The Progress of the Negro Race

ADDRESS OF

HON. BOIES PENROSE
Address of Hon. Boies Penrose at a Patriotic Race Service, Held by the Negroes of Philadelphia, Under the Direction of One Hundred Representative Citizens and Participated in by Representatives of the Race Patriotic Organizations of the City, at Varick Institutional A. M. E. Zion Church, Monday Evening, March 1, 1914

Senator Penrose said:

I am glad to be here tonight to have an opportunity of witnessing this splendid gathering and of meeting face to face so many of the representatives of the colored citizens of Philadelphia.

I am impressed by the membership of the Committee of 100 Representative Citizens by whose authority I have been invited here this evening and under whose auspices this great meeting has been assembled.

In looking over the list of names I recognize a great many people who have been active in the civic affairs of Philadelphia for many years, and who have gained an honorable prominence and reputation by their active participation in every movement for the improvement of our city and for the betterment and development of your race. I find on the list and see in this audience many whom I have known since my early manhood when I first began an active participation in public affairs and whom I esteem highly for their honesty and ability and can count among my steadfast friends in all my public efforts.

This gathering is indeed a remarkable one, having so many prominent negro citizens, together with representatives of the Race Patriotic Organizations of this city and so many prominent in religious effort and in the business affairs of Philadelphia. You are assembled here to promote the best interests of the 12,000,000 negroes in this country.

I think I can say truthfully—in fact, it is generally known—that I began my political career in the Eighth Ward of Philadelphia, which was then a legislative district, in a constituency which, at that time, largely was inhabited and influenced by colored people, and I always have recognized the fact that my first political efforts had their loyal support.
Steadfastness of the Negro

As a very young man my first experience in public life and in political campaigns was in direct personal dealing with the colored voter, and I acquired a familiarity with his character and temperament which I think is possessed, perhaps, by but few public men. I early learned to detect and recognize the good points in the negro character, and I conceived in the beginning an abiding confidence which I never have lost in his ability with the advancing and widening opportunities presented by his American citizenship for his development upward and onward. I have seen the negro in every phase of life. I am glad to testify here this evening that in close and bitter political contests I have found many negroes who have exhibited a loyalty and honor in the face of temptations of bribery and corruption not surpassed by any similar steadfastness on the part of the white people, and exhibited in a way which reflected credit to the race and renewed confidence in the possibilities of its future.

On account of my early experience in this way I always have counted myself in a peculiar degree as the friend of the colored man. When I entered politics 30 years ago the political recognition extended to him hardly had begun. I think I have participated in nearly every effort in his behalf and, frequently, have been the individual means of securing for him ever-widening and more ample opportunities of recognition in official employment. I always have been glad and willing to urge such recognition and to support any colored man for office who was, in my opinion, capable and worthy of the position he sought regardless of his race or creed.

I realize that the colored people are an important and integral portion of the citizenship of Philadelphia and of the State of Pennsylvania, and that they are doing their share so far as increasing opportunities permit to promote the greatness of our city and State.

Commonsense Treatment of Race Problem

A great deal has been spoken and written about the race question. Much of it is vain and illusory. Apprehensions are conjured up by timid imaginations which have no foundation in fact or logic. Schemes of amelioration are proposed which often are complicated and impractical. What the negro wants, what
the American people need, and what the whole racial question
requires, is a treatment of common sense.

In the invitation received by me from the pastor of Zion
Temple are the following words: "We are interested in the re-
habilitation of the Republican party throughout this Nation as
we believe that the best interests of the 12,000,000 negro people
in this country can be subserved through the above-named
party."

I would not take advantage of a gathering of this character
to introduce politics of an ordinary or factional nature, but the
proposition set forth in the words I have quoted is a statement
of fact which none can gainsay, and is a declaration of a broad,
statesman-like policy. Who can deny that it was the Republican
party, under the leadership of the Immortal Lincoln, which made
the fight for union and for freedom, and carried to a successful
conclusion one of the greatest wars of modern times? Every
step taken since then by State Legislatures and by Congress for
the protection, amelioration and betterment of the negro has
been due to the action of Republicans.

The negro was brought to this country against his will and
retained for several generations in a condition of servitude. His
advantages were few, and when we criticise him today we should
bear in mind that his opportunities for advancement have only
been presented within, practically, the present generation. To
preserve the Union, free the negro and establish him in his
citizenship required enormous sacrifices on the part of the
patriotic Republicans of the North.

Sublime Words of Lincoln

Let us recall the words of the Immortal Lincoln in his second
Inaugural Address. The London Times pronounced it the most
sublime state paper of the century, and equally competent critics
have called it a masterpiece of political literature:

"It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just
God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other
men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The
prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been
answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes: 'Woe
unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that of-
fenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.'
If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those of-
fenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The Judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

**Attitude of Political Parties**

"With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The limits of my address forbid my going into the details of the long struggle for liberty. The main facts are known to you all. But when we discuss the attitude of parties let me recall to you the position of both parties on the race question since the advent of the Republican party, in 1856.

In that year the Republican National Convention held in Philadelphia declared that it was the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery. In the same year the Democratic National Convention declared that the Democratic party would resist all attempts to renew in Congress or out of it the agitation of the slavery question under whatever form the attempt might be made.

In 1860 the Republican Convention at Chicago declared in favor of freedom as the normal condition of all the territory of the United States, and that it was the duty of the party to maintain the provision of the Constitution that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of
law, and that neither Congress nor any Territorial Legislature nor any individual could give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States. In contrast to this is the declaration of the Democratic Convention held in Charleston in the same year when it was resolved that the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the execution of the fugitive slave law were hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution and revolutionary in their effect.

**Republican Party Negro's Friend**

In 1864 the Republicans declared in favor of a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery, and the Democratic Convention of the same year had little or nothing else to declare for except an immediate cessation of hostilities.

In 1868 the Republican Convention held at Chicago was able to congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress as evidenced by the adoption in the majority of the States, lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights for all. The Democratic Convention held in New York in the same year arraigned the Republican party in that "instead of restoring the Union it had so far as in its power dissolved it, subjected to States in times of profound peace to military depotism and negro supremacy."

In 1872 the Republican Convention held at Philadelphia declared in favor of the constitutional amendments and demanded legislation to carry them into effect, while the Democratic party finally had gone to pieces on this and other questions and held two conventions, one at Baltimore and one at Louisville.

In 1876 the Republican Convention held in Cincinnati declared it to be the solemn obligation of the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all constitutional powers for removing any just cause of complaint on the part of any class and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of civil and political rights. In the same year the Democratic Convention was absolutely silent in regard to the rights of the negro.

And so, if time permitted, I might go on and explain more in detail the attitude of the two leading parties of the country upon the race question. I have referred merely to the earliest utter-
ances which represent the heroic period in the struggle for liberty and reconstruction. They are sufficient to establish a fact which does not require proof, because it is known to all that the Republican party has been the liberator and the friend of the negro, and the Democratic party has been consistently throughout its history his oppressor and his enemy.

Political Recognition for Colored Men

But let us look at some of the recent practical sides of the question. Men are known by the company they keep and by their actions. Declarations of principles are good, but they are useless unless carried out by performance. Whatever political recognition the negro has obtained in the National Government or under the administrations of the States has been received from Republican authority. Under Republican Presidents the negro always has been recognized in every department of the Federal Government; lawyers have been appointed in the Department of Justice; notable representatives of the race have held high office in the Treasury Department; many of the important offices in the District of Columbia have been reserved for prominent colored men. All through the South the negro, who naturally constitutes a large and important element of the Republican party, has been generously considered in the appointment of postmasters, collectors of customs and of internal revenue, and in relation to other important offices.

The stalwart sentiment of the Republican party throughout the North never has lent ear to the plausible contentions of the "Lily-White" element of Republicanism in the South. The great majority of Republicans in National Conventions always have upheld the principle of equality of rights regardless of race or creed.

In Pennsylvania and in other Northern States increasing recognition has been given to the race. It may be that it has not always been as much as it should be, but it has increased with the years and will develop in the years to come.

You have had a capable member of your race in the Pennsylvania Legislature and in the Councils of the city of Philadelphia, in the various departments of the municipality and of the State Government at Harrisburg.
Anti-Negro Policy of Democrats

The Democratic party has been in control at Washington for a little over a year. What a change do we witness in connection with the treatment of the negro! In every department of the Federal Government an effort is being made to bring about the segregation of the colored employees.

The most drastic proposition of this character is presented in two bills now before the House of Representatives. I hold in my hand each of these measures. The first (H. R. 13772) was introduced by Representative Edwards, of Georgia. It is entitled "A bill to segregate government employees of the white race from those of African blood or descent." It directs the heads of all executive departments to issue whatever orders may be necessary "to secure in all branches of the service of the United States the segregation of government employees of the white race from those of African blood or descent in the performance of their services." Section 2 provides that "white clerks or employees shall not be required to occupy the same offices or workrooms with clerks or employees of African blood or descent; nor shall any white clerk or employee be placed under the orders, direction or supervision of any person of African blood or descent."

The second of these measures was introduced by a Louisiana Democrat, Mr. Aswell. It is H. R. 5968 and its title is "A bill to effect certain reforms in the Civil Service by segregating clerks and employees of the white race from those of African blood or descent." It also directs the heads of executive departments to issue such orders as shall be necessary to bring about the segregation of the colored employees in the Government service.

Discrimination in Government Service

The effect of this proposed legislation is to establish by statute the system of separating and in other ways discriminating against men and women of your race, who, by their intelligence, integrity and industry, have worked their way, despite all obstacles in their path of progress, to positions of responsibility in the service of the Federal Government. The purpose of the two measures I have read, clearly, is to nullify the amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing equal rights for the negroes of this country.
But it is not only segregation that the negro has to fear from the Wilson administration. Total elimination from the service of the Federal Government will be his lot unless all signs fail. What the negro haters of the Democratic party endeavored to accomplish by brutal directness in the first administration of Grover Cleveland, they now are endeavoring to accomplish by stealth in the administration of Woodrow Wilson. Immediately after the inauguration of President Cleveland the triumphant Democrats who filled the responsible positions in the executive departments at Washington began to throw the negro employees out of office. There was then no hypocritical show of sympathy. Later President Cleveland, when informed of what was being done, directed a check to the anti-negro movement. But the negroes had been removed and the Democratic leaders bothered themselves not at all over the question of according the race any substantial recognition.

Persecution of Democratic Bureau Chiefs

Now the status of the colored man is different. He has his position in the civil service and it is his by legal right. No bureau chief can throw him out without interference by the Civil Service Commission. But the chief can make life unbearable for the colored men and women in his office and by a system of petty persecutions he can make them give up "voluntarily" that of which in law and justice they cannot be deprived. And that is precisely what has been done in every department since the Democrats came into power a year ago. The heads of the departments at Washington seem determined to eliminate the colored men and women from the government service. In the guise of conferring favors on the colored employees, "Jim Crow" systems have been established in the various bureaus. In the Pension Bureau, for instance, a bureau presided over by an Ohio Democrat, the negro clerks were summoned into conference and the suggestion was made to them that they all be assigned to a special room. There they would find themselves in congenial company and surroundings, it was insinuatingly pointed out to them. As a further mark of recognition the bureau head would provide them with a chief clerk of their own race. I am glad to state that the colored men and women employees in the Pension Bureau had the courage to reject this
proposal. Although they are not now flocking together, yet steps were taken to so distribute them as to give them the most undesirable places, mostly in the hallways rather than in the offices.

**Removal of William H. Lewis**

In the Post Office Department inadequate toilet facilities are provided for the colored employees and in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, instead of a lunch room such as is furnished the white employees, they are given the privilege of eating their lunches in the washroom. In one of the other departments they have been herded together in an attic room, the only opening to the outer air and sunshine being through a transom. In the Treasury Department, where piece work is done in certain branches, the colored employees are given only the most difficult and laborious tasks to perform. And similar instances of "giving the negro the worst of it" could be cited in other departments.

One of the first acts of President Wilson's Attorney General was to demand the resignation of William H. Lewis. This man is a credit to his race. He was educated in Boston, studied law, and was admitted to the bar of that city. He showed great ability in the practice of his profession and was appointed by President Taft an Assistant Attorney General, the highest position in the executive branch of the United States Government ever held by a colored man. He was well qualified for the performance of its duties and made a splendid record. But the Democratic administration got rid of him at the earliest opportunity. He was replaced by a white man.

**No Federal Offices for Negroes**

In the Treasury was another colored man in a high place, John C. Napier, of Tennessee, who held the responsible position of Registrar of the Treasury at a salary of $4,000 a year. He promptly was removed and his place given to an Oklahoma Democrat. For nearly twenty years, since William McKinley entered the White House, the office of Registrar had been filled by a man of your race.

Henry W. Furniss, a colored man, was Minister to Hayti, salary $10,000 a year. President Wilson appointed a white man to that place. It had been the rule to send a negro to that diplo-
matic post. But the Democratic leaders desired it for a white man and Minister Furniss was displaced, although, I am in-
formed, nobody denied his qualifications as a diplomat.

Ralph W. Tyler, an Ohio colored man, was Auditor for the Navy Department when Mr. Wilson became President. That place pays $4,000 a year. Mr. Tyler performed its duties satisfac-
torily under Republican administrations. His resignation was
followed immediately by the appointment of a Southern Demo-
crat.

William T. Vernon was one of the leading negro educators of this country. He was President of a negro university in Kan-
sas and was widely known as an orator and a lecturer on the advancement of the colored race. He filled the office of Registrar
of the Treasury and later was given a position of responsibility in the Indian School Service. He is no longer connected with the Federal Government.

These are the most prominent of the colored men who have been removed from office by the present administration. It has made a clean sweep of the office-holders of your race.

Faithful Capitol Employees Removed

It is at the Capitol, however, that the anti-negro policy of the Democrats has been made most effective. That is the one branch of the government in Washington not included in the Civil Service. When the Republicans were in control of the House and Senate, many positions at the Capitol were filled by colored men. Some of these employees had been at the Capitol for many years. They had made records of the highest ef-
ficiency. When the Democrats became the majority party in both branches of Congress they promptly removed these faithful em-
ployees and filled their places mostly with Southern Democrats. There was no complaint against these men that reflected in the slightest upon either their ability or integrity. The only charge against them was that they were negroes.

There died in Washington recently a colored man, Archi-
bald Lewis by name, who for nearly half a century had been in the service of the United States Supreme Court. In life he was respected by the members of that august tribunal and in death they honored him. At his funeral were the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Court. No finer tribute could be paid
any American citizen than the words spoken of this man by the Chief Justice, a Southern man. Chief Justice White said of him that he was loyal, that he was honest, that he was worthy of the best and that he had the respect of every member of the Court.

I could continue for a long while upon this phase of the subject. I shall, however, call your attention to only a few more choice illustrations of the attitude, thoughts and purposes of the Democratic party in connection with the negro.

**Separate Street Cars for Negroes**

I have here a bill (House Bill 10150) introduced by Mr. Tribble, “Providing that the street car companies of the District of Columbia shall provide separate street cars or separate compartments for white and negro passengers,” and imposing a penalty of one hundred dollars fine for each and every violation of the Bill.

I have resided in Washington for nearly 18 years and frequently have used the street cars of that city. I never have yet seen an objectionable colored person on the cars, nor have I ever heard any complaint or criticism in connection with their use of the cars. Without any demand from the District of Columbia we have this bill presented in the House of Representatives.

In line with this effort of Mr. Tribble I note a bill (House Bill 6866) introduced by Mr. Thomson, of Oklahoma, a Democrat. This bill has the plausible title of a bill to promote the comfort of passengers and to provide for the separation of the races on street cars, and in the various departments of the Government. It provides that the street car companies shall furnish separate cars and compartments and that the white and negro employees of the Government shall be separated and placed in separate rooms and compartments in the various departments. Fines are imposed for violations of these provisions, not only on the officers of the company, but on the passengers. And any officer of the Government who does not enforce these regulations is liable to a fine of as much as $1,000 for each offense.

**Democratic Statesmanship in Race Problem**

I shall refer to only one more specimen of Democratic statesmanship in connection with the race question. If there is an exploded idea among the plans which have been proposed as a
solution of the difficulties, real or alleged, in connection with the race problem the most fallacious and unsubstantial one is that the colored citizens of the United States can in some way be transported bodily and physically out of the country and transferred to some distant point. Africa has been suggested, and the Republic of Liberia was thought for a time to afford an outlet for the colored population of America. All kinds of fantastic propositions of this kind have been suggested in public discussion and in the personal views of Democratic statesmen. Many have held plans of this kind, in all seriousness, to be the only solution. Of course, the proposition is impracticable and ridiculous.

The negroes of the United States are as much attached to their homes, their localities and their country as any other element of our citizens. They never have been a migrating people, but, on the other hand, a home-loving people. They are in the United States to stay and today they are a part of the citizenship of the Republic. Yet, at this late day, after the futility of propositions of this kind has been demonstrated, we have the choice production of Democratic statesmanship embodied in a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 228) introduced by a Mr. Park in the House of Representatives, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed, entitled, “A Joint Resolution authorizing the President to acquire Mexican territory,” and which reads as follows:

Colonization Plan for Colored People

“Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is, authorized and directed to acquire, by purchase, by treaty, or by conquest, all of the territory of Mexico above the twentieth degree of north latitude, comprising the States of Baja (Lower) California, Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, Zacatecas, Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, San Luis Potosi, and Tepic, from the authorities of the Republic of Mexico, to be reserved and used as Territories of the United States for the colonization of and the pre-emption of homesteads by the colored races inhabiting the United States.”

I shall go no further. This last joint resolution illustrates that the Bourbon spirit of Southern Democracy is still abroad
in the land; that the negro can have little hope that the Southern Democrat or his party associates have learned the lessons of past generations or have any disposition to sympathize with the modern enlightenment of the 20th century. These bills and resolutions speak for themselves and require no further comment.

I will conclude this phase of the subject by quoting from a statement, which appeared in a newspaper, made by the man whom President Wilson made Collector of Internal Revenue at Atlanta, Georgia. In commenting upon Government appointments in the South, he said:

"Negro's Place, the Cornfield"

"There are no Government positions for negroes in the South. A negro's place is in the cornfield. I do not mean that a negro should not be educated and have his rights, but there are deserving white men capable of holding the positions."

In the South, local public sentiment, the sentiment of Southern whites, will delight in the sincerity and warmth of Collector Blacock. "The negro's place is in the cornfield" is plain English. It cannot be misunderstood. It may differ from the view of Dr. Booker T. Washington, who, also, has warmth and sincerity; but Georgia commends it.

As for President Wilson, as good a practical politician as ever occupied the White House, we imagine he wishes this Collector had thought this instead of saying it for publication. In several Northern States, negroes who hardly know what a cornfield is have many thousands of votes on election day. Race pride is strong with them. They read the newspapers. They see what the Blacocks are saying. Any disposition to vote the Democratic ticket will be checked and indisposition to vote the Democratic ticket will be emphasized and accentuated as a result of such utterances south of Mason and Dixon's line.

One fact stands out prominently. No negroes have been appointed to important places in the first year of the present administration.

It has often occurred to me that the negro people have failed to celebrate properly the anniversary of their freedom or the anniversary of the birth of the Great Liberator—Abraham Lincoln. I think it would be well if the negroes in Pennsylvania and
all over the United States would, from now on, make a more pronounced effort to celebrate these two great historic anniversaries by suitable patriotic gatherings, assemblages and rallies so that the members of the race might refresh their recollections by recalling the character and achievements of the Immortal Lincoln and the long and heroic struggle for liberty. Such celebrations would also bring about discussions as to the progress which the race had been making during the preceding year and instructive deliberations would follow as to a program of action for the ensuing year in the interest of the race.

Semi-Centennial of Freedom

I was gratified, therefore, when it was proposed that a semi-centennial of liberty and freedom should be celebrated in Philadelphia in September, 1913. I took especial interest in this celebration and was glad to help secure the necessary legislation and appropriation from the State of Pennsylvania, so that the celebration might be rendered a creditable success. It was especially gratifying that the idea of this exposition was conceived by colored men and its achievement was coincident with the presence in the Legislature of our Commonwealth of a Representative of your race.

The exposition was planned and managed by negro men and women, and every detail worked out by them. The exposition furnished one of the few instances where the negro men of the State and Nation, unaided by their white brothers, carried to a successful conclusion an undertaking of such great scope. It was not done at the Cotton States Exposition at Atlanta, nor the Jamestown Exposition at Norfolk, nor the New Jersey Exposition at Atlantic City.

The exposition promoted what I always have had in mind—a greater devotion to the above-mentioned anniversaries, because it influenced other States, like New Jersey, New York and Illinois, to propose similar celebrations, and their representatives, both white and colored, came to the Pennsylvania colored men to study their plans.

The exhibits at the exposition came from all parts of the Commonwealth, and from distant States as well as from Africa. There were four thousand different exhibits from nearly nineteen hundred persons. The exposition was a revelation of prog-
Inventors of the Negro Race

Nearly two thousand patents of negro inventors were exhibited and Pennsylvania was found to be in the lead. The industry of paper bags, the calculator on the adding machine, and the system of communication between moving trains were a few of the inventions of the Pennsylvania negro commercially profitable, and creditable to the race.

We learned on this occasion that in 1863 when the negro race came out of slavery only six in one hundred were able to read and write, while in 1913 there were 76 out of every one hundred who could read and write. Surely no other nation or race on the face of the globe can exhibit such an astounding progress from illiteracy to a comparative degree of educational standards.

Sociologists charge that the exposition demonstrated that the negroes who came out of slavery penniless, in 1913 owned over one billion dollars worth of property in this country, and in proportion to population the State of Pennsylvania leads all the States, and the City of Philadelphia all the cities, of our country.

Today the negro conducts more than 250 newspapers, the oldest being in the City of Philadelphia. The negro race has graduated over 8,000 negro boys and girls, and the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been won from Harvard, Yale, Chicago, and the University of Pennsylvania, and here again Pennsylvania still leads.

Negroes from Pennsylvania have studied abroad in the universities of England, Germany, France and Italy, and Pennsylvania has led all States in being first to have a negro win the famous Cecil Rhodes Scholarship at Oxford, England.

Colored Men in Literature

Negroes have written in these 50 years something like 10,000 books and pamphlets. The library of Congress had present at the exposition a substantial library of negro authors including among other subjects poetry, fiction, science, history and theology, and here again the Pennsylvania negro leads all the States.
and the Philadelphia negro all the cities, in the literary productions of the race.

Fifty years ago, professional life hardly was known to a negro and few schools would permit him to study. Today there are three thousand five hundred physicians, two thousand lawyers, one thousand five hundred dentists, three thousand professional actors, three hundred journalists, and various other occupations unknown a few years ago to the race, and Pennsylvania leads all States in negro professional men.

Negroes today own five hundred thousand homes, and, strange to say, a less percentage of them is encumbered than those owned by white people. The race owns over two hundred and fifty thousand farms, and controls over twenty million acres of land in the United States. Indeed, the land controlled by negroes in this country covers a greater area than the combined area of the countries of Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Wales and England.

If all the land in this great Commonwealth were turned over to the negro race it would not equal what they now own and control.

**Intellectual Progress of the Negro**

The Sociological Congress held at the exposition brought together a distinguished array of negro scholars.

The Educational Congress brought together the leading educators of this country, while the speakers at the Religious Congress represented the leading negro bishops, and other ministers and laymen. When the papers and addresses of these speakers are published they will present an amazing mass of documentary evidence of the intellectual progress of the negro race in this country.

The physical progress of the race is no less important than the intellectual and moral progress. This was shown by a Medical Exhibit and a Baby Show. The negroes were shown to have reduced their mortality considerably in twenty years, and particularly infant mortality; and to have increased their birthrate. Better houses, better food, better work, have all contributed to make more and better negroes. In 1863 there were four million four hundred thousand negroes in this country. Today there are twelve million. In 1860 there were fifty-six thousand negroes
in this State. Today there are over two hundred and fifty thousand of them, the largest number of them in the North being in this State.

At this exposition thousands of people were in attendance each day and evening. On the opening day one hundred thousand people saw the great exposition parade, and twenty-five thousand were on the grounds. These grounds were policed by colored policemen under a colored lieutenant, and there was not a single arrest and at no time was the patrol summoned to take away a prisoner. This fact showed the negro to be a law-abiding and peaceful citizen, respecting the authority of his own race.

Mechanical Genius of the Race

As to the negro's mechanical ability we have heard much, but it remained for the exposition to show by tangible evidence what they could do. When it was first said that the negro race wanted a building for their exposition it was thought impossible, but the negro mechanics in four weeks built a set of Exposition Buildings, a credit to themselves and to the Commonwealth. The plans were drawn by negro architects and superintended by negro foremen. Never before in this State have so many skilled negro mechanics been at work on a single job. But no more will there be any excuse for anyone to doubt the mechanical skill of the Pennsylvania negro.

Pennsylvania always has stood in the front rank in her attitude toward negro advancement. Here the first schools were established for negro education. This was the first State to abolish slavery. Here was established the first society for the abolition of slavery, the learned Benjamin Franklin being its first President. Here the "under-ground railway" was established, and here John Brown laid his plans for the great raid which shook this country from center to circumference and plunged it into a bloody war, resulting in the freedom of four million slaves. Pennsylvania was first to pass a free Public School Law, giving to the negro child an equal chance with the white child in acquiring an education. It was here the first negro church organization was started, the first high school, the first negro Sunday school, and the first printing plant.
Patriotic Service of Colored Men

The negro always has responded to the call of his country when his services were needed in time of war. From the Revolutionary War down through the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, the Civil War and the Spanish War history has noted the heroic achievements of negro regiments and negro soldiers.

Among the fearless men who met the British in the vicinity of Lexington was the negro, Peter Salem, who added to his laurels at Bunker Hill by shooting the officer who commanded this expedition and at whose word of command the blood at Lexington and Concord was shed.

He had been a slave and upon joining the army he became a free man and fought like a free man, faithfully and fearlessly in defense of human rights. He served seven years in various companies and was buried at Framingham, where his memory is honored and cherished.

In April, 1882, that town made an appropriation of one hundred and fifty dollars to erect a memorial over his grave in the old burial-ground at Framingham Center; a fine granite stone with this inscription:

PETER SALEM
A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION
Died Aug. 16, 1816
CONCORD-BUNKER HILL-SARATOGA
Erected by the town, 1882.

All through the Revolution and since then down to the present time the instances of negro heroism are too numerous for me to go into the details of on this occasion.

"Though poor, despised, unlettered,  
The bondsmen, now set free,  
With limbs and minds unfettered  
Good soldiers were to be;  
In marching and in fighting,  
In bearing any loss,  
It seems they were delighting,  
Like soldiers of the Cross."
"We're coming, Father Abram,
Hundreds of thousands more!
To Shem and Japheth let Ham
Prove now, the world before,
His principle and valor
For God and Liberty;
Our hue's not made for pallor;
No signs of fear you'll see.

"They came"; and more were coming
Till peace was won; and they
Returned with joyful drumming
To lay their arms away;
But to be ever ready,
They, or their future sons,
To muster, brave and steady,
At freedom's signal guns."

A Hero of the Gettysburg Campaign

A vital incident of the Gettysburg campaign in 1863, which contributed largely to make General Lee's invasion a failure, and helped to decide the fate of the Confederacy, was the plucky fight of Pennsylvania militia against General Gordon's veteran Confederates at the Columbia bridge on Sunday, June 28th, and the burning of the structure to prevent his force from crossing the Susquehanna River.

A company of colored men from Columbia, Lancaster County, Penna., after three white companies from that place had returned to their homes, continued at their post on the Wrightsville side to dig rifle-pits, and when the fight commenced to take up their arms manfully to oppose the advance and attack of the enemy. It required a strong combination of patriotism and courage for them to stand their ground until ordered to retreat across the bridge and then destroy it. Their brave and skillful course on this occasion is attested by official records and reports.

Let me refer to the achievements of the famous Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Colored Regiment, which led the famous assault upon Fort Wagner. Upon that occasion the heroism of Sergeant Carney stood out in splendid relief.

Praise from an enemy is praise indeed, and this is what General Taliaferro, the Confederate commander of Fort Wagner, wrote concerning the valor exhibited by the Union troops:

"The columns were seen in the fading twilight to approach;
line after line was formed and then came the rush. The assaulting columns were met by the withering volleys of McKethan's direct and Gaillard's cross-fire, and by the direct discharge of the shell guns, supplemented by the frightful enfilading discharges of the lighter guns upon the right and left.

"It was terrible, but with unsurpassed gallantry the Federal soldiers breasted the storm and rushed onward to the glacis.

"The intrepid assailants fell by hundreds, but they pushed on, reeling under the fearful blasts that almost blew them to pieces, up to the Confederate bayonets."

**Charge of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment**

General Taliaferro says: "One of the assaulting regiments was composed of negroes (the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts), and to it was assigned the honor of leading the white columns to the charge. It was a dearly purchased compliment. Their Colonel (Shaw) was killed upon the parapet and the regiment almost annihilated, although the Confederates in the darkness could not tell the color of their assailants."

Over the ramparts these colored heroes leaped, followed by their white companions in death and glory, into the midst of their foes, grappling with them, bayoneting the cannoneers and pressing the enemy to the rear. The Fort appears to be taken, the victory won; but, alas! large reinforcements under the Confederate General Hagood, sent by Beauregard, have just arrived and the struggle becomes more terrific—hand-to-hand and foot-to-foot.

The fresh Confederate troops move along on the traverses and bomb-proofs, and deliver a concentrated fire into the masses of white and colored soldiers, who, with retreat cut off, still fight on and hold out until the carnage reduces them to a little band of scorched and bleeding men.

The battle was lost, not for want of valor, but because of the time chosen for the attack, the almost superhuman obstacles in the way (which, however, were surmounted), and chiefly because of the arrival of reinforcements for the Confederates after the works had been entered and the flag of the Union unfurled above them."
Sergeant Carney, Color Bearer

General Strong had fallen; also Colonels Putnam, Chatfield and Shaw, and other heroic leaders. Back through the darkness, made gloomy as a starless midnight by the loss of two thousand comrades, the remnants of those columns, a little while before so strong and confident, retreated to their starting place.

Their retreat was one of honor. They had performed deeds not equalled by any in the charge of the Louisiana Tigers, or Pickett's Division, in the battle of Gettysburg.

Sergeant W. H. Carney, of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, was a sample of the colored heroes of that desperate contest. He was with the advance of the storming column, and pressing forward to the front rank, carrying the regimental colors, he took a place near Colonel Shaw, who was leading his men over the ditch. As they ascended the wall of the fort under the terrible fire, the full ranks of the Fifty-fourth melted away almost instantly, but the survivors, undismayed, rushed on. He received a severe wound in the thigh, but fell only upon his knee. He planted the flag upon the parapet, lay down upon the outer slope, so that he might get as much shelter as possible, and there remained for over half an hour, until the Second Brigade came up. He kept the colors flying until the conflict was ended. When the forces retired he followed, creeping on one knee, holding up the flag. It was thus that Sergeant Carney came from the field, having held the emblem of liberty over the walls of Fort Wagner during the entire conflict, and having received two very severe wounds, one in the thigh and one in the head. Still he refused to give up his sacred trust until he found an officer of his regiment.

Colonel Shaw, "Buried With His Niggers"

When he entered the field hospital, where his wounded comrades were being brought in, they cheered him and the colors. Though nearly exhausted with the loss of blood, he said: "BOYS, THE OLD FLAG NEVER TOUCHED THE GROUND!"

The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, with its ranks recruited, retained its reputation, and added to its glory in the battles of Olustee, Honey Hill, Boykin's Mill, and in operations around Charleston.
A romantic interest attaches to the memory of Colonel Shaw. He stands out prominent as one of the early white colonels of a colored regiment. To him attached to a peculiar degree the profound reverence and devotion of his colored soldiers. He fell with many of his men at Fort Wagner, and was buried in the same trench with the soldiers of his regiment.

It is recorded that when a flag of truce party returned to the fort to bury the Union dead, it was found that this work had been done already by order of General Beauregard, and in response to a request for the body of Colonel Shaw, one of the Confederate officers replied: "We have buried him with his niggers." This expression of contempt for the noble leader and his black heroes furnished a text which Mr. George H. Boker, a son of Philadelphia, and the author of a number of patriotic poems, used with good effect in the following stanzas:

"Brothers in Death and Glory"

"They 'buried him with his niggers!"
Took there they fought and died.
There was room for them all where they laid him
(\textit{The grave was deep and wide}),
For his beauty and youth and valor,
Their patience and love and pain:
And at the last together
They shall be found again.

"They 'buried him with his niggers!"
Earth holds no prouder grave;
There is not a mausoleum
In the world beyond the wave
That a nobler tale has hallowed,
Or a purer glory crowned,
Than the nameless trench where they buried
The brave so faithful found.

"They 'buried him with his niggers!"
A wide grave should it be;
They buried more in that sandy trench
Than human eye could see.
Aye, all the shame and sorrow
Of more than a hundred years
Lie under the weight of that southern soil
Despite those cruel sneers.
"They 'buried him with his niggers!'  
But the glorious souls set free  
Are leading the van of the army  
That fights for liberty.  
Brothers in death, in glory  
The same palm branches bear;  
And the Crown is as bright o'er the sable brows  
As over the golden hair."

The Black Rank and File

The visitor to Boston, Massachusetts, who loves liberty and those who died for it, should not fail to see among its many shrines in that city the monument erected in the honor and memory of Colonel Robert Shaw (and his gallant regiment), on one side of which is this inscription:

TO THE FIFTY-FOURTH REGIMENT of MASSACHUSETTS INFANTRY  
THE WHITE OFFICERS  
taking life and honor in their hands, cast in their lot with men of  
a despised race, unproved in war, and risked death as inciters of  
servile insurrection if taken prisoners, besides encountering all the common perils of camp, march and battlefield  
THE BLACK RANK AND FILE  
volunteered when disaster clouded the Union cause, served without pay for eighteen months till given that of white troops, faced threatened enslavement if captured, were brave in action, patient under heavy and dangerous labors, and cheerful amid hardships and privations  
TOGETHER  
they gave to the Nation and the world undying proof that Americans of African descent possess the pride, courage and devotion of the patriotic soldier—one hundred and eighty thousand such Americans enlisted under the Union flag in 1863—1865.
Heroism in War With Spain

All of us recall the battles in the neighborhood of Santiago, La Quasima, San Juan and El Caney.

In the Spanish War, at La Quasima, in addition to the white troops, was the Tenth Regular Cavalry, colored. Upon this occasion General Leonard Wood reports that he found the forces opposed to him very much greater than he had anticipated, and that "HIS MEN CONDUCTED THEMSELVES SPLENDIDLY AND BEHAVED LIKE VETERANS, GOING UP AGAINST THE HEAVY SPANISH LINE AS THOUGH THEY KNEW NO FEAR."

The colored troopers, the Tenth boys, were among the foremost in standing their ground or in dashing forward, and their gallantry was a source of great pride and satisfaction to their officers and of complimentary comment by the little force whose dash and pluck had caused it to be greatly magnified by the defeated Spaniards.

Again at San Juan we find the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry dismounted with the colored infantry to their right. San Juan, on heights defended by strong fortifications—block houses, intrenchments, batteries and barbed wires—faces the center and left wing adjoining it, and El Caney also on an eminence, strongly protected by block houses, rifle pits, and various obstructions, faces the right wing. Against these strong positions the Americans began their advance and moved forward against the enemy, receiving a steady, destructive fire, but not stopping to count the fearful cost of the assault. Under the burning sun, sweltering and staggering ahead, almost blinded by the heat, the Americans carried the rifle pits, mounted the hill and charged the Spaniards, driving them, and capturing or destroying their block-houses. By nightfall they had won a position which enabled them on the next day to capture El Caney and drive the enemy closer to Santiago.

Brave Men at San Juan Hill

One of the colored heroes of San Juan Hill was First Sergeant George Berry, Troop D, Tenth Cavalry, who was retired at Huntsville, Alabama, November 1, 1898, after thirty years' service. He had participated in campaigns against the Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahoes, Comanches, Apaches, the Utes, in Col-
orado, Kansas, Texas and New Mexico, and his gallantry in Cuba was nothing new; but his escape from death at San Juan was a matter of wonder because of his conduct there. Under a heavy fire, running in advance of his comrades, he waved aloft the Stars and Stripes, and planted the colors of his regiment upon the works from which the Spaniards were beginning to run away. As he mounted the hill he kept calling as he ran: "Dress on the colors, boys! Dress on the colors!"

A paragraph in a newspaper states that during the Peace Jubilee in Philadelphia, as this sable hero, bearing the tattered flag he had carried so gallantly at La Quasima and San Juan, marched in the procession with the Tenth Cavalry he was pelted with roses from the balconies and stands crowded with people.

If time permitted I could name scores of other colored heroes who participated in the Spanish War, while the colored men on board our battle-ships contributed their full share to the glorious victories in the notable battles of Manila and Santiago.

Investigation of Brownsville Affair

Nor shall I, on this occasion, have an opportunity to more than refer to the prominent part taken by the American soldier of colored nationality in the subsequent contests of the Spanish War, in the West Indies, and in the Philippines.

When, in 1906, certain events occurred at Brownsville, Texas, in which criticism was made of the colored soldiers, and when action, apparently arbitrary and unwarranted, was taken by the War Department, I promptly offered the following resolution in the Senate on December 2, 1906:

"Resolved, That the President be requested to communicate to the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interests, full information bearing upon the recent order dismissing from the military service of the United States three companies of the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Infantry, United States troops (colored)."

This resolution was adopted with amendments on December 6, 1906. It was the first resolution offered in the Senate relating to the order discharging the negro soldiers. It voiced my determination to have the arbitrary action of the War Department fully investigated, and expressed my admiration and confidence.
in the heroic qualities of the American soldiers of negro nationality.

Equal Treatment for Colored Citizens

When I offered this resolution the recollection was fresh in my mind of the splendid appearance presented by the colored regiments upon the return of our army from the war. I never shall forget the military bearing, the veteran-like appearance, and the disciplined ranks of the colored regiments marching out Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington upon their return from the war. The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry, all colored, were watched by thousands of enthusiastic, patriotic, and admiring spectators.

Let us extend fair and equal treatment to the colored citizens of the land. If they have any infirmities, let us remember that criticism can be made of the characteristics of any race. Let us remember the disadvantages and the oppression under which the negro labored until a very recent period with all opportunity for advancement and progress withheld from him; and let us contemplate the extraordinary and unprecedented development which he has made since the opportunity has been afforded him.

I have confidence in the future and I believe you have confidence in the future. Many difficulties which now seem insurmountable gradually, and in the not far distant future, will dissolve and pass away, and the negro people in the United States steadily will progress to the higher plains of industrial prosperity and education which is destined to be theirs.