

A National Platform on the Race Question

By William De Witt Hyde

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The President of Bowdoin College, Maine, born and bred in New England, represents, in this statement, what we believe to be an increasing number of Northern people. Without abandoning any fundamental principle, Southern people in large numbers and of great influence are ready, we are sure, to let this statement stand as an expression of their views. The Outlook heartily assents to this creed "for substance of doctrine."—THE EDITORS.

THE relation between the white and colored races has been fruitful of misunderstanding, alienation, injustice, war between North and South. Both sections have blundered, sinned, suffered, and are sincerely sorry. The time is ripe for a platform on which all can unite. Such a platform must involve concessions on both sides. The South will never tolerate the platform laid down by the North in the dark days of reconstruction. The North will never accept complacently the more extreme positions to which reaction from that policy has led. Every man, Northern and Southern, ought to frame for himself and for his country a platform which will be fair to both sections. The following platform is offered, not as a model for all to adopt, but as a sample of what each man ought to be making for himself. Out of many such attempts, North and South, we may get a composite platform, which we can agree to adopt as a positive programme.

The differences between the races are deeper than the skin, and must find expression in the relations between the races.

The identities between the races are even deeper than the differences, and must be recognized in the enactment and execution of law.

The treatment of the negro that is possible and desirable in sections of the country where negroes are few and exceptional differs from the treatment that is necessary and inevitable where all sorts of negroes are present in large numbers.

Suffrage is not the right of any race as a race, but of those individuals of any race who are able to exercise it with intelligence and responsibility.

Granting the suffrage to thriftless and illiterate negroes was the gigantic blunder of the North; withholding the suffrage from intelligent and responsible negroes would be an even greater blunder, if generally adopted by the South.

Punishment of brutal crimes committed by members of one race against members of another race must be swift, sure, and severe; but the protection of white and black alike demands that such punishment be by due process of law.

Segregation in school, church, and society, wherever the negroes are numerous, is in the interest of racial integrity and racial progress.

Industrial opportunity must be open to the negro of trained and approved efficiency.

Wherever adjustment between the races is difficult, and relations are liable to be strained, there must be the greatest practicable restriction of the sale and use of intoxicating liquors.

Outspoken condemnation of illicit intercourse between the races as the lowest depth of degradation must be visited upon guilty white men and negro women by all decent people of both races.

White and black alike must have thorough elementary education, with industrial or normal education for such as can profit by it, and academic and collegiate education for those who are to be leaders of their respective races.

The North must appreciate the tremendous burden such education, involving as it does a double school system, lays upon the resources of the South, and honor the splendid efforts that the leaders of education in the South are making to bear it.

Northern philanthropy, in its aid to Southern education, must subordinate

all abstract and sentimental considerations to that accurate knowledge and sympathetic appreciation of Southern conditions which are represented by the General Education Board.

Federal aid to education in the South must wait until local taxation prepares the way for it, and until the sentiment of the South asks for it and guarantees its equitable division between the races. Then it must come, not as an imposition or a charity, but as an act of justice, by which the Nation as a whole bears its part of a National burden which otherwise would fall disproportionately upon a single section.

This platform is not ideal or ultimate. It recognizes the existing situation and

deals with actual facts. Its principles, if faithfully followed, would prepare the way for something better a generation hence. To attempt more at present would be futile; to rest content with less would be fatal. Unless some such platform is adopted at once, the South will have to endure darker days than it has yet known, and its troubles will assume the proportions of a National calamity. These principles, while calling for some sacrifice of inherited and acquired prejudice on the part of both North and South, afford a platform on which both sections can unite in mutual respect and good will; a programme according to which we can all work together for the peace and prosperity of our common country.

Building a Province

By Albert Ernest Jenks

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EUROPE would have taken up the problem of the Philippines without fear or hesitancy. Great Britain has her Malayan dependency in Borneo, Holland in Java and Sumatra, France in Indo-China, and Germany in New Guinea. Each has its theory, policy, and practice of handling a situation similar to the one in the Philippines; all except Germany have had generations of such experience.

America had neither practice nor theory of Oriental colonization when the Philippines came to her. Scarcely one of her schools had courses of administration—and such as existed dealt with the problems of cities; the study even of the history of colonies was confined practically to the early years of our own people. When the Philippine problem came up for solution, America began to solve it in a new way, since she must solve it, and since no other people had looked upon a like problem from her moral point of view.

It is in accordance with this point of view—the American idealism of individual manhood—that she is doing her work in the islands.

This fact is shown by a study of our

policy in the cities of the islands; but many of these problems we had learned at home how best to solve, and for some of them trained men were brought from the States. Trained American chemists, engineers, and physicians came to clean, and keep clean, the cities, and to suppress the ever-present contagion of the Orient. Bonner, ex-Fire Chief of New York, came to fight back the fires in such tinder-boxes as the nipa-shacks of Manila. The American system of crime detection and prevention and of police protection is eminently successful here. All this is plain to one who knows the best methods of administration in American cities—they are and will be successful here.

But the great Philippine problem is not in the cities; it is in the provinces. Here is the home of the savage and the barbarian. Shall we have a "Poor Lo" in the Philippines also? If not, how not? Here is the unsolved problem of the seven so-called Christian tribes. They bred the historic insurrectos, and to-day they give us the ladrones. How can life and property be protected through a reasonable certainty of peace? How can slavery be best blotted out?