins do not degrade their ministers, nor materially lower their standing in the colored churches.

All over the South they are now living openly in these sins, and especially one of these sins; and neither preachers nor people regard them as sinful or as militating against ministerial duty or acceptance with God. In very many cases the lay leaders in their congregations are men and women of known and open bad character.

There are in all the cities and larger towns, numbers of families who are thoroughly respectable in every way, a credit to their race or to any race, to whom these things are painful and humiliating; but such exceptional instances there always were. Perhaps there are a greater number of such families now than there were twenty years ago. I would not speak positively, but I doubt it. On the other hand, in all the country districts the removal of the restraints of slavery, such as they were, has resulted in an open abandonment of even the semblance of morality, and the loss of almost the idea of marriage. Why, in one county in Mississippi there were, during twelve months three hundred marriage licenses taken out in the county Clerk's office, for white people. According to the proportion of population, there should have been in the same time twelve hundred or more for negroes. There can be no legal marriage of any sort in Mississippi without a license. There were actually taken out by colored people just three! I ask you to ponder the significance of this fact. Soon after the war the legislature passed an act legalizing the union of all who were then living together, marrying them whether they wished or not; and for years afterwards the courts were crowded with applications for divorce from colored people which had to be granted mostly, since there was ample cause for divorce under either the divine or the statute law. I know of whole neighborhoods including hundreds of negro families, where there is not one single legally married couple, or couple not married who stay faithful to each other beyond a few months or a few years at most, often but a few weeks. And if out of every five hundred negro families one excepts a few dozen who are legally married, this statement will hold true for millions of the colored people; and these things that I tell you to-night are but hints. I dare not, I cannot tell the full truth before a mixed audience.

It is utterly useless to deny these facts, for they can be substantiated by overwhelming testimony from both white people and the better class of colored people, and especially by personal inspection if any one doubts testimony; and it is worse than useless to shut our eyes to the facts. The colored people are among us for all time. They touch us at all points. They affect our political life, our business life, our social life, our religious life; our very civilization in the years to come will be, must be, largely influenced by them. If they were decreasing in number, or improving in morality we might rest in quiet, and let time solve the question. But the weighty fact is that they are increasing in number, increasing much more rapidly than the white people, and are *not* improving in morality—the statistics of marriage licenses show this—and the heaviest percentage of increase is among the most ignorant class of them, those who live on plantations. We can not afford to leave them in their present condition; were there no other motive self-preservation alone would demand of us that we make a great effort towards bettering it. The public school system is inadequate. The people are widely scattered and only half of the population pay taxes, for the great mass of the negroes have no property to tax. To pay for schools for themselves and the colored people too, is a burden beyond the ability of the white race. It is a heartless thing to blame the Southern whites for not doing that which had they been twice as numerous and twice as rich, would still have been far beyond their means.

The great facts stare us in the face—that the race is increasing largely in numbers; that since the war but few of them have come up above the moral level of the race; that the average level in material prosperity is but little higher than it was before the war; that in morality there has been a great deterioration since the removal of the restraints of slavery; that there is now no upward movement whatever in morals, and if there is any change it is downward.

Brethren, consider these facts! See the awful meaning of them! We see almost a whole race going down into perdition before our eyes; for the Scripture saith that because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Look back

upon the history of twenty years, marked with war and pestilence, and tell me if there has not been a curse upon the South! There is a pressure from God upon us to carry a pure Gospel and a true religion to this people, and woe to us if we refuse.

PLAN OF WORK.

But when we essay to do this duty there are three great obstacles which meet us at once, viz: The reluctance of the white people to work among the negroes; their own profound distrust of white teachers and white teaching; and the fact that they already have a religion which suits them better.

These obstacles can be met and overcome in this way. First find a white parish that is already working among the colored people; not individuals simply, but a parish I can tell you of several such. Begin there, for there you have two of the three obstacles already overcome, and the third one at least partially overcome; for the white people are already working among the negroes and the negroes are already receiving aid and instruction. It will take years to overcome the race prejudice so far as this in any fresh place. The negroes' preference for their own idea of religion must be overcome by carrying to them overbalancing benefits, and by patiently and perseveringly and lovingly trying to teach them better things. But cheap plans will do no good whatever; neither will gifts of money like some recent ones, diffused everywhere. Concentrate your work and make strong centers from which good influences may radiate.

If you build a cheap Chapel for the white race, West or South, they will take it, use it and thank God for it. But the negroes already have cheap Chapels of their own, and do not want yours unless they can practice their own religion and morality in it independent of your control. Suppose you build a cheap Chapel and in it preach to them of Christ—you will quickly find that they know more about Him, or think they do, than you do, and will out-talk you with a fervor and unctiousness that will put you to shame. Tell them the story of the Cross—there is no white congregation that will be half so responsive. The air will be full of thanksgivings and exclamations of worship; but they will not

therefore forsake one sin or practice one virtue. If you be very young and innocent, or if you be a stranger from the North, you will come to the conclusion that these people have been greatly maligned and abused, and that they are more devout and more religious than the whites. While in this frame of mind you will simply be an instrument of the devil to keep the negroes down; since ignorant work based upon false conclusions, is at least as bad as none at all. For heaven's sake let us have our eyes open and know what we are about in this matter. If in your cheap Chapel you strike at the root of the evil and insist that religion must govern the actions, if you insist upon virtuous, truthful and honest lives, and if you rebuke openly for sins in these matters; then the negroes will forsake your cheap Chapel, and go to their own cheap Chapels where they can be as fervid as they please and free from an inconvenient morality. No, cheap things are useless. Let me sketch out a plan.

Find a parish in some of the larger centers of population, where the native white people, who know all the conditions of the problem, are already at work among the negroes, and strengthen that parish for that work; so will you encourage the white people where they greatly need encouragement, and will build up where it will do the most good, a feeling of protection and kindness towards the negroes. And so, also, will you obtain permanency for the work, for parishes do not die as individuals do. Give such a parish every facility for its own work as well as for this missionary work. Build a transept for the colored people if it be thought best for the two races to worship together, separate, yet upon one floor and under one roof and toward one Altar, as they are separate in race yet worship one God—which seems to me to be the true and catholic idea—or build a separate Church for the colored people, if that be thought best; only in this case have it close by, so that the white people can go there to hold classes and teach, and will be personally interested in keeping it morally clean and sweet.

To this end the white people must own the property, holding it as trustees. Make the Church attractive, warm in tint, decorated—so as to please the negroes' love of color

and form. Give to it a good organ, not a melodeon, but a good church organ, and an organist who can teach the colored people to sing. Let the service be full and rich, with choral song and plenty of it. These things will be irresistibly attractive to them. Furthermore, give that Church a day school. Education and religion must go hand in hand if you would permanently elevate the negroes; while their facilities for obtaining education are so defective and their craving for it so great, that by this alone you would win their undying gratitude. But if you would chain the white people to the work and make them enthusiastic over it, you must give them such a school also; two schools, one for themselves as well as one for the negroes. They too need and crave education for their children, while all over the South the facilities for obtaining it are scanty and the cost is great. Surely you will not have less sympathy for the white people than the colored? Two schools will double the expense, but I tell you that this is the true way to succeed. You simply cannot evangelize the negroes on any large scale without the aid and sympathy of the Southern whites; and you will show but a cold Christianity if you are blind to the needs of your own brethren and alive only to those of the negroes. Give to your workers as well as to the work; so will you unite the two races by mutual benefits as they must be united to attain any permanent success. The white people will know that you help them because *they* help the negroes, and this will bring you love and gratitude and faithfulness from both races. I urge this point with great earnestness for it is my firm conviction that in it lies the key to success, certainly to any great success. Devise liberal things if you would have liberal returns.

Besides the schools, give to this parish an hospital. There can be one ward for poor white patients, but the hospital should be used mainly for the negroes, who need it most. Hundreds of them die for lack of medical attendance and medicine, and because of careless nursing and insufficient nourishment. Give also a building for an Orphanage. These, the schools, the hospital and the orphanage, would need endowment, for neither the negroes nor the white people could support them. It is enough to require

of the white parish that it shall furnish the workers to give *life* to your gifts to the negroes.

Further, supply facilities for a labor intelligence office, for reading rooms, for a library, for a night school for the benefit of those who can not come in the day time, yet want to learn ; also for a sewing school to teach this most necessary part of a woman's work, and by and by to train seamstresses ; also for mothers' meetings. In almost every town of any size there are a number of ladies ready to band themselves together to work for the Lord Jesus in any way that the Church may point out to them as their duty. They only ask for food, clothing and a certainty of care in sickness and old age. I can find twenty such, ready for this or any other work, asking no wages, but only a home. Give to this parish, now, a Sisterhood Home. You may call them Deaconesses, Sisters, or what you will, only give them a house to live in and a modest income to live on, and they will do your work thoroughly and well with hearts and hands. Were they to work exclusively among the white people they could support themselves ; but *you* will want them to work among the negroes also, for you, to be your teachers and nurses, your agents for Christ's work ; and the negroes cannot pay even the little they would ask. Build them a home, therefore, close to the hospital and school and orphanage, and provide them with an income sufficient for their modest wants, and they will carry on these institutions for you. I have had recently applications from colored women of the better class, asking to be sent as servants to such a sisterhood. Some of them had heard of my desires for their race and seemed to think that the accomplishment was near at hand. They would gladly cook, wash, nurse the sick in the hospital or care for the children in the Orphanage under the direction of the white sisters, without wages, if they could only be sure of a home.

One thing more ; there ought to be industrial schools added to such an institution, that the colored youth might be taught trades. These are costly, but their value is simply beyond estimate. The Hampton Institute in Virginia, is doing a noble work in this respect as in others. Would that we had a Hampton in Mississip-

pi. Had we such, it ought to be stronger, more positive, more radical in its teachings concerning religion. The mass of the negroes have a false religion. I emphasize this. It is a false religion ; and the right teaching should go down to the very roots of the matter.

When you have such a parish thus equipped, you will have the negroes looking on and saying: "Is that the white folks' religion? To educate our children, to nurse the sick, to care for our orphans, to help us get work? The Lord Jesus must be there : we will go and learn of him."

Do you see my points? First, that the negroes are not yet well enough educated, not yet on a high enough level to make good use of any help you may extend to them, if left to themselves. Second, that the Southern white people who know all about the race and how to deal with them, are the only ones who can work judiciously to lay sure foundations. Third, that you must engage the interest of the Southern whites by helping and strengthening them also; for by this means you will most surely stir them into action, both by awakening their consciences and by showing them a feasible plan of work.

APPEAL.

Brethren of the North, we do not need any man to tell us our duty. We know well enough what it is; but we are appalled at the gigantic difficulties in the way. We do not wholly agree as to methods of work, but that is because we see no way of doing anything without the expenditure of more money than could be raised in all the South. It seems a hopeless problem for this reason. One thing we are agreed in and that is that work should be concentrated. A little here and a little there are simply wastes of money and time. What we need is a plan beyond which we can see success, and money enough to support that plan. I tell you that the Southern people are heart-sick at seeing failures, until at last they have become contemptuous. Various Northern Missionary bodies have poured money into the South since the war, by the hundred thousand; and every dollar of it, so far as I know and believe, which was not given into white control, was wasted. The Methodists,

for instance, would not consult or trust their own white brethren South, and are punished for it by having done harm with every dollar; building up strongholds, meant for God, but which the devil occupied in disguise, and taught the colored people to worship God with their lips but himself in their daily lives. And so when Northern Christians of any name propose to help the negroes, the Southern Christians draw back with a feeling of despair mingled with anger, that God's servants should in wilful ignorance build up the kingdom of evil. I tell you that in most of your efforts you have done harm, and Southern Christians of all churches know it; and hence you can not get their sympathy nor their countenance. Let not our Church repeat this folly. Send no Northern Missionaries down here who barely know a negro when they see him. Work through the Church South, and be not too close handed to do something for your workers also; and then you will enlist those who thoroughly know what they are about, know how to reach the colored people, who love them with the remembrances of childhood and youth and manhood as strangers never can learn or grow to care for them; and who know how to deal with their weaknesses and how to encourage their virtues.

Christianity is not dead in the South, nor the spirit of God Most Holy, nor love for the Saviour who died for all races and kindreds, nor sympathy and sorrow for human souls that are perishing. I tell you that many a Southern heart is aching to-day from a sense of duty undischarged. But we are not equal to the task alone. It is harder to build up a race than it is to destroy it. You freed the slaves and then left them on our hands, and it is too great a burden for us. Blood and trouble have come of it so far and for this you of the North are largely to blame. You must help us if anything is to be done; and so we call upon you in God's great name, and for Christ's dear sake, to come now and come quickly with aid commensurate to the greatness of the task.

When you have built up one parish in the way I have suggested, take another. I can find you a succession of them. Ask of our Bishops, they know. By the time that you have finished with two or three, you will find fifty more awake to the fact that something can be done, and that a way has been found to do it.

But do not imagine that you are conferring a favor upon such a parish, for you will be in reality laying a heavy burden upon it, heavier than you know or can imagine. Do not think that such a parish ought to be grateful to you. If you give in such a spirit, keep your money; I know of no Southern parish that wants it. Grateful we ought to be in one sense, but not as for a bounty. If we are willing gratuitously to work for you among the negroes, for you as well as ourselves, at a cost to ourselves, of recoil overcome, of time given, of anxieties assumed, of weariness and doubt and discouragement and discomfort and suspicion of personal ends—in such case the gratitude should come from the other end of the line.

Trust us, brethren; have some sympathy for us in the very greatness of the task before us; trust us and you will meet with a response of thanksgiving and gratitude and love from both races that will astonish you.

And may the Almighty Father, Who bends in loving pity over all His children, to whom the negroes are lifting up ignorant hands beseeching Him to have mercy upon them, worshipping Him and desperately sinning against him in one breath—may He, Who is wise and gentle, loving and tender, teach us how to lead poor Africa to the Throne of God.

ENDORSEMENTS.

LETTER OF THE

REV. ISAAC McCOY WILLIAMS,

A COLORED CAMPBELLITE MINISTER OF JACKSON, MISS.

“The Relations of the Church to the Colored Race,” is the heading of a speech delivered by the Rev. Dr. Tucker, in the “Congress” of the Episcopal Church, held in Richmond, in October, 1882; a speech which has had its full share of criticism, for and against it, North, South, East and West. With many it seems impossible to be true; and to others that if true perhaps it would have been best not to have said it, at least not so strong. “May he not do more harm than good to himself as well as to the colored people?”

This very important question, the relations of the Church to the colored people, demands the serious and prayerful attention of Christians and citizens of the whole country; for it is a grave, deep and momentous point that the Nation’s God lays a suffering Lazarus at the door of every white congregation in the land. I know that a very large portion of professed white Christians stultify and silence the labor of their own consciences, persuading themselves that “I have nothing to do with the colored race,” and in vain try to drive the matter from them. But it still comes, and forms no small part of mind matter; and it is the will of God that it shall be so until the Church enables the colored race to care for themselves. And that cannot be until the negro is made capable of the trust, by an intelligent christian morality, growing out of just what has been said by Dr. Tucker, viz: Good and well managed free schools, that will be open to all, and an intelligent Christianity which alone can lead them to know their duty to God, to themselves, and their neighbors.

To properly understand this grave question it will be well to do as has been done by Dr. Tucker, in going to the root of the great evil to combat it. And no one or ones can act wisely in the premises, who stop short of that task and labor, of finding out what are the true needs of the race, to learn thereby what becomes the humane duty of the Church.

Now it is true that the speech uncovered and made bare to the eyes of that assembled body, startling facts, that no other man has had the Christian manhood to touch, no, not with his little finger. Yet it will take but little study to learn that it is true; shame as it is on American civilization and its religion that from five to six millions of citizens, so made by hasty legislation, to-day are in ignorance and are left in ignorance of their true manhood; and but few know how to handle that sacred, God-given right the ballot, with which they have been entrusted. When we were made citizens we should have been taught how to be good ones.

I need not say that slavery kept us in a semi-barbarous condition, for no one will deny that. The only thing slavery needed was a strong and able body. Knowledge was at war with slavery and laws were made against educating us, and at this time we have but few well educated men or women of the colored race.

It may be asked, is the country safe from misrule and bad government with such a state of things existing? It cannot be. The few men who have made themselves leaders are led themselves by the men known to be politicians, and all that politics wants is the vote, but cares nothing beyond that, or what becomes of the man who casts the vote. In this it is like slavery and has no use for knowledge or true manhood. It seems to me that the colored people are in a hard case. Slavery used their bodies and politics uses their votes; and the one cares as little as the other that they are full of wounds and bruises and putrefying sores. So first the South and now the North roll them into the ditch, and pass by on the other side.

The Church can see the condition of the heathen when they live abroad, and hundreds of thousands of dollars are annually sent away to convert them. To this no one should object. But should not more be done for *us* to make this in fact a Christian

country, by following what has been said by that true friend of the colored people? We need schools and true churches and a pure religion, and young men at study to by and by fill our pulpits. Schools to teach trades also, and educated men to help us up to a true and dignified manhood.

I thank God that the attention of the Church has been called to this matter, and firmly believe that God has put it into the heart of His servant to speak the truth, and stand what may come. Some colored men are offended at his utterances, and some white men, who must either be blind or have some object, deny the truth. But it will in time be seen that he not only spoke truthfully, but has made a base of action which no one has done before, for those who only wanted to know how to do. Let the Church awake to its responsibility, and stand ready to receive and use what the people will give to build up the machinery for the elevation of the colored race; and it will be seen in our country in good fruits, in peace and prosperity and the blessing of God; in the negroes out of politics and into good citizenship, based upon sound principles of integrity and morality.

This speech reveals humiliating facts, so truthful, yet hard to acknowledge. Not one of our social circles, if we can be said to have any, are clean morally. They are full of base, downright hypocrisy and falsehood, and full two-thirds of the whole are members of the Churches. Moral character is not the standard. Crimes that should cause a blush on fair cheeks assume a front of brass, and defy you to speak of or talk about them. Some of them are school teachers. Public opinion among the colored people is not up to the task of duty they owe themselves and their children. Many of our people will not join any of the colored churches on the sole account of the bad lives of the members; and the ministers cannot make them any better. A colored man only a few days ago, contended with me that the negroes were right in certain of their practices, because the Lord Jesus Himself said that seven women should lay hold of one man. We have no Church that cares for its sick, old and poor. Many such are now on the streets begging bread and suffering with cold; and not unfrequently fill a pauper's grave.

I close this for the present by saying that *the half* has not been told. Our youth have no restraint upon the *worst* of passions, and are strangers to good manners. Our boys and girls curse. Boys go to Sunday Schools with weapons on them, and draw on each other as soon as out on the streets.

The remedy can only come through the Church of Christ. Oh send over and help us! The colored people are very tired of the past. The Bibles, Prayer Books and Catechisms are doing a good work, but so much more might be done with more to do with.

ISAAC M'COY WILLIAMS.

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We fully concur in the foregoing letter of Bro. Isaac Williams, having personal knowledge of the facts. We were slaves ourselves, and are now Ministers of the Gospel in Mississippi and Louisiana. Our acquaintance extends over from seven to ten thousand colored people, concerning whose lives we know the truth; and that truth is set forth, without exaggeration, in Dr. Tucker's speech. There are exceptions, but the general truth is stated exactly as it is. We agree also, that he has only given hints as regards many things of such a nature that only hints were possible. We are trying to teach our people better, but we are poor and don't know so much as we wish we did. We agree further that we don't know why anybody should deny these facts, since everybody who lives South knows them to be true—except the politicians who may want to flatter the negroes for their votes. We have met several colored preachers who told us that the speech was all true, but they were afraid to say so, because the politicians would make it hot for them. After talking it over we have determined, for our parts, to acknowledge the truth and take the consequences. The Lord, we hope will take care of us, if our own race do turn against us. The facts stated are true. The colored people mostly have a system of religion that does not influence their practical lives. Reader, will you pray for us that our faith fail not. Now, O Lord, help us, when our own race say that by writing this we have joined the whites against them. Give us intelligent Christian leaders who will fear Thee more than men; that guided by thy word we may grow up to the full measure of men; through Jesus Christ, our Lord, Amen.

REV. W. R. PARKER,
Point Pleasant, Tensas Parish, La.

REV. DANIEL JACKSON,
Redick Station, Jefferson Co., Miss.

REV. R. J. WERMINGTON,
Port Gibson, Miss.

REV. J. N. HOWARD,
Point Pleasant, Tensas Parish, La.

• I believe the statements of the Rev. Dr. Tucker, with regard to the native character and disposition and present condition of the negro, to be true; while yet I would not impute the same to many of that race, now amongst us, who have so largely been benefitted by their association with the whites. Of these exceptions, however he has sufficiently spoken.

Dr. Tucker's arduous labors and untiring zeal in behalf of that race and his large experience with them, entitle his statements to the full belief, and his efforts to the charitable aid, of all who feel for their spiritual need.

W. M. GREEN,
Bishop of Mississippi.

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Dr. Tucker has read to me the foregoing address, an expansion of some remarks made by him before the Church Congress held in Richmond, in October last. It will strike many who read this address that he has given a very sad and gloomy picture of the moral condition of the negroes of the South, and it may be inferred that it is almost a hopeless task to undertake to improve that condition. But sad and gloomy as it is, it is not overdrawn. He speaks the truth plainly and emphatically; and I, who have lived among the negroes of the South all my life, and have given much time and labor to their instruction, both as slaves and as freedmen, know whereof he speaks, and am forced sadly to concur in all that he has said.

J. T. PICKETT,
Priest of the Diocese of Mississippi.

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Responding to your request for my opinion of the justness of the views of your late speech in Richmond, of the aspect of the negro race in the Southern States, I now express my concurrence, both as to the actual general facts of their condition, and, in the sympathy and concern for them manifested in that speech, as well as in your daily life.

These docile people present all the characteristics which a closet philosopher would predict from thousands of years of barbarism, succeeded by a long period of slavery—inherited instincts not to be spoken away by man, nor expunged by proclamations.

Superstition, modified by mere animal religion, jealousy of former owners born of fear, strangely mixed with a filial confidence in them born of habit, a generous kindness of heart dominating even morals, dishonesty, hypocrisy, present indulgence without providence, no economy, no acquisitiveness, indifference of marriage obligations, obliviousness of moral accountability, a ready imitation of the exteriors of virtue with no conception of its springs, quickness to receive the superficials of education without comprehending reasons, facility in acquiring the vices of their superiors while understanding only the forms of their virtues, concealment, hypocrisy—all these are the natural results of long ages of savagism combined with bondage.

Such features are quite common in the white race which has always been free. It is not surprising the negroes should exhibit them as ordinary traits, and in much greater degree. It is surprising that he is not worse than he really is. Like causes would produce like effects in our own race with yet another, worse than all—ferocity.

My observation is that perjury is the most common of all crimes with both races; but while, with the whites, self-interest induces the false oath, with the blacks kind feeling is enough.

Good nature, kindness of heart and a careless generosity; quick and strong, though momentary, sympathy; powerful though rapidly subsiding, enthusiasm; these are the leading good qualities of the Southern negro; and his future is entrusted to the intelligent philanthropy of our whole people.

His re-generation is not to be expedited except by combining the efforts of the intelligent thinkers of his own race, with the capital, and well pre-considered philanthropy, of ours. By himself he will hardly maintain his present plane and will never achieve a higher position.

He stands to-day in equal danger from the flattery of *bad men*,

who would use him, and from the prejudices of *narrow* men, who would ignore him. His real dependence is on the active sympathy of honest men who know what he *is*, and what he *needs* and who speak to him *truth*.

S. S. CALHOON,
Jackson, Miss.

[Ex-Circuit Judge.]

Of all things heretofore written or said on the "negro question," the views presented in your pamphlet are the most satisfactory, because you have struck at the root of the matter. I wish you could have been heard through at the Congress, and yet it may be that your views will be the more speedily spread amongst the much larger constituency—the whole Church. God grant it. I was a Union man through the war, but I was born and lived in the South to manhood, and am perfectly qualified to endorse your pamphlet as being the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so far as it is safe to give it utterance.

LOUIS P. TSCHIFFELY,
Rector of Grace Church, Louisville, Ky.

Yours of the 25th inst., is before me together with a copy of your speech in Richmond upon the relation of the Church to the colored race. At your request I write a "short letter" before leaving home.

I regretted that you did not have time to give your speech in full, but I suppose under the rules of the Congress this was unavoidable. You made a good *diagnosis* but had no time to give us your prescription and this left you open for the time being to misconception. I will confine myself as you wish me to do, to your *diagnosis*. I agree with you that the case is very, *very* grave; so grave as to elicit the sympathy and the exertions of all who wish well to the country and the souls of men. I do not think however the case of the negro to be quite as desperate as you do, at least here in South Carolina. Perhaps slavery was more patriarchal with us than in the South-western States which drained us of the sea-board. Moreover, in South Carolina before the war Christians

of all denominations devoted a great deal of time, attention and money to the religious instruction of slaves, which bore fruit in genuine Christian character; and in some places in this State, at the close of the war probably saved the whites from massacre. Slavery was a schoolmaster to the black man, but when the schoolmaster was turned out of doors and there was no longer any fear of his rod, there very naturally came along with the first years of emancipation a return to many of the vices which belonged to a recent barbarism. I think we had to look for this. But there is a factor at work for the improvement of the negro which must not be over-looked though it is not often considered. I refer to the laws of the States and their proper administration. These now stand to some extent where formerly the master did. The negro is beginning to learn that citizenship has duties as well as rights. Though he will not pay respect to Moses yet he will to the law which says, that a man who is guilty of stealing his neighbors' cattle shall not have a vote. There is more force in such a law than in sermons. Schools must do their part, the Church must do its part, but there will be great moral power in the State holding the negro to the responsibilities of citizenship. Now then as to some of the points brought forward in your address in regard to character. Of course we both speak of the negroes in mass and especially where intercourse with the whites is very infrequent.

Stealing.—As I go over the State I hear of definite improvement in this regard, on the part of the colored people. Stealing is nothing like as common as immediately after the war. Then stock was not safe hardly beyond the owner's call. Not unfrequently men watched their crops by night to prevent cotton and corn stealing. This has in great measure ceased, I think, owing as I just suggested to the administration of law. The negroes respect the white man's crop, and each other's crop.

Suppression of the truth.—Probably color with the ordinary negro is stronger than truth. The Judges of our Circuit Courts could give information here. My own impression is that much the larger part of the testimony borne in court by negro men and women does not count for much.

One point more only, or I shall make my letter too long. I make all due allowance for the many colored preachers and leaders, and other church officers, who to the best of their abilities, are humbly doing their work for Christ's sake, but I am under the impression that in many colored congregations remote from towns, and having little or no intercourse with whites, a preacher would sooner lose his influence by being a democrat than an adulterer.

In conclusion, I quite agree with you that the co-operation of the Southern whites should be enlisted in all church-work among the colored people; and to bring this about, so that the one shall give and the other receive instruction, having due regard each for the other as servants in the same vineyard, *hic labor, hoc opus est*. But all things are possible to them that believe, and the love of God can bridge the chasm between them. The deeper the moral degradation of the mass of the blacks at the South the louder the call upon the whites both North and South to come to their aid.

W. B. W. HOWE,

Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina.

I have read with great interest your very able speech delivered before the Church Congress in Richmond, Va., last October. I thank you for your kindness in sending it, and fully concur in your belief in regard to the status of the negro, both as to morals and religion. I write this (as you spoke that) in all kindness to the colored race. I have been much interested in the negro population since the war, both as to their prosperity and intellectual acquirements. I offered, soon after the war, to teach a number of them gratuitously, but not one came to be taught. I do not believe for a generation or so there will be much improvement in the race. The old must die before the young will improve intellectually or morally. I believe the best plan would be to establish Normal Schools for them, (such as we have at Hampton, Va.,) where the young can be educated to teach others. Had we many such schools, there would no doubt be much improvement,

even in this generation. I am glad to see one man bold enough to speak the truth in regard to the negro. I am sure you have the good of the race at heart, and I know I have.

ISAAC WHITE, M. D.
Shawsville, Montgomery Co., Va.

I have read your discourse on the "Relations of the Church to the Colored Race" before the Church Congress at Richmond, Va. The picture which it presents of the moral condition of the negro race, deplorable as it appears, is not overwrought. That the discourse has provoked resentful criticism in the North is not surprising. The illusions which most completely blind the judgment and which are the most difficult to dispel, are those which minister to our vanity and pride. The Northern people are proud of emancipation; the world applauds the achievement. Not content with a just and rational appreciation of it, the Northern people have sought to magnify it by investing the negro with virtues and capacities which he does not possess; and the white master with odious and repulsive vices, from which, in a great measure and in a great majority of cases, he was free. It may be that what are illusions now were not illusions at the beginning. There was a time when it was deemed politic to deprive the Southern people of all sympathy abroad. People easily impose belief on themselves. Voltaire said of Mahomet that he began by imposing his religion on mankind and ended by imposing it on himself. The discourse was a rude shock to illusions which had created a cherished ideal. It seems to diminish the value of the achievement. It is nevertheless a truthful exposition of the subject.

W. P. HARRIS,
Jackson, Miss,

What you have said can be verified, but there are other things also true. You have a type of negro beyond us, and you have the vast mass of them,

As Churchmen, having much to do which we cannot touch yet,

we deal with those who are inclined to accept our ways and teachings. We cannot get down into the depths where we have no force or money to deal with the hard problems. The query which suggests itself to me practically, since we are not going to be able to take hold of all the situation at once, and since there is certainly a great amelioration in many aspects of the case of late years, from mulattoes, more owning of parcels of land, more money in the savings banks, etc.,—is it wise to give such fearful accounts as would paralyze effort, and cause the Church to say, “There is no use; they are beyond help.”? Yet it would not be wise, of course to give a rose-colored view of the situation. Your methods of help suggested are wise and correct, and founded on your experience.

C. F. ROBERTSON,
Bishop of Missouri.

As the result of my own personal experience and observation, I am thoroughly satisfied that the statements made by Rev. Dr. Tucker in his recent pamphlet, concerning the present religious condition of the colored population in the South, are abundantly warranted by facts; and, in my opinion, the means proposed by him for remedying this most deplorable state of things, is the very best one yet proposed, which has come to my knowledge.

R. A. COBBS,
Rector of St. John's Church, Charleston, W. Va.

I have read your address with a feeling of deep interest, with a painful sense of the truth of every one of your statements, and with great admiration for the courage with which you have told us all the truth; and the ability with which you have presented it.

I endorse *ex animo* everything you say, and I pray that God may open the minds of men to receive the true impression of the case as you present it, and endow us all with wisdom and ability to meet it in all its painful details.

To two classes of men your *expose* will be exceedingly unpalatable—men at the North, who know little or nothing of the negro, and men at the South, who, forced to admit the truth of your statements, yet do not wish that truth to be so plainly stated. But is it not better for all that the truth should be known? If the Church has to grapple with the problem of the negro's moral and religious education, ought she not to know all the terms of that problem? Can the case be met, save with an intelligent apprehension of the material on which she has to work, and an equally intelligent application of the means necessary to reach the desired end?

In view of the great issues introduced, I thank you with all my heart for your true and fearless statement of the case.

W. T. DICKINSON DALZELL,
Rector of St. Mark's Church, Shreveport, La.

I have read with great interest your article on the negro race and their religious status. I concur in all your statements and am cognizant of many of the circumstances referred to and know them to be accurately correct. Your theory of unconscious hypocrisy is a new idea to me and the more I think of it the more I am convinced of its truth. I have done for thirty years a large practice, and a majority of my patients have been negroes, and I am satisfied that your portrayal of the negroes' character is more accurate than any I have seen in print and is calculated to do good.

THOMAS H. MAYO, M. D.
Deacon of Columbus Baptist Church.

I have received your "Speech," and can endorse your statements made concerning the moral condition of the negroes of the South as being, in my opinion, substantially true.

FRANCIS M. WHITTLE,
Bp. P. E. Ch. in Va.

So far as my observation goes the morality or rather immorality of the negro is as you picture it. That is a question of fact

which does not admit of contradiction. As to the reason why, there is abundant room for many hypotheses. There are a good many unpalatable truths in your pamphlet; and my experience in preaching, writing and talking unpalatable truths lead me to think that the Northerner will abuse you for abusing the negro, as he will think, and the Southerner will abuse you, because he will think you are reflecting upon him and his ancestors by calling the sin of slavery by its ugly name.

WM. C. McCracken.

Rector of All Saints Church, Grenada, Miss.

By the experience of twenty year's labor among the colored people, I am obliged to endorse the general position taken in your paper. I have long entertained the view expressed in ¶2 page 3, as to God's purpose in bringing the negro to this country. Your view of the effect of Christian teaching upon the African mind may be mainly correct, I had never thought of that, and to them and their immediate descendants the passage on page 7, may possibly have applied, "the great mass of the negroes did not know that they were hypocrites." The rest of the sentence I can not agree with, "and do not yet know it." The gradual improvement of succeeding generations, alluded to on page 8, negatives it, at least in those parts where the Gospel has been truly and extensively preached. I have never been in Mississippi, it may be you are correct as to the masses there. I have heard from friends that the spiritual condition of slaves there was far below those with whom I have been thrown, and I know that there is a wide difference in sections here. Stealing, page 9, too true. Lying is natural to a sinful condition. The epistles show us that both lying and stealing were common among owners, as well as slaves; but slavery no doubt tended to foster both, especially lying. I have read that the Emperor of Russia is the only Russian who does not lie habitually, and he only because there is no necessity or call for it. There is no doubt but that the negro listened to the teachings of *truth* and *honesty* under the suspicion that it was an interested teaching on the part of owners, but I can not agree that there was

the same ground of suspicion in regard to chastity. I do not think that either rebellion against the religion of their masters or the *example* of their masters, had any appreciable effect in shaping their morals in regard to marriage. It is true there are *absolutely* many mulattoes, but on the plantations they were relatively few, and they knew this was the result of disloyalty to Christian teaching on the part of men who made no profession of religion; it was not the result of Ministers' guilty shame nor of impiety on the part of white women. Here the looseness of nature found ready vent on the part of both men and women, for the lash was seldom if ever, administered for this crime. That slavery greatly fostered it as well as the other vices is too true, and that too many masters were the guilty participants is too true, but to my mind the great tendency of slavery to foster all these vices lay in this: there was no loss of social position by the commission of these crimes. If a man stole or lied or a woman was unchaste, it did not affect their position as workers; they lost no caste with masters or fellow slaves. Look around you, my dear, sir and I think that you will find that the pressure of social standing is the control which keeps nine-tenths of non-christian people in the path of morality, and I am afraid a large proportion of professors also. The slave had no social position to lose, and the negro has scarcely any more to-day. I think, sir, that you argue incorrectly when you lay so much stress upon their feeling the injustice of slavery and through rebellion against the master's religion learned to be and play the hypocrite. They never, even in Africa, knew anything but slavery, and by nature knew what it was to lie and steal. Chastity is the only thing perhaps they really were ignorant of. There is not a shadow of doubt that they mixed up the heathen ideas and superstitions of their old country with Christian doctrines. No shadow of doubt that in the mass they deceived themselves with the idea, that their prayers and shouts were sufficient to satisfy God for their immoralities. This is not a race peculiarity as so many of our people say. Israel of old was guilty as a people, Jer. vii: 9-10, and xxiii: 11-14. Too many of our race are guilty to-day. How many Romanists are doing the same thing

under a different guise. The greater part of their false views of religion was due under slavery to a real lack of teaching, and is due to the same cause to-day. In many portions of our land, especially upon large plantations, sermons by enlightened ministers were few and far between. Their own leaders were their chief teachers; this was the only way open for rule and authority, and therefore in the great majority of cases the grandest rascals were the preachers. Since freedom the whites have felt their release from responsibility and the colored people have been left entirely in large sections, to these same leaders, now made preachers. No wonder their religion is what it is under the ban of their color; and so debarred from social position among the whites, it will take generations before they can get up a social status among themselves and their white neighbors, sufficient to counteract the natural tendency to immortality fostered by the influences of slavery.

As a whole, your picture is too true, but the preaching of the Gospel has not been in vain. About four years ago I was conversing with a gentleman on Cooper River. He had lately come there. He remarked to me: "These people (the colored) are almost heathens, compared with our negroes. I have brought some of our people here and they are shocked at the morals here." He came from a section where the Gospel had been faithfully and widely preached to the slaves for years, by a succession of earnest ministers. In the section where he then was, considerable work had been done, previous to the war, though nothing comparative to that of his section, and nothing had been done by white preachers since, or scarcely anything. About half an hour later I met another planter, also lately removed to Cooper River, but from another section of large plantations. He remarked in conversation; "Sir, the negroes of my section are perfect barbarians compared to this people. I could never return to plant in my section of country again." The remarks of these two gentlemen showed the relative amount of Christian work that had been done in the several sections. Now, sir as, to the remedy. You are right in the statement that something must be done by the whites. It has taken generations and centuries, with all the advantages of

social standing sustaining and restraining the unchristian, to bring us where we are; we must be the teachers of this people—part of our national being. You are eminently right in two things; *Southerners* must do the work, and we must “concentrate efforts.” Your plans are most excellent, but can you carry them out? The Episcopal Church in this State had brought many hundreds, even thousands under her influence. With emancipation she relaxed her hold and they drifted into other denominations, though I know that many held on, unorganized, waiting and hoping in vain for organization from the church.

In 1875 I entered the Reformed Episcopal Church and was put in charge of a work among these people. I began with two men who had been under my ministry for ten years, four others I took for daily instruction, they could scarcely read; it was slow work but after about four years, I had some six or seven at work, radiating from a centre. I now have twelve ordained men of good moral character, of good report from all around, with nineteen organized congregations and about fifteen hundred communicants. All in these congregations, are not, of course, models of Christian propriety, now and then some fall, but on the whole, there is a wholesome influence emanating from every congregation. I mention this to illustrate two points; first, white influence and control must be exerted. Second, this must be mainly impressed upon colored ministers, who can reach their own people and impart to them the truth first impressed upon themselves by constant, daily prayerful exposition of God’s word.

P. S. STEVENS,

Bishop of the Ref. Epis. Ch.

Concerning Bishop Stevens as an authority on this question Mr. Benj. R. Stuart, Principal of the Charleston Classical School, says as follows: “Before the Rev. Mr. Stevens became a Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church, and since, he has labored more unremittingly and usefully and devotedly to christianize the blacks than any man in the United States. In my judgment he is the very highest authority we in South Carolina possess upon religion among the colored people. I wish you to know from an unpreju-

diced witness what manner of man, I, who would not unite with the Reformed Episcopalians for any consideration, believe the Rev. Mr. Stevens to be."

I have read very carefully and with deep interest the speech of Rev. Dr. Tucker, on the "relations of the Church to the Colored Race," materially enlarged since its delivery.

It is the most striking and convincing statement that has appeared since the war; and the many points, especially those of the moral deterioration of the colored race and some of their distinguishing traits cannot be controverted. As to this, my own observation, and the admissions made by intelligent and reliable men of that race, are confirmatory throughout.

In the unqualified denunciations, so often expressed, of the evils of domestic slavery, or in its being an unmitigated curse to either race, I do not concur. It brought its benefits and blessings no less than evils, as Dr. Tucker has unanswerably shown. This, however, is a question which does not affect the correctness of his views of the present status and of what should now be done. As to the best mode of elevating the colored race at the South, morally and religiously, in and through the Church, for we know no other, I still adhere to the position taken by me in the House of Bishops, in October, 1874, that it can only be most effectually done by a suffragan, a white man of Southern birth and experience in that work, with the general control and counsel of the Bishop of the Diocese.

The questions that would necessarily arise with the progress of such an organized effort, in its unity and catholicity, under the Bishop—questions as to schools, Parochial organization and representation, requirements for candidates for Orders and a rapidly increasing colored ministry—it would be quite time enough to settle with the growth and development of the work. Wisdom would be given, for the Holy Ghost would be with the Church in that auspicious and long hoped for time of renovation.

Adequate support would have to come mainly from the Church in the North. Should that not be fully extended, the Church in

the South would be forced to struggle on then feebly and slowly to the distant consummation.

ALEX. GREGG,
Bishop of Texas.

I have been accustomed to the colored people all my life in Maryland and Virginia—especially the latter State; not however, on the large plantations where they formed communities of their own, but in the towns and cities, and in some cases on the smaller farms.

My experience therefore necessarily differs somewhat from yours. I recognize, however, in the picture you draw, the fuller developement of what I have myself seen in my life. To sum it all up in a word, the natural outcome, the luxuriant growth under favorable circumstances, of the plant we have in Va., is i. e. The divorce of morality from religion.

The remedy you suggest seems eminently practical and full of promise. I pray God to put it into the hearts of some to give it a trial.

GEO. W. PETERKIN,
Bishop of West Va.

I have read your speech carefully. It is able, candid and fearless. Do you think if Canon Farrar's new book on Early Christianity had fallen under the eyes of the Pagan world of the age he describes, it would have been believed by them? Do you think that the negroes will recognize their own condition as you have described it? or do you believe that where there is so much pronounced opinion at the North, that you will get credit for your statements? I fear you will antagonize rather than conciliate. It is not known that you are by birth a Northern man, and it will be regarded as a Southern man's prejudices.

Your assertion that "the great mass of the negro race in the South, professing religion, have a form of Christianity without its substance; and further, that they have no comprehension of what that substance ought to be—" is as true as anything in Holy Writ. * * * How is it to be expected that it should be otherwise, considering the history of the negro? It has taken

over a thousand years to produce the man of our own race to-day; and, God knows, there is hypocrisy, deceit, lying, stealing and impurity, and a form of godliness without the power thereof, among our own race—enough to call down the wrath of heaven. What wonder that a people whose ancestors 150 years ago were naked savages in Africa, should not have had those traits which they brought with them eradicated under the tutelage of slavery among us? If the world knew as we parish priests know of the immorality of men, of the accepted and recognized habits of youths and young men of the white race, they would not doubt that the negro as a race is all that you have described him. I join issue with you, however that slavery made him thus. Thank God we are now free from that burden of slavery which our fathers left upon us, and which was put upon them when they could not help it.

I am now 55 years old; at 21 I inherited from my grandfather's estate a gang of negroes, among whom were five, still living, whom he had bought as naked savages from Guinea ships. They were tattooed, and spoke to their death, the last of them in 1856, an unintelligible language. All the rest of my gang were the immediate children and grand-children of those who had come from Africa with all those traits deeply rooted in them, such as you have described. Had they not in God's Providence been brought here as slaves, they would never have been permitted to land on our coasts. What people could have permitted thousands of such savages to have come among them as free men? Would life or property have been safe? In slavery they were gradually raised. Among them I have myself met Christians of the deepest piety, of the most beautiful traits of character, of truth, honesty and virtue—rare, but actual. Our friends at the North thought that we had done so much for them in slavery as to transform the barbarous Africans into enlightened citizens, fit for the Senate and the House, for Judgeships and Treasurerships; and that we had made their children the equals in intellect and morality of the children of those who had a thousand years behind them of civilization, education, freedom and Christianity, fit to be educated in

the same schools. We who live among them know better. We know that the immoralities and sins and traits of character which came with them were not eradicated; and it is not only philosophy, it is hard common sense to know that the statements you have made are in a general application strictly true. Slavery was bad enough, but do not let us lay to our doors more than we deserve. A friend from the North, now living in Florida, joins issue with you as to the training of slavery in the matter of the relations of the sexes. Knowing the condition of the Sandwich Islanders, he says that the facts you set forth are the normal condition of all colored races, so that he thinks it is not just to charge the immorality of the negroes to the influence of slavery.

Your plan is a good one; it seems to me that it is the best plan for the whites as well as for the negroes. * * * Your speech is unpalatable; it will not be believed by thousands; but those who are earnest in their interest in this race, which possesses many of the finest natural traits found among men, those persons will hear you; they will think and they will pray, and the best thing to be done they will do. God grant it. My heart yearns to see the Church in earnest, doing its duty to these people, whom I believe are the destined missionaries to Africa.

A. TOOMER PORTER,
Rector of the Church of the Holy Communion,
Charleston, South Carolina.

I have just completed a second reading of your address on "The Relations of the Church to the Colored Race."

At the first reading I was startled, and my whole nature recoiled at the fearful scene it presented of the moral condition of our colored population,—not because it revealed anything that I had not known before,—but because I had never had the question brought before my mind so forcibly, and palpably, and in such a concentrated form. But to-night I sat down pencil in hand, prepared to note down anything which I thought too highly colored, or from which I might dissent, and the result is, that after a second careful and dispassionate perusal, it is my deliberate judgment

that your address as published in the pamphlet before me, contains the truth,—and nothing but the truth,—in describing the present moral condition of the negro race. This conclusion is reached after thirty-five years experience with the race in question.

H. SANSOM,

Rector Christ Church, Vicksburg, Miss.

In reference to the speech, I am of the opinion that it presents the fullest exposition of the subject I have seen, and so far as the correctness of its statements are concerned, I see nothing incompatible with any knowledge I have on the subject from observation, experience or otherwise.

I am fully impressed with the belief that much good will be done if the plan you propose be acted upon and carried out in the spirit which dictates it.

L. HAUGHTON,

Chancellor 1st. District, Miss.

I have had the pleasure of hearing read and carefully considering the speech of the Rev. Dr. Tucker, on the relations of the Church to the Colored Race, and do not hesitate to express my full concurrence in the entire truthfulness of the facts set forth and the general views so forcibly stated. Reared and educated in the South, intimately acquainted with the character and habits of the colored race for years before and ever since the war, I believe Dr. Tucker has rendered invaluable service to both races, and that his weighty words should excite deep interest and move to sympathetic action all parties of the Union.

O. H. MARSHALL,

De Soto Parish, La.

I have read very carefully your speech delivered before the Church Congress in Richmond, and write to say that it has my unqualified approval in every particular. In the first instance, the moral condition of the negro race is in my opinion such as you describe it, nay even *worse*. Secondly, you have pointed out very clearly the only possible way for their evangelization. I need scarcely add that you are at liberty to use my name as endorsee.

H. STRINGFELLOW, JR.,

Rector of St. John's Church, Montgomery, Ala.

I have read your speech with very great care, and wish to say, first of all, that I do thank you from my heart for having written, spoken and printed these words. I believe that the circulation of them must do good, for you have spoken the truth plainly and forcibly, as nobody to my knowledge has done upon this subject before you. In the main I agree to the truth of all that you have said. Certainly I agree that the system of slavery was efficacious in intensifying the condition of "unconscious hypocrisy." I say "intensifying," for I believe that slavery did not produce it, but found it already in the African when brought to this country. Yet do not understand me as finding fault with your statements in reference to the system of slavery. I have none to find.

But I cannot endorse the whole of your speech; chiefly I can not at all agree to what you so earnestly plead for; namely, that the white people of the South must be helped in the same way and the same manner as the negroes. I am sure that you speak wisely and well when you say that only through the agency of Southern white people can the negroes be christianized, and that the efforts made in disregard of their advice and opinion and personal co-operation have been worse than none. But I do not think it true that their own receipt of corresponding benefaction is the condition precedent to their willingness to aid in this work; and I fear that your appeal will be hindered by this statement.

Wishing you God-speed in your noble work and praying, always that our Church may be aroused to "come down" ere this poor race shall die. I am, etc.,

T. U. DUDLEY,
Assistant Bishop of Kentucky.

Cordially endorse every word. T. T. MEADE, M. D.,
Brookhaven, Miss.

Your printed speech on the "Relations of the Church to the Colored Race" just received. My personal knowledge of the negro, in Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia, enables me to endorse your statements concerning his moral condition. I am convinced that the only way of making the negro a sincere Churchman is to educate him in the Church from his infancy up.

C. B. HUDGINS,
Henderson, Ky.

In regard to your statements respecting the colored race, I may say that so far as my observation has extended, which has not been great, you have spoken accurately in regard to the lack of honesty and truthfulness in the negro race—as a rule. I think, too, that the tendency in the past has been, and is largely so now, to separate morality from religion. At the same time I must say that I think there has been some improvement in the race's moral and religious condition during the last few years; as much, perhaps, as the peculiar circumstances of the case would admit of.

M. M. MOORE,
Rector of St. Peter's Church, Oxford, Miss.

I have received and read with interest your speech, part of which was delivered before the Church Congress in Richmond.

Having lived among the negroes for many years and having had every opportunity to study their character I am compelled to say that your statements are, alas, too true. I believe that you have suggested the only feasible plan by which the condition of the negro can be ameliorated. And I believe that many intelligent negroes will endorse your sentiments, and while they deplore the facts, will acknowledge them to be true.

STEPHEN H. GREENE.
Rector Church of the Redeemer, Elgin, Ills.

I received your speech on the "Relations of the Church to the Colored Race," yesterday; have read it carefully and with great interest; and have no hesitation to say that my observation of something more than eight years in this city enables me to say that I think you but state the truth very kindly and discriminatingly.

J. L. TOWNSEND,
Rector Church of the Incarnation, Washington, D. C.

I have just read your speech on the Colored Race, and take pleasure in endorsing it. I have practiced medicine for thirty years among them and know them thoroughly.

GEO. N. SMITH, M. D.,
Pass Christian, Miss.

I have read Dr. Tucker's speech upon the "relations of the Church to the Colored Race," and to the best of my knowledge and belief his statements of the present moral condition of the colored people in the South, especially in the country districts, is in the main correct.

Considerable allowance must be made for many exceptional cases of veracity, honesty and morality; but with this proviso, the general facts of the case are, I believe, as Dr. Tucker states them.

ALEX. MARKS,

Rector of Trinity Church, Natchez, Miss.

I endorse every thing you say, and you have permission to use my name if you wish to do so. I endorse it from personal knowledge and experience, and could say much more than you have as to their improvidence.

J. W. CHAMPLIN,

Yazoo City, Miss.

We fully and heartily endorse your exposition of the African Race in the Southern States.

W. P. BROWNE,

Rector of Emmanuel Church, Winona, Miss.

J. C. PURNELL,

FRANK HAWKINS,

Wardens.

I have read your address in relation to the Colored Race. From forty years residence in the South and pretty extensive observation of the race, I fully endorse the statements of the address and highly approve the remedy proposed. You are at liberty to use my name if you see proper.

WILLARD PRESBURY,

Kirkwood, Miss.

I have read your forcible and graphic pamphlet on the "Relations of the Church to the Colored Race," with unusual interest, and in general with full concurrence in the truthfulness of the picture you have presented.

I do not agree with you that the negroes, when enslaved, had (as stated on page 6,) "the traditions of former lives in freedom

as guides," &c. With few, if any exceptions, they had never been free, either in Africa or in America, and therefore could have had no traditions of freedom.

Nor do I think that the slaves had any lively perception of "the monstrous wrongs of slavery," as intimated on page 11, and perhaps in some other passages. That they felt it as an evil, and were galled by it, is unquestionable, but it was pretty much as they would have felt the misfortune of a club-foot, or any other providential infliction. The ethical view of it, as a wrong, was (as I take it) taught them from without—first, by their own white masters and mistresses, who, fifty years ago, were almost universally abolitionists in sentiment, and afterwards by the political agitation of the question. With these and possibly a few other minor and merely incidental exceptions, not affecting the general statement of the case or the essential and practical questions involved in it, my own views are heartily in accord with yours. It is one of the most vitally momentous of subjects that demand the consideration of the men of this generation, whether regarded in the light of Christianity or statesmanship. I wish that your admirable presentation of it could be in the hands of every thoughtful and intelligent reader in every part of the country.

W. T. WALTHALL,
Biloxi, Miss.

I thank you for giving me the opportunity of reading your pamphlet on "The relations of the Church to the Colored Race."

From a personal observation of about forty years in ministering to this people, four years as Rector of your present parish and the balance in the State of Maryland, I must pronounce your speech to be as thoughtful and true an exhibition of the case as the nature of the case admitted and I pray God that it may lead Churchmen, instead of criticizing, to "consider their ways," and remedy the evil which, I thank God, He enabled you so truthfully and ably to bring to our attention.

MEYER LEWIN,
Upper Marlborough, Md.

Your admirable address on "the Relations of the Church to the Colored Race," delivered before the late Church Congress in Richmond, Va., I have read with great pleasure, and I have no hesitation in saying that every thought in that address receives my hearty endorsement, as being true in letter and in spirit. In saying this, I speak as one having a right to speak on this great subject, inasmuch as I have for three and thirty years been a presbyter of this diocese. I have mingled with the colored people a great deal. I have baptized, catechized, and preached the Gospel to them by day and by night, and were it necessary I could intensify much that you have truly and faithfully stated in your address, but it is unnecessary. Your statements will stand, for they have truth for their foundation, and the Church in the near future will act upon them.

GEO. MACAULEY,

Rector of St. Marks Church, Dalton, Ga.

I have read with care your speech before the Church Congress on "The Relations of the Church to the Colored Race."

What you have said will, I am persuaded, have the effect to "wake up" our brethren at the North, and set them to thinking; even if your words should prove to be somewhat distasteful to some of them. There is a good deal of sentiment indulged, but too little of real practical thought, in connection with this grave question throughout the Church; and for this reason, I am glad you had the boldness to speak as you have done.

While I am not prepared to endorse *everything* in your speech, yet I do unhesitatingly and entirely approve and endorse what you have said about the "effect of freedom" upon the negro; his "progress"—rather, his "advance backward," his moral degeneration—"since the war," and the "plan of work" suggested by you for his true emancipation, moral and spiritual, which is far worse than it was before the war.

The charge that the Northern people are largely responsible for the present moral and religious status of the colored man in the South, cannot, I think, be successfully refuted; and I fully agree with you that a very grave responsibility rests now upon them to

furnish out of their wealth the means that shall be abundantly sufficient to enable the Church in the South to discharge faithfully and successfully the obligations of the whole Church to this race.

These I conceive to be essential points in your speech, for which you ask my endorsement.

JNO. F. GIRAULT,
Rector St. Anna's Ch., New Orleans.

I endorse the statements made by Dr. Tucker concerning the moral and religious condition of the negroes and have no objection to his using my name for that purpose. His statements as to their moral and religious condition are, according to my judgment and observation, literally true.

There are other things in his address from which I dissent.

H. A. BARR,
Oxford Miss.

The above is from one of the leading lawyers of the State, and a most zealous member of the Presbyterian Church.

You are at liberty to use my name as endorsing *in the main*, your address which strikingly presents the indisputable fact that religion and morality are wholly dissociated in the minds of the bulk of our negro population.

H. H. CHALMERS,
Jackson, Miss.

[Chief Justice Supreme Court State of Mississippi.]

I have read with much interest the address concerning the colored people, and the accompanying comments added since it was delivered; the gravity of the subject having occupied a goodly share of my reflections from the date of emancipation to the present hour.

I assure you that it is a matter of gratification to realize the fact, that I have not been alone in trying to mature some plan inviting concert of action on the part of our own people, whereby both races might be benefitted morally, materially and politically. For my feeble efforts in that direction, I have been the victim of a subsidized press, more or less a target of an uninformed and high-

ly prejudiced public opinion, and I might add, a sort of scape-goat for the delinquencies and short comings of a class of politicians, who, for the purpose of advancing their own aggrandizement, are wanting either in moral courage or practical knowledge to deal with the question on other than demagogue issues.

Your straight forward, manly, conservative, non-partizan discussion of the subject comes at a more opportune time; a period, I hope, when disagreeable memories will have less to do with its solution; and the remedies you suggest intrusted to the keeping and administering of the more thoughtful, more discriminating, and less passionate of all concerned. Indeed, I feel so encouraged in reading your address, as to invite the fond hope that both of us may survive long enough to realize the fruits of your patriotic, christian undertaking. The ice had to be broken in the spirit you have manifested; the responsibility of paternity to some definite plan had to fall on the shoulders of some one outside the political arena; and I am truly glad the mantle of conception has fallen to the lot of one who is guided alone by a sense of christian duty, guided by the fidelity he worthily bears to the high calling of a minister and servant of a just and merciful, but avenging God. Trusting that "the bread you have cast on the waters may be seen many days hence" I am &c.,

WM. H. VASSER,
Ex. State Treasurer of Miss.

Please accept my thanks for your kind letter and the pamphlet accompanying the same. I must also thank you for the brave presentation of the Church's duty to the colored people. However much we and other Christians may differ as to the mode of action necessary to cure the evil, I think every true, brave Christian wants to go to the very bottom of that evil and work up from the solid ground of truth. Everything else must fail—truth and truth only can do the work. When they know the truth they shall be free, and when we advance along the line of truth, we shall more and more aid in giving them this real freedom; yea, the "glorious liberty of the sons of God." Whatever dust and clamor we may raise, we must dig down and

unearth these buried souls from beneath the debris of heathenism, slavism, fanaticism and politics, and bring them forth, dress their wounds, pour in wine and oil, and thus by God's help, set them "free indeed."

You have been misled in your idea of the character, or, I should say the knowledge, of the "west coast" tribes. They do believe in a future state. Some of the tribes at least have words of gratitude—the "Veys," have, "issa," for "I thank you." Theft is punished with slavery. Modesty is valued from their stand-point; these are truths I can substantiate, and the failure to recognize them by African travelers I think has arisen from their haste and the superficial study a passer-by gives such subjects. Yea, of necessity must give it, the same thing you complain of in the Northern study of the Southern negro.

I have in my possession a number of African fables which show, beyond doubt, that the native African has the sentiment of immortality, and a true idea of the great characteristics of God; but this knowledge is only in sentiment, not principle; and like all sentimentalized truths becomes powerless as a rule of life and standard of action.

There is another important matter in dealing with the American negro, viz: To separate the negro from the mulatto. The negro is not a white man and does not want to be. The mulatto is part white and wants to be treated as if he were all white. He does not want to be classed among blacks, nor do they want him. This forms the bitter base of discord in Liberian politics, and any system which attempts to treat all as one will certainly prove defective.

Again, I do not think the slavery of America produced the deceptiveness of the negroes here; it may have intensified, but did not produce it. This is born in the life of a heathen, and I think has tended to multiply languages in Africa, even until there are tribes who have a whistle language to use in the presence of strangers when necessary. So this deception forms one of the Missionary's troubles and trials there.

The great stumbling block to the mulatto is he cannot have

social equality. This is the real tug of war after all is said and done; and here we must draw clear lines and conditions and have a full and unmistakable understanding on this point. They must know how far they can come, and by what steps and under what conditions they can gain the highest standard of social respectability. We must define this clearly and truly. If the simple fact of color is to forever and inevitably debar them from the full realization of their hopes in this matter, the sooner they know this fact the better—so that they may form a new aim in life. At present, this is causing them great soreness and increasing bitterness of feeling to the white man—North as well as South. (Yea, he feels nearer to the Southern than he does to the Northern man when they are brought in actual contact.) And it is this supposed cruel injustice on the part of whites that causes the negro as he becomes more educated also to become more miserable and discontented. He wants recognition, appreciation and position. He does not want to be driven away from, but to become the equal of the white man, and be so recognized.

Now, we as Christians, are bound to recognize their good as fast as it is demonstrated and give it the appreciation it deserves, if we would encourage them and help them to rise. Our own moral and spiritual welfare are wrapped up in theirs. To treat them less than Christians is to be less than Christian ourselves. Can any human soul rise to the fulness of its moral status without appreciation? But I am writing too much. Let me say, however, that I think the most natural, true, ready and speedy solution of this matter is for every Christian minister to treat the negroes as real parishoners without any cant or patronizing; but go in and out among them as a Christian man among suffering men, and insist on every communicant doing the same, and keeping the Golden Rule; and the less outside help and organization you have the better, seeing these will tend to hide your kindness of heart from those to whom you minister. They will give the money received and the organization credit and no gratitude to you. An alms house does not make a good Church atmosphere. My work and study among these people convince me, that the more directly

the individual can minister to the individual, the better. The Church and the family are God's two great organizations, and it is a question how far charitable institutions, supported by distant helpers and conducted by paid hands, develop true charity in either giver, doer or receiver. The great needs of the negro are man's sympathy and God's grace. I believe he, by proper management, can be made to supply most of the money needed to educate him.

Such are my views hurriedly expressed. Again, let me thank you for bravely and truly showing the negroes' real state, and giving our people a more clear and definite idea of what is before them.

May God grant us all grace to press forward in this matter until we reach the mark Jesus has set before us, is the prayer of,

C. CLIFTON PENICK,
Bishop Cape Palmas, etc., W. Africa.

In response to a second letter Bishop Penick writes as follows:

1st. I have long felt the inadequacy of words to convey accurate meaning, and especially when used away from the scene and life you would speak of. Words are all conventional and do our best others will not truly read us. Even Jesus himself had to put his life back of his words, and commanded a missionary to stand ever behind the gospel as a living dictionary.

2nd. Negroes consider their safety dependent on deception, and try to deceive strangers; all strangers in every thing, so far as my observation goes; and they argue, "We don't know what use the stranger will make of his knowledge to harm us." One of the easiest, most agreeable and most profitable ways of deceiving is to find out the kind of truth the stranger wants to get and tell him a corroborative lie.

3rd. Gratitude.—The point I wish to make here is not one of degree, but of capacity or fact, i. e. that the West Coast negroes have in them the capacity for gratitude though as yet it is but rudely developed. It is a rare thing to meet with gratitude for your efforts, among that people; but I doubt if any rarer than

among our forefathers before Jesus came with His "good will to men" and "cup of cold water" motives. I believe the vitalizing of all these instincts depends on the gospel power directly or indirectly touching them. Suppose we say instead of, "no idea of gratitude," "their ideas of gratitude reach but little deeper than outward formality."

4th. "Theft punishable with slavery." I believe their law demands that you or any robbed person should say what punishment the thief shall have. But at the same time the whole tribe would try to defend him against your charges. Admit the guilt and they give the penalty; but there as here they do what they can to cover up guilt, if a fellow of their own. Here as with gratitude I only claim to demonstrate their "idea" of the thing and not the degree of vitality in the idea.

5. Modesty.—Here it is far more difficult to convey my meaning. Of course most of them wear very few clothes and much of the person is necessarily exposed. But it is a very rare exception to find a young woman or man by look or gesture conveying an immodest impression. So one may walk through a heathen town full of almost naked people and see less immodesty than in some of our most fashionable streets in some of our best cities. They have an idea of what they call impropriety, which they are careful to observe. To them virtue is secondary to getting money, and at the bidding of parent or husband they give it up, oftentimes, it may be, without their bidding. But here as in the other points named they certainly have an idea of the right and wrong of the matter and violation of these rights cause most of their wars and law suits. The "high Priest" of a tribe would be degraded from his office for adultery. Yet so mixed have they got things that it is a common matter for a man to hire out his wife, or parents their daughter, provided she is not betrothed. I am afraid I am not making my meaning clear, it is so hard to do where all the surroundings are so different. It is a very rare thing to see a native man or woman do an immodest act, or say an immodest word.

6th. The Veys have a very strong word for "liar," Epharwe," also words for lazy," "thief," "virtue," and "gentleness," though

I do not know the words for each. I do know the things signified are common themes of conversation. They are an exceedingly polite people though I can not say their gratitude is very deep. Every time a Vey asks after the health of your household and you reply, "he is well," he replies "I thank you;" and his protestations of gratitude are often profuse.

7th. Slavery is very complete among them and in some cases the master may kill his slaves, but superstition and fear lest the spirit of the departed should return and witch the murderer, is a tremendous restraint. This, by the way, is proof positive of their belief of life after death, if not immortality.

I have tried to throw what light I could on your questions, but feel that it has been imperfectly done. The subjects are so vast and carry in them what at first sight appears so many contradictions that I have refrained from publishing anything directly on the subject. Of course indirectly, these things crop out in many ways from my letters. But though I have been a very close observer and at least a moderate student of the African for years, I am by no means as confident of his real character as I would like to be before publishing anything directly on this head. Yet information true and clear is a "*sine que non*" for successful work among them. Africa is to-day the great problem of civilization. What God has wrapped up in the African race we can not divine, nor have we yet struck the type of civilization which seems likely to develop the fullness of their capacities. It is very chafing in this break neck age to be compelled to go on gathering fragments without being able to put them together in the shape of positive and clear cut result. But I am sure that patience in our searches into the nature of the African people is after all real haste. But by patience do not for one instant infer I mean inaction. God knows we have had by far too much of that already. Surely if we will do the things nearest to us now, we will find ample occupation and get more and more light. Do not let us generalize too far on too small a stock of experiment, but keep experimenting.

9th. I am frank to say that the best specimen of African man-

hood and culture I have ever met came by bringing the African in contact with and putting him under the supervision of white men. So far I have seen nothing that indicates their greatness as an independent people; but certainly their mental, moral and material progress seems most rapid when and where they are coupled with the white race.

Finally, don't get discouraged; you have struck a good and brave blow in what I consider the right direction. That you should be attacked by some and questioned much by others, only indicates that you have made progress.

C. C. PENICK,
Missionary Bishop of Cape Palmas, Africa.

You have stated clearly and as candidly as public print would allow, one of the most difficult and delicate questions now face to face with the American people: the negro enfranchised, his political and moral status and the relation and duty of the people and Church toward him.

For the past ten or twelve years I have had under my control and supervision a large number of negroes and have interested myself in their moral and educational advancement, and can testify with a feeling of deep concern that the truth is but half told in your statements regarding their moral condition or their conception of moral living and acting.

The plan you suggest for their gradual enlightenment is probably the best that can be devised. Young men and young women of their own race must be elevated to a higher standard and then go out and do the work among their people, but for long years to come under the guidance and support of good men who will do this trying home missionary work.

I trust that your plain statements of these facts, appallingly true, and of the trying position of the Church in the South, will rouse the Church throughout the country to grapple this common duty, and that good work, even in our day and generation, may give hope or the moral enlightenment of this race.

F. S. SHIELDS,
Natchez, Miss.

I have read the speech very carefully, and it has not only impressed me with the conviction of your earnest sincerity, but has strengthened the opinion I have for years entertained, that the problem arising out of the moral and religious condition of the negroes of the South, is one of the most serious and difficult of solution, in our immediate future; and that very grave responsibilities and most solemn duties, in connection with its wise and safe solution, are imposed by God upon the Christians of an entire country, and especially upon those of our own Apostolic and Conservative Church.

In my judgment, the Protestant Episcopal Church is specially called upon to extend its strong hand for the rescue of the colored race from influences which now tend to degrade their morals and paralyze their spiritual capacities; and thereby to guard against most serious dangers, which threaten the social and civil welfare of the entire South.

Since my youth, I have resided in the valley of Virginia where the colored population has been about one-fifth of that of the white. With us, the colored people have been more intelligent, better trained, and being under the more direct and personal influence of the superior race, have been of better morals, than those of many portions of Eastern Virginia, and of the planting districts of the South.

I can not, therefore speak with such personal knowledge as others, of those *dark regions*, in our "Sunny South," in which ignorance, vice, superstition and a grossly perverted Christianity, are so sadly commingled. But from my knowledge of you, and of your earnest devotion to the best interests of the colored people, I am persuaded, that the pictures, reluctantly drawn by you, of the moral and spiritual state of the colored masses of the South, who have been under your observation, have been conscientiously and truthfully portrayed. Indeed, I am satisfied by information derived from other sources, that the moral and spiritual evils which you describe, do, more or less, exist in all those portions of the South, in which the negroes are densely massed together. And I will add, that your analysis of the causes, traceable back

to Africa and to the conditions of slavery itself, which have produced such deplorable effects, is not only logical and satisfactory, but is well calculated to excite deep sympathy with, and interest in, a race suffering not only from the taint of original sin, but from the slavery of habits of thought, emotion and action, which it will require wise and heroic efforts to break through so as to bring them unto "the perfect liberty of the children of God."

I will further state, that even in my own most favored region, the currents of moral and spiritual influences, which affect and control the colored people, are wholly distinct from those which govern the whites—they flow in separate channels. The colored people have their own churches, their own spiritual instructors, and their own methods of moral teaching and church discipline; and, so far as any direct influence of the whites upon the religious instruction and training of the negroes is concerned, (except in a few feeble and inefficient Sunday-schools,) the two races might as well be separated by a wall reaching from earth to Heaven. True, where the whites constitute a controlling majority of the community, the refracted rays of their higher moral and religious culture and the light of a more elevating public opinion, may, and doubtless do reach them, and to some extent guide them aright. But, thus far, that is all; as suggested, the races have practically almost nothing to do with each other in respect to the worship of God and the cultivation and growth of the moral and spiritual attributes of a common humanity.

And the great question for the Church is, how shall *its* light be turned upon the colored masses in the South, to enlighten, purify and guide them unto all truth? How (as they would express it) shall the "*white people's* religion be made *theirs*?" How shall they be led not only to see, believe, and shout for joy in believing, the truth, but also be taught to do what God demands, "*to work the works of God,*" as a matter of conscience and daily duty; in a word, to understand and to do what, in its sublime simplicity, the catechism teaches in respect to duty—duty to God and duty to man.

A satisfactory solution of the suggested difficulties, I am per-

suaded, can never be reached (to use a military phrase) by a direct assault; for their works are guarded with sleepless jealousy and suspicious alertness. The only hope of success will be found in some such movement as you suggest, which will withdraw them from their defences; win them to us; and make them, by degrees, submissive and obedient prisoners of Christ and true soldiers of the Cross.

Allow me in conclusion to say, that I have a warm affection for and interest in the colored race. I was born in the midst of slaves, was nursed and cared for by them in my childhood; grew up with them; and I owned them until emancipation came to *them and me!* and I cannot throw off the associations of my life connected with them, or fail to remember and be grateful for their marvellous behavior, during the war, when our old men and helpless women and children were, in many places, left to their care; and as far as I know or have heard, no violence or wrong was done in any single instance by them to those thus entrusted to their keeping. They are a docile and an affectionate race of people; they can be led by the soft hand and gentle, loving voice, a long way; and I have full faith that they can and will in time be thus brought into the fold of the Church, and that by God's grace and by the guidance of the Holy Spirit such efforts as yours will be crowned with success. And if Churchmen, nay, Christian men and Christian women all over our land shall wake up and realize that "the dark districts," of which I have spoken are, in truth, the most important fields for missions in the world—fields for wise and liberal expenditures of money, through local church agencies in the South; and shall act and give as large hearted and godly men should, I can not doubt that the colored people will be gathered into the church, and taught to lead sober, righteous and godly lives; and so be made true men, good citizens and practical christians.

HUGH W. SHEFFEY.

Staunton, Va.

I have read the advanced sheets of your pamphlet very carefully. Feeling the deepest interest in this matter of the present condition

of the colored people; as anxious as you are that the whole truth may be brought out and emphasized in every possible way, I am going to make a suggestion to you. You have taken hold of a subject about which a great many worthy people, North and South, are naturally very sensitive, and they look with suspicion upon whatever seriously touches their life-long prejudices and feelings in regard to the negro race. You have discussed your subject with entire frankness and fearlessness. Under such circumstances, as a matter of course, you been already grievously misunderstood, your motives have been misconstrued, and by interested parties you have been and will still further be grossly misrepresented. The best answer to be given to what has been said and will be said and done by your opponents, to break the force of your fearful array of facts, is to make a faithful statement of your own true relations to the colored race. That statement will put the matter in such a light, that at least it will be impossible to misunderstand your motives in what you have said upon the subject. Unless you do make such a statement, so terrible are the true conditions you reveal, even the unprejudiced and kindly reader may not understand you. I have taken the pains therefore to inform myself of what you have done and are now doing in the interest of the negro. In the first place, although a very young man and of Northern birth, you were a faithful soldier in the Confederate army during the war between the two sections. For sixteen years since the war you have had the closest and most intimate contact with the colored people. In the years 1866-67, as a planter you had large numbers of them in your employment, and that, in what is called "the black belt" of Mississippi; you know all about that, in some respects the darkest side of the matter, about which very little is known by most of those who write and speak upon this subject. Your interest in the race then, was manifested in the organization of a school, which, although a planter, you yourself taught. You have seen and known them intimately in the city of Columbus, where you lived for several years and where you were ordained both Deacon and Priest. You taught several of them in private while you were a Candidate for Orders.

Afterwards in Christ Church, Rochester, New York, you had several of them of Northern birth in your Sunday School and under your pastoral care, and since you have been Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Jackson, Miss., as the head of a colored school and at a great sacrifice for the past five years, you have been daily, almost hourly in the closest contact with them. So then both as planter and voluntary teacher you know thoroughly the plantation negro in the ugliest phase of his life. You know the city negro South, and the free born negro North, have taught both, and I take it few men of your refinement and cultured tastes and intelligence and keenness of perception have ever enjoyed the same opportunity of knowing the negro character. It is from that stand-point and for the good of the negro you have patiently and prayerfully studied this matter. It is from that stand-point you have spoken frankly and fearlessly.

Now then, as to your work in Jackson. In what you call the Unique School, held in your own Church, under your own eye, where you yourself play the organ for them, and where you lead in training them, you have five hundred colored children taken from every social plane among the colored race. In West Jackson you have a class numbering one hundred; at China Grove, an outcome of your work and under your influence there are one hundred and fifty. At White Rock, one hundred and twenty-five. At Hope Spring, one hundred, making in all nine hundred and seventy-five colored children under your influence and in a measure under your eye. And now, to reckon the number to whom those children give you access, you have at least four or five thousand colored people looking towards you and leaning more or less upon you and your instruction. I should say you had some right to speak by authority upon such a subject, and I take it men will listen to a man who so speaks.

A single word more. In your treatment of the subject of the present condition of the negro, it was of course impossible for you to avoid a reference to his condition as a slave. Whether slavery worked good, and only good to him, or evil and only evil, or how much good and how much evil are open questions, and

about which men differ very widely. If those questions could in any way be eliminated from your discussion of the subject, I believe no intelligent Southern man would withhold from you his unqualified and emphatic endorsement of what you say in regard to the present condition of the negro.

WM. MUNFORD.

Rector of St. Paul's Church, Columbus, Miss.

From the Kentucky Church Chronicle, Feb. 1883.

WORK AMONG THE NEGROES.—Much has been written recently upon the subject of Church work among the negroes, but we have seen nothing that gives so true a presentation of this difficult problem, as the speech of the Rev. Dr. Tucker, of Mississippi, delivered at the Church Congress in Richmond. This question has been too much involved in politics for an unbiased discussion. Prejudice and sentiment have warped the judgment of most writers, while ignorance has prevented a clear comprehension of the problem, even by those most deeply interested in its solution. In Dr. Tucker's speech, however, we have a fearless presentation of the awful facts of the case. Facts gathered from a long experience in patient, faithful work among the negroes, and prayerful and intelligent study of the whole question. No one who is familiar with the negro of the South can read this speech without the conviction that it is the product of one who, laying aside all fear, prejudice, and sentiment, has calmly spoken the words of truth; and we would urge all who would have definite, accurate knowledge of the religious condition of the Southern negro to read this speech. There has been too much profitless work among the negroes leading to discouragement, because it has been ignorant work. These words of Dr. Tucker show us clearly the condition of the negro race, and suggest a simple, feasible plan of working among them, that will, under God, bring forth much fruit. This is a work for the whole Church, which will require workers and money. The South will furnish the workers, men and women, cleric and lay, black and white, if the North will supply the money.

From the London "Spectator" (Oct. 14th, 1882,) on the Portugese Expedition to West Africa.

No writers place so low an estimate upon the West-African tribes as Ivens and Capello, who gave the following account of the Bihenos, natives of one of the richest tracts of territory in the interior of Africa, and much superior to those tribes whom they afterwards encountered:—

They live in a beautiful country, where there is nothing ugly but mankind, in a delicious climate, so that they need not guard against either heat or cold, on a soil so fertile that they need never dread want; and—these writers tell us—the pigment of an African negro is a perfect protection against the electrical influences which disturb the European in those climes. The writers confidently assert that the Behenos have no notion of the existence of a Creator, and no idea of a future life; fetishism has no relation to such ideas, but is merely concerned with the present. They are ready, handy and business-like. The women do almost all the field work; the men exercise certain mechanical arts, work in iron and even manufacture steel. The usual routine of difficulties about portorage, desertions, loss of bales in fording rivers, thefts, quarrels, intervals of illness, disgusting spectacles, hideous dances, exquisite scenery, beautiful skies, and wonderful vegetation makes up the travelers' narrative. The Luimbe people with wonderful head-dresses, inhabit a wilderness of monkeys, where "huge leguminous plants, whose fruit measures fourteen inches in length, with thick foliage, the trunk covered with a layer of cork, and long, pendent, vermilion flowers, constitute the superior flora." The Sovas are rather monotonous, being invariably dirty, cruel, and mean; but N'Dumba Tembo of Cangombe, is a pleasant variety. He came to the audience granted to the travellers mounted on the shoulders of one of his vassals, a stalwart and nimble negro, who, curvetting and prancing, bore him into the open space severely testing his Majesty's powers of horsemanship. All the "assistance" danced and bawled an accompaniment to the drums, and the Sova's nephew, in command of the advance guard, from time to time rested the palms of his hands upon the ground and threw his heels up in the air, like Dickens's Tom Scott.

From the Southern Churchman.

DR. TUCKER'S ADDRESS.—We have received the speech, which Rev. Dr. Tucker, of Mississippi, delivered in part before the Church Congress, on "The Relations of the Church to the Colored Race." It is a document which should have the widest circulation. * * * * * Nothing has ever been printed which will show so well how great the work is, and how important.

Dr. Tucker calls attention to a matter which Northern men have never understood. These go among the blacks for a brief space and witness their wonderful religious spirit; then come to the conclusion, there never was such a *religious* race! And it is true; but their religion does not change their "character;" it is a "religion" which affects the emotional and not the moral nature; and hence Northern men in the general, have not the slightest knowledge of the work to be done. On the contrary, they think all that is to be done is to give them school instruction, for their religion is well nigh perfect. Yet in the vast majority of cases, they have no *Christian* religion at all; and need to be taught, here a little and there a little, over and over and over again, what be the very first principles of the religion of Christ. In a long conversation the writer of this had with a most excellent Northern clergyman who had visited Brunswick county, we could not convince him that their religion was not the most perfect he had ever witnessed in his life! We gave last week some testimony on this subject, which we found in our Baptist neighbor, the *Religious Herald*. This paper recurs to it again and we read this other testimony endorsed by the *Herald* as coming from "a venerable and distinguished Doctor of Divinity" who says:—

Dear Brethren--Brother Becker has given you some "truth about the South." I will tell you some more.

Near me they have held a "praise meeting" for years, frequently keeping 'me awake till after midnight. Much of the time is spent in "shouting." Sometimes they all stand in a circle, take hands and sing, keeping time with feet, head, hands and body. Again, they shout in pairs. A man and a woman stand a few steps apart, when one says:—

“Bam, bam, bam.” The other replies:

“Who comes dah?”

“Sinner.”

“What sinner want?”

“Confess.”

“Confess to who?”

“Confess to Mary Jones” or “John Smith.”

Then they take hands and shuffle around, saying, “fol lol diddle lol.” This is “fol dol shout.”

Again, they walk slowly and solemnly past each other, saying, “Dem—Geor—gy—rabbit.” Repeating this three times, they take hands and dance around, saying, “come bouncing along, bouncing along, bouncing along.” This is “Georgy rabbit shout.”

It will be hard for some of your readers to believe that this and such as this is a large part of the religion of the negroes in Lower Carolina, but it is true.

A MYSTERY.

Missionaries tell us that when a heathen, whether in Africa, China, or elsewhere, becomes a Christian, he at once becomes truthful, honest and chaste—in a word, “a new creature in Christ Jesus.” These people have had that same gospel preached by white and black, Northern and Southern, yet in *nine cases out of ten*, if not more, it exerts absolutely no influence on their lives. They believe theft, adultery, and lying to be sins, but they fully believe that if they “pray,” especially “in de wilderness,” after each sin, it is as good as if they had not committed it. Hence, theft is almost universal; adultery—they are almost as common as goats. Lying is, of course, a concomitant of the other two.

Why has not the gospel the same transforming power here as in foreign lands? I have preached to them, taught them and their preachers “at my own charges,” as I could, ever since I began to preach, and yet I see almost no fruit of my labor.

As you go into the interior of the State, where they are fewer and more in contact with the whites, you find them better in every respect. But how those of the low country are to be civilized and Christianized, I know not.

But will not education elevate them? As far as my observation extends, this simply makes them vain, idle and vicious. But would not higher education than they get in common schools improve them? I do not believe that "a little learning is a dangerous thing." I think it would be better if all our people knew the "three R's—readin', ritin', rithmetic," than if we had only two classes, collegians and utterly illiterate. I do not know what effect higher education might have on the colored people, nor is it possible to make the experiment. I speak only of what I have seen.

What, then, is to be done with and for them? Well, we must continue to preach the gospel to them, but in doing so "we walk by faith," certainly "not by sight."

W. B. CARSON,

Appleton, S. C.

We need hardly say how very, very sad this state of affairs is; how this statement agrees with that of Dr. Tucker; and what a work is before us in the South, to elevate this race from their darkness and abominable living. And how the religion of this people is misunderstood by Northern Christians is a mystery. They do not appear to have the slightest knowledge; or rather their knowledge is wrong and consequently their efforts misdirected.

* * *

Extracts from the N. Y. "*Guardian*" of Jan 20th, 1883.

A Layman at the South, an intelligent gentleman, long time a resident there, and thoroughly familiar with the subject on which he writes, sends us a communication which we give in full. * *

The sudden emancipation of the Negro imposed new responsibilities upon both races, which were understood by neither; and least of all by our Northern brethren. * * *

The statements of Dr. Tucker, of Jackson, Miss., at the Church Congress in Richmond, are entirely true; for one I thank him for the public declaration of facts as they existed. * *

In the days of slavery, the master watched with a vigilant eye the intercourse between the sexes, as he had a direct pecuniary interest in it; but when the safeguard is abandoned and there are

no moral instincts to interfere, the results are painful to contemplate. Even the marriage relation is not appreciated, and it may well be doubted whether any people can be Christianized or advanced to any extent in civilization, who do not hold this relation as sacred.

The improvement of the negro race is a National question; and was so admitted by the late lamented President in his Inaugural, and the wisdom of the Christian philanthropist and statesman must be invoked.

The race is already more numerous than the entire population of the United States at the adoption of our Constitution, and is constantly increasing; while the area of territory suited to him is restricted by nature. He has been entrusted with the ballot; and in this country where there have ever been, and probably will continue to be, two political parties of nearly equal strength how long will it be, if indeed it is not now the fact, before the negro will hold the balance of power; and vice and immorality sap the foundations of the greatest Republic of the world, and destroy the hopes of mankind?

The negro must be elevated and educated. I use the term elevated first; because I insist that he can not be educated without the elevation of his moral nature; and if he could be, it would be an injury, rather than an advantage. The ground must be prepared before planting.

I suggest, then, that our school houses be closed, and the books locked up for the present; that the teachers be at least doubled in numbers; that they lay off each county into small districts; and in these districts give a lecture every night; to which both adults and children should not only be invited but urged to attend.

Let the lecturer take a single subject, and lecture upon it night after night: until he shall find that it is understood; then take another subject, and so on until he shall believe that the minds of the negroes are prepared for what we call book education. *

A NATIVE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

(The remedy suggested above is a curious one; but the fact that such a plan could be seriously proposed by an intelligent gentleman, is an evidence that the problem is a most difficult, perplexing, and even confusing one.

J. L. T.)

From the Popular Science Monthly, Feb. 1883.

THE AFRICAN IN THE UNITED STATES.—The future of the African in the United States is, in the judgment of many, the gravest question of the day. It must, from its nature, swell in volume and thrust itself forward more and more; and though the evils as depicted in these pages be in their worst forms comparatively remote, yet, if there be real grounds for them, the time for action in seeking and applying a remedy lies in the present. The far-reaching and critical character of the subject demands that it should be approached without political bias, and treated solely from the point of view of the national welfare.

(The writer then enters into an elaborate examination of the census returns, from which he deduces that according to the present ratio of increase, in ten decades the whites of the United States will number three hundred and thirty-six millions and the blacks one hundred and ninety-two millions. While in the Southern States the whites will number ninety-six millions against the one hundred and ninety-two millions of blacks.) The second factor in our argument is the impossibility of fusion between the whites and the blacks. The latter have been, and must continue to be a distinct and alien race. The fusion of races is the resultant from social equality and intermarriage, and the barrier to this here is insurmountable.

* * * The factors in our argument are; 1st. That the black population is gaining on the whites; 2d. that the former is and must continue to be a distinct and alien people.

* * * * *

But what will the upshot be, when the black population, advancing on the white finally outnumbers it? The outlook is most serious. It is a repetition of the Israelites in Egypt, a lower and laboring class gaining in population on the upper, and, as a distinct and alien race, causing apprehensions to the Egyptians. There is a point at which mere numbers must prevail over wealth, intelligence, and prestige combined. Unless relief comes, when that point approaches, woes await the land. This dark, swelling, muttering mass along the social horizon, gathering strength with edu-

cation, and ambitious to rise, will grow increasingly restless and sullen under repression, until at length conscious, through numbers, of superior power, it will assert that power destructively, and, bursting forth like an angry, furious cloud, avenge, in tumult and disorder, the social law broken against it. (After a statement that the blacks will probably always vote together, the writer says:) We regard it as a mistake both for the country and for the interest of the Republican party, that the enfranchisement of the blacks followed immediately upon emancipation. * * .

It was a mistake, we conceive, to have given this privilege to a people just freed from the bonds of slavery, and still characterized as a whole, by profound ignorance; and, that no greater harm has resulted, is because white intelligence has been able to exert a controlling influence and shape legislation. Certainly, while the whites were disfranchised and the blacks politically supreme, the state of the South was intolerable. * * * The ignorance and inexperience of this unlettered mass, fresh from slavery, were immensely unequal to the science of enlightened governing. To the whites it was a matter of life or death. They became a "solid South," as any other people, similarly circumstanced, would have become. Wealth and intelligence gave them the victory, as it ever will, where numbers approach an equality—a victory which does not mean injury to the blacks, but is the pledge for good government and order—the proof whereof is the present peaceful and prosperous condition of the Southern States, for the blacks no less than for the whites, compared with their state of wretchedness, under negro political rule, in the days immediately following upon the close of the war.

We must again ask the question: What, from this stand-point, will be the upshot when the blacks numerically will so far exceed the whites as to overcome the vantage that the superior wealth and intelligence of the latter now give them? The outlook here is no less serious. * * * Who can doubt that, when this day comes, the blacks will obey a race instinct which all their surroundings will have powerfully tended to develop, and vote blacks alone into office? Thus they have done wher-

ever the power existed. Kept, as they are, a distinct and alien race, no other issue is reasonably conceivable. And who can doubt that, under this state of affairs—an inferior and incompetent race completely dominating by mere numbers, a superior one—the worst disorders would ensue? The whites would not submit, and a violent and disastrous conflict of races must follow.

* * The incompetency of the negro to provide legislatively, for the manifold and complex interests of an advanced civilization, would arrest its activities, paralyze its trade, and spread a decline throughout the entire country. These are real and gigantic evils gradually looming up, and they merit the immediate and best attention of American statesmen. [The remedy proposed in the article is colonization.]

I insert this letter as showing the impression made upon the mind of a Northern man, by the negroes of the South Carolina Sea Coast.

From the New York Sun.]

ST. HELENA'S ISLAND, Dec. 15, '82.—This island is about twenty miles long and from two to seven miles wide. Its area is about eighty square miles. It is estimated that there are 8,000 inhabitants living on the island, or about 100 negroes to the square mile. There are no towns. The population is strictly agricultural, and is more dense than in any agricultural country I have ever seen. The people are, almost without exception, pure blacks. I have gathered my information about these people, first from the negroes; second, from the white men who trade with them—Republicans these; third, from the Bourbon Democrats; fourth, from the Independents. I have allowed for the prejudices of race and caste, and I have sunk my political belief and studied these people, honestly trying to understand the questions that arose before me.

These black people are without religion, and I greatly doubt if they have sufficient capacity to understand the principles that underlie the Christian faith. * *

These blacks are thoroughly dishonest. I do not believe this is the direct result of slavery. I have never seen an Indian who was

not a liar and a thief, and I hold that dishonesty is a quality of the blood of all uncivilized people. There is no pretence of honesty among the blacks, one to the other, when by themselves. When talking to a white man they all, without exception, claim to be honest, to be the one negro "ole massa" trusted with the meat-house key. No negro is disgraced by having been imprisoned for stealing. The actual feeling among the negroes is that it is not a sin to steal. The crime consists in being caught. They habitually put sticks and stones in cotton bags. They sand their cotton. During the rush of business, when the weighing-room is crowded with negroes all clamoring for their cotton to be weighed next, they will salt cotton, hoping that it will pass unnoticed in the hurry of trade. Salting cotton ruins it. The salt attracts the moisture, and the cotton cannot be ginned. To obtain five and a half cents per pound for twenty pounds of salt, they will cheerfully, yes, eagerly, ruin \$15 worth of cotton. * *

In the stores the clerks cannot take their eyes off their black customers without some small article disappearing. One clerk must watch the negroes. In some stores an iron rod runs along the outer edges of the counter, some ten or twelve inches above it. This rod is put there to protect the goods, that if the counters were low, could be reached by dishonest negroes. A new clerk is an irresistible attraction to these people. They fairly flock to the store to trade with a white man who has any confidence in their honesty. His confidence in the honesty of negroes is promptly destroyed. The first raid cures him of his folly.

One gentleman told me that several years ago he engaged in the enterprise of raising Irish potatoes for the Northern market. He employed a gang of twenty negro women to dig and gather the potatoes. He was called from the field to the gin house to attend to some business. He was absent from the field for a couple of hours. On his return he passed through a patch of weeds and stumbled over an apron filed with a bushel of selected potatoes. He emptied the apron, and, calling to the line of women who were digging potatoes, he waved the garment aloft and asked who had lost her apron. All the women but one turned

and shook their aprons at him. They jeered and taunted the thief for the rest of the day. That evening when they quit work the apronless woman stood under a tree until all the other women had left the field, every one of them taunting her as they passed. When they were all out of sight she walked up to the white man humbly asked for her apron and got it. Then she made the white man promise not to tell, not to betray her to the other negroes, and on his passing his word to her, she showed him where the nineteen honest women had buried twenty bushels of potatoes while he was absent. * *

The ambition of the young black men who are playing at going to school is to become preachers or members of the Legislature, or clerks or storekeepers. The little education they receive unfits them for field work. To educate a negro is to spoil a plough hand. * * I think it unwise to teach boys and girls higher branches of education until they have a foundation of elementary education on which to build. This these negroes do not possess. I was strongly and unfavorably impressed by the pretence of knowledge made by the black youths and by their self-satisfied air. * *

I judge from what I have been told that the black race is devoid of the sense of gratitude. They can be fed when they are starving, clad when they are naked, nursed when sick, protected from assault, aided in all conceivable ways, and the negro who has been so benefitted will rob his white benefactor on the first favorable opportunity. Of course there are exceptions to this broad statement; but the assertion that the race, as a race, is devoid of gratitude is true. As house servants they are the most aggravating creatures in existence. They are slow, stupid, and thievish. All provision must be locked up, or they will steal it and carry it home. The custom in South Carolina is to have the servants employed in the house go to their homes to sleep. They are not allowed in the house over night; indeed, they refuse to stay, much preferring to go to their cabins. A family of blacks who have one of their number employed as a cook in a white family or in a hotel, are provided for. The cook will steal enough food to sup-

port the family. One gentleman, a rich planter, told me that he bought a cow, a most excellent cow—indeed, quite a wonderful cow—that actually gave two gallons of milk per day. He paid \$40 for this vaccine phenomenon. His cook, an old servant who had been in the family for years, milked the horned wonder of Beaufort Island. Under the manipulations of the colored cook, the yield of milk steadily shrank. At the end of a week this most excellent cow gave but a quart of milk per day. The cook solemnly swore that the cow was a “no 'count beast.” One morning the gentleman arose before his usual hour and gazed pensively out of his back window, which was open. Below him, with her head thrust into the cow's flank, was the faithful cook milking the cow. She lingered long at her task. She was evidently doing her best to prevent the cow from going dry. It took a long time to draw a pint of milk. When the cook had finished milking she stood up and beckoned with her hand. From behind a live oak tree, a small boy who carried a large pitcher in his hand, stalked forth. The faithful cook who had been in the family so long, poured seven-eighths of the milk into the pitcher; then wiping her hands on the woolly head of her son, she bade him be a good boy and not spill the milk on his way home. This gentleman quit housekeeping.

In my opinion the determining factor in the problem offered for solution by these Sea Island negroes is their morals. This is a delicate subject, but it must be understood, so as to comprehend the difficulties that beset the advancement of this people. As I have said, they are liars and thieves, and I now add that almost without exception, the women of these islands who have negro blood in their veins are impure. It is absolutely no disgrace for any black girl to have children before she is married. These people are devoid of shame. Their personal habits are so filthy, that I suspected that venereal disease was widespread among them. On inquiry of the physicians who practice among them, I found I was correct in my inference. The negroes are saturated with this deadly taint. This being the case, and free love in its vilest sense being practiced among them, it can be readily seen how widely

diffused this ineradicable poison must necessarily be. As in the well-known case of the almost total extinction of the natives of the Hawaiian Islands by syphilis, and the diseases that spring from it, a similar fate is in store for these negroes. They will probably be exterminated by their licentious habits. FRANK WILKESON.

From the Nyanza, Great Basin of the Nile; and Explorations of the Nile Sources, by Samuel White Baker, London, Macmillan & Co., 1866 —From Chap. VIII, Page 194, *et seq.*

The black man is a curious anomaly, the good and bad points of human nature bursting forth without any arrangement, like the flowers and thorns of his own wilderness. A creature of impulse seldom actuated by reflection, the black man astounds by his complete obtuseness, and as suddenly confounds you by an unexpected exhibition of sympathy. From a long experience with African savages, I think it as absurd to condemn the negro in toto, as it is preposterous to compare his intellectual capacity with that of the white man.

It is unfortunately the fashion for one party to uphold the negro as a superior being, while the other denies him the common powers of reason. So great a difference of opinion has ever existed upon the intrinsic value of the negro, that the very perplexity of the question is a proof that he is altogether a distinct variety.

So long as it is generally considered that the negro and the white man are to be governed by the same laws and guided by the same management, so long will the former remain a thorn in the side of every community to which he may unhappily belong. When the horse and the ass shall be found to match in double harness, the white man and the African black will pull together under the same regime. It is the grand error of equalizing that which is unequal that has lowered the negro character, and made the black man a reproach.

In his savage home, what is the African? Certainly bad: but not so bad as white men would (I believe) be under similar circumstances. He is acted upon by the bad passions inherent in human nature, but there is no exaggerated vice, such as is found in civilized countries.

The strong takes from the weak, one tribe fights the other—do not we perhaps in Europe? These are the legitimate acts of independent tribes, authorized by their Chiefs. They mutually enslave each other. How long is it since America and we ourselves ceased to be slaveholders? He is callous and ungrateful. In Europe is there no ingratitude? He is cunning and a liar by nature. In Europe is all truth and sincerity? Why should not the black man be equal to the white? He is as powerful in frame, why should he not be as exalted in mind?

In childhood I believe the negro to be in advance in intellectual quickness, of the white child of a similar age, but the mind does not expand. It promises fruit, but does not ripen; and the negro man has grown in body, but has not advanced in intellect.

The puppy of three months old is superior in intellect to a child of the same age, but the mind of the child expands, while that of the dog has arrived at its limit. The chicken of the common fowl has sufficient power and instinct to run in search of food the moment that it leaves the egg, while the young of the eagle lies helpless in its nest; but the young eagle outstrips the chicken in the course of time.

The earth presents a wonderful example of variety in all classes of the human race, the animal, and vegetable kingdoms. People, beasts, and plants belonging to distinct classes, exhibit special qualities and peculiarities. The existence of many hundred varieties of dogs cannot interfere with the fact that they belong to one genus: the greyhound, pug, bloodhound, pointer, poodle, mastiff and toy terrier are all as entirely different in their peculiar instincts as are the varieties of the human race. The different fruits and flowers continue the example; the wild grapes of the forest are grapes, but although they belong to the same class they are distinct from the luscious "Muscatel;" and the wild dog-rose of the hedge, although of the same class, is inferior to the moss-rose of the garden. From fruits and flowers we may turn to insect life, and watch the air teeming with varieties of the same species; the thousands of butterflies and beetles, the many members of each class varying in instincts and peculiarities. Fishes, and even

shell-fish, all exhibit the same arrangement, that every group is divided into varieties all differing from each other, and each distinguished by some peculiar excellence or defect.

In the great system of creation that divided races and subdivided them according to mysterious laws, apportioning special qualities to each, the varieties of the human race exhibit certain characteristics and qualifications which adapt them for specific localities. The natural character of those races will not alter with a change of locality, but the instincts of each race will be developed in any country where they may be located. Thus the English are as English in Australia, India, and America, as they are in England, and in every locality they exhibit the industry and energy of their native land; even so the African will remain negro in all his natural instincts, although transplanted to other soils; and those natural instincts being a love of idleness and savagedom, he will assuredly relapse into an idle and savage state, unless specially governed and forced to industry.

The history of the negro has proved the correctness of this theory. In no instance has he evinced other than a retrogression when once freed from restraint. Like a horse without harness, he runs wild, but, if harnessed, no animal is more useful. Unfortunately this is contrary to public opinion in England where the vox populi assumes the right of dictation upon matters and men in which it has no experience. The English insist upon their own weights and measures as the scales of human excellence, and it has been decreed by the multitude, inexperienced in the negro personally, that he has been a badly treated brother; that he is a worthy member of the human family, placed in an inferior position through the prejudice and ignorance of the white man, with whom he should be upon equality.

The negro has been and still is, thoroughly misunderstood. However severely we may condemn the horrible system of slavery the results of emancipation have proven that the negro does not appreciate the blessings of freedom, nor does he show the slightest feeling of gratitude to the hand that broke the rivets of his fetters.

His narrow mind cannot embrace that feeling of pure philanthropy that first prompted England to declare herself against slavery, and he only regards the anti-slavery movement as a proof of his own importance. In his limited horizon he is himself the important object, and as a sequence to his self conceit, he imagines that the whole world is at issue concerning the black man. The negro, therefore, being the important question, must be an important person, and he conducted himself accordingly; he is far too great a man to work. Upon this point his natural character exhibits itself most determinedly. Accordingly he resists any attempt at coercion. Being free, his first impulse is to claim an equality with those whom he lately served, and to usurp a dignity with absurd pretensions, that must inevitably insure the disgust of the white community. Ill-will thus engendered, a hatred and jealousy is established between the two races, combined with the errors that in such conditions must arise upon both sides. The final question remains, Why was the negro first introduced into our colonies, and to America?

The sun is the great arbitrator between the white and the black man. There are productions necessary to civilized countries, that can alone be cultivated in tropical climates where the white man cannot live if exposed to labor in the sun. Thus, such fertile countries as the West Indies and portions of America being without a native population, the negro was originally imported as a slave to fulfil the conditions of a laborer. In his own country he was a wild savage, and enslaved his brother man; he thus became a victim to his own system; to the institution of slavery that is indigenous to the soil of Africa, and that has not been taught to the African by the white man, as is currently reported, but that has ever been the peculiar characteristic of African tribes.

In his state of slavery the negro was compelled to work, and through his labor, every country prospered where he had been introduced. He was suddenly freed; and from that moment he refused to work, and instead of being a useful member of society, he not only became a useless burden to the community, but a

plotter and intriguer, imbued with a deadly hatred to the white man who had generously declared him free.

Now, as the negro was originally imported as a laborer, but now refuses to labor, it is self-evident that he is a lamentable failure. Either he must be compelled to work, by some stringent law against vagrancy, or those beautiful countries that prospered under the conditions of negro forced industry must yield to ruin under negro freedom and idle independence. For an example of the results look to St. Domingo!

Under peculiar guidance, and subject to a certain restraint, the negro may be an important and most useful being; but if treated as an Englishman, he will affect the vices but none of the virtues of civilization, and his natural good qualities will be lost in his attempts to become a "white man."

We are satisfied that the description of the immoral condition of the colored people in the South, as given by the Rev. J. L. Tucker, D. D., in his published speech upon the subject, is substantially correct.

J. N. CARPENTER,
JOHN RAWLE,
A. W. RAWLINGS,
GEO. W. KOONTZ,
Natchez, Miss.

J. B. T. THORNTON,
Yazoo City, Miss.

The following send their names as endorsing the statements of the speech.

T. T. LAND,
Member of the Shreveport Bar, and Ex. Judge of the
Supreme Court of Louisiana.

J. C. MONCURE,
Judge of Court of Appeals, Shreveport, La.

J. LEWIS JAYTON,
District Judge, Shreveport, La.

J. S. JOHNSON,
Rector of Trinity Church, Mobile, Ala.

JNO. B. LINN,
Rector of St. John's Church, Corsicana, Texas.

In illustration of the difficulty of working for and with the negro race. I append the following resolutions passed by a meeting of colored people held on the 25th of January. They probably contain all that can be said against my statements and are valuable for that reason. I sincerely wish I could believe the resolutions true and myself mistaken; no one would more heartily rejoice than I should at proof to that effect:

Whereas, In a speech upon the "Relations of the Church to the Colored Race," delivered by the Rev. J. L. Tucker, of Jackson, Miss., before the Church Congress at Richmond, Va., October, 1882, certain statements as to the intellectual and moral condition of the colored people were made, and these were of a character so sensational and misleading, that the speech was cut short in the Congress, and not heard to the end, and the local newspapers and the religious press, in different places North contradicted the truth of the representations made in said speech, and severely criticised the same as being unjust and without foundation in fact; and,

Whereas, Since the adjournment of the Church Congress, the Rev. J. L. Tucker, has had published a pamphlet, setting forth what he intended to say, as his speech to the Congress, enlarging the original speech, and adding an "Appeal" thereto, and has distributed this pamphlet, asking that the names of both white and colored men of prominence be given him, as endorsing the extraordinary assertions made therein by him in reference to the colored race; and,

Whereas, This pamphlet, in our judgment, contains charges and declarations against the colored race that demand answer, denial and condemnation in a public manner; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the citizens of Jackson, Miss., in mass meeting assembled, That the speech of Rev. J. L. Tucker, as delivered and as explained and published in pamphlet form, contains assertions and statements in regard to the moral condition of the colored people that have no foundation elsewhere than in the prurient imagination of their author.

Resolved, further, That the representations as set forth by Rev. J. L. Tucker, in said speech and pamphlet touching the domestic, religious and public customs and habits of the colored people, are grossly malicious and utterly at variance with the true condition of the affairs of the race, either South or North, as they now are or have been heretofore.

Resolved, further, That a minister of the gospel who has the brazen effrontery to insult the intelligence of his fellow men by

such statements as 'That out of 500 negro families only a few dozen are legally married;' 'That the proportion of marriage licenses issued in a Mississippi county (where the colored people are in the majority) were as 300 for white to 3 for colored marriages;' 'That the negroes will steal from each other while at prayer in church;' 'That the freedmen steal and kill more cattle in one year than was lost or destroyed during the late civil war;' 'That they lie from instinct,' and more of the same sort. That such a minister justly merits the contempt of those whom he has traduced, and we thank with heartfelt sincerity the "two or three Southern clergy who spoke good words in our defense, at the time these slanders were uttered.

Resolved, further, That it is with regret we acknowledge having in the past accepted the Pharisaical teachings of one whom we thought was a true friend to the youth of our race; one that we hoped was rigorously following in the footsteps and continuing the good work founded and fostered in Saint Andrew's Church for their benefit by his revered and lamented predecessor; and we feel that we have been "betrayed in the house of our friends" simply to gratify the desire for notoriety of one who is ambitious to "pose" before the public in the character of a reformer, with views unique and methods sensational.

Resolved, further, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the "Northern Bishops and Clergy," and to every colored newspaper in the country, and that the papers of our State be requested to publish them as the sentiments of the colored people and their white friends in this community.

There were present at this "mass meeting" about fifty men, the rest being women and children. This pamphlet had not then been published and but three or four of those present had any idea of what the speech really was.

A few weeks later the following was handed me for publication :

We, the undersigned, colored citizens of Jackson, have seen with regret the action of a meeting of colored people in this city, attacking with virulence the address of the Rev. Dr. Tucker on the relations of the church to the colored race. We think that meeting did great injustice to him and to our race, in being led by passion rather than by reason. We are agreed as to the following statements.

1st. We regard Dr. Tucker as a friend to our race; one who from the standpoint of Christian philanthropy, has spoken the truth in an effort to arouse the Christians of the whole country to

the magnitude of the work demanded of the Church. We recognize in his speech a careful essay having but one object, viz: the welfare of the colored race; and we see in the plan proposed an intelligent system whose successful operation would result in great good to our people.

2d. While vice and immorality exist in all races and while the sins described in the address are quite common among the white people, yet it is not surprising that they should be more common with the masses of our race, when our youthfulness in freedom is considered. We regard the speech as, in truth, a defense of our people concerning their present condition, as well as an effort to better that condition. We understand it to be general in its application, and to recognize and thank God for those exceptions among us, who are alive to our situation and are struggling hard to better it. We therefore thank our friend for his humane and unselfish effort to obtain help for us from the North, as we thank him for all his labor in the past.

3d. We concur fully in the suggestion that Southern white men, of standing and influence, be entrusted with the guidance and direction of any work begun for us. We know them and can trust them as we could not trust strangers, and they know us; and as citizens in the same community, are interested in our welfare and improvement.

MARCH WILLIAMS,	EDWARD TUCKER,
SAMUEL HILL,	WILLIAM LEWIS,
PETER DUNBAR,	OLIVER SAN FRANCISCO,
WILLIAM MYERS,	RICHARD BROOKS,
JOHN BRANDON,	SIMMONS GILES,
ABRAM ROBINSON,	BENJAMIN GOODLOE,
LONDON JACKSON,	JOSEPH AILS, ROBERT AUSTIN.

Over fifty names are in my possession to add to the above, and others are being handed in daily.

I add to the foregoing an article taken from the *Richmond Whig*, of Dec. 1st.

LET US BE JUST.—The Rev. Mr. Tucker, of Mississippi, has become rather a famous man, not as a member of the Episcopal clergy, but as one of that class who are still asking “Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?”—that prejudiced class who still are doubting the virtue dwelling in the lowly. It was he who boldly, in the Episcopal Congress in Richmond, characterized the negro race as “liars, thieves and adulterers.” If all men are liars, then, too, is the negro; but if there be truth, the heart of the negro holds it as well as the white. If there be honesty, the white man has no monopoly of it. As for adultery, oh! ye gods,

that the white man should have the audacity to point the finger of scorn at any race! And this, too, from a Southerner who knows that the South went to battle strong in the knowledge that the chastity of its wives and daughters would find protectors and not seducers in the faithful slaves around them—those down-trodden slaves whose wives and daughters must yield though all unwilling, to the lustful passions of their masters. Pray who has filled the land with unmarried mothers and illegitimate mulatto children? The white man—who knows no law save self-indulgence, no continence save satiety; who sees in weak chastity not something to be sustained and upheld by his example and precept, but to be brought low from its high though frail estate to minister at whatever cost to his selfish pleasure; who considers himself justifiable in tempting any woman who will listen to the voice of the tempter, whether through blind love or gaunt starvation, or through passion like unto his own; who knows no self-control; no self-respect, and therefore no honor, for weak or unprotected woman.

Ah! one among ten thousand only is there who is true to himself, and therefore true to all womanhood, whether strong or weak whether high or low; but he is found quite as often among the despised negro race as among the arrogant white. I wonder the negro does not long for its oppressor, its seducer, to be but “one head that it may be struck off at a single blow;” but this is a patient, tender-hearted, long-suffering people, whose day cometh slowly. As for its women, the highest types of womanhood I have found among this people—not for culture, but for moral worth; the most honest, the most christian, the most chaste under foulest temptation. Are there many among them, alas! *so many* fallen now? And why? Because it is found that honest wages for honest work is but a shadow, and that the only commodity that will sell at all times and under all circumstances is woman’s virtue; that for this, and this alone, lustful man will pay. The mother once seduced, ruined, deserted, her moral faculties benumbed and deadened, how can the daughter be otherwise? Truly adultery and seduction do stalk through the land at this the noonday of our civilization and no man bids them halt. For the polygamy of the West we may indeed frame laws, but the terrible blight of the East holds unmolested sway. But when Mr. Tucker speaks of “adultery, fornication, and all uncleanness,” let him look his own race straight in the face and say “thou art the man.” Let him preach the gospel of continence, purity, chastity, and when he can persuade his own race to follow this ideal he will not find the negro slow to follow where virtue leads. And when men, high and low, rich and poor, young and old, married and unmar-

ried, have accepted and fashioned their lives upon this model and up to this standard, then will this be a goodly land; then, and not until then, will men be worthy the boasted name of "woman's protector;" then, and not until then, will the sins of the father be lifted from the children; and then, ah! then shall "sorrow and sighing flee away."

I. G.

I call attention to the fact that the assertions I have made with regard to the negro race, are virtually admitted to be true in the above article, written, as I understand, by a negro, while the whole blame is thrown upon the white race. That some measure of blame is undoubtedly the just due of individuals among the white race no one will deny, yet to refute the sweeping nature of this negro's condemnation it is only necessary to ask two questions:

"Suppose there had been no slavery and that the negroes in this country had remained in Africa, what would have been their condition?"

"If the negroes now in this country are in a better condition and have a better future before them than the negroes in Africa, to what domestic institution, to what race, and to what portion of that race do they owe this advancement?"

And I would like to add——

"Had there been no slavery whose head would you desire to cut off in revenge for being native and naked African savages?"

I quote this negro's "Let us be just," and urge that the justice be not one sided. In this article mention is made of the fidelity of the slaves during the war, as if that had been a peculiar evidence of race virtue. Also, one of the speakers at the Church Congress alluded to it as if in some way it refuted my statements regarding their moral condition. Let us therefore be exactly just as regards this also. All Southern men recognize the docility and kindly feeling which led the negroes to remain quietly at home while their masters were away during the war; and they also recognize that no white race or red race would have been thus easily controlled. Yet both the masters and the slaves knew that an insurrection would have been perfectly hopeless. There were few parts of the South where the sound of the cannon was not heard.

Every little town had its Provost Marshal and guard. There were soldiers and armed men and occasional bodies of Cavalry everywhere. Had the negroes been disposed to rise they would not have dared to do so from the display of force on every side, knowledge of which spread by rumor to the remotest plantations. Had such a rising occurred, it would have been remorselessly and instantly crushed. The negroes were not armed and could have made no resistance whatever. The negroes knew this; and both the fact and the knowledge of the fact should be taken into consideration by any one who aims to be "just." The white men went away without an atom of fear for their families; and this confidence was founded in knowledge of the negro character, intimate knowledge of particular negroes, confidence in the affection of their servants, and confidence in their own strength.

Why this should prevent us from telling the truth about the present moral condition of the negroes, in order to awaken the nation, or a part of it, to the duty we owe that race, I do not comprehend. But it is easy to raise a false issue and fight over that rather than the true one.

In closing this pamphlet and giving it to the public I have a few final words to say.

When I spoke in Richmond I had no conception of the stir that would be created by my brief address of only twenty minutes. The severity of criticism and the overwhelming volume of correspondence which poured in upon me, forced me to the step I have taken in publishing this pamphlet. It seemed to me that the devil himself entered the lists and measured swords with me, determined to defeat any effort to shake his hold upon the negro race. I was not aware, before, how much abuse could be heaped upon one man, not a politician or candidate for office, whose sole object was the good of others; nor was I aware how such abuse could hurt. I notice one conspicuous fact, that among all the attacks and denials that have reached me, not one of my critics undertakes to furnish proof that I am wrong. I suppose it is the devil's method of combat, to throw dust and obscure the main issue.

I am Rector of a fairly prosperous white parish, and there is no obligation that I know of resting upon me more than upon other Southern men, to labor for the negroes. It is a hard and difficult work in itself, and is made doubly so by the suspicions of the negroes and the cavils and criticisms which the devil stirs up from the white race. The difficulties are so many and so great that but few Southern people have had the courage to engage directly in the work of teaching colored schools or classes, and still fewer to persevere in the work when once engaged. For myself I have only to drop my own Mission work to have a large accession of peace and comfort. If I could reconcile it with a sense of duty I would gladly dismiss our colored scholars, close our Mission, and leave the colored people to shift for themselves so far as I am concerned. My experience has been such that I would hesitate a long time before beginning a similar work in any fresh place. I cannot, however, undo what has been done, nor throw off the negro families who look to me as their leader, guide and friend; nor do I think it right to destroy the opening which exists here for greater things. But I want it to be understood that I and my parish are perfectly independent in the matter. Our mission will go on, no matter who likes or dislikes, as long as the colored people come to be taught. Should they stay away so that we can be blameless for closing the Mission, it is an open question as to who would regret it least. To do any greater things we need help. We cannot make our Church into a cathedral and open a transept for the colored people, or build schools for them, without money and a good deal of it. If any one asks the direct question, "Do you desire to do this?" we must answer candidly, "For our own sakes, no; for Christ's sake, yes." To those who can understand this mixture of motives and who desire to aid, we extend a hearty welcome. But we want no man's money who has any doubts about our opinions, our methods, our motives, or ourselves.

J. L. TUCKER,
Rector of St. Andrew's Church,
Jackson, Mississippi.

I am flattered of a nearly proportion with people, and there is no
 illustration of a ray of light upon me more than upon other
 Southern men, to have the negroes. It is a fact and through
 work in itself, and is made health, as by the "emancipation" of the
 negroes and the earth and continents which the devil stir up from
 the pit again. The difficulties are so many and so great that but
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 the work of teaching colored schools of classes, and still fewer to
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 and content. If I could reconcile it with a sense of duty I would
 gladly withdraw one school, perhaps, from my Mission, and have
 the school people to shift for themselves as far as I am concerned.
 My experience has been such that I would hardly ever find be-
 fore beginning a similar work in any other place. I cannot, how-
 ever, define what has been done nor know of the negro schools
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 it right to discuss the opening which exists here for negroes, like
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 closing the Mission, it is an open question as to who would regret
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 colored people, or build schools for them, without money, and a
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 about our opinions our methods, our motives or ourselves.

J. L. Tucker
 Pastor of St. Andrew's Church,
 Jackson, Mississippi.